

DEVELOPMENT OF A TRANSFORMATIONAL
ENGAGEMENT MODEL TO STUDY UNIVERSITY
COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

By

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Unbound from norms of the academic universe and the legalities of the bureaucratic university—thanks to a simple footnote on this page—I would like to reclaim this piece and its author. In doing so, I feel obliged to acknowledge how I see my work and myself. This piece is not solely a production of mine; many individuals have directly, or indirectly, contributed to the development of this manuscript. I may not be able to name and thank them all; neither have I thought this is the place to do so. Nonetheless, I would like to thank my committee chair and advisor, Dr. Tami Moore, my mentor and committee member, Dr. Zarrina Azizova, and my social psychology professor and my committee member, Dr. Monica Whitham. This piece would have never been formed without your insightful feedback, patient guidance, and deep understanding of your areas of scholarship. Thank you for believing in me. Thank you for helping me through my research. Above all, thank you for helping me become a better scholar and a better person.

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“... and you are so blessed in me,
and I am so blessed by you...”

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Abstract: Mutuality of benefits and reciprocity are the characteristics of university community engagement partnerships that render them democratic and enable universities to serve a larger purpose in working with communities. A review of literature shows that 1- mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships are not always the case in practice, 2- the terms lack conceptual clarity, and 3- the literature provides varied and at times contradictory evidence on how to develop such partnerships. By bringing the university community engagement literature in conversation with the Social Exchange tradition, particularly, Social Commitments Theory and Reciprocity Theory, through a critical interpretive synthesis approach, this study develops a new model to study university community engagement and partnerships. Transformational Engagement Model (TEM) provides a clear definition for mutuality of benefits and reciprocity, suggests that reciprocity can be developed from mutually beneficial partnerships through a transformational process, and provides recommendations on how to facilitate formation of transformational partnerships. By framing reciprocity as an outcome of transformational partnerships, TEM criticizes the current direction in institutionalizing engagement through training individuals to do the counter-normative work. TEM suggests that intentionality from institutions should be directed toward encouraging formation of transformational partnerships. TEM also criticizes portraying mutually beneficial partnerships as selfish, and reciprocal partnerships as selfless and non-utilitarian. Rather, TEM suggests that reciprocal partnerships have to be mutually beneficial and universities can have self-interest in engaging with communities. Finally, TEM provides recommendation on how to form structures that may facilitate formation of transformational partnerships. First, partnerships should be designed in ways that the relationships between individuals could be sustained for long periods. Second, different task types that incorporate different engagement structures are encouraged. Third, tasks need to be interdependent and groups, and not individuals, should be kept accountable for the partnership outcomes. Finally, engagement structures allow analysis of sophisticated engagement structures and investigation of formation of reciprocity among groups and beyond dyadic relationships. I also argue that TEM's conceptualization of reciprocity is more aligned with the Deweyan conception of learning by doing that the university community engagement advocates.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Higher education's civic role in addressing societal needs has revived following a national call in 1980s to engage universities with their neighboring communities to advance the scholarship of discovery, integration, application, and teaching (Moore, 2014; see Bok, 1982; Boyer, 1990, 2000; Lynton & Elman, 1987, for origins of the movement). Colleges and universities have thus attempted to engage not only *in* their communities and *for* their communities, as in traditional forms of outreach and public service, but also *with* their communities through engagement (Kezar, 2005; Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2011). The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching defines university community engagement as the “collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity” (Carnegie Foundation, 2006). Mutuality of benefits and reciprocity are understood as the defining elements of engagement characterized by a two-way flow of knowledge. Engagement based on mutuality of benefits and reciprocity does more than to revive the civic role of higher education in solving social problems, it also democratizes the institutions of higher education and redefines citizenship (Levin & Greenwood, 2016).

Higher education has historically been engaged in addressing social problems in different capacities through research, teaching, and service (Bingle, Games, & Malloy, 1999). The rise of

the German model of research university in mid-twenty first century and the substantive government investments in science and technology after World War II changed the primary focus of American universities from teaching and service to research (Geiger, 2008), increasingly “isolating knowledge generation from knowledge application” (Glass & Fitzgerald, 2010, p. 10). Universities have thus become domains of solutions to the complex problems that communities are unable to solve by themselves. In this paradigm, degree-holders, experts, and professionals generate knowledge and provide solutions to passive consumers of knowledge (Boyte, 2009). Benson, Harkavy, and Puckett (2000) call this divide “the Platonic aristocratic false dualism between ‘superior’ pure theory and ‘inferior’ applied practice” (p. 24). The rise of the expert culture enables a technocratic vision of citizenry and a democratic government where citizens are consumers, voters, and volunteers (Boyte, 2015). Alternatively, in a community engaged campus, faculty, students, and communities are co-creators of knowledge and belong to a common domain of solutions and problems. Glass and Fitzgerald (2010) state that what defines a community engaged university is engaged scholarship.

Holland (2001) defines engaged scholarship as “a specific conception of faculty work that connects the intellectual assets of the institution (i.e. faculty expertise) to public issues such as community, social, cultural, human, and economic development” (p. x). Mutuality of benefits and reciprocity distinguish engaged scholarship from traditional forms of teaching, research, and service. Engaged scholars are co-creators of knowledge with the public and their knowledge generation benefits both them and the public. Such co-creative forms of engagement “puts social interactions and human relationships, rather than techno-rationality, at the center of social transformation” (Glass & Fitzgerald, 2010, p.14). Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) call for a democratic engagement with “significant implications for transforming higher education such that democratic values are part of... the scholarly work of faculty...” (p. 6). Democratic engagement is essentially political as it “perpetuate[s] a kind of politics that rejects popularly informed decision-making in favor of expert-informed knowledge application” (p. 8). Democratic

engagement does not undervalue the objective knowledge the researchers produce, but cautions against delegitimization and exclusion of the knowledge and skills of the communities. Engaged scholarship, thus, “addresses pressing problems and holds a mirror to society to allow for self-reflection and self-correction” (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2011, p. 5). Engaged scholarship is best understood through the conventional lens of faculty roles in teaching, service, and research, but as Ward and Moore (2010) note, it “can represent activities which integrate and subsequently transcend the teaching, service, and research categorization” (p. 44).

Engaged teaching is mostly associated with service learning, which “is a form of experiential education in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development. Reflection, along with mutuality of benefits and reciprocity, are key concepts of service learning” (Jacoby, 2003, p. 3). Jacoby (2014) explains that service learning is program, pedagogy, and philosophy. In a service learning program, students serve community needs while achieving learning outcome like critical thinking and collaborative problem solving. As a pedagogical tool, students are asked to inspect theory in practice and question their deeply held beliefs and assumptions. As a philosophy, it is based on reciprocity, i.e. “moving from charity to justice, from service to the elimination of need” (Jacoby, 2014, p. 5).

Engagement through service roles can take different forms across academic disciplines. Examples of faculty engagement through service may include consultation practices and engagement in public policies or decision-making in communities (Ward & Moore, 2010). An example could be the faculty members whose scholarship involves sexual assault on college campuses and who consults the area victims support agencies on developing protocol for a survivor’s support group.

Faculty engaged research draws on community knowledge in all different stages of research to address problems facing the society. In engaged forms of research, e.g. action research or community-based participatory research, faculty members work with community residents to

define the research problem, conduct research, evaluate outcomes, and analyze data (McNall, Doberneck, & Van Egeren, 2010).

While community engagement movement has grown in the last three decades, but its institutionalization progress has slowed down in recent years and scholars are starting to question the limits of the current approaches to fundamentally change institutions of higher education (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2011).

Problem Statement

Whether it is a service learning course, a faculty engaged research project, or an engaged form of service, all participants in the partnership between the university and their communities learn and teach, serve and are served. Lunsford, Bargerstock, and Greasley (2010) note that “faculty are fundamental to the engagement mission of higher education institutions and that to understand engagement it is important to focus on faculty work” (p. 105). In an engaged university, faculty members generate and apply knowledge with the public to address societal issues through their engaged scholarship (Sandmann, 2008). Scholars and practitioners generally agree that faculty participation in community-engaged scholarship must be grounded in principles of mutuality of benefits and reciprocity and propose suggestions and guidelines on how to develop, sustain, and evaluate such partnerships (Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2013; Carnegie Foundation, 2006; Chambers & Gopaul, 2010; Dostilio et al., 2012; Glass & Fitzgerald, 2010; Hartley & Saltmarsh, 2016). Despite the consensus on their importance, mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships are not always the case.

Maurrasse (2010) notes the existence of numerous examples where faculty partnerships with community residents are not mutually beneficial and reciprocal. Given the power imbalance between university and community partners and the time restrictions of faculty, development of authentic and reciprocal partnerships is difficult (Community Partner Summit Group, 2010; Pasque, 2010). For example, short-term partnerships between faculty members and community partners in service learning courses have shown to be more likely to be transactional—benefitting

one party or both parties—and lack reciprocity (Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, & Morrison, 2010; Dorado & Giles, 2004; Enos & Morton, 2003). The study of mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships is further problematized by the fact that mutually of benefits and reciprocity are sometimes used interchangeably and seem to have lost their meaning in the literature (Dostilio et al., 2012).

Several studies have attempted to propose a framework to understand mutuality of benefits, reciprocity, or both of them (Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, & Morrison, 2010; Dostilio et al., 2012; Enos & Morton, 2003; Hammersley, 2017; Henry & Breyfogle, 2006; Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010; Saltmarsh, Clayton, & Hartley, 2009). These frameworks are helpful in informing the scholarship and practice, but their suggestions do not always reconcile. For example, most of these frameworks agree that mutuality of benefits based on a utilitarian exchange of benefits is indeed a thin form of reciprocity (Dostilio et al., 2012; Hammersley, 2017; Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010). However, Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) associate such mutually beneficial partnerships with the technocratic engagement and argue that it is reciprocal partnerships (or a thick form of reciprocity) that can contribute to the democratic mission of higher education institutions. The distinction between thin and thick forms of reciprocity, leads to a less-discussed topic: should all partnerships possess a thick reciprocity? what are the benefits of partnerships with thinner reciprocities?

