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SPECIAL ISSUE
Future Directions for Service Learning in Higher Education

Special Issue: Introduction
Future Directions for Service Learning in Higher Education

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"I'm an experimenter in the sense that I write in order to change myself and in order not to think the same thing as before." Michel Foucault (2000, p. 240)

Service learning is by now an international reform movement with sustained roots in secondary and postsecondary education in, among other places, Australia, South Africa, North America, and Western Europe. Service learning—traditionally understood as the linkage of academic coursework with community-based service—has been supported by two complementary waves: governments' interest in and sponsoring of civic engagement and the general public's desire to see higher education provide more meaningful and relevant experiences and outcomes for its students (Arenas et al., 2006; Harkavy, 2006; Torney-Purta, 2002).

Service learning appears to accomplish both. By linking theory with practice and classrooms with communities, service learning provides real-world exposure and engagement with meaningful local and global issues through concrete and ameliorative practices. An ever-expanding body of research validates the positive impact of service learning upon a host of academic, social, and cultural variables. Service learning increases youth's civic knowledge and political engagement, strengthens openness to diversity and difference, and promotes a better and deeper understanding of course content (Astin & Sax, 1998; Bell et al., in press; Billig et al., 2005; Chang, 2002). Such results appear to be sustained even years after the actual service learning has occurred (Misa et al., 2005).

So why fix what is seemingly not broken? Why critique and disturb a reform movement that in the last decade has swept through and become commonplace within higher education? Why talk about the (plural) *future directions* of service learning in higher education in this special theme issue?

The reason is exactly because, I would argue, service learning has been positioned as *apart from* rather than *a part of* the academy. More precisely, service learning as a pedagogical methodology and a philosophical orientation has been framed as a coherent, cohesive, and liberatory practice able to foster radical change and betterment across higher education. However, service learning is not a monolithic entity, nor (any longer) something external to the academy, nor so easily deemed transformational (Butin, in press).

My goal here is not one of destruction or denigration. It is to point out that we, as service-learning scholars and practitioners, are part of a complex pedagogical experiment that deserves detailed critical attention; for service learning has been embraced by the academy to a much greater extent than it has been scrutinized. To acknowledge this fact, though, risks exposing an underside of service learning that most advocates would rather avoid: namely, that service learning, as any other educational reform model, has its own blind spots, its own unacknowledged and unexamined assumptions, and its own impositional narratives.

The service learning movement has attempted to position itself exactly as a theoretically and pedagogically unproblematic practice to be embedded within higher education. However, the center will not hold. For the academy is by its very nature a space for examination and critique, especially when confronted with issues as complex and contested as what transpires within and across communities. It is thus incumbent on the service learning field to carefully and critically examine its own practices and theories in order to strengthen them rather than have them picked apart by not-so-gentle critics.

If this is so, if we are to begin to think carefully and critically and differently about service learning, if we are "not to think the same thing as before," then I would argue (with Foucault) that we must experiment. We must experiment with—and this theme issue provides details of—what service learning could be: service learning without servers; service learning explicitly and self-reflexively focused back upon itself rather than out into the community; service learning as community; service learning as an incremental discipline rather than a revolutionary transformation; service learning without service learning; service learning as science.

This theme issue promotes are provocative, critical, and disruptive examinations of service learning. I promote these in order to avoid complacency within a field that has been blessed (and thus perhaps cursed) with a decade-long expansion into an academy of which it is yet not truly a part. The strength of the service-

learning movement lies in the transformational potential of a pedagogical strategy that changes ourselves, our students, and our communities. If we are to take such transformational potential seriously, then I would argue that we must also be willing to allow for the potential to let service learning be changed as well.

The service-learning literature, for example, has unabashedly appropriated the terminology of "border crossing" (Giroux, 1992). However, as Himley (2004; Carrick et al., 2000) has elegantly pointed out, this may be much more about *border inspections* of the stranger rather than the *border crossings* of our students. Likewise, recent work has shown that the boundaries between the server and the served may not be as stable or useful as previously thought (Henry, 2005; Henry & Breyfogle, this issue; Pompa, 2005). I cite one more example: Raji Swaminathan (2005; in press) offers strong ethnographic evidence that there is a pervasive hidden curriculum within community organizations that mediates students' experiences of their service to an extent completely unexpected by faculty. Each of these examples, I would argue, forces us to experiment with rethinking and constructing a service learning made stronger by such critique.

It is in this spirit that this theme issue was developed. Specifically, I wanted to begin a critical dialogue on possible alternative futures for service learning in higher education. I need to be clear that these are not positioned (at least not by me) as what the future of service learning in higher education *should* look like. Rather, these essays—some constructive and some destructive—force service-learning practitioners and scholars to carefully revisit how and why we do what we do and think what we think.

The first essay, a collaborative work between Lynne Boyle-Baise and seven of her graduate students, does exactly that: namely, in a graduate-level course on the theory and practice of service learning, Boyle-Baise reverses our standard academic emphasis in order to "scrutinize service as a democratic force." This analysis of, and reflection upon, "learning service" stops short our implicit presumption that service is something simply to be done by those involved in service-learning experiences. As one of her graduate students notes, "As we explored theoretical concepts of service and otherness, I began to reflect on what it means to really help someone…none of my previous experiences with service taught me how you went about working with people as opposed to doing charity work." Ultimately, Boyle-Baise and her students challenge the reader to "dare to teach service" as a means to explicate hidden assumptions of ethics, standards, and reflection within the service-learning experience. Such an emphasis on *teaching* our students about a process that we all too often simply make them *do* reveals an important lacuna in the field: that the respect and reciprocity we offer to

the community may not be as openly offered to our very own students, who we may simply expect to do the service learning we as instructors have set up.

Sue Ellen Henry and M. Lynn Breyfogle take up a related issue in the second essay. Henry and Breyfogle argue that the service-learning field has unwittingly bought into a rigid and static model of reciprocity that bifurcates and reifies the "server" and the "served." Henry and Breyfogle elegantly use John Dewey's (1896) critique of the stimulus-response model of action to demonstrate how both "providers" and "recipients" are actually "changed in the process of their service-learning venture." To maintain the "unnatural dualism" of one entity acting upon another—analogous to psychology's reflex arc notion that a stimulus "simply" triggers a response that in turn triggers another stimulus, ad infinitum—is to miss Dewey's profound insight that entities (be they people or stimuli) are inextricably changed by the process in which they are engaged. Henry and Breyfogle link this organic process of action to Enos and Morton's (2003) argument for an "enriched form of reciprocity" to suggest alternative models for university-community partnerships that are able to take into account the collective efforts of fostering educational change both for undergraduate students and the local community.

Amy Lee DeBlasis takes up this critique as well when she suggests that community-based research (CBR) offers an even more fruitful means by which to foster a shared vision between an institution and its community partners. Building on recent CBR literature (e.g., Strand et al., 2003) and her own college's development, DeBlasis argues that CBR moves all stakeholders into a collaborative relationship rather than a service one, thereby fostering "an equal sharing of the power, knowledge, information, and execution of the project." This allows universities and communities, DeBlasis argues, to sidestep the problematic baggage of "service" in order to truly meet the needs of students, faculty, and the community. This is, I should note, fully in line with the recent surge of attention being given to the potential value of undergraduate research.

In a different vein, though with similar goals, Keith Aronson offers a highly provocative argument for the necessity of increasing the scientific rigor of service-learning research. Using the field of prevention science as his point of comparison, Aronson systematically lays out the shortcomings of present-day service-learning research and how that might be alleviated by embracing a multistage research cycle used within the prevention sciences. In so doing, Aronson suggests, the service-learning field could make very important strides vis-à-vis issues of valid assessment of impact, legitimization in the academy, and positioning within the contemporary era of accountability. Aronson is clear that such accrual of benefits comes with costs (e.g.,

diminishing an egalitarian ethos, positioning of the researcher as expert rather than collaborator). However, such is the price, he suggests, for providing a scientific foundation for the service-learning field.

My own essay explores this exact dilemma—how to deeply and legitimately institutionalize service learning within the academy—through a different argument. Namely, I suggest that the service-learning movement must have a parallel movement to develop an "academic home" within higher education. This, for me, is embodied by an already existing academic field: community studies. Community studies integrates coursework with sustained, consequential, and immersive community-based learning within the legitimate space of an academic program. "Disciplining" service learning, I argue, allows the service-learning field to gain the professional and social legitimacy to control its own knowledge production, develop its own disciplinary boundaries and norms, and critique and further its own practices. I use women's studies as an exemplary model of such a transformation and provide both an empirical and theoretical detailing of community studies programs in higher education to suggest how such a strategy could fruitfully complement the service-learning movement.

In the next essay, Katharine Kravetz details how one such academic course in community studies actually works. Kravetz provides a detailed description of American University's Washington Semester program *Transforming Communities*, which she helped to develop and now teaches. Kravetz shows how community-based learning is at the heart of this program and, as such, is what allows for a genuine engagement with and understanding of "how communities function and the means of strengthening them." Kravetz's vision is of long-term commitment to and support of communities, and her program explicitly engages the complexities, frustrations, and opportunities for such a long-term vision.

Finally, David Berle concludes this issue with a wonderful example of service learning embedded across an entire departmental program. Berle outlines a sequence of courses in the University of Georgia's Department of Horticulture to show how service learning is progressively and systematically expanded. Such a model of incremental integration, Berle argues, alleviates faculty impediments to "buying into" an unknown pedagogical strategy and fosters a spiraling curriculum to scaffold students' understanding and successful use of service learning.

I hope that these essays support sustained reflection and engagement with community-based forms of teaching and learning. My goal is to foster discussions and debates that expand the transformational potential of service learning, both upon higher education and upon itself. I leave it to the reader to determine if I have succeeded.

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How Prevention Science Can Inform Service-Learning Research

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Prevention science, like service learning, is a relatively young field. However, in a short period of time, prevention has made significant progress in its scientific maturation, while SL research has lagged behind. Prevention science has made rapid progress because of its recognition of a multistage research cycle, reliance on interdisciplinary work, and success in developing strong university-community partnerships. Given the prevailing climate for accountability in education, SL researchers will need to increase the scientific rigor of their work. SL researchers should become more familiar with how prevention scientists conduct research. By following the lead of our prevention science colleagues and, where possible, teaming with them as interdisciplinary colleagues, SL researchers may move the field forward more rapidly.

Prevention research that is related to children and youth problems (e.g., adolescent problem behaviors, psychiatric disability, school refusal and failure, family dysfunction) is a relatively young field, dating back approximately 25 years (Coie, 1996; Flay & Collins, 2005; Ferrer-Wreder, Stattin, Lorente, Tubman, & Adamson, 2004). The term prevention science (PS) was developed at the 1991 National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)-sponsored National Prevention Conference. PS was described as a *research* discipline "focused primarily on the systematic study of precursors of dysfunction and health-called risk and protective factors respectively" (Coie, et al., 1993, p. 1013). The goal of prevention science is to prevent or moderate major human dysfunctions, including the elimination or mitigation of the causes, incidence, and prevalence of those dysfunctions (Coie, et al., 1993). Despite its relatively neophyte status, prevention science has made rapid progress in developing and integrating already existing theory from various disciplines and conducting basic and applied research using sophisticated methodology and data analytic techniques (Cohen & Fish, 1993; Flay & Collins, 2005; Office of Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990; Peters & McMahon, 1996; Ferrer-Wreder, et al., 2004). It is important to note, that the 1991 National Prevention Conference provided prevention researchers with both a clear definition of what PS was and suggested ways to conduct their research (i.e., study the reciprocal interplay between risk /protective research and controlled intervention trials which were to be informed by basic research on risk and protective factors, with field trials to follow). It is fair to say that PS has had well articulated "marching orders" emanating from leading researchers in the field and large funding agencies.

Service learning (SL) and its research come from very different roots indeed. In the same year of the National Prevention Conference, a Wingspread conference sponsored by the National Society for Experiential Education and the Johnson and MacArthur Foundations took place. While few themes for future SL research and some calls for theory and comparative research emerged from the conference, generally the conference was non-directive about how knowledge in the field should develop (Howard, Gelmon, & Giles, 2000). Today, relative to the large number of people in the SL field, only a few researchers view SL as a mode of research or even as a disciplinary lens (Billig & Eyler, 2003; Butin, 2003; Eyler, 2002; Furco & Billig, 2002), while most continue to think of it as solely a form of pedagogy. It may not be surprising then that SL is beset with multiple conceptualizations (Butin, 2003). These include the technical (i.e., understanding the characteristics of SL, as well as its efficacy, quality, efficiency, sustainability), cultural (i.e., dealing with how individuals make sense of themselves, questions of acculturation, fairness, tolerance, morality, and ethics in the development and delivery of SL), political (i.e., questions of power and power imbalance as relates to competing constituencies in SL), and the postculturalistic (i.e., how SL impacts on and is impacted by societal norms) perspectives. SL research, therefore, "traverses a vast, multidisciplinary terrain mak[ing] it more difficult to ascertain which questions are most significant or which theories or methodologies are most appropriate to guide the investigation" (Furco & Billig, 2002, p. 16). In some sense then, unlike their PS colleagues, SL researchers face significant challenges in deciding what to study, by what means, with what partners, and with what funding support.

Despite important differences between PS and SL, this paper suggests that SL researchers consider becoming familiar with work in PS as a way to bring greater coherence to some aspects of their research, enhance strategies to develop sustainable partnerships with communities, and work in a more multidisciplinary fashion. Indeed, Eyler (2002) has said that SL researchers "need to work with research scholars from related fields to bring some theoretical

rigor to the design of our research programs' (p. 12). PS may prove to be a valuable interdisciplinary framework for some SL researchers.

The Promise and Challenge of SL

A number of studies are accumulating which suggest that quality SL has a positive impact on various academic/cognitive (Billig, 2000a; 2000b; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Strage 2000; 2004), social-emotional (O'Bannon, 1999), character development (Jones & Abes, 2004), and civic engagement (Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005) outcomes. The benefits of SL have been demonstrated in a number of diverse settings across various ages and using differing methodological approaches. It should not be surprising then that a number of "districts and schools have adopted service-learning as a special strategy to meet the needs of their at-risk or disaffected youth" (Root, 2004, p. 2). There is some reason for optimism about SL as an approach to help youth become excited about learning and to provide them with more meaningful connections to their schools and communities (Root, 2004; Shumer, 1994). The promise of SL is indeed intriguing.

Unfortunately, SL research is based on research that is "comprised of a patchwork of small, independent, and *disconnected* studies that have sought to fill very big gaps in knowledge about service-learning impact, implementation, and institutionalization" (Furco & Billig, 2002). Unlike PS, it seems that SL is variously constructed with a multiplicity of goals and approaches that may hamper research in the field. Therefore, it has been difficult for SL researchers to systematize and organize how they think about and research theory, practice, and impact (Aronson, et al., 2005; Bringle, 2003; Butin, 2003; Jacoby, 1996; Ziegert & McGoldrick, 2004).

Furthermore, despite calls for increased rigor in the field (Aronson, et al., 2005; Eyler, 2002), a number of SL studies are beset with problems of self-selection, over-reliance on the self-report of experience, under-reliance on experimentation, and so forth (Billig & Eyler, 2003; Eyler, 2002; Furco & Billig, 2002). It remains difficult, therefore, to reach substantive conclusions about the process and outcomes of SL, or for the research to build upon itself (Billig & Eyler, 2003; Bringle & Hatcher, 2000). The quality of SL research continues to be criticized both within and outside the field (Billig, 2000a, 2000b; Bringle, 2003; Bringle & Hatcher, 2000; Butin, 2003; Eyler, 2000; 2002; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Furco & Billig, 2002; Ziegert & McGoldrick, 2004). In contrast, the field of PS has developed relatively rapidly and in doing so has overcome some of the problems still facing SL.

Three Key Guideposts in PS and their Application to SL

PS has moved forward so quickly largely due to its focus on three guideposts: using the multistage research cycle, taking a multidisciplinary approach to scientific inquiry, and developing strong university-community partnerships. As will become clear, SL and PS researchers have engaged in some similar activities; however, PS appears to do them more consistently and, to this point, more successfully.

Multistage Research Cycle. Prevention scientists have rallied around an organized approach to research, recently referred to as the "multistage research cycle" (Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994; Weissberg & Greenberg, 1998). The multistage research cycle has provided a solid foundation for PS, helped foster prevention research activities at many universities since the early 1990's, and sped progress in the field (Kellam, Koretz, & Moscicki, 1999). Significant support for the development of the multistage cycle came from researchers and key stakeholders within the National Institutes of Health (e.g., National Institute for Mental Health), the National Academy of Sciences (e.g., Institute of Medicine), and by the United States Congress itself (Heller, 1996). Therefore, relative to SL research, a good deal of PS research has been driven from the top-down, making adherence to a research cycle more likely. SL researchers should consider how following the multistage cycle might add rigor to their work.

The multistage research cycle (see Figure 1) includes problem identification, literature review and synthesis, pilot study activity, large-scale field trials, and ongoing evaluation of programs. In problem identification, researchers identify the problem that they wish to address with a prevention intervention. In PS, many of these problems have been identified as national priorities (e.g., drug and alcohol abuse, mental disorders, abuse and neglect of children). Moreover, many of the priorities identified are driven by the National Institutes for Health units particularly concerned about children and youth (e.g., NIDA, NICHD). The identification of problems (or research questions) in SL has been more difficult and more idiosyncratic (Furco & Billig, 2002). Prevention science researchers, even in this first step of problem identification, often begin attempting to develop community relationships to better understand *key environmental and ecological issues*, as well as to set the stage for long-term partnering. SL, by its definition, requires the development of community relationships. Indeed, there are some excellent examples of how SL researchers have, early in problem identification, allied with community stakeholders (see for example, Weinberg, 2003). However, it is important to note, that SL researchers, for a myriad of reasons (many largely

FIGURE 1
The Multistage Research Process as Might Be Applied to SL.

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
Identify salient outcome(s) to be addressed by SL program. Establish why the outcome is an important one. To what extent does the outcome impact, for good or for bad, the stakeholders of interest?	With an emphasis on the domain of interest (e.g., voting behavior, reducing risky behavior) review the relevant information- both from fields outside the domain and from existing research within the domain.	Develop and implement an intervention on a small/ pilot scale. Conduct confirmatory studies to establish efficacy of SL program.	Conduct large-scale field trials (including randomized control trials) to test the effectiveness of promising SL programs. Conduct in a variety of populations and settings.	Implement and evaluate effective SL programs on an ongoing basis.

beyond their control), have had more difficulty than PS researchers in sustaining community partnerships (Cushman, 2002). More on this point later.

After the problem is identified, an in-depth examination of the relevant scientific literature from related disciplines is conducted. This step is particularly important for the identification and articulation of relevant theoretical models. For example, in the Fast Track Program [Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group (CPPRG), 1992], a detailed theoretical model describing the development of antisocial behavior in very young children was articulated. The model focused on deficient parenting, poor relationships between parents and children, and various cognitive, social, and emotional deficits which contribute to antisocial acting out. This comprehensive model of antisocial behavior became the basis of a preventive intervention. Unfortunately, SL has demonstrated a relative lack of theoretical and conceptual models in the field (Aronson, et al., 2005; Bringle, 2003; Ziegert & McGoldrick, 2004). As a result, empirical work in SL has become somewhat "ad hoc and incoherent" (Ziegert & McGoldrick, 2004, p. 32.). SL researchers should continue to create and/or test theories from other various disciplines that relate to learning and development (Furco & Billig, 2002; Bringle, 2003). Quite recently, a promising conceptual model of SL and a strong inference plan for the theory's

assessment have been presented to the field (Aronson, et al., 2005), adding to the small but growing number of rigorous, conceptually driven research studies in SL (see for example, Allen, Philliber, Herrling, & Kuperminc, 1997; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993; Santmire, et al., 1999). In the Aronson, et al., (2005) model, moderators (e.g., gender, academic ability, prior SL experience, parental socioeconomic status), a central mediator (cognitive complexity), and both short- (e.g., academic achievement, personal social emotional development, learning appreciation), and long-term outcomes (e.g., civic engagement) are elucidated. The conceptual model is based on learning and cognitive theory, is supported by prior empirical findings, and is falsifiable. More models of this kind should be generated and tested in the SL field.

After all pertinent information has been reviewed and theoretical models identified, prevention researchers often conduct small-scale, rigorously designed pilot studies to test the methods, procedures, and efficacy of their program. The Society for Prevention Research (SPR) has published *Standards of Evidence: Criteria for efficacy, effectiveness, and dissemination* to "determine the requisite criteria that must be met for preventive interventions to be judged tested and efficacious or tested and effective" (SPR, 2004, i). SPR published the *Standards* "to articulate a set of principles for identifying prevention programs

and policies that are sufficiently empirically validated" (SPR, 2004, p. 1). Prevention scientists who are conducting intervention trials, therefore, have at their ready a clearly articulated approach to conducting studies that produce strong-inference results. Pilot studies in the prevention sciences are often undertaken in a community institution such as a school. Given the exploratory nature of pilot studies, alterations to the design are usually made prior to a large-scale trial. In large-scale trials, effectiveness can be examined using multi-site and more naturalistic field conditions (e.g., several schools from a number of school districts which are randomly assigned to treatment and control conditions). On-going evaluations (including benefit and cost analysis) are typically built into prevention trials. These provide more reliable information than one-time assessments. Moreover, since effects of interventions may unfold or manifest over time, multiple evaluation points are needed for accurate estimates of effect.

Relying on the multistage research cycle, prevention researchers have built a strong base of knowledge by articulating detailed theoretical models and incorporating already existing theory from various disciplines, developing preventive interventions under-girded by that theory, using methodologically sophisticated designs and cutting-edge statistical analyses, disseminating knowledge and programming in creative ways, and developing systems of sustainability (Ferrer-Wreder, et al., 2004; Offord, 1996). It should not be surprising then that prevention research with children and youth has become highly visible, produces meaningful results, and receives significant grant funding (Ferrer-Wreder, et al., 2004). The Infant Health and Development Program (Brooks-Gunn, et al., 1994), Nurse-Family Partnership (Olds, 2002), DARE to be you (DTBY; Fritz, Heyl-Miller, Kreutzer & MacPhee, 1995), Incredible Years (Webster-Stratton, 1998), Strengthening Families Program (Kumpfer, Molgaard, & Spoth, 1996), Guiding Good Choices (O'Donnell, Hawkins, Catalano, Abbott, & Day, 1995), Focus on Families (Catalano, et al., 1999), Fast Track (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999), and Promoting School-Community-University Partnerships to Enhance Resilience (PROSPER; Spoth, Greenberg, Bierman, & Redmond, 2004) are but a few of the highly visible and well-funded prevention programs that have been developed for children and youth in the past decade.