Some scholars argue thin and thick forms of reciprocity are useful in different contexts and that thick reciprocity is not always desired (Dostilio et al., 2012; Hammersley, 2017; Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010). Whether thick reciprocity is the desired characteristic for all partnerships or just for some, different frameworks of reciprocity suggest ways to improve partnerships to reach the thick form of reciprocity. These attempts often result in recommendations on how to train faculty and staff to establish reciprocal partnerships. Saltmarsh and Zlotowski (2011) caution us about the limits of this approach to institutionalization of reciprocal partnerships:

With its well-honed skills of accommodation, the academy has found a way to recognize civic and community engagement without actually embracing their implications. Like so much in contemporary American culture, what we now have are business as usual and business as usual elite. (p. 2)

Democratic engagement based on reciprocity is limited by norms of institutions and constraints by market ideology colleges operate on.

The handful of articles on reciprocity suggest that mutually beneficial, or less-than-ideal reciprocal partnerships, should not be undervalued. However, there is a gap in the literature on whether mutually beneficial partnerships may transform into reciprocal partnerships. More specifically, is it possible that engagement process based on utilitarian rationality transform partnerships and partners? This study aims at addressing this gap in literature..

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to bring social exchange (SE) theoretical framework and tools into conversation with the literature on partnerships in university community engagement and engaged scholarship, to see how partnerships can evolve through repeated interactions. Social and cultural transformation has also stimulated similar lines of thought in Sociology and social psychology. Lawler, Thye, and Yoon (2009) ask how social transformation can be a possibility in an individualized market-based society where all the ties are transactional and based on rationality.

Social Commitments Theory (SCT; Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2009) and Reciprocity Theory (RT; Molm, 2010) posit that sustained transactional exchange relations can lead to emotional attachment, trust, and solidarity between exchange partners, as well as commitment to the partnerships. Therefore, it may be that reciprocal partnerships between faculty and their community partners grow from sustained mutually beneficial partnerships. Given the causal path in these two theories, it may as well be possible to explore certain conditions that will influence

the development of solidarity and affective ties between faculty members and their community partners.

Before proceeding to research procedures, a note has to be made on the application of a number of terms that are commonly used in community engagement and SE framework. This would facilitate understanding how this research relates to the scholarship in university community engagement and sociology.

A Note on Applications of Common Terms

This research draws upon the scholarship from multiple disciplines and scholarship originated from both scholars and practitioners. Therefore, some terms in literature may mean different things for a diverse readership. In this section, I particularly focus on two terms of reciprocity and partnership.

Reciprocity is a central focus of this study, but it has different meaning in SE and university community engagement. Therefore, in this study, an attempt has been made to distinguish between reciprocity used in university community engagement literature and SE framework. When the terms *reciprocity* and *reciprocal* are mentioned, they refer to the general conception of the words in university community engagement that is elaborated in this research. SE precedes reciprocity and reciprocal when they are used to refer to the conception put forward in SE. Therefore, SE-reciprocity and reciprocity refer to reciprocity within SE tradition and reciprocity within university community engagement literature, respectively.

Partnership is a term that is widely used in university community engagement to convey diverse ideas. Bringle, Clayton, and Price (2009) differentiate partnership with relationships to distinguish between dyadic relationships and larger partnerships which involve several dyadic relationships. In this manuscript, partnership may mean either a dyadic relationship or a partnership that involves several dyadic relationships. Also, unless clearly defined, relationship, refers as well to partnerships. Hence, partnership in this study can be associated with relationships

or partnerships in the literature on university community engagement (except when partnership connotes reciprocity—see Saltmarsh, Hartley, & Clayton, 2009, for an example).

Providing this note on what reciprocity and partnership mean in this study, it is now possible to proceed and elaborate on research procedures.

Procedures

This research is the result of the interaction of the researcher with the literature on community engagement; the researcher does not review the literature only to aggregate and summarize data, but does it to interpret data and generate theory. While the research design was not explicitly based on a qualitative method, but it aligns well with the principles of Critical Interpretive Synthesis (CIS; Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Reviewing literature from multiple perspectives, conducted through different methodologies, and informed through scholarship, research, practice, and policy is a complex process. Similar to Dixon-Woods et al., in this research the very foundational characteristics of partnerships, i.e. mutuality of benefits and reciprocity, have “not been consistently defined or operationalized across the field” (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006, p. 36). In this research, the literature is treated as the data by the researcher. The choice of articles to be included in analysis thus affects the results. This section provides an overview of the search protocol and criteria for including or excluding articles in the analysis.

The original research question guiding this study was how partnerships may transform over time. Handbook of Engaged Scholarship: Contemporary Landscapes, Future Directions (Vol. 1 and 2, Fitzgerald, Burack, & Seifer, 2010a, 2010b), and Research on Service Learning: Conceptual Frameworks and Assessments (Clayton, Bringle, & Hatcher, 2013) were used at the starting point to find the articles that focused on partnerships. The social exchange theoretical framework guided this research; therefore, special attention has been given to articles that focused on the process of engagement. As such, articles that mainly focused on institutionalizing partnerships were excluded from the study. These handbooks led the way to finding a handful of articles that concerned transformational partnerships. These few articles were then selected and

google scholar was used to review all other articles that had cited them. Moreover, articles that discussed partnerships irrelevant to higher education were excluded from this study. A preliminary aggregative literature review was performed and new questions were identified.

A second phase of literature review was conducted based on the question of how reciprocity and mutuality of benefits were defined and operationalized in engaged scholarship and university community engagement literature. Allowing new research questions to emerge through the literature review indeed served the ultimate goal of the review to generate a theory. The article by Dostilio et al. (2012) was found through the literature search process and paved the way to find another few articles including that of Hammersley's (2017). Hammersely (2017) had reviewed all different frameworks of reciprocity in the literature. All of these articles were included in the analysis.

Given the small number of articles on mutuality of benefits, reciprocity, and transformation of partnerships in university community engagement, no quality appraisal has been considered for this study. In fact, almost all of the articles that focus primarily with reciprocity and mutuality of benefits were conceptual.

The interpretive analysis was based on bringing the select number of articles on reciprocity and partnership transformation into conversation with RT and SCT. The findings of the articles were translated into the other ones iteratively, leading to interpretation and re-interpretation of the emerging themes. These themes contradicted and supported some of the theses put forward by RT and SCT. Transformational Engagement Model (TEM) is the end product of this iterative interpretative process. While the model is based on social exchange tradition, it is indeed informed as well from university community engagement literature. Dixon-woods et al. (2006) contend that "using CIS to synthesis a diverse body of evidence enables the generation of theory with strong explanatory power" (p. 36). Indeed, using SCT and RT as a theoretical framework, helps not only generating a model with explanatory features, but also one

with the possibility to be empirically tested through different quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Since it is not possible to be completely transparent about the interpretive analysis process (Dixon-Woods et al, 2006), a reflexive statement describing researcher's values, identities, and thought processes provides additional means to maximize transparency and credibility.

Positionality Statement

This research is the product of my interaction with the literature on community engagement and engaged scholarship. It is hence critical to reflect on my own history, values, and epistemology that influence my positionality. This statement is less about my journey through the research process; rather it is mainly about my journey to start the project. I reflect and elaborate on the *why* behind this research in order to hold myself accountable on the approach I have taken and the claims that I have put forward in this study. I have adopted a narrative approach to develop my positionality statement, as “[n]arrative is the way that people make sense of their lived experience” (Foote & Bartell, 2011, p. 49). “[U]nderstanding life experiences, then, can be beneficial to understanding the beliefs, attitudes, and values that influence researcher positionality” (Foote & Bartell, 2011, p. 49).

In July 2013, having worked for about nine months as a research scholar in an interdisciplinary engineering lab, I arrived at a point where I decided to change my discipline from engineering to higher education. Engineering had seemed like a promising track for an aspiring adolescent who was eager to make a change in the world by optimizing next-generation materials for biomedical and energy applications. Indeed, I engaged in a few research activities during my undergraduate years followed by an independent research project as part of my Master's thesis. While I published a few articles and presented my findings in a number of national and international conferences, I was very well aware that my research findings were of little value to the field and made no change in people's lives. At the time, I associated my failure

to do impactful research with the technical limitations in Iran and decided that I would either stay and work in Iran or continue my doctoral studies in the US—where most prominent research institutions were located.

Upon finishing my Master's, I started working sporadically in a construction site in the South of Iran as a technical welding and non-destructive testing inspector, while continuing my research career with a university colleague and trying to secure myself a PhD position in the US. Stepping outside of academia and working in an under-developed area with a large population of ethnic minorities was an eye-opening experience. I learned first-hand about inequalities in access to education and health in that geographic area. I was struck by the enormous income gap at the worksite among technical workers, supervising engineers, and administrators. I also observed the behavior of college graduates toward ethnic minorities and low-SES workforce—the majority of whom did not hold a university degree—in the workplace. The elitist approach of the college graduates who *knew*—particularly those in the administrative positions that entitled them to feel superior, or those who had graduated from top schools in the country—toward *others* who *did not know*, was further complicated by their non-ethical behavior in different situations. I was very disappointed at the Iranian educational system, and wondered why a select few graduates acted ethically and others did not. In the meantime, I found a position as a research scholar in Oklahoma State University to work on a high-tech interdisciplinary project focused on increasing efficiency in a class of materials with applications in energy and biomedical industries.

My experience working as a researcher in the United States led me to understand that my prior experience in Iranian universities was part of a broader theme in academia where journal publications and disciplinary status, rather than changing lives, were the desired outcomes of research universities. The behavior and aspirations of other college degree-holders in our lab, as well as the professor I worked with, helped me to start looking more critically at the larger picture into which academia and academics were located. The meritocratic narrative in an elitist and individualistic environment helped me realize why my well-intentioned colleagues could not care

less about the impact of what they did on the larger society. I changed my discipline to higher education following the keyword *civic engagement*. I wondered how universities could make a positive change in the communities *now* and not for a promised future. I was also interested in how universities could help prepare students who were socially responsible both in their professional and personal lives. Thus, my studies during my Master's in higher education remained focused on democratic community engagement, ethical leadership, and higher education for the public good.

My training as a materials scientist and engineer has affected my thought processes in trying to make sense of the social world and to find *optimized solutions* to complex social problems. More specifically, as a materials engineer, I studied microstructures of materials to modify them through different techniques and achieve a more desirable macro property. This background may have equipped me with a keen eye toward how individuals within the society interact within social structures to reproduce or reshape them. This mental faculty also partly explains my genuine interest in sociology and social psychology. I am inclined to focus on the relationship between social interactions and social structures. I took a social psychology course during my second year in the higher education program. We studied a wide array of research traditions starting from symbolic interactionism to structural approaches in sociological social psychology, including identity theories and social exchange framework. As a researcher, I have used this large theoretical toolbox to reflect into my daily experiences and scholarly activities.

I apply various theories to the social world, as I would have used different techniques to characterize material structures in the lab, realizing that multiplicity of lenses/techniques provides a more complete picture of the social world. This is indeed based on the assumption that social world can be studied objectively. However, the objectivity of this approach is distorted through a subjective understanding of human lives. Novels have provided my imaginative mind with the fuel necessary to help it question the reality as seen through *my* eyes. This duality in my thought process enables me to apply theories to make sense of the social world, while acknowledging that

theories are human artifacts and my understanding of the social world is at best *my* understanding and different from that of *others*. Therefore, I tend to analyze the social world in a critically interpretive way, continuously interpreting and re-interpreting my understanding as I continue to learn and observe.

During a summer internship in the Office of Extension and Engagement at Oklahoma State University, I had the privilege of talking to a few faculty members who had designed and conducted curricular or co-curricular service learning activities. An interesting theme that emerged through those conversations was the positive feelings that faculty members reported from their experience. For example, one faculty member indicated that she felt proud of her service learning project because it had positive impact for both students and the community residents. She was also very enthusiastic about her partnership with the non-profit organization to deliver the service learning project. More interesting was her commitment to continuing the service learning course despite different verbal cautions she had received from her peers and her department head. Another faculty member was excited about his experience with students and how the service learning activity had affected them. He was very committed to the service learning activity; so much so that he allowed it to delay his application for promotion to full professorship for two years. In the meantime, his excitement was directed toward student learning and much less toward the community impact of his students' efforts. These observations triggered me to think of social exchange framework (as discussed in Chapter 2) and more particularly, Lawler's theory of relational cohesion where emotions mediate formation of affective ties that result in commitments to the partnerships. These observations and the promise of the theoretical tool to study commitments formed the initial research idea for the thesis.

Conducting the literature review for the thesis proposal resulted in an inevitable refinement of the research. The biggest challenge in designing the study was the lack of a clear operational definition for the terms *mutuality of benefits* and *reciprocity* in the literature of engaged research and university community engagement. Moreover, I was cognizant that there

were also clues in the literature that supported Molm's reciprocity theory and I started considering using it along with Social Commitments Theory in the study. RT and SCT both attempt to explain how individuals come together in an individualized world of transactional interactions, and how solidarity and trust are formed through sustained exchanges between exchange partners. The two theories predict formation of solidarity through two different causal mechanisms and the current developments in the field suggests that depending on the type of exchange, one or both theories may be able to explain formation of solidarity. However, while the two theories are not exclusively right, they predict different results when controlled for exchange structures. Hence, not the community engagement literature, but the theoretical understanding of the social exchange framework led me to take into account exchange structures in conceptualizing my research design. At the end of my literature review, I realized that I had a conceptual model in mind that helped me connect the dots that could not otherwise be connected. With no generally accepted definitions for operationalizing the two most central characteristics of university community partnerships, i.e. mutuality of benefits and reciprocity, and the conflicting evidence in literature to support or refute SCT and RT, any set of hypotheses and analyses would have yielded questionable results. Soon, I found myself using the theories as I would have used different lenses to a microscope to discern microstructural patterns not visible otherwise. Every new picture taken through those lenses added to an overall understanding of the conflicting evidence in the literature, and helping me re-interpret my understanding. This process culminated in the Transformational Engagement Model.

TEM enabled me to evaluate ethics of partnerships in ways that other frameworks fail to notice; by focusing on engagement process and partnership characteristics, rather than partners, TEM adds to our understanding of elements of ethical engagement that are easily missed on a large number of transactional non-reciprocal partnerships between universities and communities (discussed in more detail in Ch. 5). Moreover, TEM is a structural backbone based on social exchange that allows interpretation of the gaps and contradictory findings, possible re-

interpretation of some current findings, and potential developments in areas of research that are yet to be studied (as discussed in Ch. 5).

Summary

This chapter set the context for this study by situating transformation of partnerships within the larger picture of civic engagement movement, provided a description of the research procedure and researcher's positionality. Civic engagement movement has been a response to the concerns over the role of colleges and universities in weakening democracy by creating a virtual divide between the experts and degree-holders and those who lack the knowledge to address their problems. To overcome this technocratic approach to communities, scholars advocate for democratic forms of engagement based on mutuality of benefits and reciprocity. Despite the movement's efforts in institutionalizing democratic engagement, the progress has slowed down. By bringing the literature on reciprocity and partnership transformation in conversation with theoretical tools in social exchange theoretical tradition, this study seeks to generative a theoretical model that may provide alternative solutions to further advance the democratic aims of the civic engagement movement. The following chapter elaborates the theoretical foundation of this research.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL EXCHANGE PERSPECTIVE

Social exchange (SE) developed out of the pioneering works of Homans (1961), Blau (1964), and Emerson (1972a, 1972b) as an important tool to connect social interactions with social structures (Cook, Cheshire, Rice, & Nakagawa, 2013). SE possesses the elements of economic exchange, rational choice theory, and behavioral psychology. The SE tradition focuses on the behavior of social actors in social interactions by considering how the history of exchange interactions informs and influences future ones. SE deals with interdependent transactions that take place over some time and influence each other both within a single transaction and in future transactions. With his power-dependence theory, Emerson (1972a, 1972b) placed exchange within a larger network, paving the way for several research areas and theories to be developed in order to study such topics as power (Cook, & Yamagishi, 1992; Molm, 1997), trust and commitment (Lawler, & Yoon, 1996; Molm, 2003a), and cooperation and justice (Cook, 2015; Cook, & Hegtvedt, 1986).

Two related theories within the social exchange framework will guide this study: Social Commitments Theory (SCT) and Reciprocity Theory (RT). These two theories may complement one another as exchange transactions in real life are more complicated than those performed in the lab (Kuwabara, 2011). An overview of the basic elements of social exchange framework and the current literature on applications of social exchange to study

university community engagement follow here. Then, the two theories that will guide this study will be elaborated.

Basic Elements of Social Exchange

The four essential elements of social exchange are actors, resources, exchange structure and the process of exchange (Molm, 2006).

Actors

Social exchange actors can be individuals or social units (e.g. an organization) that are self-interested, i.e. they seek to maximize benefits and minimize costs of an exchange relation (Molm, 2006, p. 25). Social exchange allows some flexibility in how actors are defined and even permits individuals and social units to be alternated. This flexibility is particularly important in this study as this study assumes community in this literature as either an individual community resident or a social unit within the community, like a non-profit organization. While social exchange actors are self-interested, they are also assumed to be backward-looking in that they learn from their history of exchange relations.

Resources

Resources are relationally-valued belongings or abilities of an actor. Resources can be tangible or intangible (Molm, 2006); for example, a university may invest funds in a community and receive the community's recognition as a respectable engaged university. Also, the value of a resource is not intrinsic to the resources per se, but is dependent on the relations. An example could be a faculty member's scholarship in sociology might be a valuable resource to a non-profit focused on educational access for minority students, but of no value to the town's local bakery.

Exchange Structures

Exchange structures are a key element of contemporary social exchange; "all exchange relations, whether dyadic or embedded in larger networks, develop within structures of mutual dependence; i.e., between actors who are dependent on one another for valued resources" (Molm,

2006, p. 27). The definition of engaged research as a mutually beneficial activity between faculty members and community partners fits well within the definition of exchange structure. There exist two categories of exchange structures: direct and indirect. In direct exchange structures, actors provide some value to the other in direct reciprocation. In an indirect exchange structure, the reciprocation is not from the same actor. There are four exchange structures within the SE research tradition: negotiated, SE-reciprocal, generalized, and productive.

In negotiated exchange structures, actors mutually agree on the terms of exchange and benefits prior to the transaction (Molm, 1994). Engaged research is encouraged to be negotiated between university and community partners, and faculty members are usually required to sign a memorandum of agreement with their community partners. In SE-reciprocal exchange, actors provide some valued resource to the other without knowledge of whether and to what degree their actions will be reciprocated (Molm, Collett, & Schaefer, 2007). An example might be a faculty member reaching out to a community resident and offering an engaged research plan that can help with the specific needs of that community resident. The community resident may later return that favor with reaching out to that particular faculty member for participation in the research design.

In productive exchange, actors contribute to the group and control is shared jointly, as in faculty and community residents coauthoring an article (Molm, 1994). An example for service learning may include a community project in which the faculty member, students, and community residents independently contribute to run a fashion show to increase awareness on domestic violence. Generalized exchange involves more than two people, and actors give and receive benefits in a network (Molm, Collett, & Schaefer, 2007). An example might be pre-service teachers who teach high school students at an after-school program. These students would then complete an assessment of pre-service teachers and submit it to the school staff. School staff may then send the reports to the faculty member involved with pre-service teachers, who will use the

reports to improve her pre-school teacher students, and the network reciprocation can continue for a semester long.

Exchange Process

The exchange process explains that an actor may begin an exchange where there exists an opportunity. Once the offer is reciprocated, that “mutual exchange of benefits is called a *transaction*. A series of repeated transactions by the same actors constitutes an *exchange relation*” (emphasis in original, Molm, 2006, p. 28). Per this definition, an engaged research project may be understood as an exchange relation which includes a number of transactions among faculty and community residents. Based on the explanations above, engaged scholarship in general, and engaged research in particular, fit very well within the conceptual frameworks of SE tradition. However, SE has seldom been employed to study partnerships in engaged scholarship.