While SL research started with less top-down influence and more democratic roots, there are many SL researchers who desire to demonstrate the efficacy and effectiveness of SL, particularly in light of its intriguing promise (Eyler, 2002). Researchers interested in demonstrating intervention effects should use strong-inference methods, similar to those used in the multistage research cycle (Boruch, de Moya, & Snyder, 2002; Brooks-Gunn, 2004). Given the accountability movement that has developed in education, partly due to the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*, SL researchers are likely to face increased pressure for the kind of rigor seen in PS research. Indeed, the U. S. Department of Education, via the Institute of Education Science (IES), has published guidelines to assist researchers identify and implement educational practices supported by rigorous evidence (Boruch, et al., 2003; Myers & Dynarski, 2003). These guides set forth several key elements that are required for *rigorous* studies in education. These elements include true random assignment to intervention and control conditions, use of power analyses, clear articulation of the intervention, insurance that no systematic differences exist between the intervention and control group prior to the intervention, use of reliable and valid outcome measures (including objective indices), plans to reduce attrition, use of appropriate statistical analyses, and capture of short- and long-term outcome data. While there is not unanimity of agreement on the IES guidelines within SL or education, randomized control field trials (RCFT's) have been identified as the "best tool for attributing observed student change to whatever classroom or school option is under consideration as a possible cause" (Cook, 2002, p. 176). Moreover, the supremacy of RCFT's over other evaluation strategies has long been held in most social science disciplines primarily because it protects against selection bias and internal threats to validity (Cook, 2002; 2004; Cook & Campbell, 1979). Furthermore, RCFT's provide the best assessment of intervention effects on students in a treatment group relative to those not exposed to treatment (Holland, 1986; Rubin, 1974). In PS, RCFT's have become an important methodological staple (Ferrer-Wreder, et al, 2004; Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994), while they tend to be underutilized in SL (Aronson, et al., 2005).

The IES guides also provide information on requirements to establish "possible evidence of effectiveness." Possible evidence can be garnered using quasi-experimental (or comparison group) studies in which comparison groups are very closely matched on theoretically relevant characteristics, comparison group participants have not declined participation in the intervention group, intervention and comparison groups and outcome measures are chosen prior to the administration of the intervention, and all the elements outlined in the guidelines for "rigorous" evidence are followed except for random assignment to conditions. These kinds of studies, a number of which have been undertaken in SL, can be valuable in generating hypotheses, but ultimately their results should be confirmed in randomized control trials. Furthermore,

the IES discourages the use of pre-post designs because they often produce erroneous results. Pre-post designs are frequently used in SL research, so their results should be interpreted with caution.

It must be clearly stated, however, that a number of SL researchers and theorists have suggested that new, as of yet identified, methodological approaches are needed to assess the impact of SL on communities, echoing sentiments from other social science disciplines (see for example Schorr & Yankelovich, 2000). For example, Weis (1995) has stated that the problems and complexities in evaluating SL's impact require the development of new evaluation paradigms, including those for questions that RCFT's cannot answer. Moreover, the IES guidelines have not been greeted with enthusiasm by a number of educational researchers (Dan Butin, personal communication). There are also a number of leading educational and social science researchers who feel that the identification of RCFT's as the scientific gold standard is mistaken. McCall & Green (2004) note: "Research methods are tools that must match the scientific, practice, and policy tasks, and the research question and intervention should dictate the method, not the reverse. We are more likely to maximize our contribution if we broaden our methodological value system to recognize the benefits and limitations of all methods" (p. 12). Therefore, while the Society of Prevention Science and Institute of Education Science have published guidelines for the conduct of "rigorous" research, it is important to note that diversity of approach is important in any discipline.

Multidisciplinarity. Prevention science has also progressed rapidly because university researchers and program evaluators have worked in a highly interdisciplinary manner (see for example, Coie, Miller-Johnson, & Bagwell, 2000). Prevention science has been influenced by many disciplinary fields including molecular biology, genetics, population and developmental epidemiology, psychology, sociology, and family studies, to name a few.

Biglan (2003) has noted that prevention researchers have been particularly successful at not only bridging across disciplines, but also effectively using features of paradigms across different prevention problems:

> For example, design and analytic techniques have been borrowed from one area of substantive research and applied to another, as have general orientations such as life course developments and community epidemiology. Research on preventing the development of antisocial behavior has been strengthened by the integration of epidemiological and developmental perspectives. There have also been several efforts to identify cross-cutting theoretical principles for prevention science. (p. 213)

In other words, prevention researchers are attempting where possible to seek out multidisciplinary principles that provide explanatory power in various domains of inquiry.

PS is also on the leading edge of developing new interdisciplinary relationships for the effective and efficient delivery of prevention interventions to communities (Molgaard, 1997). In particular, prevention researchers have begun to team with outreach and extension units at state and land grant universities to extend their reach into various communities. Outreach and extension professionals have become key interdisciplinary partners because of their keen insights on the ecological issues occurring in areas targeted for intervention (Mincemoyer, Perkins, & Lillehoj, 2004). Moreover, these "in the field" faculty members are accustomed to delivering outreach information to communities. Prevention researchers are now using the expertise and experience of outreach and extension faculty to deliver empirically supported interventions in communities where extension and outreach are housed and to assist in the maintenance of long-term relationships (Goldberg, Spoth, Meek, & Molgaard, 2001). These efforts have largely been undertaken at state and land grant universities and, therefore, have limited applicability to smaller colleges and universities, although smaller schools without such resources might consider partnering when possible.

SL, by its very definition and nature, is interdisciplinary and cooperative (Eyler & Giles, 1999). While there are some examples of interdisciplinary research efforts within SL (e.g., Aronson, et al., 2005; Steinke, Fitch, Johnson, & Waldstein, 2002), many studies fall within a narrow range of education (e.g., curriculum and instruction, education policy, higher education). Leaders in the field, however, have recognized the ripeness of the field for more interdisciplinary work. For example, Furco and Billig (2002) recently stated that because of SL's "boundary spanning nature, service-learning research can be studied using a wide variety of theoretical and disciplinary frameworks to investigate a broad range of program outcomes" (pp. vii-viii). Indeed, a number of theories developed and refined within and across various disciplines are relevant to service learning. Eyler (2002) has suggested that SL researchers could draw on theories of identity development, cognitive development and cognitive science, social capital theory, and change theory, among other theories from social and community psychology. Furco and Billig (2002) have stated that SL researchers "need to focus more attention on detailing the theoretical aspects of their work, connecting their work more fully to appropriate, existing theories both in their disciplines and in others" (p. 20).

To work in a more interdisciplinary fashion, SL researchers should try to make use of interdisciplinary institutes, consortia, and centers on university campuses. These interdisciplinary entities are designed to assist faculty to make collaborative connections across disciplines (Aronson & Webster, in review). For example, at Penn State University the Children, Youth, and Families Consortium (CYFC) has helped faculty researchers from psychology, curriculum and instruction, agricultural education and extension, higher education, and human development coalesce around SL. Finally, SL researchers should also attend the Annual International Conference on Advances in Service-Learning Research. Here, hundreds of researchers and practitioners from many disciplines converge to discuss cutting-edge topics in SL research.

University-Community Partnering. The development of strong university-community partnerships in PS has yielded three key benefits. First, community/contextual variables and impacts are well documented and assessed (Kellam, et al., 1999). Second, strong, trusting community partnerships lead to the "acceptance of rigorous scientific designs and procedures" (Kellam, et al., 1999, p. 479). As previously mentioned, prevention researchers have had tremendous success implementing strong inference methodology and evaluation techniques. Random trials require the establishment of control groups who by design do not receive the treatment of interest. Without strong community buy-in, it is unlikely that RCFT's will be embraced. Finally, strong university-community partnerships lead to increased rates of participation (Kellam, et al., 1999). For example, the Baltimore Prevention Program (Kellam & Hunter, 1990) worked with school leaders, teachers, and parents to develop a RCFT involving 28 schools and 3,000 children and families.

Prevention researchers working with children and youth have a history of building long-lasting community partnerships. This should not be surprising given the important role of the public health model in prevention, the nature and magnitude of the problems typically addressed, and the importance of developing a comprehensive understanding of environmental/ecological context. Indeed, many prevention researchers rely on the Collaborative Community Action Research model (CCAR; Heller, 1996b). The CCAR model asserts that it is preferable to involve local community members throughout the entire multistage research cycle so that emergent understanding and solutions are collaborative. Another important tenet of CCAR is that action and understanding must be grounded in the understanding of specific ecologies and contexts. Therefore, there is a focus on understanding the *community as a unit of analysis*, evaluation of the collaborative process is a

legitimate source of research findings, and the researcher becomes a participant-conceptualizer who facilitates program development and evaluation. Therefore, PS researchers spend considerable effort gaining entry to target audiences directly through schools, social programs, workplaces, day care centers, religious organizations, and other groups.

Prevention researchers have argued compellingly about the importance of the entry process in the establishment of viable community-based programs (Elias & Clabby, 1992). It has been suggested that, unless community members agree with the basic purpose and method of a prevention program, and unless they feel some "ownership" of the programs, they will not be motivated to support the implementation of the program in the long run. Prevention programs (e.g., Fast Track, PROSPER) require the active involvement of community members. The entry process operates at both a "formal" and "informal" level. At the formal level, the approval and support of key stakeholders (e.g., superintendents, principals, school boards in school-based prevention) is needed to introduce prevention programs into communities. At the informal level, it is critical to gain the active support of key agents in the intervention process (e.g., teachers, parents). Bierman and CPPRG (1997) provide a detailed explanation of the steps they used to partner with formal and informal stakeholders to implement the Fast Track prevention program in several rural Pennsylvania school districts. The significant amount of staff time and dedication required to develop, nurture, and sustain *trusting* university researcher-community partnerships cannot be underestimated. In the case of Fast Track, even after "formal" channels had approved the program implementation, many individual meetings with teachers (key implementers of the prevention program) focused on such needs as developing relationships between program staff and teachers, understanding relevant historical and personal issues within schools, joint problem-solving, and collaborating in negotiation. Other important dynamics considered in the establishment of university-community partnerships related to Fast Track included sensitivity to geographic culture, the prevailing political climate, pragmatic obstacles, and use of language. Clearly, prevention researchers have made important strategic partnerships with key community stakeholders.

One of the most exciting elements of the promise of SL is its potential to make "unique contributions to addressing community, national, and global needs" (Jacoby, 1996, p. xvii). Moreover, SL by its definition cannot happen without connection to communities. The success of community collaborations in SL has been varied. For example, in many rural communities long-established traditions of

SL exist between schools and communities (Education Commission of the States, 2000). In some urban communities, strong community ties have been built. One notable example of this is occurring at the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Community Partnerships. Beginning in 1985, Penn has engaged with local public schools in a collaborative partnership called the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps (WEPIC). The development of a number of SL courses at Penn "has provided the integrative, community-focused organizational vehicle that helps these courses make a practical difference in West Philadelphia schools and their communities" (Benson & Harkavay, 2002, p. 22). Other mutually beneficial relationships have been developed across the country (Abravanel, 2003; National Commission on Service-Learning, 2002). Despite these successes in building community connections, SL researchers face some challenges and difficulties.

The first challenge revolves around the issue of who is being served by SL. Several leading researchers in SL have suggested that SL is largely designed to serve students and not communities (Stoecker, 2003). Moreover SL courses are "constrained by standards of teaching, grading, and assigning of credit hours, as well as by curricular demands" (Stoecker, 2003, p. 39) that can detract from connection with communities. Second, the course-based nature of SL provides a number of practical limits on the extent to which community partnering can be formed. As is all too common, SL courses can be dropped from catalogues and SL teachers can leave. A poignant example of this was seen when, after working with many diverse stakeholders in West Philadelphia to develop safe havens for youth at risk, efforts came to an end when the financial support for the course was pulled after one semester (Kinnevy & Boddie, 2001). Therefore, even in cases where SL projects with communities are constructed with the best of intentions, they may end up becoming "one shot deals" (Cushman, 2002). Third, some have argued that even in cases where the SL project is trying to serve student and community, the impact on community is not being sufficiently evaluated for short- or long-term outcomes or social change (Stoecker, 2003). As a result, little remains known about the effect of SL on communities themselves (Jacoby, 2003). Fourth, while many in the SL field have spent time describing the *need* to develop relationships with communities (see for example, Enos & Morton, 2003), much less has been written about the "how to" of developing these partnerships. It is important to note that several recent notable exceptions have been published, including the summer 2003 issue of the *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* which is devoted to community-based research in SL and the book *Building Partnerships for Service-Learning* (Jacoby & Associates, 2003). Finally, Cushman (2002) has argued that the development of long-lasting community relationships require that the "role of the professor as researcher must be firmly identified and carefully articulated when entering into service learning" (Cushman, 2002, p. 43) so that all stakeholders are collaboratively engaged in inquiry, teaching, and service. Moreover, without a well developed research methodology SL professors have difficulty communicating to students and the community, leaving many participants confused and frustrated (Cushman, 2002).

An interesting distinction exists between SL and PS in the manner in which community collaboration takes place. SL researchers appear much more likely to adopt "community-based research (CBR). CBR works by engaging the collaborative enterprise between all stakeholders, validating multiple sources of knowledge, and using social action and change as a means of enhancing social justice (Stoecker, 2003). Therefore, SL researchers may be constrained (and happily so) by the kind of research questions they undertake and the manner in which those questions are answered. In particular, CBR (like other forms of participatory action research) often avoids the traditional expert/client dichotomy and seeks to balance power differentials inherent in some kinds of research designs and applications. In PS, while developing partnerships with, and learning about and from, communities, researchers are much more likely to enact the role of expert or consultant. Oftentimes, when faculty members act as consultants/experts they; bring to a community a strong base of knowledge (theoretical and empirical), have typically identified the community problem in advance, and are seen by the community as needed leaders (Todd, Ebata, & Hughes, 1998). In some cases, "communities have identified a specific need, believe a faculty member can meet that need, and simply want what the faculty member has to offer" (Todd, et al., 1998, p. 243). In these cases, PS researchers may find it easier to negotiate a path to engagement relative to their SL peers.

Applying Lessons from Prevention Science to Service Learning

Given the calls for increased rigor both within the field (Aronson, et al., 2005; Eyler, 2002) and from governmental and funding agency mandates for strong inference educational research, SL should increasingly pursue strong-inference investigations. By following the multi-stage research cycle, PS has made

significant scientific strides in developing and evaluating their interventions with children and youth. Prevention researchers have developed interventions based on elegantly conceptualized theoretical models, and they have tested those models using rigorous methods (such as RCFT's). This strong-inference approach has generally been lacking in SL research. As a result, SL research may have reached a plateau. Very few definitive statements can be made about SL's value to students or to communities. The IES guidelines provide a useful roadmap for researchers interested in establishing the efficacy and effectiveness of SL. While it is clear that research in SL is still accumulating, more researchers should undertake evaluation studies using rigorous methods. Without such a development, progress in the field will be slow, and, just as importantly, internal and external support for its study and evaluation may wane with time. By attending to the multistage research cycle, a more common frame of reference may emerge for SL researchers in which they speak a more similar language, become more firmly entrenched within academic departments and university research centers, have numerous outlets for publication and dissemination of information, and become more competitive in obtaining external funding. However, to meet the challenges associated with the multistage research cycle, SL researchers may need to re-train (e.g., become more sophisticated in research methodology and statistics) or, at minimum, partner with methodologists, statisticians, and professional evaluators.

Prevention scientists have also successfully pursued multidisciplinary partnerships. Some of this, of course, has been out of necessity. The problems being addressed by PS (e.g., drug use, school failure) are complex and multifactorially determined (Coie, et al., 1993). The promise of SL is also to positively impact on the great needs and problems of our society. Surely, then, similar kinds of partnerships should continue to develop in SL. Indeed, PS and SL researchers should increasingly cross paths (perhaps in school hallways) formally and informally. If not already doing so, SL researchers should attend prevention conferences and read prevention publications. The opportunities for cross-fertilization seem strong. Of course, there will be growing pains as it will require learning about theories and approaches from related fields relevant to SL. SL researchers, particularly those at state and land grant universities, might also consider teaming with extension and outreach professionals to aid in the understanding of community contexts and ecologies, as well as to deliver and implement SL programs. SL researchers should also avail themselves of on campus experts who can help provide cross-disciplinary understanding/training. University institutes, centers, and consortia can also assist in harnessing multidisciplinary connections. By attending and presenting findings from SL studies at conferences both within and outside the discipline, SL researchers can also expand their range of disciplinary partners.

Both SL and PS must work mightily to align most appropriately and helpfully with communities. Clearly, PS and SL researchers aim to meet the needs and challenges of all their stakeholders. SL faculty face a number of constraints (e.g., their community based connections are often course-based, lack of external or internal funding to support their engagement) in developing long-lasting and sustainable partnerships that their PS colleagues often do not face. Thankfully, there are a number of good resources available to assist SL researchers in increasing their ties to communities (see for example Cushman, 2002; Jacoby & Associates, 2003; Lerner & Simon, 1998; Strand, et al., 2003). PS and SL research both value community involvement and community influence, although SL researchers are more likely to use egalitarian, responsibility sharing methods in their partnering efforts. SL researchers, relative to their PS peers, are much more likely to view community members as co-constructors of the effort, experts in their own right, and equal partners. Both PS and SL agree that the impact and sustainability of interventions meant to affect youth are enriched by both academic and community theories. In PS, collaborations appear to grow out of academic-instigated, theoretically driven interests, while in SL the community need is more likely to spur the collaboration. PS researchers have been quite successful in obtaining external funds to develop and sustain their intervention programs in communities. To date, SL researchers have not been as successful in finding and securing this kind of grant funding, and as a result it remains difficult to assess SL's impact on communities (Holland, 2001). SL researchers should pursue grants to develop and test sustained community relationships in a much more assertive manner. With respect to developing and sustaining deep and meaningful relationships with communities, ultimately researchers and community members must balance and integrate service and science goals (Schensul, 1999).

Conclusion

While much of this paper has presupposed that SL should learn from PS, it is also true that PS can learn from SL. SL researchers seem to look at themselves and ask a number of soul searing questions (e.g., How am I fostering social justice? How are my students viewing the communities within which they are

working?) that PS seems not to recognize, chooses to ignore, or leaves for others to debate (e.g., medical ethicists). While PS and SL share overlap in Butin's (2003) technical and cultural domains of inquiry and understanding, SL researchers are more likely to grapple with the political and post-culturalistic perspectives as well. Perhaps PS should begin to grapple with some of these weighty questions.

SL has had a hard time assessing community impact, something that PS has accomplished more readily. However, SL faces structural and limiting conditions that make it difficult to assess anything other than student impact (Butin, 2003). SL might make better research strides if it were more prevalently situated in departments and supported at key levels of the higher education enterprise. Moreover, PS is significantly supported by governmental and private funding agencies. In other words, it appears that SL and PS play on different fields in the world of academia. For SL, this becomes a bit of a "chicken and egg" story. To be taken more seriously within higher education and extramural funding sources, the scientific merits of SL research must improve. However, to improve the scientific merit of SL research additional internal and external support would be helpful. PS may provide some insights on how to proceed for those looking to push the rigor of SL research.

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Learning Service or Service Learning: Enabling the Civic

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Presently, service learning is utilized as a tool for learning about something other than service, such as: gaining civic dispositions, learning subject matter, practicing inquiry techniques, or questioning inequality. What might happen if, instead, an exploration of service itself grounded classroom studies and field work, fostering explicit consideration and critique of ethics, standards, and distinctive forms of learning through work with others? In this paper, the idea of service learning is turned on its head and "learning service" is considered as a means of enabling the civic, particularly in regard to higher education.

In this paper, service learning is considered as a democratic project. An inversion of service learning to learning service is proposed, described, and considered for its civic promise. This paper is a theoretical/conceptual effort based on experience in the United States. Its proposals, however, have implications for an international audience.

Parker (2003) describes idiocy in its ancient Greek derivation as "private, separate, self-centered—selfish" (p. 2). It was a term of reproach, and its related appellation "idiot" meant someone who did not take part in public life: a person whose citizenship identity never took root. Idiocy was, and is, an obstacle to the quest for fuller realizations of democracy. Service learning aims to combat idiocy, helping students develop dispositions toward public life (Barber, 1992; Gorham, 1992; Battistoni, 2000). However, service learning often operates from a charity model (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Rhoads, 1997). Arguably, charity "disables the civic" (Gorham, 1992, p. 118), silencing the citizen as a political force.

In this article, we neither privilege nor denigrate forms for service learning. Instead, we advance a new metaphor, "learning service," and we examine its potential to scrutinize service as a democratic force. We ask serious questions about service, including: What kind of public experience does it provide? Does it confront public apathy? Does it nurture human kindness? Does it foster dialogue and deliberation? Does it challenge injustice and inequality? We suggest that learning service recasts service as something to be studied, as well as something to be done. It refocuses thinking, by instructors and students alike, on learning to be civic through service.

Lynne Boyle-Baise utilized learning service as a framework for the studies of a graduate seminar, J762, Service Learning: Theory and Practice. She encouraged us, her students, to contemplate meanings of public service through its study, practice, and critique. She invited us to collaboratively reflect and write about our experiences, to tease out the idea's conceptual power.

Everyone in the seminar decided to participate in this publication. We determined to write in first-person narrative: our first names identify our individual voices and views, while the collective "we" refers to us as a learning group.

We are an ethnically diverse group: our instructor is European American, as are three of us; two students are African American, and one is Taiwanese. Most of us are women, but the group includes one man. Most of us came from departments within the School of Education, but one hailed from the School of Fine Arts. We range in age from the late 20's to the middle 50's.

Several questions guide this work: (1) what does it mean to learn service, (2) how can service be taught, and (3) how do students experience the learning of service? Responses to these questions carry implications for service learning in higher education. First, distinctions that framed our consideration of service are described. Next, the teaching of service in the J762 seminar is outlined. Then, students' views of the seminar are described and discussed. Based on these data, a conceptual framework for learning service is proposed.

Enabling the Civic

Most scholars agree that service learning is conceptually and pragmatically diverse (Boyle-Baise, 2002; Butin, 2005; Deans, 1999; Robinson, 2000; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Charitable acts provide immediate assistance to individuals, allowing students to practice compassion. Civic education efforts lend people-power to programs that help clients help themselves, enhancing students' sense of social responsibility (Battistoni, 2000). Service for social justice examines injustice, deepening students' grasp of equity and fostering activism (Robinson, 2000). Community-based-research offers investigative expertise to communities, affording students opportunities to improve social programs (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donohue, 2003).

Service as accompaniment develops greater understandings of local life, allowing students to gain insider views of marginalized groups (Simonelli, Earle, & Story, 2004). To what extent do these forms enable the civic?