Social Exchange in Community Engagement Research

Only a handful of examples are found in the literature which apply theoretical tools from the social exchange tradition to study campus-community engagement. Powers (2015) has applied classical social exchange theory and rational choice theory to university community engagement partnership management, arguing that relationship building, communicating expectations, and evaluating the partnership activities based on those expectations are crucial for building partnerships. Pulinkala (2012, 2014) has taken advantage of a social exchange framework to qualitatively analyze university community partnerships that connect academic world of dance to its professional practice. Based on several case studies, Pulinkala (2012) analyzes the experiences of different stakeholders in these programs and notes that cost-benefit analysis is a common theme among them. Both of the studies above focus principally on the classical cost-benefit analysis of social exchange framework.

The only study taking advantage of the contemporary social exchange is the study of harm in university community partnerships (Caruccio, 2013). Caruccio studies several partnerships between university of Virginia and its communities and shows that establishing reciprocity requires clear expectations and communications, equitable risk and benefits for partners, and a two-way flow of knowledge. Caruccio makes a nuanced observation in that equity depends upon the perception of fairness by partners. Caruccio also challenges the notion of harm in partnerships by showing that none of the partners thought of their partnerships as harmful, even though at least one of them had caused clear harm to the community partner. This study shows great potential in application of contemporary social exchange theories to study university community partnerships, but it suffers from the common problem regarding a lack of distinction between mutuality of benefits and reciprocity.

Social psychology research has extended application of SE from one-time dyadic exchanges into exchanges with some history and placed in a larger exchange network (Cook, Cheshire, Rice, & Nakagawa, 2013; Molm, 2006). A line of scholarship in social psychological approaches to social exchange includes theories that focus on the outcomes of social exchange and deal with power, trust, and commitment. An example of application of these theories in educational research includes the study of the commitment of teachers in staying in their schools using the affect theory of social exchange (Price and Collett, 2012). Price and Collett showed that teachers' commitment to stay within a school increased over time, when they participated in shared decision-making. This study uses SCT and RT in conjunction with one another as the causal mechanisms within both theories, i.e. affective ties, conflict, and uncertainty, have substantial support from the partnerships in engaged scholarship.

Theoretical Tools

Two set of theoretical tools from the social exchange tradition will guide this study. Both of these theories have been systematically and incrementally developed over the last three decades and have been empirically tested. These two theories are similar in concept but have

shown to complement each other in different social settings (Kuwabara, 2011). The proposed study uses SCT and RT in conjunction with one another as the causal mechanisms within both theories, i.e. affective ties, conflict, and uncertainty, have substantial support from the partnerships in engaged scholarship.

Social Commitments Theory

The social commitments theory attempts to explain how transactional relations can turn into relational ones, i.e. “person-to-group ties with an emotional or affective component [that] have the capacity to generate group-oriented cooperation and collaboration more effectively and efficiently than transactional ties alone” (Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2009, p. 3). The theory builds upon and expands the scope conditions of two previous theories: Relational Cohesion Theory and Affect Theory of Social Exchange (Thye, Lawler, & Yoon, 2014). Relational Cohesion Theory (Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2000; Lawler, & Yoon, 1993, 1996) argues that repeated successful exchanges among same actors will yield positive emotions that will be attributed to the relationship and that will help create relational ties. The theory required that the exchange partners be highly dependent on each other and the specific exchange actor have an equal or greater power than the other exchange partner. Furthermore, the theory proposed that the relational ties will motivate the actor to not only stay in the relationship but also further contribute to it.

Lawler, Thye, & Yoon (2009) expand on the work of Kanter (1968, 1972) and recognize three possible forms of commitment: instrumental, normative, and affective. Instrumental commitments are driven from a rational choice perspective of staying in or leaving a relationship or group, to the degree that its benefits of staying overcome the costs of leaving. Normative and affective commitments, on the other hand, are relational and may not necessarily be instrumental. Normative commitments are driven by “a sense of moral or normative obligation to a group or organization” (p. 24). Finally, affective commitment is based on emotional ties to groups or organizations, where the membership has an expressive dimension. Affective ties are formed

when internal feelings become associated with relationships and groups, i.e. relationship or network become a salient social entity to the partner. Building on the literature on organizational analysis, Lawler, Thye and Yoon (2009) contend that instrumental and affective commitments are the two principal forms of commitment, each with the capacity to turn into a normative one; thus, these two forms of commitment remain the focus of the theory. Lawler, Thye and Yoon place the evolution of instrumental ties to normative ties through affective ties as the pathway through which it is possible to form normative commitments in an individualized market-driven world; should such transformation take place, “then actions that serve the group interests are partly about who one is, not just about what one gets” (p. 29). Lawler and his colleagues further expanded the theoretical foundations of relational cohesion theory in *Affect Theory of Social Exchange*, which places a special focus on the tasks people perform together. Jointness of the activity and shared responsibility are the core components of the affect theory of social exchange.

Affect theory of social exchange (Lawler, 2001; Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2008) distinguishes between the objective and subjective components of task jointness, and describes them as structural and cognitive conditions, respectively. The structural condition implies the degree to which an individual’s contribution to the activity is separable or inseparable (distinguishable or indistinguishable). The cognitive component is more perceptual and describes individuals’ sense of shared responsibility. The authors propose that structural conditions lead to more sense of shared responsibility and that in turn, will further strengthen or weaken the person-to-group affective ties depending on the charge of the emotions. To best assess the shared responsibility component, they propose combining the degree to which the activity and accountability are individual or joint; the least sense of shared responsibility is assumed when individuals engage in an activity that involves their contributions alone and for which they are themselves kept accountable. On the other hand, the strongest sense of shared responsibility forms when individuals work in teams and are collectively held accountable. The theory finally proposes that the relational ties and subsequent behaviors in staying in the

relationship and further investing in it will increase when the sense of shared responsibility is higher (Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2009).

The Social Commitments Theory (SCT) broadens the implications of Relational Cohesion Theory and Affect Theory of Social Exchange to explain how the emotions from repeated joint tasks will be attributed to the dyad, groups, and even the context in which the relationship is situated, like an organization or a community (Thye, Lawler, & Yoon, 2014). The scope conditions of SCT are similar to those of affect theory of social exchange, except that the exchange requirements have been replaced to include any kind of social interaction; this has allowed the theory to be applicable to a broader social world. SCT assumes that social interactions can be joint activities that will bring about emotions. These emotions trigger a person to try to understand what their resources are in order to seek further positive emotions and avoid further negative ones. Moreover, the internal attributional processes attempt to understand how these emotions are created, which leads to attribution of feelings to the social units in which they have been experienced (Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2009).

Thus, SCT provides a compelling theoretical framework for the study of engaged research partnerships among university members and community partners. However, it focuses mainly on the role of *positive* emotions in creating trust and commitment (Molm, 2012). Molm's theory of reciprocity provides an additional theoretical tool to complement this investigation into the emergence of commitment in service learning courses.

Reciprocity Theory

Molm's Reciprocity Theory involves the influence of social exchange structure on the emergence of trust, affective regard, and feelings of social solidarity through a causal model (Molm, 2010). Similar to Lawler and his colleagues, Molm and her colleagues have developed the theory through several decades of research (Molm, 1994, 2003a, 2003b, 2010; Molm, Collett, & Schaefer, 2007; Molm, Peterson, & Takahashi, 1999, 2001; Molm, Takahashi, & Peterson, 2000). Molm (1994) proposes that the direct exchange structures, i.e. negotiated and reciprocal,

involve different levels of risk or uncertainty that will eventually have implications for the behaviors of the exchange actors. Later investigations (Molm, 2003a, 2003b; Molm, Takahashi, & Peterson, 2000) show that the different sources and levels of risk associated with negotiated and reciprocal exchange have consequences on the development of trust and affective regard, as well as power use. Since in negotiated exchange actors jointly decide on the outcomes of exchange, the only risk involved is the risk of exclusion in subsequent exchanges. On the other hand, in reciprocal exchange, there is a risk of non-reciprocity which has a higher weight on affecting actors' behaviors. Thus, Molm (2003b) shows that reciprocal exchange has a greater potential for development of trust among exchange actors. Moreover, Molm (2003b) argues that in negotiated exchange, actors rely heavily on the maximization of rewards, while in reciprocal exchange, the risk of non-reciprocity—i.e. loss and costs—weighs in and changes the dynamics of actors' behaviors; she contends that feelings from loss influence behavior more than the feelings from gains. Molm (2003b) also proposed that power use will be lower in reciprocal exchange compared to negotiated exchange. This focus on exchange structures led Molm and her colleagues into development of Reciprocity Theory.

RT (Molm, 2010; Molm, Collett, & Schaefer, 2007) investigates the development of social solidarity through a causal mechanism in different exchange structures. Social solidarity is defined as the bond that develops among exchange partners and the social unit they belong to, and it is measured through four components: trust, affective regard, social unity, and feelings of commitment. The theory of reciprocity suggests that social solidarity is higher in generalized exchange compared to reciprocal and negotiated exchange. Reciprocal exchange generates a higher social solidarity compared to negotiated exchange, even though the differences are not as sharp as those between generalized and reciprocal/negotiated exchange. Molm (2010) calls the combination of direct vs. indirect reciprocation of benefits and the unilateral vs. bilateral flow of benefits as the structure of reciprocity. Hence, negotiated exchange is direct and bilateral, reciprocal exchange is direct and unilateral, and generalized exchange is indirect and unilateral.