Charity supposedly disables the civic, diluting citizen actions (Gorham, 1992). However, charitable giving is an expression of humanism; it represents a reaching out to one's fellow people. "The seeking out of the other man [sic], however distant, is already a relationship with this other man, a relationship in all its directness" (Levinas, 1975/1989, cited in Foos, 1998, p. 18). Charity confronts idiocy as public apathy. The denigration of charity as weakly civic does little to plumb its possibilities or weigh its limits. Instead, its examination as a compassionate act can prove helpful. If service itself is an object of interest, students can ponder the extent to which they make a difference through charity, deciding when it is, for them, sufficiently civic.

Strong democracy insists that citizens do more than watch daily news, vote occasionally, and, for the most part, live a private life (Barber, 1992; Parker, 2003). This stance supposes that ordinary citizens can engage in public discussion; know injustice when they see it; and challenge racism, sexism, and other prejudices that limit self-government. However, Harry Boyte (2000) argues that, in order to be considered a form of democratic education, service learning must specifically teach arts and crafts of public life. Further, students should understand that service is a form of public, political work, undertaken on a personalized, localized stage (Battistoni, 2000). If service itself is an object of interest, students can consider and practice respect, inclusion, deliberation, and collaboration—ideas and skills fundamental to democratic participation.

Service for social justice is rare; less than 1% of service learning activities fall in this category (HUD, 1999, cited in Robinson, 2000). Participating in advocacy projects (e.g., building tenant councils, drafting legislation, or protesting injustice) is, arguably, risky, especially for educators who operate within conservative bureaucracies. A viable alternative is the study of social problems and construction of critical consciousness as a prelude to social action (Deans, 1999; Robinson, 2000; Rosenberger, 2000). For example, the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program exemplified justice-oriented service. College students learned with and from incarcerated inmates about issues of crime and justice (Pompa, 2005). Students gained insights about prison life and considered a more humane justice system. In a few cases, students voluntarily initiated change efforts that flowed from class participation, becoming directly involved in social action. If service itself is an object of interest, students can envision activism as a means for civic engagement.

Teaching the Seminar

Lynne asked us to theorize from practice, to study and enact service, and then to critically review our thoughts and actions. Below, we describe our learning about service and our participation in community-based research.

Organizing the Service Project

Lynne's first task was to arrange a service project upon which students could act and reflect. She visited with her previous partners for service learning, inquiring about efforts that might place us in leadership positions. The Family Resource Center (FRC), a hub for parent education, health information, and fun activities which focused on families with children ages 0-8, wanted to find ways to include more lower-income families in its programs. This need seemed appropriate for our seminar: it allowed us to practice community-based research which utilized our investigative expertise, and it afforded opportunities to interact with underserved families, which in turn prodded our consideration of service for social justice. Leaders of the FRC came to the first seminar, and, together, we developed the gist of the research effort.

We decided to create a short answer survey to seek information from parents in relation to categories of interest to the FRC. Illustrated charts were created to ascertain parent interest in certain programs. Questions were written in plain language to make them easy to grasp for a range of parents. The FRC arranged for us to practice the survey with a racially diverse panel of parents and to receive their feedback. As a result of this meeting, we re-drafted the instrument, eventually working through three drafts. Along the way, our group considered issues of learning *with* local communities. We decided to call ourselves "Friends of the FRC" in order to approach respondents in non-threatening, non-elitist ways.

The FRC used its newsletter to announce the research project and to explain its purpose. We began to show up at scheduled events, talking with parents at moments when their children were busy with center activities. In order to reach beyond program "regulars," the FRC created a special event to draw in more participants for our research.

Pondering Service

As we organized the research project, we learned service. In the seminar, we examined ideas at the core of community engagement. We puzzled through Parker's idea of idiocy as self-centered withdrawal from public life (2003). We asked: Can service learning combat idiocy? We studied Rhoads' (1997) notion of

positionality as the impact of one's role, identity, and standpoint on service. We asked: What views do I bring to service? We contemplated aspects of community partnership, such as otherness, mutuality, community building, and shared control (Boyle-Baise, 2002; Rhoads, 1997). We queried: What does it mean to share power with community partners?

We studied service learning's roots. Like early pioneers in the field, we considered contested, alternative meanings for service as a resource for social needs, as a tool for citizenship education, or as assistance with grassroots work (Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). We asked: What are the competing moral and political commitments that undergird interpretations of service?

We studied distinctive forms of service, such as multicultural service learning (Boyle-Baise, 2002) and service as accompaniment (Simonelli, Earle, & Story, 2004). We asked: Where does our work with the FRC fit and why? We considered the value of community-based research (Strand et al., 2003). We asked: Where is the community in community-based research?

Conducting Community-based Research

During the middle part of the seminar, over a six week period, we went to FRC events in pairs or small groups to orally administer the survey. We mostly conducted research on our own time, but two of our weekly seminars were dedicated to field work. In seminar, we described and considered the ongoing inquiry. We probed data for emerging themes. We questioned our sample, realizing that our respondents were middle class parents, not the lower-income, hard-to-reach group that was the aim of our endeavor.

We invited our partners to class, shared our initial findings, and aired our concerns. The FRC was responsive, but uncertain how to reach the targeted parents. Still, the director made some phone calls, gaining entry for us into a lower-income housing project from which she hoped to draw more FRC participants.   Members of the seminar went to Resident's Council meetings, a community potluck, and local after-school programs. In all, we gathered 39 surveys, some from hard-to-reach parents.

We pooled our information into an electronic database which was accessible to our community partners. We taught them how to utilize and add to the database to assist their future inquiries. We met with partners during a seminar session and walked through the data with them. They, in turn, mused about possible solutions to the challenges that surfaced.

Hearing Student Voices and Views

During the seminar, we kept dialogic journals to recall impressions and raise questions. Lynne wrote responses to our queries, prodding our thoughts about service and creating a memoir of our learning. Then, some time after the seminar ended, we wrote reflections on learning service. Lynne asked us to recall our learning honestly. She explained that only truthful recollections can assist others in traveling similar roads. The following points represent our frank and forthright views.

From our reflections, three themes were suggested: making meaning of service, practicing shared control, and learning from flawed research. These themes are discussed separately, but actually they are interdependent.

Making Meaning of Service

Our group ranged from curious to well-versed about service learning. All of us came to the course to deepen our grasp of service learning ideas and practices. As Ambica recalled:

> My background is in graphic design and visual communication. As a graphic designer, I am increasingly interested in incorporating more service in my work, developing service learning in my graphic design courses and becoming actively engaged in the community I live in. I hoped to expand my experiences with service learning in J762.

Two of us specifically hoped to learn how to access hard-to-reach, lower-income communities. One of us, an international student, wanted to develop cross-cultural understandings of service learning. In regard to the first aim, Michelle noted:

> I came to this seminar hoping gain information on how to work with marginalized or hard-to-reach populations of people in order to transfer the ideas and experiences to the issue of working with parents within the school setting: how do we reach the "unreachable"?

In regard to the second aim, Ming-Chu questioned service as rooted in Chinese traditions:

> This local service project challenged my assumptions about what it meant to be a server or a receiver of service, as it is culturally rooted in Chinese tradition. I walked into the FRC or government housing and learned how life can be

for local community people. The position of either server or served is not bound by wealth or status. As we encouraged people living in government housing to help us learn, we showed: "you may not have what I have, but you are as valuable as I am."

All of the students were surprised to find our definitions of service learning limited primarily to charitable views. As Rhondalynn recalled, "I was embarking on a teaching career in 'service' with very little guidance beyond my own heartfelt desire to contribute to society and to be a positive influence on young adults." According to Denisha:

> As we explored theoretical concepts of service and otherness, I began to reflect on what it means to really help someone. The notion of working with and not for others resonated deep inside of me. I understood the importance of engaging with the people you serve, but none of my previous experiences with service taught me how you went about working with people as opposed to doing charity work.

All of us expanded our grasp of service, considering its multiple forms. As Ambica recalled:

> We talked about important concepts such as mutuality, reciprocity, and collaboration. Prior to my engagement in these classroom discussions, I took a lot of this information for granted when thinking about service. It was beneficial for me to understand the difference between a charitable approach to service from one that focused on mutual benefit and reciprocity.

Our studies included discussions of positionality, or the impact of our cultural/social standpoints on our views and actions in service. Our conversations spurred new understandings of ourselves "in service" with others. As Zack recalled:

> I have lived experiences that no one else in the world has. I have to remember, however, that others have lived experiences that I do not have. Service isn't about helping those "in need," but is about taking the time to understand my connection to my community and to figure out how to participate in the building of that community.

Ming-Chu began to reconsider her knowledge and values, particularly her views of people living in poverty. As she recalled:

> Undertaking learning service stimulated my reflective thinking about my knowledge system

and values. For instance, people who have lived in government housing may not always be lazy, but, instead have bad luck. I had never realized such bad luck can destroy people's lives until I met a resident at the housing project. As she told us, everything was just out of control and happened in a series of events. Learning service cannot only challenge what we believe, but also provide the chance for human beings to understand and share with each other.

Practicing Shared Control

We studied collaboration, community building, and shared control as abstract ideas, and then we put them to work. We worked collaboratively with agency leaders and parents who regularly used the FRC, but we continually missed the hard-to-reach population that was a target of our inquiry. Through frank discussions with agency leaders, we gained insights into our aim to work *with* a range of community members. As Shelley remembers:

> We certainly intended to be involved in a full partnership project where shared control, mutuality, and reciprocity were at the forefront of our service. By missing our "target," we didn't quite achieve what we had set out to do. We all learned that well-intended programs can sometimes leave out those individuals who are most intended to be served.   I learned that truly shared partnerships are a critical piece to service learning.

Michelle realized that building trust is fundamental to reaching "unreachable" populations:

> Our work on this project taught me that work *with* various populations of people, especially "the unreachable," requires relationship or community building. As I found out, people who have not had success within "the system" are timid and distrustful of anyone they are not familiar with. Therefore, in order to be of service and assistance, building relationships is a must!

Zack and Ambica realized that the class, by fully collaborating with our community partners, developed a new definition of "us." For Zack: "As we participated in the process of project development, I found myself becoming connected to my home community in ways I had never before been." For Ambica:

> Lynne strongly encouraged us to identify ourselves as friends of the FRC as opposed to a university group providing charity. It was extremely important to understand the emphasis on good

communication skills and on being a good listener when talking to the parents enrolled in the programs. It became evident during this project that the identity of the collaborative group was not divided into an isolated concept of "us" that included the university seminar group but more a universal "us" that included members of the community.

Learning from Flawed Research

The project developed for this class was a first-time effort in community-based research, both for Lynne and for us. Lynne purposely left plans incomplete in order to involve students, as well as community partners, in the ground floor of the project. As a result, all of us learned a great deal about the construction of community-based inquiry. Shelley's points describe the negotiated, developmental aspect of the research:

> I slowly began to understand the key role that mutuality and reciprocity played in service learning. From the very beginning of our project, we strived to create a sense of "teamwork" with the FRC. Together, we examined the goals of the project, which focused on maintaining and creating programs most needed and desired by the families, especially lower-income families. After learning of the FRC goals, we brainstormed with the leaders ideas for achieving them. We concluded that a family survey would be helpful. So, on our own accord, our class drafted a parent survey. We decided that in order to achieve a "teamwork" atmosphere, it was important to gain parent input. Our class decided to involve a few volunteer parents in mock interviews. The input the parents gave us, along with the input from the administrators, allowed us to create a user-friendly form which we believed would provide us with the best information.

Student input and critique were encouraged throughout the research. It was an imperfect project, and some of us were disappointed in the results. Still, we learned valuable things about conducting research, especially investigations that aim to include hard-to-reach populations. As Rhondalynn noted:

> I enjoyed the interaction with the parents and children, but at the same time felt we weren't able to get to the root of the problem. The final report contained significant data for program evaluation, so I believe our project may be considered successful. It was certainly a success in regard to giving us some practical experience.

We alerted our community partners to our concerns. Together, we changed our tactics in order to reach parents in government housing. According to literature on this form of service, changes in the inquiry process should be expected (Strand et al., 2003). We felt this intervention was a turning point in the investigation. As Michelle remembered:

> We were finally able to make contact with the Resident's Council in our target neighborhood. A few of us attended several Council meetings. To our dismay, most people who attended the meeting were hesitant to talk with us. So, we used the opportunity to learn more about some of the situations people faced. We found out that most of the residents were very distrustful of "outsiders" because of past situations that occurred. We knew from then on that it was going to take more time on our part to build relationships with hard-to-reach parents and to include their voices in this process.

Denisha shared the following conclusions:

> As I tried to make sense of the limitations of our work in relation to working with people, I realized that providing service *with* others meant more than a sense of physical presence. To truly work with others you must begin the collaborative process from the beginning. Although we partnered with the leaders of the community organization, we did not include members from the targeted group in our initial design of the project. I would recommend, next time, inviting representatives from the targeted community group to share their ideas on how our work could be most effective.

Shelley captured the essence of learning from flawed research: "We all left with a sense of understanding how glitches might occur in community service projects, for, if we understand our shortcomings, perhaps we can work to fix them!"

Rethinking our Service

We learned service. We unsettled our preconceived notions of service, interrogated our positionality in regard to community work, practiced a distinctive approach to service, revised our service project in-progress to better meet local aims, and continually criticized our perceptions and actions. How did we "get it?"

Service as Object

When service itself was the object of examination, we could ponder it as person, place, and thing. We

studied our subjectivity in regard to it, considered our sense of community with it, and compared our ideas of it. The notion was contested, debated, deconstructed, and reconstructed. We directed our whole attention to making meaning of service, rather than to learning something else through service, as is often the case.

We did not just do service, we stepped back from it and studied its distinctive forms, underlying ethics, and different qualities. We considered the extent to which charity enabled or disabled the civic, examining our motives for giving to others. We wondered if community-based research served the community or just the agency with which we worked. We questioned what it really meant to empower socially marginalized families. Our field work was not the apex of service, but rather a means to an end. Our goal became a fuller grasp of service itself.

Service as Civic

Initially, we thought of service as charity. We lacked conceptual frames and practical tools to imagine civic contribution in other ways. The consideration of service as a relationship with others that was jointly envisioned and implemented expanded our options for service. The notion of positionality was significant for us. As we considered ourselves in relation to others— and they to us—we questioned easy categorizations of "server" and "served." Several of us had been recipients of charity as children; now we found ourselves situated as "givers." All of us realized that our target group, hard-to-reach parents, faced problems far more complicated than simple designations of successful/unsuccessful might allow. We interrogated positions of "giver/receiver" and "have/have not," growing increasingly uncomfortable with theses binaries.

We became interested in building community through shared control, another new idea for us. Enabling our civic came to mean finding ways to work with people on a project of need, forming a sense of community among all of us. Enabling our civic meant seeking ways to empower all involved.

Action/Reflection

As posed in Rhoads (1997) and drawn from Friere's (1970) notion of praxis, action/reflection were inseparable for us. We engaged in an ongoing back-and-forth exchange between thought and practice. We put our conceptual preparation to work, raising questions through service that helped us fully grasp important ideas. We discussed shared control, tried it, "bobbled" it, reconsidered it, and tried it once again. Our actions signified our thoughts and then triggered renewed considerations. Dressing casually, avoiding

titles, and representing ourselves as community friends signified shared control. However, it triggered puzzlement about the extent to which we actually shared control with hard-to-reach parents.

Central to action/reflection was a no-holds-barred stance toward critique. Lynne challenged us to theorize from practice, gleaning ideas from weak and strong aspects of the service project. This perspective allowed us to approach criticism as something that was healthy and non-threatening. We saw our foibles and faults as learning opportunities.

A sense of joint endeavor helped us struggle with problems and glean insights. We helped to create the service project, so we shared responsibility for its imperfections. Lynne joined us for the field work, experiencing the ups and downs of service with us. We realize that our status as a small graduate seminar afforded more time for Lynne's engagement, but still we found instructor participation vital. Our theoretical proposals developed from common encounters in real time.

Service Leadership

At the outset of the class, Lynne invited us to become service leaders as well as servant learners. We considered ourselves prepared for the direction of our own service projects and research. Our final assignment was to develop a plan for our future engagement in service. We think this identification deepened our sense of significance for our conceptual and practical work. We "got it" partly because, on many levels, we felt it was crucial to do so.

Framing a New Approach

What does it mean to learn service? We submit a framework for learning service as forms, motivations, standards, and types of reflection. We do not privilege one form of service or another; instead we suggest degrees to which each type enables the civic.

Forms

Service is not monolithic. In learning service, several questions about form and function are pertinent. What is it that we do in the name of service? How can we learn to differentiate among forms of service?

Charity is the most common form for service learning (Gorham, 1992; Kahne, Westheimer, & Rogers, 2004; Rhoads, 1997). Why? Do student/citizens like us simply equate charity with service? A study by Wang and Jackson (2005) sheds light on this question. In a study of over 300 service learners at a large university, these researchers found that students identified charity as the dominant form for

civic involvement. Students reported that they felt more willing than able to perform service, and they felt more comfortable doing charity than acting for change. These findings suggest that students need to learn more about service to understand and address their comfort/discomfort with charitable and activist forms of service.

Simonelli, Earle, and Story (2004) found that even when students learned to serve through accompaniment, they preferred charitable work. As part of an anthropology class, college students lived and worked in Southern Mexico, among a Zapatista minority group. After four days, and disgruntled by the lack of "service," they asked to meet with their teachers. Students wanted to build a school or make some other visible difference in local life. They failed to grasp their mission as one of shared communiqué. The pull of making a difference through giving to others is, apparently, quite strong.

In learning service, students should examine the extent to which charity demonstrates engagement in civic life. Morton (1995) describes "thick" or deep charity as a spiritually based commitment that bears witness to the worth of other persons. He argues that "thick" charity is just as legitimate as project-based or justice-oriented service work. Alternatively, Westheimer and Kahne (2004), among many others, identify charity as weakly civic, emphasizing individual virtue, obscuring needs for collective action, and distracting attention from systemic solutions to social concerns. However, charitable impulses continue to draw students, like ourselves, to service work. In learning service, this conundrum should be addressed. Students should be allowed to question the civic, democratic potential of charity, yet to acknowledge its worth as a genuine outpouring of humanitarian regard.

Ethics

Ethical impulses dictate service forms. The following questions can prompt students' consideration about their intentions to serve: What motivations spur us to serve? How does service impact our values and views?

From a charitable service perspective, learners serve to help others or to make a difference. As noted earlier, internal dispositions toward deep compassion can spur action. Charity can, however, express attitudes of *noblesse oblige* (O'Grady & Chappell, 2000), or paternalism toward less fortunate (and less capable) others. This latter motivation can stymie a public, collective sense of "we." With a focus on learning service, reasons for charitable work can be explored, relationships between "server" and "served" can be queried, and implications of service from positions of privilege can be considered.

Henry's (2005) work is instructive. She cautions against oversimplification of the server/served binary. She finds this comparison "too blunt to reveal the variety of identities that both servers and the served actually live within" (p. 44). Henry urges service learning educators to help students cultivate more sophisticated understandings of their identities, as well as the identities of others, and to search for commonalities with those they serve. Dacheux's (2005) reflections support this aim. A first generation college student, Dacheux describes the tensions she felt in serving groups much like her own. She balked at feelings of superiority, but she experienced them none-the-less. The server/served binary created a distance between herself and the youth she hoped to help. Several of us, too, experienced service as a strange *déjà vu*: we rendered service as adults that we once received as children. In our case, positionality (Rhoads, 1997), a reference point for our cultural, social, and economic situatedness, provided a means to reflect on our identities and on our relations with those served.

From a democratic service perspective, students can practice a collaborative ethos of service, thinking of themselves as servant leaders (Greenleaf, 1977), or leaders who act as learners. Servant leaders respond to problems by listening and learning, and then by offering their resources to assist with community needs. As they learn from and act with others, their effort is recognized as local leadership.

Additionally, students can develop an ethic of caring. To care is to feel and act in empathy *with,* or in responsiveness to the concerns and hopes of others (Noddings, 1984; Rhoads, 1997). Care *with* others, as a collaborative mood of mutual humanness, is at the root of this notion of empathy. Students can recognize that service is as an encounter with strangers (Radest, 1993), and they can consider cultural immersion as a way to develop a sense of care with others. They can accompany or live with strangers for a time in order to develop relationships across diverse cultural groups (Simonelli et al., 2004).

From a justice-oriented service perspective, students can develop critical consciousness or heightened awareness of racism and other forms of injustice (Deans, 1999; Pompa, 2005; Rosenberger, 2000). In trying to connect with the true constituency for our service project, we found two dynamics central to the development of critical consciousness: dialogues with stakeholders, or people actually served, and opportunities for problem-posing. When students talk as equals with stakeholders, they can grasp reality from a "have-not" perspective. When students problem-pose, they can unveil reality and search for more humane ways of living.

Standards

Learning service ought to focus on outstanding qualities: What kinds of exemplars can be envisioned for each form of service? Are there ways in which quality work can be defined, particularly for each service situation?

As noted above, Morton (1995) suggests that there are "thin" or "thick" interpretations of service. A "thin" translation lacks integrity and depth; a "thick" translation demonstrates both. Integrity of purpose, clear ideas, and well informed actions ought to define standards for service. Some possibilities for outstanding service of various types follow.

"Thick" charity is grounded in unconditional love (Harper, 1999), profound compassion, or humanistic regard for others (Foos, 1998). It is a "there but for the grace of God go I" testament to human equality. "Thick" charity is a reaching out to fellow humans in times of their distress. It is not throwing money at a problem to salve one's conscience or to hope that the problem will go away. In learning service, students should ponder "thick" aims and ends for charitable work.

From a democratic point of view, expectations are for mutuality and reciprocity: calls to work collaboratively, responsibly, and responsively with community partners are at the heart of service efforts. These standards are roundly discussed in service learning literature. Usually the development of collaborative relations is the province of the instructor. If students were given opportunities to probe and practice collaboration and mutuality, such learning could stand out.

As a case in point, Lynne wrote extensively about "shared control" as a promise to serve *with*, not for, community people as co-learners and co-actors (Boyle-Baise et al., 2001; Boyle-Baise, 2002). However, until the graduate seminar noted above, she did not teach her pre-service teachers to share control for their service experiences. Her previous students lived this ideal, as community partners shared control as co-instructors for service learning, but they were not privy to Lynne's ruminations on the concept itself. In learning service, standards should be considered by instructors and students alike.

In order to be truly collaborative, partnerships should affirm cultural and social diversity. In our case, the community partnership seemed diverse, but it was limited to agency staff, thus overlooking local leaders. Because we studied shared control, as ideal and real, we wondered why our target service group (hard-to-reach parents) were not at the table when the project was planned. We thought about the kinds of local acuity needed to tap into underserved constituencies as part of public work. The delicate development of partnerships can be studied, affording students a complicated view of what it means to work *with* a community.