The structure of reciprocity affects social solidarity through the mediating effects of the structural risk of nonreciprocity, the expressive value of the act of reciprocation, and the cognitive perception of conflict. The risk of nonreciprocity is the degree that one actor may give benefits to another while receiving little or no benefit in return; it is higher in generalized exchange than in reciprocal exchange, and reciprocal exchange is riskier than negotiated exchange. Expressive value of reciprocity refers to the implicit communication of regard for the other actor and the interest in continuing the exchange; it is highest in generalized exchange, then in reciprocal exchange, and lowest in negotiated exchange. Finally, the salience of conflict refers to the degree that actors perceive the exchange as cooperative or competitive; the more the actors' awareness of conflict, the more likely it is that they perceive others' behaviors in negative ways. Hence, the salience of conflict reduces social solidarity; it is highest in negotiated exchange because the very act of negotiation involves conflict. Conflict also makes it easier and to understand loss and gain in partners' exchange relations. The salience of conflict is lower in reciprocal exchange and lowest in generalized exchange. Indirect reciprocity and unilateral flow of benefits increase the risk of nonreciprocity and expressive value of reciprocation, decrease salience of conflict, and overall increase the development of social solidarity in repeated exchanges.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the foundations of social exchange tradition and summarized the studies on university community engagement which utilize SE as a theoretical lens. In doing so, I have already translated some of the concepts from SE into university community engagement literature. For example, exchange structure and exchange processes examples were from hypothetical engagement scenarios. Later in the chapter, Social Commitments Theory and Reciprocity theory were elaborated. Both theories suggest that relationships formed to serve utilitarian ends by self-interested rational actors may transform over time and become relational. These theories will then come in conversation with the literature in university community engagement and engaged scholarship in Chapter 4 to form the Transformational Engagement

Model. The next chapter will review the literature on community engagement to provide an overview what we know about partnerships, their characteristics, evaluation, and transformation.

CHAPTER III

UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Among the large body of literature on university community engagement and engaged scholarship, focus on the study of partnerships themselves have remained limited (Clayton, Bringle, & Hatcher, 2013). Given the fact that mutuality of benefits and reciprocity are the defining elements of the partnership between individuals, rather than a characteristic of the individuals, this paucity of research on the qualities of partnerships is an indication of the fact that it is not valued from an administrative or policy perspective. Emphasizing the functional role of partnerships, Clayton, Bringle, and Hatcher (2013) reiterate the earlier call that “the university community partnership itself be the unit of analysis” (Cruz & Giles, 2000). The goal of this literature review is not to single out a gap in literature or one tension that this study seeks to provide an answer to. Rather, the goal is to voice multiple tensions that exist in the literature and highlight their irreconcilability within any single conceptual model available to university community engagement scholars and practitioners. This chapter summarizes the current literature on mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships, what we know about partnership transformation, and the multiple frameworks that exist to provide more specificity in defining mutuality of benefits and reciprocity.

Partnerships for Engaged Scholarship

The literature on engaged scholarship generally emphasizes the importance of mutually

beneficial and reciprocal partnerships, in which all partners learn, teach, serve, and are served (Austin, 2010; Cox, 2010; Chambers & Gopaul, 2010; Hartley & Saltmarsh, 2016; Lunsford, Bargerstock, & Greasley, 2010; Sandmann, 2008). Most definitions of university community engagement and engaged scholarship share the central principles of mutuality of benefits and reciprocity (Carnegie Foundation, 2006; Dostilio et al., 2012; Moore, 2014). Engagement through mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships challenges the traditional view of the community as the place of need and domain of problems, as is the case in service and outreach activities. In service and traditional outreach, university actors solve problems *for* the community, and sometimes *in* the community. The service approach is conventionally seen as a one-way flow of benefits from the university to the community and re-affirms the town and gown differentiation (Bruning, McGrew, & Cooper, 2006). Democratic participation of faculty and students in solving social problems along with community residents promotes a relational and contextualized rationality where university actors and community residents are co-creators of knowledge (Saltmarsh, Hartley, & Clayton, 2009). Democratic engagement based on mutuality of benefits and reciprocity recognizes the citizenship, or membership in the community, of all actors in the engaged partnership by disrupting the town and gown dichotomy traditionally reflected in ideas about the role of university actors in the community. A literature review of mutuality of benefits and reciprocity shows that scholars and practitioners apply these terms to mean different things in different settings.

Multiple Conceptualizations of Mutuality of Benefits and Reciprocity

Dostilio et al. (2012) have conducted a critical concept review of the term reciprocity by examining the literature of university and community engagement in main journals of community engagement, as well as other disciplines and epistemes that discuss reciprocity. Their study showed that indeed reciprocity and mutuality of benefits are often cited interchangeably and that reciprocity is so widely used to mean different things that it may have as well lost its meaning. Their concept review yielded three categories for reciprocity that would explain how the term is

used in the literature: exchange, influence, and generativity. Exchange reciprocity includes partnerships that involve a rather utilitarian reciprocation of benefits. Influence reciprocity implies a continuous change in process and outcomes of engagement as partners change and influence them. Generativity reciprocity involves a transformational partnership where partners, their relationship, and the contexts of their relationships change as a result of engagement process. A few other attempts have also been made to provide clear definition for mutuality of benefits and reciprocity.

Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) contend that mutuality of benefits implies “each party in the relationship benefits from its involvement” (p. 8); they also explain reciprocity implies “an epistemological shift that values not only expert knowledge that is rational, analytic and positivist but also values a different kind of rationality that is more relational, localized, and contextual and favors mutual deference between lay persons and academics” (p. 9-10). Taking the three descriptive categories as a continuum for reciprocity scale, this conceptualization of reciprocity is similar to Enos and Morton’s (2003) typology, where exchange reciprocity is similar to what they call transactional partnerships and generative reciprocity aligns well with the conceptualization of transformational partnerships. The distinguishing feature of generative reciprocity from exchange and influence reciprocity, is the change in ways of being and knowing—similar to the definition provided for reciprocity in democratic partnerships by Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009). Jameson, Clayton, and Jaeger (2010) further contribute to this conversation by discussing mutuality of benefits as well. They make a distinction between thin reciprocity or mutually beneficial transactions from thick reciprocity or mutual transformation. In the Transformational Relationship Evaluation Scale, Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, and Morrison (2010) note that transactional partnerships may coexist with transformational ones, i.e. transformational partnerships will be transactional but the opposite may not necessarily be true. Following these discussions, it could be said that reciprocity is understood to show

mutuality of benefits by default, but mutually beneficial partnerships may or may not be reciprocal.

Hammersley (2017) attempts to distinguish mutuality of benefits and reciprocity by drawing upon the existing conceptual frameworks within the literature. The author reviews Enos and Morton's (2003) typology of transactional and transformational partnerships, technocratic vs. democratic engagement paradigm by Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009), thin vs. thick reciprocity (Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010), traditional vs. enriched reciprocity (Henry & Breyfogle, 2006), as well as traditional vs. critical service learning (Mitchell, 2008). Hammersley, similar to Dostilio et al., concludes that mutuality of benefits, as in exchange based partnerships, may or may not be reciprocal. Hammersley also cautions that non-reciprocity does not, and should not, undervalue the importance of partnerships. The wide range of partnerships between different campus and community residents requires a varied notion of what reciprocity means in each context (Hammersley, 2017; Lyold et al., 2017). Hammersley (2017) takes a feminist approach to reciprocity and concludes that reciprocity

does not only represent an epistemological approach to inherently uneven relationships, but also the processes that govern everyday negotiations and interactions of those we seek to build relationships with, as well as the beneficial outcomes (both tangible and intangible) that may result. (p. 127-128)

Therefore, Hammersley provides a description of reciprocity where reciprocity is attributed to exchange of benefits, process of engagement and outcome of partnership.

Regardless of how mutuality of benefits and reciprocity are conceptualized, the literature of university community engagement have used them extensively. A review of these articles can provide us with an understanding of how generally mutuality of benefits and reciprocity are operationalized and understood.

Characteristics of Mutually Beneficial and Reciprocal Partnerships

A large body of literature on mutuality of benefits and reciprocity involves establishing, developing, and evaluating partnerships (see Fitzgerald, Burack, & Seifer, 2010, for a collection of articles on these subjects), and institutionalizing and assessing community engagement within campuses (Buys & Bursnall, 2007; Kezar, 2011; Moore & Ward, 2010; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, 2010). The literature generally cites mutuality of benefits and reciprocity in partnerships, but there is no consensus on what these terms mean and how they relate to one another (Lindquist-Grantz & Vaughn, 2016). This variety is understandable, given the diverse types of partnerships that exist between higher education administrators, staff, faculty, and students with their community residents, as well as size, location, and mission of higher education institutions (Driscoll, 2009; Peters & Alter, 2010). Bringle, Clayton, and Price (2009) have developed a structural model to help study university community partnerships. This model guides analysis of the campus-community engagement by recognizing all possible dyadic partnerships among stakeholders and placing them within a larger network of partnerships among Students, Organizations within the community, Faculty, Administrators on the campus, and Residents in the community (SOFAR). The authors note that each of the partnerships have to be mutually beneficial and reciprocal. The most cited characteristics of mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships between faculty and community resident include long-term sustainability, commitment, solidarity, closeness, trust, social capital, community building, equity, integrity, and respect.

Long-term Sustainability and Commitment. Sustainability and long-term commitment are often cited as indicators of reciprocal and mutually beneficial partnerships (Clifford & Petrescu, 2012; Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2013; Community Partner Summit Group, 2010; Israel, Eng, Schulz, & Parker, 2012; Janke, 2009; Maurasse, 2010; McLean & Behringer, 2008; McNall, Doberneck, & Van Egeren, 2010). Braxton and Luckey (2010) contend that the problems currently facing society are of such a magnitude that they require special effort

to address them; specifically, engaged relationships sufficiently strong to deal with current issues require time and emotional commitment to form. Indeed, a group of community partners in a community partner summit make a similar point, that building trust and relationships takes time and is crucial for making real change (Community Partner Summit Group, 2010). Therefore, they discuss the importance of relationship building, and commitment to stay in the partnership despite inevitable conflicts, in creating a two-way flow of benefits in a sustainable manner so that partners can learn from another's realities. O'Meara (2010a) posits that the long-term commitment some faculty are making toward engagement has helped them grow and learn from the engagement and that more research needs to be done on how engagement has "integrated into the daily fabric of their lives" (p. 231).

Solidarity, Closeness, Identity, and Personal Relationships. Chambers and Gopaul (2010) suggest solidarity as one possible framework to approach a justice-centered engaged scholarship, where scholars and communities care about each other and work collaboratively to solve problems. Pasque (2010) ties solidarity to identity, noting that solidarity takes place when people with common social identities or roles come together. But Dostilio et al. (2012) caution that solidarity should not equate sameness. Nonetheless, solidarity and identity are also similar in meaning to social closeness, i.e. the degree that university members align with the community rather than their own organizations (Weerts & Sandmann, 2010; Sandmann, Jordan, Mull, & Valentine, 2014; Sandy & Holland, 2006). Israel, Eng, Schulz, and Parker (2012) posit that "for a community to function as a full partner in [community based participatory research], it is essential to view a community as a social and cultural unit of identity; *not* as a setting" (p. 127; emphasis in original). There exist also numerous references noting the importance of personal relationships between partners as a predictor of successful campus-community partnerships (Glass & Fitzgerald, 2010; McLean & Behringer, 2008; Sandy & Holland, 2006).

Trust, Social Capital, and Community Building. Trust, social capital, and community building are cited among the characteristics of mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships

(Community Partner Summit Group, 2010; Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2013; Chambers & Gopaul, 2010). Chambers and Gopaul (2010) distinguish service-centered partnerships with one-way flow of benefits, from social justice-centered partnerships with two-way flow of benefits, by the outcome of the partnership in building community and social capital. Community Partner Summit Group (2010) also echoes social capital as an important benefit of partnerships and emphasize that it takes time to build social capital.

Equity. Reciprocal and mutually beneficial partnerships generally require to be equitable (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2013; Community Partner Summit Group, 2010; McNall, Doberneck, & Van Egeren, 2010). Chambers and Gopaul (2010) suggest that equity is one possible framework to interpret and practice a justice-centered engaged scholarship. Within the equity frame, justice is achieved by allocating rewards proportionately to the hard work, valued resources, and contributions made toward the public good (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Chambers & Gopaul, 2010; Hatfield, Walster, & Berscheid, 1979). Bringle and Hatcher (2013) suggest that a partnership is satisfying when the outcomes are proportionate to the inputs for each partner. In the absence of equity, a partner will try to restore equity either by changing the investments made in the relationship or by terminating it (Hatfield, Utne, & Traupmann, 1979; Bringle, Clayton, Hatcher, 2013; Bringle & Hatcher, 2002). Community Partners Summit Group also contends “only when everyone’s self-interest is out on the table for all to see can partners truly begin the honest dialogue needed to negotiate an equal partnership that creates mutual benefit. Without mutual benefit, the partnership becomes unstable and sustainable.” (p. 209)

Integrity, Respect, and Open Communication. Integrity, respect, and open communication are some other often-cited characteristics of mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2013; Community Partner Summit Group, 2010). Morton (1995) attributes high levels of integrity to:

“Deeply held, internally coherent values; match means and ends; describe a primary way of interpreting and relating to the world; offer a way of defining problems and solutions; and suggest a vision of what a transformed world might look like.” (p.28)

Based on Morton’s definition of integrity, Bringle, Hatcher, and McIntosh (2006) have developed a scale for measurement of integrity of students taking part in different types of community service. In doing so, they focused particularly on two aspects of integrity: identity and long-term commitment. They tested the scale with students in a service learning course and found that students with high levels of integrity were more inclined toward justice-oriented models of service. Dumlao and Janke (2012) take a relational dialectical approach to partnerships and suggest that confronting inevitable conflicts and uncertainties in campus-community relationships with openness and positivity can help grow those relationships. Community Partner Summit Group reinforces the importance of dialogue in establishing quality partnerships, ones “that are open, honest, and respectful; supportive of a shared vision and agenda; and allow for shared power and decision making; mutual benefit, transparency, declaring of self-interest, having difficult discussions up front, and clarifying the definition of community.” (p. 213)

The literature on engaged scholarship often cites the above-mentioned characteristics of mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships. However, in practice, many partnerships are not mutually beneficial and reciprocal and do not possess some or all of these characteristics.

The Current State of Partnerships in Engaged Scholarship

Despite the general agreement on the centrality of mutuality of benefits and reciprocity in engaged scholarship, such partnerships are not always the case. While different guidelines and studies provide a list of characteristics for mutually beneficial and reciprocal partnerships—some most-cited ones discussed above—these studies remain divergent in defining a clear set of characteristics for them. Moreover, there is not clear relationship between such characteristics, e.g. whether personal relationship guarantee solidarity, or whether integrity and honesty are similar concepts (Lindquist-Grantz & Vaughn, 2016). Indeed, even the terms *mutuality of benefits*

and *reciprocity* themselves are poorly understood in the literature related to university community partnerships (Dostilio et al., 2012; Hammersley, 2017).

Maurrasse (2010) notes the existence of numerous examples where faculty partnerships with community residents are not mutually beneficial. Given the power imbalance between university and community partners and the time restrictions of faculty, development of authentic and reciprocal partnerships is difficult (Davis, Kliewer, Nicolaides, 2010; Dempsey, 2009; Nygreen, 2009; Pasque, 2010; Sandmann & Kliewer, 2012; Sandmann, Kliewer, Kim, and Omerikwa, 2010; Strier, 2014). For example, short-term partnerships between faculty members and community partners in service learning courses have shown to be more likely to benefit one party or both parties, and lack reciprocity (Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, & Morrison, 2010; Dorado & Giles, 2004; Enos & Morton, 2003; Hammersley, 2017). A recent critical concept review of the term reciprocity—critical both in its epistemological approach and in its much-required necessity—shows that mutuality of benefits and reciprocity are sometimes used interchangeably and that reciprocity lacks a clear definition as a theoretical construct (Dostilio et al., 2012). Dostilio et al. note that like the term *civic engagement*, *reciprocity* is used so widely to mean so many different things that it may be deplete of any meaning. This might explain why there exist a wide range of characteristics for reciprocity and rarely an evaluation tool that can explain if a partnership is reciprocal or not.

While the literature on institutionalization of civic engagement and removing barriers for faculty participation in engaged scholarship is substantial (O’Meara, 2010b; Stoecker, 2008), there does not exist a single cohesive approach to evaluate engagement. This is partly due to the variety of ways that universities and faculty members engage with their communities and the different missions of colleges (Driscoll, 2009; Lunsford, Bargerstock, & Greasley, 2010). The current knowledgebase of assessment and evaluation of engagement shows that college administrators, staff, and faculty have difficulty discussing reciprocity and mutuality of benefits in their engagement activities (Beere, 2009; Furco & Miller, 2009; Saltmarsh, Giles, O’Meara,

Sandmann, Ward, & Buglione, 2009). Cruz and Giles (2000) argue that the voice of communities remain relatively absent from the scholarship of civic engagement and suggest, among other recommendations, that partnership itself become “a unit of analysis” (p. 31), i.e. studying the partnership’s quality in itself (Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, & Morrison, 2010).

A recent systematic approach to evaluate partnerships in civic engagement activities is the development of the Transformational Relationship Evaluation Scale (TRES; Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, & Morrison, 2010). TRES is based on nine characteristics of transactional and transformational relationships: “outcomes, common goals, decision-making, resources, conflict management, identity formation, power, significance and satisfaction and change for the better” (Clayton et al., p. 8). A composite score across all TRES items places a relationship into one of five conceptual levels. A TRES score of one is attributed to relationships that are “*exploitive for one or both [partners]*” (Clayton et al., p. 10; emphasis in original). Exploitive relationships are “so unilateral that, intentionally or unintentionally, they take advantage of or harm one or both parties” (Clayton et al., p. 8). A TRES score of “2 = *transactional for one but not the other*; 3 = *mutually-transactional, with both benefitting*; 4 = *mutually-transactional and, in addition, transformational for one but not the other*; 5 = *mutually-transactional and -transformational with growth for both*” (p. 10; emphasis in original). Clayton et al. measured social closeness by use of an inventory based on frequency and diversity of interactions and strength of faculty and community residents’ influence on one another’s decisions. They showed partners were closer in partnerships that are more transformational, and that only 9 out of 37 participants reported a transformational partnership. However, measuring closeness by items relevant to the process (i.e. diversity and frequency of interactions), rather than items to measure reciprocity and mutuality of benefits, is a case in point that operationalizing those central characteristics remain a challenge to evaluate and assess quality in engaged scholarship (Holland, 2001; Lunsford, Bargerstock, & Greasley, 2010).

Based on their original analogy to intimate relationships, and drawing on classical social exchange theories (Kelley et al., 1983; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Rusbult, 1980, 1983), Bringle and Hatcher (2002) proposed that closeness of partners is dependent on the frequency of interaction, diversity of tasks, and strength of partners' influence on one another. In a conceptual study of an Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis partnership with George Washington Community High School, Bringle et al. (2009) found out that the university-high school partnership had grown closer over time; indeed, closer partnerships were characterized by an increased frequency of interaction and more diverse tasks. Bringle and Hatcher (2013) have suggested that interdependency, bilateral influence, and consensual decision-making are the three characteristics of a partnership that will bring partners closer. McLean and Behringer (2008) suggest that the two-way flow of information, the readiness of the relationship to deal with unintended consequences, and long-time engagement are some of the requirements for a successful partnership. While closeness remains the most consistent characteristic of quality partnerships across the wide array of engagement activities in the literature (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002, 2013; Weerts & Sandmann, 2010), the relationship of this construct to other characteristics such as equity, integrity, and solidarity is not clear (Lindquist-Grantz & Vaughn, 2016).

Bringle and Hatcher (2002) note that closeness, integrity, and equity are the three important characteristics of successful partnerships. However, Bringle, Clayton, and Price (2009) posit that equity and integrity will ensue closeness. Chambers and Gopaul (2010) note that a solidarity approach to engaged scholarship is crucial in building respectful collaborations between scholars and communities. Even though solidarity, identity, and closeness are conceptually similar, such similarity is not acknowledged within the literature.

In conclusion, evaluating reciprocity and mutuality of benefits remain a challenge to the study of partnerships in the scholarship related to community-university engagement. There is no clear set of criteria to evaluate the quality of partnerships. Regardless of these difficulties, we noted that there are numerous examples of partnerships that are not mutually beneficial and

reciprocal. A smaller body of literature have speculated whether partnerships can transform and become mutually beneficial and reciprocal.