From a justice-oriented view, equity is a standard for service. Equity differs from mutuality in that it confronts power as well as relationship. In service dedicated to developing critical consciousness or preparing for social change, it is important that everyone serves and learns. For example, in the Inside-Out Program (Pompa, 2005) college students and prison inmates learn from the standpoints of each other. Outstanding service, from this stance, should question patronization, support human dignity, and foster interchange. When feasible, students should participate in and learn from experiences of advocacy.

Reflections

Reflection is a common dimension of service courses. It turns experience into learning as students reconsider their service. However, reflection can differ enormously in tone and intent.
What kinds of reflection might correlate with charitable, democratic, or justice-oriented forms of service?

The purpose and type of reflection correlated with charitable endeavors is not always clear. Morton (1995) reveals that in his own courses he used reflection on direct service—such as care for infants at an AIDs center, to prompt insights about systemic racism—with dismal results. Students failed to see connections between their service and course work. It is almost impossible to draw insights about social change from charitable work. Students can instead utilize reflection to deconstruct charity, considering the strengths and weaknesses of giving as a form of civic life.

Deans' (1999) work with composition classes informs our consideration of reflection. For Deans' students, language was meaningful. The use of different prepositions signified different aims and ends. In writing *for* the community, composition classes assisted non-profit organizations in their creation of brochures, press releases, and newsletters. Reflective activities focused on completion of the tasks at hand and in a cooperative spirit. In writing *about* community, composition classes engaged in traditional community service (e.g., tutoring youth, or working at a homeless shelter), then drew upon their experiences to write essays of social analysis or cultural critique. Reflection focused on assessment of social issues and on development of social imagination. Reflection in the first case was democratic and collaborative in nature; in the second it was justice-oriented and critical in kind.

In the J762 seminar, we worked with a non-profit organization, conducting an inquiry into the services it provided. As Deans (1999) found, we became highly involved in the research activity, and our reflective

conversations centered on investigation itself. Yet, an overarching focus on learning service prompted us to step back from the immediate project and to consider its limits. We recognized that our task was reformist and attuned to the improvement of programs for a non-profit agency. We realized that we wanted a more transformative task, an opportunity to seek input from and respond to marginalized parents. Our reflections spurred us to modify our actions toward transformative aims. Our experience suggests that both collaborative and critical aims can be considered when reflection is used to learn explicitly about service.

In summary, learning service can turn educators' attention to service itself. Learning service can help students consider "what it takes" to serve, explore the kinds of service they do, and critique the results of the service they accomplish.

Daring to Teach Service

What implications can be drawn from an emphasis on learning service for higher education? Public service might become the central, analytic focus of so-called "service learning" classes. Analysis of service might move from discourse in scholarly journals to discussion in college classrooms. Attention to service might be made an explicit aspect of the teaching and learning experience.

Extant standards of "best" practice for service learning might be questioned. As Butin (2005) suggests, there is no objective way to claim goodness for one manner of service learning or another. Rather, there are different aims and ends for service and views of self in service. Students might study service as text, as their engagement in particular sorts of civic acts.

Service can be deconstructed in order that students might puzzle through it from the inside-out. A conceptual framework for service is proposed here. Students and instructors might heighten their perceptions of service through clarification of its forms, ethics, and standards. Students might practice varied foci for reflection based on service form and function.

Educators can recognize the promises and shortcomings of any approach to service, and they can educate students to do the same. They can draw on a wealth of possibilities for service, as pertinent to local community projects. A powerful means of teaching service is to theorize from practice, or to reflect upon public work while doing it. Students can develop their civic understanding through analysis of their service practice.

Students can learn democratic crafts as they learn service. For example, if mutuality becomes a topic of concern for instructor and students, both can ponder meanings, actions, and results of conjoint endeavor. However, if positionality becomes an item of consideration, instructors and students can wonder about benefits and barriers to the creation of relationships with others. In addition, if students assist in the construction of service projects, they can learn to deliberate, act, and react as part of public negotiations. The public seems to see service learning as a panacea, as something that can combat civic idiocy, invigorate public discourse, and motivate democratic action. It is hard to imagine any pedagogy with such power, but, certainly, service can enable the civic. It can help educate individuals who will take a range of civic actions to meliorate distress, improve democratic life, and/or redress injustice. In order to enable the civic, service should be taught. The following questions are central to this pursuit:

- Why does one do service?
- What does it mean to serve with others?
- What kinds of service might one do?
- In what ways can service enable the civic?
- In what ways can service develop critical consciousness?
- How can students critique the acts of service they do?

The authors hope that this article spurs further discussion of these questions and of the overarching aim to learn service. We recommend the consideration of service itself as an object of study.

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Toward a New Framework of "Server" and "Served":
De(and Re)constructing Reciprocity in Service-learning Pedagogy

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This article problemetizes the contemporary view of reciprocity and offers a philosophical foundation for an enriched view based on Dewey's critique of early stimulus-response theory in psychology and his view of democracy. We situate the argument for reconsidering the provider/recipient model of service learning in the context of a collaboration between a university and school serving children 5-9 years old while implementing an after-school tutoring program. We develop and describe the traditional and enriched models of reciprocity and create a vision for the future establishment of similar collaborations.

In early attempts to distinguish service learning from community service and other forms of volunteerism, scholars have consistently argued for the importance of "reciprocity." Understood as a key feature to service-learning programs and to pedagogy that supports service-learning activities, reciprocity is usually described as a mutuality between the needs and outcomes of the "provider" and the "recipient" in a service-learning relationship. As Kendall (1990) describes, reciprocity is critical to defining an activity as a service-learning experience:

> The second factor that distinguishes service learning from other community service programs is an emphasis on **reciprocity**. Reciprocity is the exchange of both giving and receiving between the 'server' and the person or group 'being served.' All parties in service learning are learners and help determine what is to be learned....Such a service-learning exchange avoids the traditionally paternalistic, one-way approach to service in which one person or group has resources which they share 'charitably' or 'voluntarily' with a person or group that lacks resources (p. 21-22, bold in original).

Over the years, this understanding of reciprocity as a giving and receiving between parties in association has remained a consistent feature of much of the research on the results of service-learning experiences (Gelmon, Holland, Seifer, Shinnamon, & Connors, 1998; Greene, 1998; Jacobi, 2001; Skilton-Sylvester & Erwin, 2000) as well as principles of best practice for service-learning programs (Jacoby, 1996).

Only recently has there been criticism of this approach toward service learning. For example, Harry Boyte, co-director of the Center for Democracy and Citizenship at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, asserts that the contemporary service-learning model is inadequate and suggests a movement toward political action. Boyte (2003) outlines the philosophical differences between "[t]wo approaches to civic learning" (p. 8), namely two approaches he terms as "service" and "organizing," and describes how they differ in terms of their discourse, goals, definition of citizenship, motive, method, site, and outcomes. Boyte asserts that by enacting the "thick" version of service-learning, "organizing" is required for social change to emerge from these relationships and that "service" (a "thin" association) is more oriented toward maintaining the status quo. Although most service-learning models heralded in the literature fall somewhere on a continuum between these two approaches, they are much closer to the "service" than the "organizing" approach Boyte describes. Boyte argues for these changes because he believes it is important for "putting politics back into civic engagement" (p. 1). What Boyte means by "politics" is the notion of democracy that Dewey suggested over a century ago. Consistent with Dewey's approach to public problem solving and the evolution of human thinking, Boyte maintains that "politics is the way people with divergent values and views work together to solve problems and create common things" (p. 6). Developing these types of relationships, however, is reliant upon firm, deep, and organic notions of whom the stakeholders are, thus leading to social, systemic change over time.

Similar to Boyte, we wish to problematize the contemporary understanding of reciprocity and suggest that, while this definition might be useful for some forms of service-learning partnerships, it can also be an inadequate guide for others, particularly relationships between education departments at universities and local schools. Viewing service learning from the perspective of John Dewey's work on the evolutionary nature of cooperative work and the importance of establishing rich processes of democratic life, we assert that the traditional view of reciprocity omits the important component of

evolutionary change in the service-learning relationship: that multiple parties in service-learning relationships, including "providers" and "recipients," will be changed in the process of their service-learning venture. We begin our discussion by describing a situation in vignette form that typifies the characteristics of a traditional view of reciprocity.

A "Successful" Tutoring Program Vignette

A university needs field placements for its pre-service teachers to observe and apply content they are learning in their courses. One solution that the university faculty consider is to supply tutors for an after-school tutoring program to take place at a local school. They first contact the Director of Service Learning, who suggests writing a grant proposal to pilot a program. She contacts the head administrator for local schools and invites him to a meeting to discuss the situation. The administrator agrees that an after-school tutoring program would be beneficial, especially considering the increased focus on annual assessment of academic progress. He suggests that the program begin with younger students (ages 5-9) and then grow over the years to accommodate older students.

Together, over the next couple of months, the administrator, Education Department faculty, and the Service-Learning Director outline the program and write a grant proposal to create a Director of the Tutoring Program position to help organize the program. The grant proposal receives funding!

To inform the teachers about the after-school tutoring program, university faculty and the Director of Service Learning give brief a presentation for the elementary school faculty. The intent is to also solicit teacher volunteers (paid by the school) to develop the tutoring training program and work out some logistics.

Once the Director of the Tutoring Program is hired, groups meet to determine the content and structure of the tutoring training sessions. In the mean time, substantially more elementary school students accept the invitation for the tutoring than expected. As a result of more tutors needed, university courses that do not traditionally have a field component are altered to allow students to participate in lieu of other course assignments. University tutors are trained by a collaborative team made up of university faculty and elementary school faculty, and the program begins. All constituents seem happy, except for the minor issues that occur at the start of the program.

Once the program is in full swing, issues begin to emerge. University students are frustrated because the elementary teachers are not providing feedback and suggestions on the collaboratively developed "Session Summary" form. A few teachers express concern that the university tutors are "going ahead" and teaching the wrong content. In addition, because of a new semester and new tutors, a second training session needs to be planned. No elementary teachers are willing to help train the mathematics tutors, and only one elementary teacher is willing to help with reading training.

At the end of the first year of piloting the program, the school administrator is pleased with the success of the program and looks forward to next year's program. Most teachers are pleased with their students' growth and anticipate having the program available next year. Elementary students enjoy attending the tutoring, and the numbers of students and their parents who want to attend grow. The university students learn a lot from the experience and find it worthwhile, but many are disappointed with the lack of teacher interaction. The university faculty and Director of the Tutoring Program are exhausted, disappointed with the lack of interest and involvement from the teachers, and unsure they wanted to repeat the program at this elementary school.

This vignette, though specific to a program we participated in, could describe any number of tutoring programs. In particular, the problems that emerged will likely sound familiar to many. As we began to review our collective work on this program, we saw that some of the problems came about as a result of an insufficient view of reciprocity. Many of the issues that arose seemed to revolve around six essential components, namely: goals, perception of power, partner identity, boundaries, outcomes, and scope of commitment (Enos & Martin, 2003). These issues manifest as questions such as: Whose program was this? How were each of the parties invested in it supposed to benefit? How were the benefits being accomplished?

We had created a program that met the criteria for reciprocity set out in the service-learning literature: we were "giving and receiving between 'server' and '…served'" (Kendall, 1990, p. 21-22). But as we thought more about the required giving and receiving of the traditional form, we began to question whether this form was enough to help solve problems that inevitably emerge in collaborations.

Reciprocity Redefined

Reciprocity has been central to the study and work of service-learning practitioners since the beginning of the movement to document the activities and benefits of service learning. The current literature on service learning often mentions the importance of reciprocity; several studies even examine reciprocity specifically as a feature of the service-learning relationship (Bains & Mesa-Bains, 2002; Porter and Monard, 2001; Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Most often in these studies, reciprocity is understood as a connection between service providers and service receivers or as a "mutuality [of] respect and collaboration between

community partners and service providers" (Porter and Monard, 2001, p. 1).

We wish to augment this current understanding of reciprocity and provide a philosophical foundation for an enriched view of reciprocity that builds on this earlier work. We assert that a truer form of reciprocity for service learning can be found in John Dewey's work on the evolutionary nature of cooperative work and the importance of establishing rich processes of democratic life. Because reciprocity in service learning is essential in creating the transactional and transformative partner development that Enos's and Morton's (2003) recent work reveals, we are particularly interested in analyzing how such an enriched form of reciprocity influences these partnerships. Specifically, we suggest that Dewey provides the philosophical foundation for thinking differently about forms of reciprocity. We argue that a traditional form of reciprocity is categorized differently and is in sharp contrast to an enriched form of reciprocity in these essential components that Enos and Morton (2003) illuminate. According to Enos and Morton, the essential elements of these two different approaches to reciprocity can be seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1.
Differences between Traditional and
Enriched Forms of Reciprocity

	Traditional	Enriched
Goal/Objective	Individual	Collective whole
Perception of Power	Levels of authority	Shared authority
Partner Identity	Maintains institutional identity	Larger definition of community
Boundaries	Works w/in systems to satisfy	Transcends self-interests to create larger meaning
Outcomes	Students changed	All parties are changed
Scope of Commitment	Tightly defined	Generative

Comparison of Essential Elements in Traditional vs. Enriched Forms of Reciprocity, (Enos and Morton, 2003, 25).

In what follows, we describe each of these components in the context of how they lay the foundation for the traditional and enriched forms of reciprocity. The following discussion is separated into the traditional and enriched forms but is organized according to the table of essential elements in parallel fashion. Following the table is an explanation of each of the cells of the table from the traditional service learning understanding of reciprocity. We then explore an enriched form of reciprocity which uses a detailed examination of Dewey's work reforming several enduring dualisms in psychology and his approach to collaborative democracy as its underpinning.

The Traditional Form of Reciprocity

Goal/Objective

In a traditional form of reciprocity, each party in the collaboration has goals and objectives that the service-learning relationship is meant to meet. Through their collaborative work, service-learning parties develop these mutually informative strategies to meet the needs they each have with their respective resources; in our case, the university needed field placements for pre-service teachers, and the elementary school faculty needed support in making academic gains for their most needy children. The emphasis on this definition of reciprocity in service-learning partnerships is important, particularly for protecting the community from being exploited by academic interests and concerns. Rather than depicting the community as a laboratory in which university participants "try out" their skills and ideas, the principle of reciprocity suggests that parties work together to assure that their mutual interests and needs are accounted for in the programs that result from their collaboration. While recognizing that there is a constant tension between the interests of parties engaged in service learning, Jacoby (1996) reinforces the importance of reciprocity in making certain that everyone's interests play a substantive role in shaping collective work: "The degree to which we enter the service-learning endeavor committed to reciprocal relationships will determine whether we move the academy away from seeing the community as a learning laboratory and toward viewing it as a partner in an effort to increase each other's capacities and power" (p. 36). Critical to fostering this type of relationship are two elements of reciprocal partnerships: 1) all parties in service learning function as teachers/learners, and 2) all parties are perceived as colleagues rather than clients (Jacoby, 1996). In this view of reciprocity, goals and objectives are written and understood as individual partner goals, although they are to be mutually beneficial.

Perception of Power

There is a perception, in this view, of a hierarchical structure of power, with the university and school administrators at the top. The school district is at the mercy of the university to continue this service and feel they have no real say in the process or the program. The idea of tutoring is handed to them to accept or reject but not to redefine or recreate. The teachers feel an obligation to the program, but only because it is imposed from a powerful authority.

Partner Identity

Consistent with the perception of power, the partners work within the binary of "server" and "served," in which the school is at one point and the university at the other. The university provides a service to the elementary school. The elementary school receives the service and provide students with whom university students work. The university students learn from their tutoring experience. Much like a stimulus-response loop, a circuit is completed when the university offers service received by the elementary school, which then maintains the tutoring program. As suggested in the opening vignette, our tutoring program serves as a bridge between our two entities; it is, quite literally, the thing that is shared between the two entities and the way in which the respective organizations interact with each other.

Boundaries

Boundaries between school and university are held firm, and all parts of the tutoring program work within the existing system and structure to carry out the program. What has typically been the responsibility of the elementary school teachers remains, and what is traditionally expected of university faculty prevails. There is no blurring of the boundaries, nor is the work shared across these rigidly held beliefs.

Outcomes

Clearly, the outcome of such a service-learning placement is that the university students providing the tutoring, as well as the students being tutored, grow from the experience. The hope is that both these parties benefit from the experience and are individually changed in the process.

Scope of Commitment

The scope of commitment is tightly defined. The focus is on the one program at the exclusion of other more generative ideas. For example, our work with the school district started primarily from the university position of needing placements for pre-service teachers; when we approached the district, we learned that they had a problem with the academic achievement of some students who might benefit from particular attention by a university tutor. Thus, our mutual interests were voiced, and the idea of a tutoring program was born, to the exclusion of any other ideas. In addition, once the decision was made to move ahead with the tutoring program, no other ideas were considered as time passed. At the conclusion of

the first year, under the traditional form, it would be expected to continue the program in a similar form.

A consistent issue that arises from the traditional form of reciprocity is that the parties involved in establishing the reciprocal relationship remain the same throughout the tenure of their exchange. The static view of the parties is likely to help foster the same types of problems that created the need for the service-learning relationship in the first place, rather than reforming the nature of the parties such that both are changed as a result of their common work together. An enriched form of reciprocity based upon John Dewey's work can help parties understand and expect change in themselves, and thus their mutual work, as a result of their collaboration.

An Enriched Form of Reciprocity

In 1896, John Dewey wrote his groundbreaking critique of psychology's stimulus-response theory in his work "The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology." Remarkably similar to the traditional view of reciprocity as an act in which "servers" provide service to "served" who accept service, the dominant psychological point of view of the time was that stimuli create responses, which then influence further stimuli, creating a "circuit" of energy that generates further action within the system. Dewey's critique of this static understanding of the relationship between stimuli and their responses was the notion that such a circular approach maintained each entity as separated from one another, or as Dewey put it "a patchwork of disjointed parts, a mechanical conjunction of unallied processes" (Dewey, 1896, para. 3). Consistent with Dewey's lifetime project of raising awareness of dualisms that got in the way of successful thinking and problem-solving, Dewey made clear that understanding stimuli and responses as independent parts in a larger system was an insufficient notion, primarily because in the act of being acted upon, both stimuli and responses were changed as a result of their relationship with one another. Thus, central to his critique of the stimulus-response model was Dewey's focus on activity rather than entities, as well as the idea that activity is both influenced by and influences the context of the activity. Absent from the more common understanding of the stimulus-response model were the evolutionary outcomes of cooperative work over time. As Bredo (1998) suggests:

> Dewey's proposal…suggested a view of the organism as co-evolving with the environment that it helps to create, rather than as passively conforming to given environmental structures or operating according to fixed inner rules. Seeing

organisms as acting to change their environments, rather than as merely adapting to them, was consistent with Dewey's social activism, including his activity-based approach to education and his emphasis on democratic self-governance. (p. 456)

In contrast to this additive, stimulus-response approach, the elements in an interaction were to be seen from a dynamic point of view in the context in which they functioned. As Dewey maintained,

> What is wanted is that sensory stimulus, central connections and motor responses shall be viewed, not as separate and complete entities in themselves, but as divisions of labor, function factors, within a single, concrete whole, now designated as the reflex arc. (Dewey, 1896, para. 3)

We are calling for a similar reformation of the dominant understanding of reciprocity in service learning, particularly for certain types of service-learning relationships. Instead of understanding each entity as "separate and complete entities in themselves" (Dewey, 1896, para. 3) enhanced with "a mutuality [of] respect and collaboration" (Porter and Monard, 2001, p. 1), we are calling for schools of education and local school districts to see themselves as "divisions of labor" (Dewey, 1896, para. 3) within the same activity: the education of students.

Such a move is more than mere semantics. Viewing the reciprocity of schools of education and school districts from this vantage point emphasizes their combined commitment to a larger goal, one that emerges from their underlying mission and purpose. This reorientation is essential, as this dynamic relationship between entities and their environment results from the intentionality Dewey saw implicit in human behavior. Paul F. Ballantyne (2002) explains how the focus on intentionality leads to change in both the context of the situation and the parties involved:

> By the act of attending to some aspect of its environment, an organism 'constitutes' that aspect as a stimulus. Similarly, by manipulating some aspect of its environment the organism 'constitutes' that action as a response. Thus the above mentioned 'genesis' of the stimulus or response is not to be sought outside but inside the act (as a larger intentional 'coordination'). (p. 6)

This approach served as the basis for Dewey's understanding of democracy as a "form of associated

living" which places attention on the ways in which people come together to solve the problem they experience and to enhance their mutual experience of living in community. Wishing to change democracy from a noun to a verb, in *The Public and Its Problems* (1927/1954) Dewey outlined a philosophical process people could use to coordinate their actions in productive, positive ways. Essential to this process was Dewey's understanding of cooperative intelligence. This "method" suggested that people and groups affected by the consequences of their mutual action (both intended and unintended) would work together to define the nature of their problems, determine potential solutions, test these solutions, and finally, implement a course of action that accounted for the side effects of such actions.

Seeing reciprocity from this enriched vantage point, or as Dewey would put it "an organizing principle to hold together the multiplicity of fact" (Dewey, 1896, para. 1) offers several advantages for service learning. Central to the benefits is that such a repositioning of reciprocity avoids what Dewey might call an unnatural dualism that has been created by the service-learning literature between the server and the served. While many in the literature take such a break between entities as organic, natural, and perhaps even necessary, Dewey asks those involved in this work to critically question the usefulness of such thinking; what is more, he asks us to consider how this thinking actually creates difficulties that might not occur otherwise. One of the quickest advantages to arise from such a change in thinking is that the static and rigid nature of each entity is avoided and replaced with a view founded in mutual goals and flexibility; by viewing each other differently, we set the stage for considering our possible mutual actions not merely in response "to" the "other" but rather "into" it. Such an understanding extends the idea of coordination to overcome our "disjointed…series of jerks, the origin of each jerk to be sought outside the process of experience itself" toward coordination that helps us see "unity of activity" (Dewey, 1896, para. 8).

From the point of view of Enos's and Morton's six essential characteristics, the following application of an enriched form of reciprocity based upon Deweyan principles of evolutionary change over time and collaborative problem solving is in marked contrast to the traditional view.

Goals/Objectives

Different from the traditional form of reciprocity where parties come together to contribute their respective resources to some commonly defined interests from an individual position, this alternative approach starts from the position of collective activity

and emphasizes systemic, evolutionary change over time. From an enriched view, goals for a program such as the tutoring arrangement would include not only providing quality tutoring support to early learners of mathematics and reading, but would include notions of how the people involved in constructing such a program would be changed over time as well. How would university faculty understand themselves differently, as well as their work with pre-service elementary educators, as a result of this collaboration with the local elementary school faculty? How would elementary faculty understand themselves, their work with the children of university faculty, and supervisors of pre-service elementary educators differently as a result? How would the relationship between the university department of education and the elementary school alter the conception of each of these entities and the activities they have historically undertaken?

Perception of Power

Strongly related to the integrated nature of the goals of such relationships is the nature of the power that emerges. From an enriched point of view, the perception of power between entities working in united collaboration is flat versus the hierarchical orientation of the traditional view. Because the parties understand how their mutual actions are important to the relationship, the perception of the power needed to make such outcomes happen is equitable. Indeed, it might be more telling to describe the perception of power as a perception of responsibility and accountability, as compared to a notion of power over, or power to accomplish, certain tasks. Parties working from an enriched vision would see that they have mutual and interdependent requirements that help attain both institutional goals as well as inter-institutional goals.

Partner Identity

Especially important to this process is a broad definition of the public and encouraging the public's full participation. The broader public defined to take part in cooperative action to solve a common problem would, especially in our particular case, include children, students, parents, teachers, university faculty and administrators, and local school district administration. Understanding these people and groups as stakeholders literally and figuratively suggests that the interests of these groups should shape practices that change the lives they lead: that the people who will live with the outcomes of these relationships should be

instrumental in shaping the practical elements of any arrangements that emerge from them.

Boundaries

One unique way to look at boundaries from a Deweyan point of view is to consider the metaphor of larger expanding "envelopes within envelopes" (Ballantyne, 2002, p. 6), or interdependent elements of coordinated activity. Enriched reciprocity would be honest about the elements under relative control; in this situation, the university is responsible to provide sufficient numbers of tutors to meet school demand, and the elementary school is responsible to coordinate the tutoring program with other after-school activities. These responsibilities, however, are not seen in terms of their relative territory, as is consistent with the traditional view. Instead, these responsibilities are framed within the relationships and mutual accountability required of interdependent actions to make the tutoring program a success. In essence, boundaries are fluid and flexible versus fixed and stable because the larger goals of mutual change over time and the collaborative problem-solving process require a more sophisticated level of attention.

Outcomes

Perhaps one of the most important criteria for this enriched notion of reciprocity we advocate is the idea that all stakeholders and their work will be changed as a result of their collective effort. Thus, it is important for stakeholders to discuss, reflect and examine how they are changing and how these changes influence their respective efforts in the collective action. The expected outcomes that result from an enriched view of reciprocity necessarily include examination of how stakeholders are fairing as a result of the collaborative work, as well as how the actual program is working. The outcomes are thus generative: they create more opportunities for further problem solving and collaboration, and they enhance future chances for working together on issues that concern multiple stakeholders. Additionally, one of the more important outcomes that results from an enriched view of reciprocity is the experience of working in tandem to coordinate activity that can be transferred to other types of interactional issues that arise so frequently when addressing social problems.

Scope of Commitment

In the end, such a holistic view of the organizations involved in service-learning relationships operating with an enriched view of reciprocity understand that

their mutuality is not limited necessarily to the boundaries of a one-time project. Instead, such relationships produce the possibility for unlimited exchange and problem-solving largely due to the evolving nature of the parties and their conjoined work. For instance, in the tutoring situation described in this article, perhaps sometime in the future the parties involved in this project would revisit whether academic support in the form of tutoring remains the best way to collaborate; stakeholders might even take a further step back and ask themselves, "What else can we be doing for each other as we've changed along the way that might better serve our needs and further our intra- and interdependent growth and development?" As Bredo (1998) writes, "Conceived in this way, adaptation is a dynamic affair of continually working with the changing tendencies and possibilities in a situation which one's own actions alter, rather than a matter of achieving a static fit between one structure and another" (p. 458). In accordance with this more enriched view of reciprocity, we offer a revised vignette that addresses the same six components in an enriched way and also considers how the parties could grow and change in the process.

A Second "Successful" Tutoring Program Vignette

A university needs field placements for its pre-service teachers to observe and apply content they are learning in their courses. University faculty contact local school district stakeholders including superintendent, principal, teachers, parent-teacher organization, students, and parents to collectively brainstorm solutions to the deficits in performance in reading and mathematics for local elementary-aged students. The representative stakeholders continue to meet. Surveys are developed and distributed for all stakeholders to provide feedback and suggestions. For several meetings they continue to invite and include any other members of the community who might be affected or provide critical input. Eventually, they begin to narrow the focus and determine the type of program that would most benefit all of the participants. Finally, an after-school tutoring program is chosen as the program.

The stakeholders outline the components of the program and develop goals for the program and roles for each stakeholder. Stakeholders write a grant proposal to create a Director of the Tutoring Program position to help organize the program. The grant proposal receives funding!

Stakeholders meet to determine: 1) the goals and role for each stakeholder, 2) the content and structure of the tutoring sessions, 3) the content and structure of the tutoring training, and 4) administrative logistics, e.g.,

days, times, transportation, and referral process for students.

Once the Director of the Tutoring Program is hired, elementary school students are invited, and those who plan to participate are confirmed. Because of frequent conversations, university faculty members know the numbers of university students needed and can plan accordingly. The Director of the Tutoring Program pairs the students with appropriate tutors and has an orientation for parents, students, and university tutors. All constituents seem happy, except for the minor issues that occur at the start of the program.

All stakeholders re-evaluate their goals and roles in the program. Collaborative groups continue to meet to brainstorm about issues and problems that arise. Their negotiations toward solutions might sometimes be awkward and messy, but using their mutual goals as direction resolves the differences. They seek feedback through surveys and focus groups from all stakeholders and evaluate the effectiveness of the program. Using the positive and negative responses as considerations, they begin planning for the next round of university tutors and the training.

On-going evaluation of the program is performed, in which notes are made to document the positive aspects of the program to continue and the issues that need to be addressed. A summative evaluation of the program identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the program. The stakeholders discuss the goals and roles for the members and look to the future to determine how to proceed. They also recognize that there might be times of struggle for balance of power and boundaries that cause tensions. Through the negotiation of these tensions the stakeholders grow and evolve as individuals and strengthen the collective whole.

Conclusion

The value of the enriched form of reciprocity primarily comes about as a result of the systemic changes it can initiate as well as the deeper understandings among participants. When advancing his argument for "organizing" instead of "service," Harry Boyte (2003) maintains that organizing has greater power because it uses the power of politics for the benefit of all. "Service" is more likely to be used to "hide patterns of power and actions that create greater dependency" (p. 5), while "organizing" brings to light the ways in which systems maintain the structures they create the need for "service" in the first place. The argument for an enriched form of reciprocity follows the same logic. Wherein the traditional form of reciprocity *maintains* the current unequal relationships between participating parties in service-learning relationships, the enriched form of reciprocity

transforms them, allowing for greater individual understanding of various life experiences as well as alteration of rigid social systems over time.

Creating systemic change and deeper understandings of our collective work are just two of the important goals that can occur when we use this enriched notion of reciprocity informed by Dewey's work. Adopting an evolutionary approach to reciprocity would initiate the question: how are people and the context different after having participated in this process? Among university faculty, the second author has significantly changed one of her elementary mathematics content courses to integrate the tutoring program into the course. For example, she recreated her course to include the writing of cases by her students about problems that have arisen during their tutoring sessions and sharing of those cases in small groups during class. The college students use these times to grow as professionals as they brainstorm solutions together and develop a professional community. Instead of merely providing tutoring experiences for the college students to practice new knowledge learned from the classroom, this has allowed for the creation of a community of professionals reflecting on real issues of teaching mathematics that might eventually serve as a model for collaborations with teaching colleagues. The first author has reconsidered the kinds of service-learning opportunities she offers students in several of her classes and has clarified the relative goals for each set of relationships. For example, the first author has implemented several assignments wherein college student "providers" examine what qualities, aims, and goals they share with the community "recipients" of the service-learning project. Some of the other potential outcomes of adopting this point of view for appropriate service-learning relationships include: actually changing classroom teaching practices as a result of the teacher seeing how tutoring activities can help aide student learning, changing how elementary school teachers incorporate university students into their classrooms, and changing classroom teachers' understanding of how their students think.

We want to be clear: we are not suggesting that all service-learning relationships require this type of reciprocity. In fact, the first author's review of her own courses suggests that the type of reciprocity advanced by the service-learning literature is potentially adequate for many of the curricular and social expectations that exist. We are suggesting, however, that because of the political and moral nature of educating, particularly educating young children, the types of relationships forged between universities and local schools requires a more organic definition of, and approach to, establishing reciprocity. There may be other areas within the university where a re-evaluation of "reciprocity" would prove fruitful, perhaps as close as

one's own classroom. Children are relying on these relationships to help them; we (broadly understood) have a sincere duty to deliver on that obligation. Our argument is that in an attempt to fulfill this responsibility, a deeper sense of reciprocity is required, one which very well might look like our enriched model.

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From Revolution to Evolution: Making the Transition from Community Service Learning to Community Based Research

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Since 1989, Cabrini College has integrated Community Service Learning (CSL) into its core curriculum. Like many early adopters of CSL, the non-traditional world of service learning has become an institutional tradition. In the past decade, CSL has widely expanded to the secondary and primary levels. However, as the CSL tradition expands, so does the use of the term "service learning". Community Based Research (CBR), once considered a "separate but equal" branch of CSL, is emerging as a more demanding pedagogy, teaching students to empower community members and alter social structures. Colleges with institutionally established CSL programs are well-prepared to take the next step into Community Based Research (CBR). They have an institutionalized knowledge of how to do CSL and have established strong community partnerships, elements essential to the success of any community-based program. For Cabrini and other early adopters, the revolution is complete. Now, evolution must take place if programming is to remain fresh, rigorous, and relevant to students and communities.

In 1989, Cabrini College designed a community engagement curriculum based upon what is now an accepted approach to service learning. In its current model at the college, Seminar 300 pairs a "high quality placement" (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoeker & Donohue, 2003a, p.122) with appropriate texts, opportunities for reflection, and high-level analysis of social problems. Ultimately, students are required to perform 15 hours of community service in tandem with coursework to provide a hands-on opportunity to interact with community agencies, develop relationships, and make important contacts for future service or career paths.

This course serves to confront a perceived apathy or even ignorance of social problems on the part of the average college student, and it has yielded many successes. Admirably, Cabrini has achieved all of the "five dimensions" of a successful CSL program. CSL is integrated into Cabrini's mission, faculty and students are invested in the programming, strong alliances are built within surrounding communities, and there is strong institutional support and funding for CSL (Furco, 2002b). However, recently there has been a rising sentiment among students that they have "done this before." Like many early service-learning adopters, Cabrini now must realize that, despite hard work and commitment, practices must continue to evolve. There is no point of arrival because communities, students, and societies are constantly changing entities. Since the financial, logistical, and pedagogical barriers have already been removed, the passage into a new era can occur almost seamlessly. Community Based Research may just well be the answer for colleges looking to hold themselves to a higher standard for community engagement.

There are two main reasons CSL is becoming problematic at the collegiate level. First, CSL has been a loosely defined "catchall phrase" for programming which has extended all the way down to the primary grades. Currently, 75% of students are doing what is called community service learning in high school. However, there is a "mission drift" in many CSL programs, and practitioners often find themselves perilously far from sound practices (Brukandt, Holland, Percy and Zimpher, 2004, p. ii). The quality of experiences varies tremendously from program to program, but the language used to describe these programs remains alarmingly similar. Secondly, CSL programming, if done incorrectly, can reinforce the belief system it seeks to eradicate: reinforcing privilege; relegating service to the "bleeding heart" professions of social work or teaching; and limiting exchanges with the community to works of random charity aimed at temporary relief, not the far-reaching alteration of social structures (p.8). In addition, much of CSL demands community members be passive recipients of services, not active architects of their own futures. If service learning is to remain relevant, there must be "genuine reciprocal deliberation" between community partners and colleges (p. 9).

Today, high schools students are actively engaging in CSL, much more so than they did when collegiate programming such as Cabrini's was being developed. The Community Service Learning Act of 1990 provided financial incentives for the creation and maintenance of CSL programs across the country, expanding focus from college consortiums developed in the mid-80's such as Campus Compact, to secondary schools (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2005). While Cabrini's Community Service Learning course (Seminar 300) addresses issues in a more sophisticated manner than the average high school class, it is a difficult subtlety to convey to the average 20 year-old. Yet another foray into the community is

redundant for a student who has spent much of his or her high school career doing community service. In the most extreme situations, students do not want to do community service at all. In an article in the *Loquitur,* the student newspaper, student Kimberly White expressed a common point of contention regarding her Seminar 300 assignment to tutor in an underfunded school:

> I think it's great that education majors want to be involved with these children and they want to assist and teach them. However, if I am an English and communication major, I do not necessarily want to take part in this aspect of community service. I know that there are other options; however they didn't interest me either. ..I felt overwhelmed at some points throughout the semester, therefore I certainly do not think 15 hours of community service benefited my education and I don't think it was necessary or should be mandatory (2005).

Students feel the time could be "better invested" doing things that directly correlate to their majors. Why should future computer engineers or business leaders have to teach kids to read? Didn't they already "do" community service in high school? This student's view addresses a common problem facing college social justice programming. Widespread, loosely defined CSL at the secondary level makes collegiate CSL programming seem redundant. Students falsely believe (because their past experiences have taught them) that CSL and social service should be relegated to the fields of social work and teaching (Brukandt et al., 2004, p.4). Clearly, the programming they are receiving is well-intentioned but incomplete. CSL amounts to little more than "charity" in the absence of a well-structured, interrogative curriculum.

Community Based Research (CBR), often viewed as a "separate but equal" branch of CSL, avoids the common pitfalls of CSL programming. However, there is a clear distinction in the construction of these two methods. CSL has become a blanket phrase, describing any activity which engages the community for the mutual benefit of community and student. It is, at times, a "boutique initiative," brought out for the benefit of funders or public relations departments (Brukandt, et. al., 2004, p.4). CBR, however, is better defined as a "collaborative enterprise" between professors, students, and members of the community that "validates multiple sources of knowledge and promotes the use of multiple methods of discovery and dissemination" with an eye toward "achieving social justice" (Strand, et. al., 2003, p.8). In CBR, students need to directly access information that the community and ONLY the community holds. As a direct result, partnership is innate in the structure of the program.

Students are forced to commit to a model of partnership rather than charity, because they must work with community members and agencies to get the necessary information. Intrinsic to this model, students must learn other complex skills: coordinating complicated schedules, valuing a variety of people and personalities, problem-solving complicated situations, and dealing efficiently with frustration (Strand et. al., 2003a). As a by-product, students are also able to see that social change IS a shared value many people hold. It is the logistics of social change that are problematic.

The success of the CBR model is evidenced by its widespread adoption in colleges across the US. Among colleges with CSL programs, in 2000, 33% conducted Community Based Research. By 2003, 65% of these same schools were engaged in CBR (Campus Compact, 2003). Similarly, students are happier. Studies indicate that the more complex the service "task" a student performs, the more positive the student is about the service experience (Furco, 2002a). CBR allows students to use a wider range of skills, putting theoretical knowledge to the test in real-time situations. In addition to the community consciousness offered in service learning, CBR raises the ante by demanding a direct application of knowledge gained in other classes in all disciplines, management of an actual project, and most importantly, the moral evolution from "charity" or "service" models of community involvement to a fully engaged partnership model with enhanced reciprocity.

At Cabrini, the merits of CBR have been widely discussed, and offering CBR as a part of a new "signature" course sequence is currently on the table. Much like the national trend noted in the previous paragraph, CBR programming has gained momentum at Cabrini College. Where only one section of Community Based Research was offered in 2004 (the study discussed in this article), there are now five Community Based Research projects running this semester (Spring 2006). The course design figures heavily into discussions about signature programming happening at administrative levels. While CSL is widely supported by the college and the Wolfington Center (a million-dollar program that acts as a communications hub for CSL), CBR is emerging as a more popular model because of the enhanced outcomes it offers.

Marullo and his colleagues identify four primary outcomes agents of social change seek when doing work within communities. Two of them, "enhanced capacity" and "increased efficiency," are met in the traditional service-learning coursework. Student volunteers make a marked difference in the amount of people agencies are able to assist, and they make agencies more efficient when done well. However, even when done well, CSL can strain agency resources. Justin Lee, Director of Fund Development for Big

Brothers Big Sisters of Montgomery County, states that it often takes more time to train and monitor in-house volunteers than it does for staff members to do the same thing themselves. For that reason, his staff has learned to be very selective when asked to take on in-house student volunteer projects (2005).

In addition, the loftier goals of community empowerment and the alteration of power structures are often unmet (Marullo, 2004, pp. 62, 63). Often, in service learning, the learning follows a traditional model, in which one side is the "service provider" and the other is the "service receiver." While many things can be learned in community service learning and should not be discounted, much of the information a student gains is a by-product of service. For example, a student is placed to tutor in an underfunded school. Through this experience, the student learns exceptionally valuable things, like what an underfunded school looks like, what a student's life is like, and what challenges present on a daily basis in this environment. Personal experience indicates experiences act as a text, but are more powerful and immediate than a textbook, and therefore very useful. In traditional service learning, "service" is innate, and with it, the idea that we are providing something necessary, and getting, in return, a front row seat to learn about the ways of the world.

There is, however, also reinforcement in the belief that we are there to "fix" a problem or alleviate a social burden, unconsciously reinforcing privilege. Clearly, if we are to strive toward our third goal, community empowerment, it is necessary to empower students and community members equally (Marullo, et al., 2004). By tutoring, teaching ESL, and mentoring community children, colleges are inadvertently teaching a sophisticated model of charity, and "nobody wants to be a charity case" (Davila, 2004). Early programs such as the aforementioned Community Service Act of 1990 are lauded for their attempts to make service a way of life in every community, but criticized for a failure to achieve long-range institutional change. In short, "[s]ervice divorced from politics will never live up to its promise. Service harnessed to…social reform could transform a nation" (Drogosz, 2003, p. 18). If CSL is to evolve, a more reciprocal definition of empowerment must be demanded so that community members are not passive recipients of services but active participants in designing the blueprint for a more equitable system.

Students are taught to serve in high school, but CSL does little to equip students to achieve the fourth goal: an alteration of social structures (Marullo, et al., 2004). CBR challenges students to learn to use their skills to problem-solve. Innately the program forces them to look at raw, real data, assess it, and even make real recommendations to potentially alter existing barriers. In well-executed CBR, the hierarchy that exists traditionally between student, professor, service providers, and service recipients is deconstructed, and authority is redistributed more equally among participants (Strand et al., 2003b). In the absence of an authority with a "right answer" students have more freedom to innovate. They also feel an increased responsibility to do so.

Norristown Partnership: A Shift in Paradigm

At Cabrini, centralization of services proved successful in the development of the Wolfington Center on campus. Created in 2002 after years of planning and careful research, the center provides a distribution hub for all community service learning and activities. Cabrini then decided to also centralize service partners with the hopes of buoying the efforts of Norristown, a nearby community, and Montgomery County. Initially a factory town, Norristown is an industrial community trying to survive in the postindustrial world of the Philadelphia suburbs. In addition, Norristown is the site of a very recent large influx of Mexican immigrants. Proximity to social services also draws some of the county's neediest citizens. Area agencies, while effective, are overworked and dramatically under funded. Cabrini, in working exclusively with one community, is hoping for a longstanding commitment that changes structural inequities in the community.

Initial attempts at CBR maintained the legacy of CSL despite intentions to boost community empowerment. The project was not initiated by the community but was more a case of Cabrini using Norristown as a "text." Students in the class were asked to do a basic demographic study and asset mapping of the Norristown Area. In support of this study, students were assigned 15-week service placements in the Norristown area. The initial goals of service learning were articulated. However, students were given an additional "layer" of purpose: they were to establish relationships with community leaders in the hopes of recognizing assets, not deficiencies, in the community. What was working in the community? Who were the key players? What had already been tried? What do agencies need to continue providing services? Students became engaged in service, but also were more likely to build relationships that extended beyond their service environments.

This was a particularly interesting endeavor, mainly because it exposed a variety of pedagogical and philosophical problems with fledgling CBR. First, since the community did not initiate the discussion, there were varied responses to our "probing." In short, it felt like probing. Some agencies were reluctant to share information. Others stated that this type of center had been proposed before and was ineffective. An agency with close ties to Cabrini confided that

Norristown's assets had been mapped extensively, something which agencies tolerated in the hopes of getting funding. In retrospect, the only reason Cabrini was able to make and survive this "error" was its reputation. Studies indicate that the most solid indicator of the strength of a college-community partnership is time (Dorado & Giles, 2004), one of the reasons early adopters with established relationships are better poised to make the shift to CBR. For the past sixteen years, Norristown has reaped the benefits of Cabrini volunteers. The relationship is solid. They knew we could be trusted to move quickly in response to community needs.

In the classroom, students still relied largely on objective demographic information to determine the site of the center. The "aha!" moment came when Big Brothers Big Sisters, a community partner, was asked to come to class as a guest lecturer. Jeannie Gustafson, Director of the Big Sisters Program, brought the sixth through eighth graders in her programs to assist. When students showed Gustafson's students the location they had selected based upon demographic information, the middle schoolers quickly vetoed the idea. The site placement was smack in the middle of two warring gang territories. Two months' worth of work was undone by six thirteen-year-olds.

This information was useful, but even more compelling was the by-product of this knowledge. Students in Seminar 300 began to see community members as not only useful, but essential. Suddenly, these were not a group of "at-risk" youth oppressed by an unfair system, but a panel of experts with a body of knowledge that was otherwise completely inaccessible. Not only did this change Cabrini students' views of the community, but Gustafson later reported her students were also empowered because their knowledge was useful and productive. Something had shifted, almost imperceptibly, and so we followed it down the rabbit hole.

Our initial foray into research "inflicted" on the community unearthed an important aspect of CBR: the articulated common goal (Strand, et al., 2003b). The first foray into Community Based Research more successfully addressed the third and fourth principles: community empowerment and the alteration of power structures within a community (Marullo et al., 2004). The project partnered with St. Patrick's, a Catholic Church in Norristown, PA. As mentioned before, Norristown is the site of a recent influx of Mexican immigrants, and the church found itself in the unique position of having a dedicated established congregation and a large bilingual mass. The Parish Council was interested in knowing how each congregation felt about the other.

The instructions in the St. Patrick's study were very straightforward. St. Patrick's Parish Council had designed a survey asking congregants to rate their perceptions about the immigrant community in the Bilingual Mass. The study consisted of several Likert scales and a basic demographic section. Each student was to administer the survey to at least six congregants over a series of four designated Sundays. Both students and congregants were asked to commit to this a month in advance, and this planning made for a very smooth collection of data. In the interim, during class time students learned about recent migrant communities, practiced interviewing skills, and discussed their own views about immigration, skills already widely established as an expectation of Seminar 300. Interestingly, the established tradition of CSL made this process very comfortable for both the students and the instructor and helped to build an easy rapport and trust between the two.