Partnerships that Transform

Partnerships that are reciprocal and mutually beneficial are usually among those that have been sustained over some period of time (Buys & Bursnall, 2007; Clayton, et al., 2010; Daynes & Wygant, 2003; Sandy & Holland, 2006; Stoecker & Tryon, 2009). Some scholars have suggested that partnerships may indeed transform over time to become reciprocal and mutually beneficial (Enos & Morton, 2003; Miron & Moely, 2006). The studies on transformation of partnerships are mostly conceptual, drawn from experience, and divergent in their approach to the investigation of campus-community partnerships. Since these articles do not investigate the dynamics of change, ironically, they include suggestions that require partners to transform before a transformational partnership can take place (see Brown et al., 2006, for example).

Clayton et al. (2010) have developed TRES based on Burns' (1978) theory of transformational and transactional leadership. In a transformational partnership, Clayton and her colleagues explain, people “come together in more open-ended processes of indefinite but longer-term duration and bring receptiveness—if not an overt intention—to explore emergent possibilities, revisit their own goals and identities, and develop systems they work within beyond the status quo” (p 7-8). Here, the authors focus on the characteristics of the individual engaged partners, like openness to revisit their identities, rather than characteristics of transformational processes. Dumlao and Janke (2012) propose that campus and community partners need to take a learning stance and know employ dialectical thinking so that “they can set up conditions and processes necessary for partnerships to achieve the valued goals of trust, mutual respect, and reciprocity” (p. 167). Therefore, a more nuanced understanding of change dynamics is required that can help our understanding of how partners and the partnerships itself grow over time. Lindquist-Grantz and Vaughn (2016) have acknowledged the necessity of more qualitative and quantitative research to explore the relationship between processes and outcomes.

Enos and Morton (2003) proposed a framework for studying the development of partnerships between universities and communities. Also using Burn's (1978) leadership theory as a framework, they identified two types of partnerships: transactional and transformative. Transactional partnerships only serve immediate needs and are short-term with no opportunity for development—exchange based and utilitarian. Partners in a transactional partnership do not have any deep commitment to each other. On the other hand, in transformative partnerships, partners have deep commitments to the partnership, are open to further developments, and deeply examine how they approach their shared work. Transformative partnerships have the potential to form new values and identities and focus on ends beyond utilitarian ones. Indeed, “[l]ong standing campus-community partnerships are more than simply the ‘byproduct of self-interested action’.” (Maier, 2002, p. 23) Enos and Morton acknowledge that it is difficult to predict how partnerships develop but argue that partnerships change over time if sustained. They hence propose a model of development from a one-time project to a transformative partnership, i.e. one with joint creation of knowledge and work.

Enos and Morton explain that in a *one-time project*, such as a cleanup event, there exists minimal conflict and risk to the partners, and accountability is restricted. These projects will also use institutional resources for limited outcomes. These one-time projects might provide an opportunity for potential transformative partnerships, but they rarely have any transformative element that would challenge partners' worldviews. *Short-term placements*, such as semester-long service learning courses demand an amount of institutional resources justified by the outcomes. Thus, such partnerships may sustain, yet they are not likely to produce any new knowledge. Faculty members and students become “sympathetic but politically neutral observers of the public issues that affect the service site” (Enos & Morton, p. 28). Furthermore, accountability is limited in such partnerships. An *ongoing placement* and *mutual dependence* will take place if short-term placements are sustained, usually paralleled with the formation of personal relationships between those responsible for brokering the partnership. These

partnerships have a decreased cost but the same benefits, making partners form dependable resource commitments; also, accountability expectations increases. This stage is the critical stage of partnership development, as partners begin to “create a shared definition of the work they are doing” (Enos & Morton, p. 28). As partners begin to empathize with each other and try to understand the similarity and differences in their perceptions, academic neutrality will be challenged, and faculty members begin to notice that they belong to a common domain of problems and solutions along with the community residents.

Core partnerships form along with a deeper personal relationship. When partners “come to believe that they share a common domain, that each contributes experience and knowledge, their partnership becomes based on interdependence rather than mutual dependence” (Enos & Morton, p. 30). As the ideal type of partnership, *Transformative partnerships* are not a necessary development from the other types of partnership and are characterized by the possible transformation of the partners and the institutions they belong to. Enos and Morton anticipate that transformative partnership for a faculty member would translate into “the development of expanded roles and the weakening of disciplinary boundaries as the campus confronts complex social issues that do not lend themselves to specialization” (p. 31); also, where “teaching [is] transformed in a manner that moves from teacher-controlled content units to those enriched with problem-centered and student-focused learning” (p. 31). Universities are often perceived as domains of knowledge and communities as domains of problems. A transformative partnership will help partners perceive each other in a similar domain of problems and knowledge, and develop into co-creators of knowledge (Enos, Morton; Saltmarsh, Hartley, & Clayton, 2009, Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2011). Central to such transformation is the development of personal relationships among partners that will enable sharing of experiences and ideas (Bacon, 2002; Enos & Morton, 2003; Torres, 2000; Torres & Schaffer, 2000; Sandy & Holland, 2006; Skilton-Sylvester & Ervin, 2000). The other attempt to explain transformation of partnerships is the study done by Dorado and Giles (2004).

Dorado and Giles (2004) have made a similar attempt to study the development of partnerships by conducting several interviews with different university and community partners involved in service learning partnerships with a minimum three-year duration. The authors conclude that newer partnerships are *tentative* and over time, they grow to become *aligned*, and finally *committed*. The results are analyzed based on structural factors like university mission and the closeness that is achieved between university and community partners. Tentative relationships, according to Dorado and Giles, are mostly ad hoc and done in partnership with different community residents in each semester. Only a small proportion of the partnerships in their study fell into the aligned category. Aligned partnerships were characterized by partners' efforts to align themselves with one another to fit both parties' goals. Finally, committed partnerships, which were sustained for a longer term, had developed beyond an individual project. Partners in committed partnerships were willing to protect the partnership against external challenges. An interesting result of this study, which also aligns with findings from the study by Clayton et al. (2010), is that not every partnership that has been sustained for a long time develops into a mutually beneficial and reciprocal one, meaning that duration of partnership alone can not explain the transformation of partnerships.

Summary

This literature review aimed at summarizing the literature on university community engagement partnerships, highlighting the multiplicity of frameworks, conceptualizations, characterizations, and understandings of what it mean when a partnership is mutually beneficial and reciprocal. The chapter did not easily flow to highlight a critical gap in literature that this study seeks to address, rather it brought to surface multiple tensions within the literature on university community engagement partnerships that do not easily reconcile within any single theoretical framework. While most scholars and practitioner agree that engagement partnerships have to be mutually beneficial and reciprocal, this chapter showed that such partnerships are not often the case. The questions rises that what is the value in partnerships that are not mutually

beneficial and reciprocal. Moreover, by reviewing several frameworks of reciprocity, not only our understanding of reciprocity was problematized, but also doubts have been cast whether reciprocity is desirable in any setting. Even if we agree that reciprocity and mutuality of benefits are desirable, the chapter shows that the diverse ways that such partnerships are characterized in literature is rather confusing and the relationships between these characteristics remain fuzzy. Reading through the chapter, one might have to question what even reciprocity refer to, a process, an outcome, a personality type, a way of thinking for partners, or a type of partnership. These tensions are difficult to address as they are highly inter-related. It is exactly for this reason that a critical interpretive synthesis approach can help us bring these tensions into conversations with a well-developed line of scholarship in sociological research which attempts to explain how individuals affect and are affected by social interactions and social structures. The next chapter presents the result of this synthesis across these two lines of scholarship. The Transformational Engagement Model is developed based on social exchange framework and explained in relation to the university community engagement literature.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSFORMATIONAL ENGAGEMENT MODEL

The literature review of university community engagement shed light on the multiple tensions that exist and showed how they may not be easily reconciled or explained through any single available conceptual frameworks. This chapter brings some of the available frameworks into conversation with one another to generate a new theory to explain existing tensions.

Transformational Engagement Model is the result of this study and builds upon social exchange tradition, using Social Coomitmets Theory (SCT) and Reciprocity Theory (RT) in conjunction with one another, to form a solid framework to make meaning of partnership transformation within the context of university community engagement.

The Structure of TEM

TEM approaches the study of partnerships in university community engagement by introducing a network structure that accommodates four types of engagement structures and three types of partnerships (Table 1). The engagement structure is directly incorporated from the social exchange framework and is the variable that distinguishes TEM from any other framework to study partnerships. Partnership types are informed by social exchange but carefully chosen in regards to the existing frameworks that study reciprocity in university community engagement.

Engagement Structure

Partnerships in TEM are situated within an engagement network. Based on the SOFAR

model (Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009), TEM assumes a network of dyadic partnerships among many different possible participants in community university partnerships. However, TEM makes an important leap from the SOFAR model by relaxing the restrictive condition that each dyadic partnership within the network has to be mutually beneficial. This assumption in TEM is based on the exchange structures that were discussed earlier in the social exchange framework. In TEM, an engaged research initiative or a service learning project can be mutually beneficial to all parties, but this mutuality can be achieved through the network; i.e. partners may be reciprocated by others whom they may not be directly related, or the individuals to whom they have not directly provided benefit. Based on the social exchange framework, TEM recognizes four types of engagement structures: negotiated, SE-reciprocal, productive, and generalized.

In negotiated and SE-reciprocal engagement structures, parties receive benefits directly from the other party to whom they had provided benefits. In negotiated engagement structure (Figure 1), the give and take of benefits is negotiated, and takes place in a single time; while in SE-reciprocal engagement structure (Figure 2), the give and take of benefits takes place consecutively. In productive engagement structure (Figure 3), all parties give to a shared project and receive benefits from their collective contribution. Finally, in generalized engagement structure, the give and take of benefits occurs through a chain of exchanges (Fig. 4). Thus, generalized exchange requires an involvement of at least three partners. TEM assumes a single type of engagement structure to exist, but real-world situations may involve multiple forms of engagement structures to co-exist within a network.