Students returned to class with 125 completed surveys. Next, they were asked to take the information they gathered and answer questions posed by St. Patrick's Parish Council. How do parishioners in the English-speaking mass feel about parishioners in the bilingual mass? What demographic factors affect attitudes? Finally, based on this information, what can the Parish Council do to further integrate their congregation? The students responded with an overarching question: "How do we even begin to know how to do this?" With over 600 pages of raw data in a stack in front of them and no "right answer" in sight, the panic was palpable.

The responses to students in a CBR classroom are as simple as they are complicated. We will work together. We will use our strengths. We will compensate for each other's weaknesses. We will work like a corporation. Quickly, an IT department was established to set up a data base. Committees were formed. Deadlines were established and grading rubrics created. Presenters, editors, and analysts were selected. Each student used his or her major and talents to get to the end product: a 30 minute presentation of findings to the Parish Council. It was rational authority at its best. We were all working toward a common goal; therefore, authority was natural and in harmony with that goal.

Many instructors discover (the hard way) that group work can be the death of academic ideals. However, in this instance, students were engaging in the highest form of learning: teaching. They taught one another how to use and create data bases. One student lectured me (at length, I might add) about statistical integrity, and she brought me to her statistics professor to have him look at our study and check ways of enhancing its validity. In the absence of an overwhelming "authority" in the classroom, students were forced to manage one another, coordinate schedules to meet deadlines, and equally distribute

work according to talents and abilities. CBR, however, is not a magic bullet. The classroom did adopt a corporate model where the more dedicated and capable students emerged as leaders, oftentimes compensating for or even carrying less motivated students. However, students later commented that even this was a valuable lesson in real-time management.

Community Based Research, in effect, works as a testing ground for all of the theoretical knowledge students have gained in their respective fields. The emphasis in the classroom is not about "service," but instead focuses on the creation of a professional product for a very important client. This removes the stigma that service learning is only for the "bleeding heart," the social work major, or the future teacher. The study showed students there is activism in IT, power in marketing, and compassion in graphic design. Students were empowered by the experience, forced to move out of the passive role of learner and into the more active roles found in workforce environments.

Think of the Taoist idea that knowledge and wisdom are, at times, opposite entities. In its traditional service-learning format, Seminar 300 allows students broad and interesting experiences, but those experiences are still heavily mitigated. Students return to the classroom to understand their experiences through the lens of the instructor and selected course material. The "knowledge" exists in the form of sociological trends, statistics, and historical facts, which, as our earlier experience with Big Brothers Big Sisters proved, can be misleading. CBR places value on "lived experiences," empowering community members as essential informational sources (Strand et. al., 2003b).   In CBR, the answer is completely unknown by both the instructor and the student; there is no "knowledge" to interfere with "wisdom." The melee that follows is nothing short of exhilarating. We leap, and hope the net appears.

Enhanced Empowerment

Every Community Service Learning program strives for empowerment. However, as the non-traditional becomes traditional, a new, more demanding definition of the word begins to emerge. In the Community Service Learning model, empowerment is derived from a "shared benefit." The students are empowered by their ability to help, and community members are empowered by the new skills they learn from students.   As the non-traditional becomes traditional, empowerment also extends into areas involving funding, human resources, and even assessment of student volunteers (Strand et. al., 2003b). A trust is developed, and each party relies on the other to provide services integral to the successes of respective programming.

Community Based Research holds the potential for enhanced empowerment, since it demands not only the shared benefit of CSL but a "shared vision." At the center of effective community based research is the idea that research is designed and executed by both the school and the community. There is an equal sharing of the power, knowledge, information, and execution of the project. The only difference lies in the "currency" used and exchanged.

For example, in the St. Patrick's project, students benefited from the learning process of creating a final presentation from raw data. They gained insight into the problems facing communities with new immigrants, and they saw firsthand that often immigrants are not unwanted in communities, merely misunderstood. Had this been CSL, students may have come to this conclusion by speaking with the immigrants they were tutoring or through casual conversation with congregants.   The results would have been purely anecdotal and therefore easy to dismiss as non-representative. By doing surveys, however, students directly solicited opinions parishioners have about their bilingual counterparts. Next, they formatted this data into an Access spreadsheet, compiled data from the Likert scales, looked at averages, and cross-referenced subsections of the survey results to see what demographic factors influenced opinions expressed on the Likert scales. Students concluded, based upon this process, that the only thing that affects parishoners' attitudes toward immigrants is the amount of time spent together. While this seems to be a small observation, it is a lesson earned through hard work rather than given to students in lecture format or even through interaction with congregants. But what did St. Patrick's gain?

Primarily, the Parish Council gained insight into the views of their community. However, they also had documented proof that there were a wide range of positive things happening between the Mexican immigrants and the established community.   The council suggested that the findings be published in the local paper, which often ran articles about the negative impact of immigrants on the community. They also had tangible reason to increase activities in the Parish that drew both local and immigrant congregants. Because students had surveyed congregants about which events were heavily attended by both communities, they were able to focus on the development of similar events to further increase interaction between the two communities. The council was encouraged by the results of the survey and eager to conduct a second survey and analysis of immigrants' perceptions. In addition, the council suggested other area churches might be open to similar studies. In the future, a regional assessment of Catholic churches could be done to alleviate misunderstandings between parishioners and immigrants, making the Church a gateway through

which immigrants could comfortably and safely enter communities.

This empowerment is more significant than in traditional CSL. In service learning, the benefit is substantial to both the student and community agency, but there is the unfortunate by-product of reinforced privilege. Students learn, essentially, that they can give to others "less fortunate", and the language they use about their experiences reflects this. In a CSL model, students may have taught ESL (English as a Second Language) classes or assisted with outreach programs at the church but would see no long range institutional change, even though the service provided is invaluable in our world of under resourced social services. CBR "keep[s] a collective eye on long-term goals" and works toward the "larger goal of changing social arrangements" (Strand, et. al., 2003*a*, p. 41). In addition, the information in this study comes from the community, reaches the student, and is then returned to the community, creating a more even and well-distributed arrangement of empowerment.

Confronting the "Myth of Arrival"

Early adopters of CSL have all of the elements in place to launch a successful CBR program. Ultimately, CBR offers the opportunity to enjoy free passage between the community and the college or university, eliminating the "ivory tower" and working toward a more fully empowered community. Effective adoption of CBR requires many of the same things needed for effective CSL programs: institutional investment, faculty incentives and training, continued scholarship about and reflection on the practice, and curricular incentives for students (Furco, 2002b). As mentioned before, these practices are not only in place in institutions with successful CSL programs, but they are an identifying trait of colleges with service missions.

CBR will also place increased demands on current programming, keeping it one step ahead of programs at the secondary level, reaching farther into the realms of community empowerment and improved social structures (Marullo et. al., 2004). In its most advanced form, "decisions about resource distribution, programmatic emphases, and future expansion will be informed as much by the powers of faculty-community partnerships as by the board of trustees" (Strand, et al. 2003a, p.233). However, this need not be a radical overhaul of the existing system. At Cabrini, when the partnership with Norristown was created, a steering committee was formed to guide the program. Recently, influential community members have been invited to join the committee, reinforcing the central idea of CBR: shared vision. While this certainly falls short of the aforementioned democratic existence between college

and community, it is a step, a part of the evolution. Colleges such as Cabrini, with a tradition of the non-traditional, are most gracefully poised to make the transition from CSL to CBR. The hard work is done; we need only to reignite the desire to remain one step ahead of the norm.

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Incremental Integration: A Successful Service-Learning Strategy

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Many colleges and universities have embraced service learning, but the enthusiasm of administrators often exceeds service-learning application at the classroom level. For a variety of reasons, educators hesitate to implement service learning in their courses. Understanding service learning as a pedagogical tool is the key. Both students and faculty need time to learn the strategies and practices of service learning in order to succeed. This paper discusses strategies for integrating service learning into a department-wide curriculum, using a sequence of horticulture courses as an example. By increasing the service-learning component with each successive course, teachers and students gain confidence in the method and therefore are more likely to have positive results in courses with a greater service-learning component.

Support for Campus Compact, a national coalition of more than 900 college and university presidents committed to the civic purposes of higher education, has risen tremendously. There is little question service learning develops civic skills, increases disciplinary knowledge and skills, raises commitment to community, and builds career-related skills and knowledge (Gray et al., 1999). Furthermore, students develop a greater understanding of social problems as systemic and are "more likely to attribute the social problems to structural factors" (Hollis, 2002, p. 208) rather than blame those effected by the problems. For the educator, involvement in service learning frequently "renews faculty member's enthusiasm for teaching" (Hollander, 1999, p. vi), and "brings new life to the classroom," making "teaching more enjoyable" (Bringle and Hatcher, 1996, p. 222).

In spite of enthusiasm at the administrative level, college educators are hesitant to integrate service learning at the classroom level. Some do not fully understand or appreciate the Earnest Boyer's definition of the "scholarship of engagement" and the benefits to learning resulting from the relationship between a special field of knowledge and professional activity (1990). Questions about academic outcomes and lack of understanding vis-à-vis how to effectively use service learning are also barriers to implementation (Abes, Jackson and Jones, 2002). Another concern among educators is the length of time required to implement a service-learning experience. Service-learning projects do require community relationships and planning; however, the experience can be as brief as a few days and still show significant changes in students (Reed, Jernstedt, Hawley, Reber, and DuBois, 2005).

Students have their own fears and misconceptions about service learning. From their perspective, the service-learning experience and what they learn, depends on whether the service learning is optional or required (Parker-Gwin and Mabry, 1998). When students are forced to participate in service learning, there is a risk of "cognitive dissociation" which may jeopardize a project (Ender, Martin, Cotter, Kowaleski and Defiore, 2000). Students do not consider community service and service learning to be interchangeable and in one survey "were not as positive about registering for a course if they knew it contained a service-learning component" (McCarthy, 1999, p. 569).

Parker-Gwin and Mabry (1998) describe three pedagogical models for introducing students to service learning. In the first, the activity is optional for the course or the course itself is not required. In the second model, student participation in the service activity is required or the course itself is required. With this second model there can be a significant decline in the student's evaluation of community service, personal social responsibility, and service-orientated motives. In the third model, the entire class is engaged in a community project (Parker-Gwin and Mabry, 1998).

Though prior volunteer experience is not a prerequisite for service learning, one study found that students with "prior community service experience were more likely to feel that they had something to contribute" and "felt better qualified to perform community service" (McCarthy, 1999, p. 567). It has been suggested that "a sequence of service-learning courses might maximize the potential civic and academic outcomes of service-learning [sic] for students" and build "upon their prior experiences and better integrate their volunteer activities with course concepts and issues" (Ender, Martin, Cotter, Kowaleski and Defiore, 2000; Parker-Gwin and Mabry, 1998). Similarly, research shows faculty will consider the integration of service learning into the classroom when provided the proper support (Abes, Jackson and Jones, 2002).

Service-learning pedagogy must be carefully designed and implemented in order to achieve optimal educational goals of the instructor and personal goals of the student. This paper describes the integration of service learning into the landscape management

program in the Horticulture Department at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Service Learning as Pedagogy

The differences between volunteerism, community service, and service learning are important when implementing service learning. Pate (2002) defines volunteerism as the "engagement of students in activities where some good service or good work is performed" (p.1). A horticulture student, for example, might volunteer at a nature center to pick up trash. This activity provides a benefit, but it does not provide the student with any evidence of knowledge or skill learned, connect the student with academic resources, or provide an educational experience pertaining to the class (Bringle, Games and Malloy, 1999).

The next level of civic engagement is community service, which gets the student involved with the community, but with little or no exchange between the student and the community served and little record or reflection of the process (Pate, 2002). For example, a horticulture student might help take soil samples around a nature center and understand how the work contributes to the center's objective of maintaining the property. The work, however, has little to do with the student's coursework.

Service learning is "course-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students (a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs, and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation for the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility" (Bringle and Hatcher, 2000, p. 274). For a service-learning activity, a horticulture student might develop a landscape maintenance plan with volunteer staff at the nature center. The student would carry the project further by writing a plan, based on course-based instruction, and training the volunteers to care for the grounds.

To explain these various levels of student engagement, Zlotkowski suggests a conceptual matrix in which the horizontal axis represents the academic presence, from expertise to concern for the common good, and the vertical axis represents the student domain, from a student-focused classroom, to a results-driven world beyond the classroom (1999, p. 101). As shown in Figure 1, the four quadrants formed by this crossing of student and academic interests can be

FIGURE 1
Service Learning Conceptual Matrix[1]
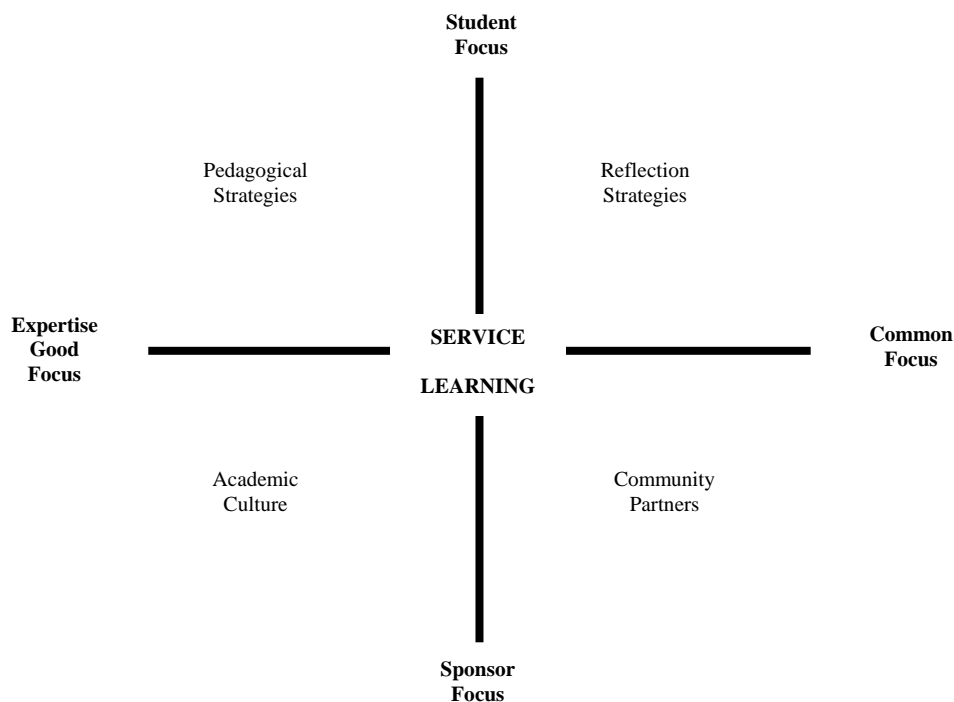
[1] Note. *Source:* Adapted from Zlotkowski, 1999, p. 101.

labeled: pedagogical strategies, reflection strategies, academic culture, and community partnerships. In the center of the axis is service learning.

The pedagogical strategy for service learning integrates the educational goals of the course with the educational opportunities of the service project, and thus it achieves a synergistic effect that would not otherwise be obtained by completing academic and service work independently (Zlotkowski, 1999). Reflection concludes the process and allows for growth. It builds on service-learning experiences, allows the student to apply what has been learned to a "more global self-awareness," and allows "students to transfer their learning from one context to another" (Herman, 2000, p. 114-115). With service learning, academic interests extend beyond the traditional goals of course content, student evaluation and faculty tenure. The four-quadrant model suggests a new vision for academic culture in which faculty are more "deliberate in course design" and are recognized for their "community engagement" (Zlotkowski, 1999, p. 111).

In another sense, the success of service learning depends on relationships between the community being served and the classroom (Bringle and Hatcher, 1996). The community, while a potential beneficiary of academic service learning, is also an "invaluable source of information, evaluation, and validation of knowledge" (Walshok, 1999, p. 81).

Integrating Service Learning into the Horticulture Curriculum

Integrating service learning into the curriculum involves a pedagogical strategy that goes beyond the scope of a single course (Bringle and Hatcher, 1996). The concept of building on service experience in the classroom is supported by Parker-Gwin and Mabry (1998) who recommend sequencing service-learning courses to maximize the outcomes and build on prior experience.

To successfully integrate service learning into the landscape horticulture curriculum at the University of Georgia, a plan was developed to begin with an entry-level course and build from there. Combining the Zlotkowski's four-quadrant matrix (1999) and the models of Parker-Gwin and Mabry (1999), an alternative model matrix is proposed in Table 1 as a way to represent the building blocks of service learning in this progression of horticulture courses. In this matrix, students move from optional volunteering to a consulting model of service learning, increasing their level of achievement.

TABLE 1
Service-Learning Matrix for Landscape Horticulture

Horticulture Course	Required Course	Service Required	Service optional	% of total class time	Percent of Grade	Outside of class (Y or N)	Part of class (Y or N)	Community interaction[1]	Informal reflection	Student survey	Journal	Reflection paper	Peer evaluation	Group presentation	Project summary	Capacity Building				
																Participation	Project completion	Technical skills	Team building	Independent work
Introductory Horticulture			x	5%	2%	Y	N	1	x							x				
Professional Practices	x	x		7%	5%	Y	N	1-4	x							x				
Landscape Construction	x	x		13%	10%	Y	Y	2		x		x				x	x	x		
Landscape Design	x	x		20%	20%	Y	Y	3		x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
Plant Inventory		x		100%	50%	Y	Y	4		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

[1] Scale: 1 = Minimal to 5 = Extensive

Building Service Learning into a Sequence of Courses

The integration of service learning begins in an entry-level lecture course, taught fall and spring semester. Average enrollment is 260 students. A majority of the students in this course are non-majors, yet many will take additional horticulture courses. Class pedagogy includes lectures, story telling, student participation, and guest lectures. The service component is added in the form of credit for a pop-quiz in exchange for four hours of volunteer work, by either working at the nearby State Botanical Garden of Georgia or performing landscape work at a historic African-American cemetery. In this first class, service is optional with no feedback, little community interaction, and minimal capacity building.

In a sophomore/junior course in landscape business practices, the class pedagogy includes lectures, student reports, group projects, guest lectures, and exercises. Students are required to perform eight hours of service work related to the field of landscape horticulture. The work typically involves volunteering for one of the state-wide non-profit horticulture trade organizations or participating in service projects performed by other horticulture classes or clubs. When their work is complete, students write a brief summary of their experience and how it applies to their career field. The service work counts five percent toward the overall grade. This course is required of landscape horticulture majors, the service is required, and there is some reflection upon completion.

In a junior/senior landscape construction course students become involved in hands-on activities to reinforce formal classroom instruction. Each semester one to three service-learning projects are completed. These projects require the use course content such as site engineering, safe equipment operation, and installation techniques. The process typically requires the students to interact with a "client." In the fall of 2005, students constructed a stone wall and brick walkway at a nearby elementary school. The elementary students had designed an environmental learning garden and needed help installing the walk, patio, and stone walls. Leading up to the actual installation, class meetings were held in the garden area to cover the information necessary to complete the job. The college students removed the soil with an excavator, calculated the sand base required, constructed the wall, and installed the brick pavers. During this time, the elementary students watched, helped, and asked the college students questions. This project required the students to work outside of regular class time and at least one Saturday. The entire project, including calculations and reflection paper, counted ten percent toward the overall grade.

This type of service learning differs from experiential learning because there is input from the elementary school clients, and the completion of the project serves a community need while engaging the college students in a learning activity. This course is required of landscape majors, the project is directly connected to course instructional goals, and students learn technical skills while completing a project.

In a junior/senior landscape design course students from the Horticulture Department and the School of Environmental Design come together to design principles by tackling a series of increasingly challenging residential design projects. A major component of the course is a three to four week service-learning project. Students form teams, develop a landscape design, and install the landscape planting for four low-income families in a nearby community. The families are selected through a program known as Hands-On-Athens, a local non-profit organization that remodels and repairs homes for families in need. Students meet with the homeowner and develop a variety of plans. The plan that best fits the needs of the homeowner is selected, and the students install the landscape during a designated weekend. Students solicit donations and scrounge for materials. Upon completion, each student submits a reflective paper describing his or her experiences and an evaluation of team members. A survey, separate from the required course evaluation, is administered at the end of the course to evaluate lessons learned and attitudes changed. This project is on the syllabus from the first day of class, clearly stating that this is a required project with a weekend commitment. The greater level of involvement in planning the landscape design project and coordination with Hands-on-Athens coordinators and sponsors brings the student closer to the true center of Zlotkowski's matrix (1999) and provides a greater amount of capacity building than the previous courses.

A senior-level community plant inventory course is taught during a special three-week May term. This course provides training in global positioning systems (GPS) and geographic information systems (GIS) applicable to horticulture. It is an optional elective and attracts students from several disciplines. Each term a project is selected based on local need and opportunity. The first year a tree inventory was conducted of a ten-acre historic African-American cemetery in which over 1200 trees were catalogued. Students wrote individual reports on aspects of landscape management of the cemetery that were later incorporated into a final print document. The document, along with a student-developed public presentation, was presented to the community non-profit organization that manages the cemetery. The second year, a tree survey was conducted of all culturally and historically significant trees in the

community as part of a new tree ordinance. This course follows both the consulting model of Parker-Gwin and Mabry (1999) and is the closest to the center of Zlotkowski's matrix (1999) of any of the other courses in this sequence. As in the landscape design course, the service-learning component is made clear at the beginning of the course, both in the introductory lecture and in the course syllabus. A similar survey instrument is used at the end of the course to gain perspective on attitudes and reflections. Combined survey results from two years indicate that students not only liked practical aspects of the course, but also they felt the service-learning component helped them better understand the material covered in lectures and readings. The two questions that received the strongest agreement among the students asked if they thought service learning should be practiced in more classes and that the community work benefited the community. Typical comments from the surveys included: "good for those who want to make a difference," "students should be required to devote some time to the community," and "hope to see more like it in the future."

Connecting a series of courses through service learning takes time. These courses are all taught by the author, and, therefore, continuity between them is much simpler than trying to coordinate between multiple professors. Though support for service learning at the university level is strong, support at the department level is mixed. There is freedom to explore and experiment yet the interest in service learning as a pedagogy is not department-wide. Student acceptance is mixed as well. Course evaluations have remained at a high level through this process of integrating service learning, but this could be attributed as much to the hands-on nature of the projects as to the desire to serve others. It is hard to differentiate. In some instances student's attitudes have hardened, especially when judgments are made based on common misconceptions. Sensitivity training and orientation to the project have helped reduce some of the inappropriate student comments made during the activities.

As a new professor, this author has found adapting service-learning strategies relatively easy. Some of the projects have been more successful than others. It helps to realize that not every project will turn out wonderfully, not every student will share in the good feeling that comes from helping others, and not everyone helped will view the benefits of the project in the same light as the students. The service-learning projects have brought positive public awareness to the horticulture program at the University of Georgia through newspaper articles and community recognition. Much of this recognition has come from a segment of the community and press that have been hardly aware of the department.

Conclusion

This paper describes integration of service learning through a series of landscape horticulture courses; however, there is nothing discussed that is inherently unique to horticulture. In many instances, other departments have more to offer to a wider population. Even if their beliefs are not altered to any great degree, students like making a difference and applying their knowledge in a real-world situation. Almost every community has populations in need, and every field of study has something to offer. For example, history majors could help school children learn about their heritage while restoring a historic cemetery. Engineering students could learn Spanish while helping residents in a Hispanic neighborhood build a bridge over a creek that separates the neighborhood from a playground.

A curriculum-wide service-learning initiative should begin slowly, introducing students to service learning through a series of increasingly comprehensive experiences. This makes sense from a pedagogical point of view. The gradual process provides both faculty and students the opportunity to learn the process of service learning.

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Transforming Communities:
The Role of Service Learning in a Community Studies Course

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This paper discusses Transforming Communities, a course about the interaction of public policy and community issues that includes service learning, along with other assignments designed to promote student understanding of issues critical to communities. The paper first addresses the roots and underlying principles of the Transforming Communities Program, with a focus on the Seminar. It describes how the academic content and community-based learning assignments work together to provide an interdisciplinary education about communities, with the overall objective of understanding how communities function and the means of strengthening them. It shows how the academic and experiential components of the course are incorporated into the larger picture of Transforming Communities. It concludes with a discussion of the program's accomplishments, while at the same time pointing out challenges that the course and others like it must address.

"All human existence throughout history, from ancient Eastern and Western Societies up through the present day, has strived toward community, toward coming together. That movement is as inexorable, as irresistible, as the flow of a river toward the sea."
John Lewis, *Walking With the Wind*

In the spring of 2000 I heard Congressman John Lewis speak eloquently about his new book *Walking With the Wind,* containing his memories of the Civil Rights Movement. In the beginning of the book, he recalled a time when a tornado threatened to rip his aunt's Alabama shack off its moorings. His aunt had all the children walk to wherever the floor was bulging upward, clasp hands, and stand on it to hold it down. In relating the significance of that day to his later work, he wrote of times when a society or a country "…might burst at the seams – so much tension, so many storms. But the people of conscience never left the house. They never ran away. They stayed, they came together and they did the best they could" (Lewis, 1998, p). His juxtaposition of the small community of children saving a house to the large community of committed people of conscience seemed the perfect metaphor for the Transforming Communities Seminar that I had dreamed of teaching and was preparing to launch that fall.

Transforming Communities offers a holistic model for understanding community issues and the process of community change. This model contains many interdependent components, because it is my contention that communities cannot be studied or altered without looking at their interdependent aspects and utilizing a combination of strategies to build, maintain, and improve them. An important piece of the course is service learning, because classroom study alone without community involvement lacks relevance. At the same time, service learning is only one of the integral components of Transforming Communities because it provides a limited lens on the community. Without placing the service, the service organizations, and the community itself in the context of the larger study of community, students will not appreciate the full tapestry of communities, the root causes of their strengths and weaknesses, and the necessarily multi-faceted nature of approaches to change.

The Roots and Principles of Transforming Communities

In 1998 my colleague in the Washington Semester Program, Mark Sherman, proposed the Transforming Communities curriculum, an integrated public policy approach to communities. We were trying to give meaning to our own and student concerns about serious issues confronting communities and look for policy and practical solutions. Previous courses we had taught focused on a legal framework for strengthening the polity and society. We wanted to go beyond that framework to address root causes and multi-faceted approaches.

The Transforming Communities concept has its roots in several theoretical and experiential strands. The first encompasses the civil rights and other contemporary social movements (King, 1963) that led to national policy changes at the highest levels. Second is the concept of the "underclass," or communities which over the years have retained seemingly intractable economic and social problems (Auletta, 1982; Wilson, 1987). The third strand is that of localization, promoting community-based solutions to community problems. The experiential basis of this strand is in the settlement house movement (Addams 1900); its theoretical underpinnings are found in John Dewey's advocacy of education grounded in community experience (1916). It is currently embraced by theoreticians and activists with such differing political orientations as Michael Shuman (1998) and

Robert Woodson (1998). Although the Transforming Communities focus is not limited to cities, seminal urban planning literature such as Jane Jacobs' iconic *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) provided a fourth conceptual contribution. Fifth, and critically, Robert Putnam's analysis of the decline of social capital in *Bowling Alone* (1995, 2000) and subsequent analyses and critiques of his assertions shape our initial discussion of community. Finally, the underlying tension between the concept of individual rights and that of collective solutions to fundamental common problems guides our approach. Transforming Communities weaves these conceptual strands in order to explore the application of public policy to major issues affecting communities and the concept of community itself. Its goal is to identify both the challenges communities face and the policies and practices that show promise in strengthening and even transforming them.

Two principles underlie the Transforming Communities Semester. One is interdisciplinary learning. The curriculum includes specific issues such as how to provide for the vulnerable and build economic and personal security, how to manage a multicultural society and workforce in an era of globalization, and how to provide quality and equitable housing and education. At the same time, it stresses the need to identify interconnections as a prerequisite to solving the complex problems communities face (Boyer, 1987). While each of the major topics in Transforming Communities could be the theme of a course, too often such courses are confined to a particular discipline. Health care is taught in public health programs, education in education programs, housing in urban studies and planning programs, and family issues in psychology and sociology departments. By contrast, Transforming Communities asks, without affordable housing, can we close the achievement gap in education? Without policies that encourage asset accumulation, will we be able to find acceptable solutions for the burgeoning costs of entitlement programs? This commitment to connections may be why the course attracts students from varied disciplines. These are students who tend to identify and analyze connections and to broaden and deepen their own and each others' perspectives concerning these critical issues by studying them in a holistic context.

The other, and related, principle of Transforming Communities is that of getting to the root of a community problem in order to solve it. As the creators and faculty of the course, we had learned from practicing public interest law both the limitations as well as the strengths of the law in addressing the underlying causes of our clients' difficulties. In the same way, our students, many of whom have performed community service from a young age, have frequently discovered that service alone is unlikely to solve the systemic problems facing communities. We want to guide them toward root causes and problem-solving strategies, not only to enhance their understanding of community and social change, but also to assist them in defining their future efforts to impact communities, in either a professional or personal capacity.

A primary objective of Transforming Communities is to convey what can be done in our larger polity—not in the course—to impact communities. With some exceptions, even students with goodwill and experience are unable to do much in a course to change communities, and occasionally they may actually adversely impact a community (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998). Just as we cannot always predict or control how students will perform at their task, so it is difficult to predict the success of community organizations. Moreover, many effective community organizations cannot or do not use students or other academic input effectively. If students go into the service-learning experience believing that they are likely to make a big difference, they are apt to become discouraged when their impact does not meet the goals of the course or the community. On the other hand, if we make their service the starting point for a larger discussion about those policies and institutions which truly make a difference in communities, we can provide fundamental and powerful lessons in how to positively impact communities (Eyler & Giles, 2000).

Therefore, the involvement of Transforming Communities students in a service-learning project in the community is an asset to our curriculum but it is not in itself our curriculum. In fact, Transforming Communities suggests a wide range of experiential tools besides service which can accomplish this goal and perhaps involve more faculty in teaching these valuable subjects. Our larger, more encompassing objectives are to teach students about what community means, the issues communities face, and the ways to strengthen communities, of which service to community organizations is only one. I believe – and student comments bear me out – that this overall curriculum, and not any one assignment, is critical to what students learn about communities and public policy, as well as what they choose to do with their lives when they leave the program. It is to this curriculum that I now turn.

The Transforming Communities Seminar

Transforming Communities, one of several courses of study in the Washington Semester Program at American University, consists of an Internship course, which provides a professional experience in community change along with classes that place the experience in context, a research project, which allows students to

focus in depth on a particular area of interest in communities, and the heart of the program: the Transforming Communities Seminar. I will focus on the Seminar, in large part because – though more hours (eight) than the typical college course – it provides a model for a community studies curriculum or course. It is a model that in every aspect combines the classroom and the community. It includes substantive presentations, either in class or in the field, along with readings and academically rigorous assignments, including two major community-based learning assignments. The syllabus for the Seminar, as well as other information about it, can be accessed through the Transforming Communities website at www.transformingcommunities.net and is also on the Campus Compact website.

The Seminar content is divided into three segments: (1) the meaning of community, (2) the elements of healthy communities and proposals for strengthening them, and (3) strategies and institutions which impact and transform communities. Within each segment we focus on particular topics; the study of each topic begins with an introduction defining the issues involved, is followed by a series of guest speakers and site visits which illustrate these issues, and ends with a wrap-up session during which we draw conclusions and segue into the next topic.

We begin the Seminar with the critical attempt to define community, an effort which is ongoing throughout the course. For example, is community about place, about people, or about a concept? Is the "environmental community" really a community if its members do not know one another but simply share a common goal? Conversely, is a neighborhood a community if its members share only geography? Is our seminar class a community if we stay together for only a semester and then disperse? Does community require social capital and civic engagement? Questions like these lead us to consider the ingredients necessary to community and to place the concept of community in three contexts: economic, social, and political.

The bulk of the Seminar is devoted to major issues confronting communities. While the content of this portion of the Seminar may vary as times change, and new issues confront communities as old ones are resolved, the basic goals and principles remain the same: to confront these issues and evaluate solutions. This section of the course is divided into a series of modules: community development, community safety and the environment, housing, work, economic security for families, and education.

We first discuss the history of community development, particularly during the last half century, when market forces, government policy and racial discrimination combined to create metropolitan areas defined by urban decline and suburban expansion into rural areas (Fishman, 1999), by impoverished and isolated racially-defined ghettoes (Massey and Denton, 1993), and by the rise in technology (Putnam, 2000). Turning to the present, we discuss the intended and unintended consequences of past and current efforts to reverse these conditions. At the same time, we address the impact of globalization on communities and the value of policies and institutions designed to maintain the character of local communities (Shuman, 1998). Transforming Communities also juxtaposes on-the-ground efforts to improve community safety and the environment with the larger policy questions involved. For example, are our best safety policies directed toward developing and improving the physical environment (Wilson and Kelling, 1996) or fostering personal trust (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1998)? When should we pursue community-based solutions to crime and, when it becomes necessary to remove people from their communities, how do we maximize their chances of success when they are ready to return (Talbot, 2003)?

The discussion of community development and the environment leads directly to the crucial issues involved with housing in communities, particularly affordability, gentrification, and homelessness. At the same time, we also study the reasons that housing, racial segregation, and poverty have been and continue to be inextricably intertwined. Transforming Communities addresses historic and current policies that impact housing, especially those policies that encourage home ownership, provide access to public and other low-income housing, and offer assistance to the homeless. Integral to the housing section of the Seminar are visits to both public and private housing developments, which starkly contrast dense, concentrated low-income housing projects to newer, less dense mixed-income communities such as those promoted by the Hope VI program. We analyze the role of government and the private sector in developing, implementing, and funding strategies to provide affordable housing, and we examine benefits and drawbacks of each sector and strategy.

Next we study the impact of global economic changes and national social change on our work and family lives. This section includes the following: (1) policies and practices designed to establish and maintain people in the workforce, (2) systems such as health care, child care, and retirement security, along with strategies designed to increase individual and family assets and financial responsibility, and (3) policies and strategies to influence individual and family behavior, including programs to reduce teen pregnancy, encourage marriage, and provide a support system for children whose families are irretrievably broken. As we learn how the communities in which children live and congregate play such a dominant role

in their lives, we consider whether the most effective strategy for creating healthy families and communities is education, or whether the health of other community systems is a prerequisite to quality education. In our study of education policy, which explores a wide range of solutions, and our visits to schools which deliver education in different ways, we sometimes ask larger questions, such as whether systems to provide universal democratic education may sometimes work at cross purposes with systems of accountability.

The final section of the Transforming Communities Seminar is about process. We address the agents (such as government and nonprofits) and strategies (such as service, advocacy, and organizing) of community change which we have witnessed throughout the semester, and we discuss the attributes of each, along with its strengths and weaknesses. The Seminar ends with a discussion in which students select the particular path of change they believe they will pursue—whether as a vocation or an avocation—followed by their analysis of the most effective means and agents of community change (Kravetz and Hand, forthcoming). Their invariable conclusion that the most effective community change strategies utilize multiple tools and agents has its roots in the Seminar speakers, but also in students' own experiences as they complete the assignments.

The three major assignments of the Transforming Communities Seminar are designed to enhance its three strands. The first is a series of short sequential analytic papers analyzing the various issues in communities, such as safety, housing, economic security, and children and families. These papers call for critical analysis of the speakers and readings as well as brief but well-supported proposals for improvement. Traditional academic research, along with a comparison of competing ideas and proposals from speakers and readings, is rewarded.

The other two assignments also require critical analysis but involve students actively in the community. One, a study of a community of their individual choosing in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, is designed to fortify students' understanding of community and community improvement through an in-depth look at a particular place and its population. In addition to conducting historical and other background research on the community they select, students are expected to carefully canvas the area and speak with a range of local residents, business people, and service providers. The study must include an historical and demographic overview as well as a summary of the community's assets (Kretzmann & McKnight 1993). It must also contain an analysis of any major areas which need improvement and a supported proposal for strengthening, if not transforming, the community. Once the assignment is completed, we have a class

discussion. After breaking into small groups of those who have studied the same or related communities to share whether and how their findings and proposals align and diverge, the class members meet as a whole to compare their communities and determine whether they can draw any general conclusions about the components of healthy communities.

The third assignment addresses how communities change and involves service learning, or what might be described more accurately as community-based learning (Cohen, 2005). This requirement shares the general goals of most service learning, such as improving the community and enhancing student understanding of community problems, but – like most service learning -- it also has a rationale specific to the curriculum, in this case the third and final unit of the Transforming Communities Seminar on community transformation. Community-based civic institutions have always been a dynamic part of the social and political fabric, particularly in the United States (De Tocqueville, 1969). In the past quarter century, however, our civic discourse suggests an emphasis on these institutions and voluntary participation to address community problems and indeed transform communities. As they help fulfill the goals of a few of these organizations, students in the Transforming Communities Seminar have the opportunity to learn how well these organizations utilize service in their work. More broadly, students evaluate the effectiveness of this "independent sector" as a whole, as well as a range of institutions within it, as agents of change.

To implement the community-based learning requirement, I have developed a database of people and organizations whose goal is to improve community life at the grassroots. Randy Stoecker (2002) has eloquently discussed the difficulty of determining who and what truly represent the "community," but such decisions are no more subjective than the choice of speakers or readings in any course. In any event, it is not my goal to find what I judge to be the best, but rather to include a wide range of organizations that are attempting to change communities. Each semester I solicit this group to see if any need student assistance for a semester. I also consult the database of organizations in our Community Research and Learning (CoRAL) Network, a consortium of area higher education institutions devoted to community-based learning. In that way, each semester I identify a small number of service-learning sites in which to place Transforming Communities students, who have considerable input as to where they go. Students assist these organizations for only a few hours each week for about twelve weeks, a fact which limits the number and type of organizations that can utilize our assistance. I cannot prove that we provide a significant benefit to the

organizations we serve or to the communities they hope to change. The Seminar's priority is for the service learning to add a significant educational component to the course, while at the least doing no harm to the community. After some failures at the start (Kravetz, 2005), and despite an occasional organization that turns out to be a poor fit, I believe the Seminar is largely successful in this endeavor.

At the beginning of the semester I provide students with an extensive explanation of the purpose of this service learning. During the semester they fulfill their service requirement. At the end of the semester they complete the learning requirement in the context of a three-part evaluation of the effectiveness of (1) their assistance, (2) their organization, and (3) grassroots civic organizations in general. The service learning makes the theoretical discussion about community transformation more concrete. It gives them some experience to help them question or confirm some of their prior assumptions about voluntarism, and about the role of other purported strategies for change. The community-based learning is therefore integral to the course and its goals.

Positive Outcomes and Challenges

While it is difficult to measure the success of a course or program, some indicators suggest Transforming Communities has achieved its objectives. First, I have stressed the need for expertise in, and cross-fertilization among, varied disciplines in order to effectively and holistically impact communities. In this respect Transforming Communities has achieved considerable success, especially considering that the Washington Semester Program in general is designed for political science majors. The two disciplines with the greatest representation over the five years of the program are political science and sociology, but each has accounted for only twenty percent of our students. Five percent are urban planning or urban studies majors, and another ten percent have some other interdisciplinary major. Other disciplines well-represented in Transforming Communities are psychology (seven percent), communications (five percent), and international relations/area studies (five percent). The remainder of the approximately 300 participants represent at least fifteen other majors. Since many schools do not offer all or even a majority of these majors—whereas almost all of them offer political science and sociology—we consider this diversity to be one of the special strengths of Transforming Communities.

Diversity comes in other forms as well. The students have been geographically representative (forty states and six countries outside the United States) and racially diverse. Thirty-five of the approximately 300

students were African American, over twenty were Hispanic, and over fifteen were Asian. This diversity is particularly notable given the fact that the overwhelming number of institutions sending students to the Washington Semester Program are private, four-year liberal arts colleges, where minority representation tends to be quite small.

Another objective of Transforming Communities is to operate across the political divide and bring people of diverse ideological persuasions to the table. I make sure that Transforming Communities has its share of speakers across the ideological spectrum. While I have never polled the students on their political affiliation, it is clear that they also range from the far left to the far right, but with a preponderance of students who identify themselves as either moderate or liberal. Still, the fact that a course about community change attracts any conservative students is, I believe, a positive indicator. What the students have in common is a desire to make communities better, and their differences in focus and means of achieving this goal bring rich debate to the Seminar. Furthermore, the subject matter seems to encourage a search toward common solutions rather than a sharpening of the ideological divide.

Transforming Communities receives strong anonymous evaluations from students. Over its five year history, 71 percent of the students have given the course the highest rating of superior, 21 percent have rated it very good, and 7 percent have rated it good. Not one student has rated it fair or poor. Anonymous narrative evaluations, while positive, have particularly praised the community based-learning assignments.

While Transforming Communities has many positive indicators and receives strong evaluations, my experience with colleagues in higher education suggests that replicating elements of the course material and the service-learning component faces challenges. While not overly daunting to former community practitioners like me and to committed community learners like the Transforming Communities students, the course material can appear too complex and the service learning too time-consuming to many faculty and students (Kravetz, 2005). We grappled with this issue recently at a CoRAL Network conference on strategies for extending course offerings that incorporate student assistance to community organizations in the form of service, research, or advocacy. In the same panel at which I discussed Transforming Communities, a colleague reported on an extensive survey she had conducted of the faculty of her university concerning their knowledge of, and interest in, service learning (Schuttloffel, 2005). The results were discouraging, though not surprising. Most of the faculty had not heard of it and, perhaps more importantly, many who had heard of service learning were not interested in using it in their courses. I don't believe their answers

resulted from a misunderstanding of the demands of service learning; their concerns have been amply documented even by ardent proponents of service learning (Hartley, M., Harkavy, I., & Benson, L., 2005). In addition, while academic institutions can have a positive impact on the community within which they are located, institutions which are not situated in low-income communities, or do not have sufficient leadership or resources to make a major contribution to that community, can still achieve their primary objective of educating their students in valuable lessons about community change without actually taking on the daunting task themselves.

One way to meet these challenges is to offer a wide range of community-related options to faculty. For example, what if we were to ask an engineering faculty member about whether a course on designing a system for cleaning and shoring up local polluted waterways might be a good addition to the curriculum? I suspect the interest might be greater. Perhaps such a course would include a community-based—even a service — project somewhere down the road. However, would it not be preferable for students, and the society at large to have the course, with or without the project? Should we not provide vehicles and encouragement for more well-designed courses about important community issues? Such curricula will not only provide a rich education that, down the road, can be incorporated into a community studies curriculum, but it can ignite student demand for learning, and faculty interest in teaching, about these issues. The closer they get to community, the richer that design might be. However, initially faculty, students, and communities must feel they are part of a larger endeavor to make communities stronger and that they can use their expertise to develop a range of creative courses about community issues (Butin, 2005).

Furthermore, the academic component of Transforming Communities and other programs like it faces considerable skepticism in higher education circles. While I do not believe they are insurmountable, they call for further exploration, dialogue, and strategic thinking. In spite of a century of calls for more community-centered interdisciplinary learning from distinguished educators like Dewey and Boyer, one finds no consistent effort, but rather isolated courses and programs, generally outside of the higher education mainstream (Mott, 2005). While service learning has greatly increased, causing students to interact with their communities, we are only at the nascent stages of a discussion about curricula encompassing the major issues in community and civic life. Transforming Communities provides one model—by no means the only one—and below I suggest some mechanisms for incorporating these models more fully into higher education.

As a practical matter, we need to identify faculty who can teach such courses. In the case of community courses, my own experience may be illustrative. Had I not helped develop the syllabus for Transforming Communities and shepherded it through the approval process at my university, I would not have been considered, or considered myself, qualified to teach it. Because the curriculum requires the weaving of a number of disciplines, and disciplines are at the foundation of our academic training, there were gaping holes in my knowledge base of substantive issues. My research skills were limited to those in the law—useful, to be sure—but inapplicable to economic or sociological analysis. At the same time, legal studies crosses disciplines and likely made it easier for me to adapt to an interdisciplinary problem-solving model. Those who possess rigorously acquired, interdisciplinary community-based knowledge should form the core of a community-based learning.

At the same time, courses and programs about and involving community must be open and flexible while maintaining their rigor. The issues communities face are constantly changing. Twenty-five years ago homelessness was not a major problem in communities, but it is an essential topic in any community studies program today. When I began Transforming Communities in 2000, questions concerning welfare reform were high on my agenda. Only five years later they have been overshadowed by the problems of low-wage workers and the impact of globalization and immigration on communities. Transforming Communities has been able to address these new issues without sacrificing a rigorous approach.

Questions concerning the rigor of community courses will remain under any circumstances, particularly the concern that such programs sacrifice depth for breadth, or address some issues communities face while omitting others. Time constraints make it impossible to discuss every possible community concern in one semester. That is why it is important to determine and identify common principles and basic curricula. Community-centered courses and curricula must be deep and broad at the same time in order to maintain a stable yet dynamic presence in higher education.

Another concern is that community-based courses such as Transforming Communities tend to be identified with a progressive, liberal philosophy. I would argue that the current focus on community and service is one shared by scholars and practitioners across the spectrum. We are already familiar with a considerable body of social change scholarship identified with more progressive thinking. In fact, an unprecedented volume of influential writings from conservatives outside academia concerns issues

fundamental to communities, on subjects ranging from the family (Rector & Johnson, 2004), education (Hess, 2004), and the role of faith in community transformation (Elliott, 2004). The student population in Transforming Communities reflects this range. It would be difficult to categorize Transforming Communities students, who are eager to learn about and vigorously debate proposals from all sides in a search for effective policies and strategies. If anything, community-based curricula may serve to de-polarize what has been a highly politicized environment in order to find long-term solutions. However, in order to do so, they must be equally open to, and critical of, a wide range of perspectives.

Conclusion

After five years of the Transforming Communities Seminar, I see more clearly than ever why John Lewis' description of his band of children "walking with the wind" in the house so struck me, for it aptly and poignantly grounds the Transforming Communities endeavor in so many ways. First, it takes place in a home and a family, the foundations of community. While it formed an immediate and perhaps effective response to a storm that threatened to damage or destroy those foundations, at some point in his evolution Congressman Lewis understood that larger solutions—a more grounded and stable home perhaps—were required. He went on in his life to seek and indeed bring about solutions, first as an organizer, then in local government, and today as a representative in the national government. And while his own path at one time in history required considerably greater courage, commitment, and effort than the path most of us follow, and while his efforts led to dramatic and enduring consequences, he recognizes all the small contributions of countless individuals in countless ways coming together to strengthen our common fabric. Transforming Communities attempts to study all these forms of contribution to forging and strengthening communities. I believe—and participant feedback amply confirms—that it can rigorously educate students about issues that deeply and directly impact communities. I advocate for incorporating more of these courses into larger community studies curricula (Butin, 2005). Those of us involved in teaching about communities should focus on expanding and deepening knowledge in this area, and we should reward and encourage all effective community-based learning strategies which can become part of a larger community studies endeavor.

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Disciplining Service Learning: Institutionalization and the Case for Community Studies

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This article argues that the service-learning field has been pursuing the wrong revolution. Namely, service learning has been envisioned as a transformative pedagogical practice and philosophical orientation that would change the fundamental policies and practices of the academy. However, its attempted institutionalization faces substantial barriers and positions service learning in an uncomfortable double-bind that ultimately co-opts and neutralizes its agenda. This article argues that a truly transformative agenda may be to create a parallel movement to develop an "academic home" for service learning within academic "community studies" programs. This "disciplining" of service learning is the truly revolutionary potential of institutionalizing service learning.

The service-learning field has been pursuing the wrong revolution. Namely, service learning has been envisioned as a transformative pedagogical practice and philosophical orientation that would change the fundamental policies and practices of the academy. However, its attempted institutionalization of a political and pedagogical revolution not only faces substantial barriers, but also positions service learning in an uncomfortable double-bind. This double-bind co-opts service learning's agenda such that, rather than service learning changing higher education, higher education will change service learning.

I thus argue that a truly transformative agenda may be to create a parallel movement to develop an "academic home" —a disciplinary "home base" —for service learning. This "disciplining" of service learning, I will argue, is not the negation of a politics of transformation but the condition of its possibility. Specifically, I put forward the argument that service learning can be sustained as a legitimate and critical undertaking in higher education only by becoming "disciplined" within the framework of an academic "community studies" program. By linking rigorous academic coursework with immersive and consequential community-based learning, community studies programs embody the connections and engagement desired between institutions of higher education and their local and global communities. What community studies truly offer—to students, institutions, and communities—is a legitimate and longstanding academic space from which to foster a meaningful praxis of theory and practice. It is from within this space that service learning can truly flourish.

This article first summarizes the goals of service learning's present push for institutionalization and its theoretical and empirical limits. It then articulates the potential for community studies programs in higher education and uses the case of women's studies programs both as an exemplary model of such a transformation and as a means to dispel the worries of marginalizing service learning as an academic discipline. This article concludes by proposing one possible future direction for ultimately strengthening service learning by promoting academic community studies programs.

The Limits of Institutionalizing Service Learning

Service learning appears ubiquitous in higher education today. It can be found on institutional homepages, in college presidents' speeches, and as stand-alone administrative offices and centers committed to supporting curricular and co-curricular community-based practices. Almost 1,000 colleges and universities are Campus Compact members committed to the civic purposes of higher education. Tens of thousands of faculty engage millions of college students in some form of service-learning practice each and every year.

The service-learning literature is thus replete with discussions about, and strategies for, institutionalization (Bell et al., 2000; Benson et al., 2005; Bringle & Hatcher, 2000; Furco, 2002; Hartley et al., 2005; Kramer, 2000; Wingspread, 2004). The goal throughout is to embed service learning as deeply and widely across the academy as possible in order to insure its longevity and thus success. However, the institutionalization of service learning is far from secure. Beyond the immense pragmatic difficulties of institutionalizing any educational reform model, I suggest that there are specific theoretical, pedagogical, political, and institutional limits to the institutionalization of a powerful and coherent service-learning model. I have laid out these limits elsewhere in detail (Butin, 2003, 2005, in press a). I thus summarize these arguments in order to suggest that the service-learning movement must look elsewhere to develop alternative and complementary strategies for becoming successfully embedded within higher education.

The *theoretical limits to service learning* in higher education revolve around tensions of knowledge production and dissemination. Specifically, higher education is torn between the notion of functioning as an academic enterprise concerned primarily with the rigorous, objective, and pure examination of the truth versus as a training ground and incubator for the social and civic mission of a public democracy. Service learning is fundamentally viewed as supporting the latter: experiential and engaged learning in the "real world" is privileged over book scholarship; social justice is a presumed and hoped-for outcome; and there is no such thing as an objective and neutral perspective, especially given the all too-often marginalized and silenced voices of the community. However, such perspectives gain little traction in the minutia of developing academic legitimacy and privilege vis-à-vis tenure, promotion, and funding. Ira Harkavy (Harkavy & Benson, 1998) has referred to this as the "dead hand of Plato" winning out over Dewey's argument that knowledge is a participatory, transactional, and reflective act.

The *pedagogical limits to service learning* in higher education refer to the types of students and faculty involved in service learning. First, student demographics do not align with the type of students supposedly doing service learning. Much of the service-learning literature presumes an "ideal type" student: one who volunteers her time, has high cultural capital, is single, has no children, is un-indebted, is between the ages of 18 and 24, matriculates in four consecutive years, and gains from contact with the cultural "other." However, this is not the demographics of higher education today, much less in twenty years. Thirty-four percent of undergraduates are over 25 years of age, and 40 percent of undergraduates are part-time; NCES (Snyder et al. 2004) data shows that such "non-traditional" students (over the age of twenty-five, with children, and part-time) are in fact the largest growth segment in postsecondary education. Second, a normative model of teaching (83 percent of faculty use lecturing as the primary instructional method [NCES, 2002, tables 15 and 16]) is reinforced by the marginal and transitory status of faculty. Non-tenure track faculty constitute almost half of all teaching faculty in higher education (Snyder et al., 2004).

The *political limits to service learning* reside in the fact that service learning has a progressive and liberal agenda under the guise of a universalistic practice. The field's consistent valorization of the goals of civic engagement and social justice presumes a steadily upward movement from charity-based forms of volunteerism towards justice-oriented modes of sustained and collective practice. As Westheimer & Kahne (2004) note, these are fundamentally distinctive models of what it means to be a citizen, yet in our hyper-sensitive red-state/blue state political culture, such distinctions all too easily are transposed into, and associated with, left- and right-wing agendas and ideologies. The very mention of "social justice" thus sets in play (conservative) political maneuvering employing the language game of left-wing "indoctrination" and the subversion of "intellectual diversity" (Horowitz, 2003; see Butin, in press b, for a further analysis). Service learning thus finds itself in an extremely uncomfortable double-bind. If it attempts to be a truly radical and transformative (liberal) practice, it faces potential censure and sanction. If it attempts to be politically balanced to avoid such an attack, it risks losing any power to make a difference.

Finally, the *institutional limits to service learning* reside in the realization that higher education works by very specific disciplinary rules about knowledge production, about who has the academic legitimacy to produce such knowledge and how. The service-learning field has adapted to such an academic game primarily through the embrace of what I term the "quantitative move" (Butin, 2005, in press a). Appropriating the "statistically significant" nomenclature, service-learning scholars have attempted to show that service learning is a legitimate academic practice with measurable positive outcomes. Yet in so doing, service-learning scholars buy into a paradigm of instrumental accountability whereby success is both definable and measurable. Relying on such a quantitative move may help service-learning scholars gain a certain legitimacy in the academy. What it will not do, though, is expand the boundaries of how to think about the academic because it buys into, rather than subverts, the very norms by which the academy engages in knowledge construction and dissemination. What it will not do is provide a decidedly different discourse vis-à-vis how service learning should be institutionalized to revolutionize higher education.

The Exemplary Case of Women's Studies

I want to suggest that women's studies offers an exemplary model of institutionalization that has in fact transformed how the academy operates. Specifically, women's studies offers an example of disciplinary institutionalization that is not the negation of politics but the condition of its possibility. In fact, I suggest that the arc of institutionalization for women's studies has much to offer scholars and practitioners intent on deeply embedding service learning within the academy.

Women's studies began as a set of courses in the early 1970s, first at San Diego State University and soon across dozens and then hundreds of campuses. The impetus was the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation Movements of the 1960s and the example of the mobilization of Black Studies programs in higher

education. By the early 1980s women's studies had formed a national organization—the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA)—and there were several hundred Women's Studies programs scattered across the country. A fundamental issue was whether the field should be conceptualized as an autonomous academic entity (i.e. an academic program or discipline) or a transformative agenda of feminist activism across higher education (Bowles & Klein, 1983; Howe, 2000). Women's studies took the first path: it became an academic program. Today, women's studies is a thriving discipline, with over a thousand programs and the usual academic accoutrements that accompany such success: dozens of journals and conferences, multiple stand-alone Ph.D. programs, etc. (Stanton & Stewart, 1995).

The question today, though, is whether women's studies is still possible (Brown, 1997, 2003). Specifically, have the transformative goals of feminists and women's studies programs been appropriated by the norms of academia? Indeed, there appears a simple linear trajectory for women's studies: a radical social movement intent on changing higher education has instead become co-opted and domesticated to the detriment of both the movement and the peoples meant to be liberated by it. Women's studies has become "routinized" (Messer-Davidow, 2002).

However, such a narrative arc of marginalization—which, it should be noted, has much resonance for service-learning scholars intent on not giving up their activist orientation—misjudges the very structures and purposes of the academy. What it ignores is that a critique such as Brown's—of whether women's studies is still possible in the academy—is only allowable within the disciplinary boundaries of an academic program. Put otherwise, the very routinization feared is exactly what allows women's studies (or any other discipline, for that matter) to flourish through public and rigorous critique which is able to be built upon.

Feminist and women's studies scholars realized by the early 1980s that as long as women's studies was conflated with social activism, it risked being dismissed as yet another form of identitarian politics beholden to the unquestioned uplifting of an essentialized category (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender) (Wiegman, 2005). The move of institutionalization as an academic discipline provided a means for women's studies to use the gendered subject as its mode of inquiry. Women's studies is thus no longer about feminist politics and activism; rather, it is about engaging in academic discourses through a feminist lens. It allows women's studies scholars the ability to internally debate and determine what issues are worthy of study, by what modes of inquiry, and to what ends (Weigmann, 1999, 2002). Moreover, it allows feminist and women's studies scholars the

opportunity—through traditional academic paths of scholarship, discourse, and the micro-politics of everyday practices—to promote feminist models and practices across the academy (DuBois, 1985; Stanton & Stewart, 1995).

Thus, Brown's (2003) critique ultimately does not engage the (lack of a) future of women's studies; rather, it engages the inadequacy of viewing women's studies as the revolutionary vehicle for a feminist liberation. Revolutions, Brown argues, presume a coherency and liberatory status that women's studies never had (see Moraga & Anzaldua, 1981 for just such a critique of "first wave" feminism). For Brown (2003), such a throwing off of the yoke of liberation is itself liberatory: "If we are without revolutionary possibility today, we are also free of revolution as the paradigm of transformation" (p. 15). Women's studies as an academic discipline thus has the freedom—in fact the obligation—to develop, question, and revise its own tools, its own practices, its own analytic foci, and its own disciplinary modes of knowledge production and dissemination.

This case of women's studies suggests that only by becoming disciplined—by becoming an academic program or departmental unit—can service learning truly be sustained and nourished in the academy. In fact, if service learning does not to some extent become transformed into an academic discipline, it may ultimately become just one more educational reform model scattered haphazardly and ineffectually across the higher education landscape. If service learning cannot discipline itself, and if it cannot gain the professional and social legitimacy to control its own knowledge production, develop its own disciplinary boundaries and norms, and critique and further its own practices, it will be unsustainable as a transformative agent within higher education.

The Case for Community Studies

Women's studies took an activist vision of feminism and embedded it as an academic practice within the academy. I suggest a similar process is possible for service learning: taking an activist vision of community engagement and embedding it as an academic discipline of "community studies."

Such an alternative, in fact, already exists. There is a sizable set of programs in higher education that go by the moniker of "community studies." As table 1 shows, such programs are highly variable in their foci, institutional affiliation, and level of autonomy. (This list was derived through a comprehensive web-based search of the exact phrase "community studies" on only ".edu" domain webpages; see http://www.gettysburg.edu/~dbutin/communitystudies.htm.)

TABLE 1
Community Studies Academic Programs in Higher Education

Concentrations
- California State University - Northridge's Asian American Studies Department offers a Community Studies concentration
- Clemson's Sociology Department offers a Community Studies concentration
- George Mason University's New Century College offers a Community Studies concentration
- Guilford College offers a Community Studies concentration within their Justice and Policy Studies major
- Portland State University offers a Community Studies cluster within their University Studies program
- University of Missouri-Columbia's Department of Rural Sociology has a Community Studies emphasis

Minor
- Ferris State University offers a Community Studies minor
- Santa Clara University offers a Community Studies minor
- University of Michigan's College of Literature, Science, and the Arts offers an Urban and Community Studies minor
- Washington State University's Community & Rural Sociology Department offers a Community Studies minor

Major
- University of Baltimore offers a Community Studies and Civic Engagement major
- University of Massachusetts - Boston's College of Public & Community Service offers a Community Studies major
- University of Utah's Department of Family & Consumer Studies offers a Consumer & Community Studies major

Graduate offering
- Northeastern University's Department of Sociology & Anthropology offers an Urban Affairs & Community Studies concentration for its graduate program
- University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Department of Human and Community Development offers a Community Studies and Outreach PhD program
- University of Vermont offers a graduate program in Education and Community Studies

Department
- St. Cloud State University has a Community Studies Department
- University of California -Santa Cruz has a Community Studies Department
- University of Connecticut has an Urban and Community Studies Department
- University of Maine-Machias offers a Behavioral Sciences & Community Studies major
- University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee has a Department of Educational Policy & Community Studies

Yet despite such variability, an analysis of these twenty-one programs' self-description (based on their websites) revealed just three distinctive "community studies" models: 1) community studies as methodology, 2) community studies as academic specialization, and 3) community studies as community development and social change.

Community studies as methodology views engagement with a community as consisting of a set of methodological practices akin to ethnography and community-based research. Every single academic program articulated a set of methodological procedures by which students would begin to examine an issue, be it public health or poverty. Thus, irrespective of the focus or where in the academy it was positioned, every single community studies program expected students to engage in some form of fieldwork to understand the academic content under investigation. *Community studies as academic specialization* views engagement with a community as the analytic lens through which to examine and analyze a specific issue. Thus, while women's studies scholars make use of the gendered

subject as the lens by which to examine a host of issues, multiple community studies programs examined specific issues (e.g. race and ethnicity, urban policy, education) through the lens of distinctive communities. Finally, *community studies as community development and social change* views engagement with a community as an activist practice. The focus is on how community engagement supports and strengthens the (re)building and sustenance of specific communities of practice.

Irrespective of the specific focus (i.e., methodology, academic, or social change), each and every community studies program is clearly within an academic discipline. Transforming service learning into an academic discipline thus offers a highly intriguing opportunity, for developing an academic community studies program and embedding it within the very core of the academy would relieve many of the worries within the service-learning field. For example, the Campus Compact annual membership survey (2004) cites faculty time pressure, lack of funding, lack of common understanding, lack of funding for work, and faculty resistance as the top obstacles to service

learning on campuses. This is because service learning is seen as an add-on to all of the other worries, pressures, and constraints on faculty. However, if there were a community studies program, a scholarship of engagement within the community would be the primary task. There would still be time pressures and funding obstacles, but those would simply be part of the job of being a faculty member in community studies rather than an additional burden. I would no longer have to worry about whether service learning was taking time away from my research and potentially preventing my case for tenure. My scholarship of engagement with the community *would be* my research and my case for tenure.

Such disciplinary specialization in fact strengthens rather than undercuts deep and sustained community engagement, for all disciplines create and monitor their own disciplinary assumptions of learning, teaching, and research. Teacher educators ask questions such as "should we lecture in a classroom?"; qualitative researchers debate the ethical dilemmas of fieldwork; economists worry about which statistical models skew the data more than others. Every discipline is a community of scholars worried about particular major or minor crises in their respective fields and subfields.

Likewise, the means and goals of community studies become the fundamental questions in the field. For example, the question, "How much voice should community members have in the partnership?" immediately becomes expanded and problematized: "Whose voices should be heard and whose shouldn't?"; "How should such hearing occur?"; "What does it even mean to hear?" What becomes clear is that there will be (and should be) a spectrum of perspectives about the notions of reciprocity, respect, power, and knowledge production embedded in this extremely complex and multifaceted question. To be a member of the community studies field means that at some point in one's academic career one has grappled, and hopefully continues to grapple, with the question of community voice.

Critics may contend that community studies would marginalize service learning into a theory-laden and activist-poor academic backwater concerned more with publishing and tenure than with real changes in the real world. Yet such an argument presumes (wrongly) that service- learning-as-activism is the only way to transform higher education. For all of the human, fiscal, and institutional resources devoted to service learning across higher education, there are in fact very minimal on-the-ground changes in the academy, in local communities, or in society more generally. I do not dispute that in isolated situations with unique circumstances profound changes have occurred. I also do not want to demean the immense effort and energy committed by two generations of activists both within

and outside higher education. What I am simply pointing out is that service learning should not have to bear the burden (nor the brunt) of being the social justice standard-bearer. To do so would be to set up an impossible causal linkage between service learning and social betterment. Much scholarship, for example, can be marshaled to show that the divisions in our society based on categories of race, class, ethnicity, and language have in many cases become worse, not better; that democracy for all intents and purposes has become a spectator sport as most of us (and particularly youth) have disengaged from the public sphere; and that the United States is the worst offender in the developed world of human principles and ethical norms for the treatment of its incarcerated population. Is this service learning's fault? If service learning succeeds as hoped in higher education and these conditions continue to decline, does this mean that service learning is to blame? The issues cited have much more to do with a host of interconnected economic, social, political, and legal policies than they do with the percentage of faculty implementing service learning on any particular campus.

To discipline service learning, though, is to focus it and provide a means by which to foster sustained and consequential change. This is the dual meaning of the term "disciplined." There is no doubt that women's studies was disciplined in its institutionalization. It distanced itself from the "street" and from the fervent activism therein; it had to devote attention to bureaucratic maneuverings for funds and faculty rather than for institutional change and transformation; it had to settle for yearly conferences instead of round-the-clock activism. Yet the appropriation of a Foucauldian terminology of "disciplining" more often than not glosses over Foucault's productive meaning of the term (Butin, 2001, 2002). As Foucault (1997) argued, "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals.' In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (p. 194). By becoming "disciplined," women's studies was able to produce the domains of objects and rituals of truth to be studied and recast. The same can be said for the potential of service learning. As such, I would argue, disciplinary institutionalization is not the negation of politics but the condition of its possibility.

I am aware that "community studies" is a contested term (Vasta 2000) that defies simple categorization, is all too easily essentialized, and that has been used for highly contradictory and political purposes. But so has the term "woman." It is exactly because of this contestation that an academic community studies program is a viable and necessary solution to the service-learning field, for it allows, in the safety of

disciplinary parameters, scholars to debate and define themselves and their field. This has everything to do with routinization. This is an acknowledgment that knowledge is disciplined by the particularities and specificities of mundane and totalizing structures, policies, and practices. Disciplines and disciplinary knowledges are forged and crafted by (to name but the most obvious) conference papers, journal articles, book series, philanthropic funding, research institutes, job openings, tenure-track faculty lines, *Chronicle of Higher Education* articles, and external reviewers.

There is nothing immediately revolutionary and transformational about such mundane practices; which is, I would argue, exactly what is so revolutionary about such an opportunity.

So Now What?

Elaine Reuben, the national coordinator of the NWSA in the early 1980s—at the height of discussions concerning institutionalization—noted, "We may get lost in our transformation" (quoted in Bowles and Klein, 1983, p.1). Likewise, I acknowledge that service learning may get lost as well. I am not suggesting that community studies programs are the silver bullet to institutionalizing service learning across higher education. They trade in one set of worries for another. What I am suggesting, though, is that this new set of worries may be much less worrisome than the present ones.

As an academic program or department, community studies would have to worry about tenure-track faculty lines and resource allocations vis-à-vis other institutional funding priorities. It would have to worry about developing graduate programs to train a new cadre of academics not beholden to other departments' norms and preconceptions. It would have to worry about the rigor and quality of its courses. It would have to worry about its value to the communities it works with and for. It would have to worry about how to articulate a cohesive and coherent vision of what it is and should be within higher education and to society at large. It would have to worry about whether it was even possible or worthwhile to articulate such a vision.

These worries, it may be argued, are pedestrian and insignificant compared to what is now being discussed, but I beg to differ. Yes, service learning may be lost in the transformation, but if we are truly free of revolution as the paradigm of transformation, an entire new field of possibilities opens itself up. Service learning may no longer claim that it will change the face of higher education, but women's studies does not do that either anymore.

Instead, women's studies scholars carefully and systematically elaborate how feminist perspectives are slowly infiltrating and modifying the ways specific disciplines and sub-disciplines work, think, and act (Stanton and Stewart, 1995). This is not radical and transformational change. This is disciplined change. It is the slow accretion, one arduous and deliberate step at a time, of contesting one world view with another. Some of it is blatantly political. Some of it is deeply technical. Much of it is debatable, questionable, and modifiable, just like any good academic enterprise. It is this which is truly transformational. What I am proposing will take immense time, funding, and talent. The ultimate directions and outcomes are far from clear, but the immediate path is obvious: we should think and act like good community studies scholars.

Namely, we should debate and discuss this proposal in multiple forums and venues and with multiple stakeholders; we should garner funding from our institutions, from federal grants, and from private foundations to develop pilot projects; we should set up an internal working group within Campus Compact to explore the feasibility and action steps necessary to develop this agenda; we should launch a community studies journal; we should start an annual community studies conference; we should question why we are doing this and, once we are doing it, assess what we have accomplished and failed to accomplish; we should look to our colleagues in other disciplines to help us understand what we are doing, what we should be doing, and why what we are doing differs from what they are doing; we should begin to map out what community studies encompasses, what it doesn't, and why; we should begin to articulate how community studies should function, how it shouldn't, and why.

Much of this is already being done in different parts of the service-learning movement. What I am thus suggesting, to put it simply, is that we should become disciplined.

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