TEM predicts that the structure of engagement will affect the transformation of partnerships. As discussed in more detail in Ch. 5, structure of engagement is the variable in TEM that contributes to our current understanding of partnerships in university community engagement.

Types of Partnership in TEM

TEM recognizes three types of partnerships: mutually beneficial, reciprocal, and transformational. As Hammersley (2017) notes, there exist several nomenclature for partnerships. The choice of names and how these definitions in TEM are related to other frameworks of study and will be discussed before explaining the transformation mechanisms within the model.

Based on the basic assumption of social exchange tradition that all exchange actors are self-interested, TEM assumes that all partnerships between campus and community, including those between faculty and community residents in engaged research, are mutually beneficial. In fact, Caruccio's study of several different partnerships between the University of Virginia and the community partners shows that this is a safe assumption (Caruccio, 2013). Mutually beneficial partnerships in TEM are similar to *exchange partnerships* within the framework of reciprocity by Dostilio et al. (2012), *thin reciprocity* by Jameson, Clayton, and Jaeger (2010), *traditional reciprocity* by Henry & Breyfogle (2006), and *transactional partnerships* (Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Enos & Morton, 2003). TEM assumes that all partnerships are beneficial to both parties and that a dyadic partnership can be a one-way flow of benefits in a network engagement structure (as in generalized engagement structure). This distinction from the definition of transactional partnerships in previous models has crucial consequences in how we understand the value of such partnerships in practice (discussed in more details in Ch. 5).

The second type of partnerships in TEM are reciprocal partnerships. TEM assumes that reciprocal partnerships are the outcome of transformation. Reciprocal partnerships are based on the formation of affective ties, trust, and solidarity between partners, and it promotes commitments to the partnership. While definition of reciprocity in TEM is similar to its definition in other conceptual frameworks, it should not mean that they are the same. Hammersley cautions that the literature of university community engagement sometimes depicts a mystical picture of reciprocity. This ideal reciprocal partnership is defined and evaluated in many different forms, some of which were discussed earlier in Ch. 3. While many definitions of reciprocity include

personal relationships, trust, and solidarity, reciprocal partnerships in TEM may or may not be this ideal reciprocal partnership.

Finally, in TEM, the transformation is the evolution of a mutually beneficial partnership into a reciprocal one. The internal mechanism of TEM helps identify the characteristics of a transformational partnership. Transformational partnership characterize the qualities of process rather than qualities of partners, and as such differ from other definitions of transformational partnership in literature.

Transformation Mechanism in TEM

TEM is a conceptual framework to study the transformation process in university community partnerships. TEM suggests that reciprocal partnerships may emerge out of mutually beneficial ones when several criteria are met. The evolution of mutually beneficial partnerships into reciprocal ones is predicted through SCT and RT to be mediated by emotions, the risk of non-reciprocity, the expressive value of the act of reciprocation, and the cognitive perception of conflict in the partnership. Therefore, TEM makes it possible to investigate the role of process characteristics on the emergence of reciprocal partnerships. For any partnership, one or both mechanisms may explain the process.

SCT suggests that mutually beneficial partnerships that are interdependent and sustained for a period may transform into reciprocal ones, if the partnership creates positive emotions. These positive emotions would then facilitate formation of affective ties and solidarity between partners and promote commitment to the partnership itself. RT predicts that solidarity and trust form because of the affective regard that is salient when there is a risk of non-reciprocity and conflict. When partnerships are sustained for some time, partners form solidarity and trust one another and commit to the partnership itself. In contrast to SCT, RT can explain formation of solidarity even if the partnership would not result in positive outcomes and induce positive emotions in the partners.

Table 1. Possible Forms of Engagement Structures and Partnership Types

Structure of Engagement	Type of Partnerships		
	Mutually Beneficial	Transformational	Reciprocal
Negotiated	N-MB	N-Trans	N-Rec
Reciprocal	R-MB	R-Trans	R-Rec
Productive	P-MB	P-Trans	P-Rec
Generalized	G-MB	G-Trans	G-Rec

Figure 1. Graphical Presentation of Negotiated Engagement Structure

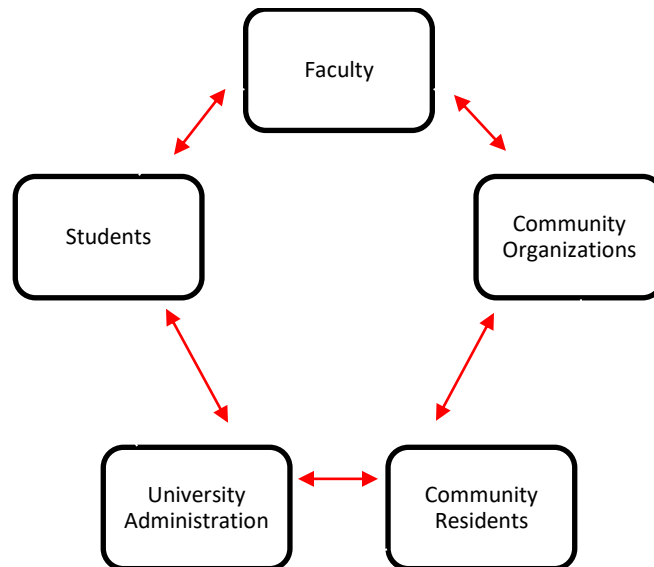


Figure 2. Graphical Presentation of SE-Reciprocal Engagement Structure

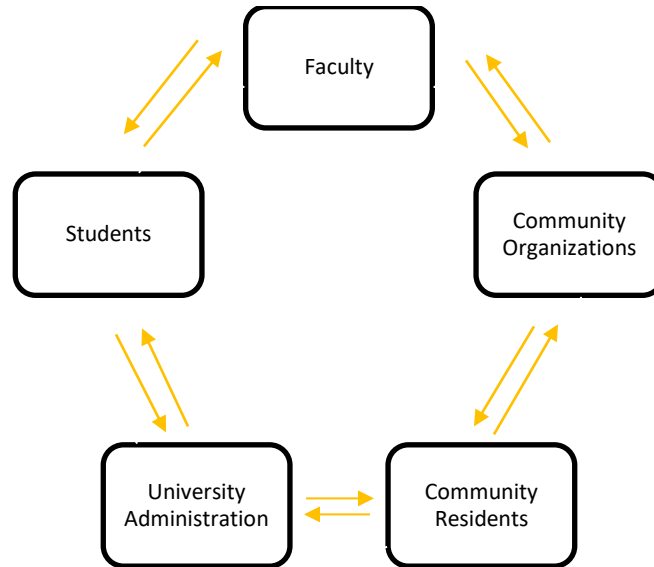


Figure 3. Graphical Presentation of Productive Engagement Structure

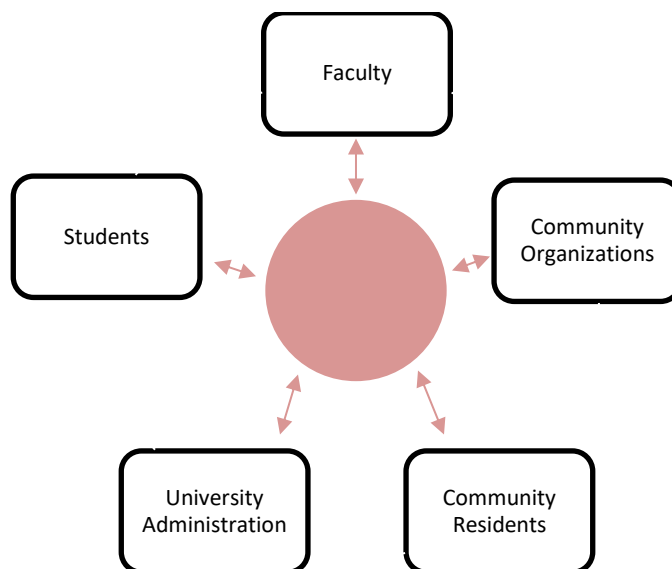
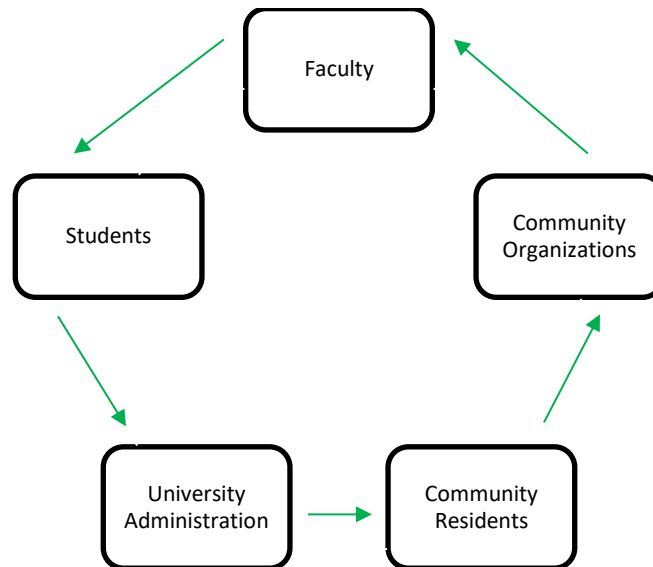


Figure 4. Graphical Presentation of Generalized Engagement Structure



Limitations and Strengths of TEM

TEM is a conceptual framework, based on the social exchange tradition, to study the transformation of university community partnerships over time. It also serves a larger purpose in laying a foundation for incorporating many theoretical tools from social exchange tradition to study other aspects of partnerships like power and equity (discussed in detail in Ch. 5). Therefore, TEM shares many advantages and limitations of SE. This section deals with these strengths and limitations of the model. The benefits of applying TEM to study university community partnerships will be discussed in Ch. 5 in discussions and implications sections.

Limitations

One of the basic assumptions in SE is that all parties interact based on their self-interests, i.e. partners do not act altruistically. While altruistic behavior lends itself to a long sociological debate (see Batson, 1995), it presents a limitation to the application of SE (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005) and thus TEM.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, TEM assumes that partnerships are located in only one engagement structure over time and that this engagement structure does not change. However, in reality, several exchange structures may co-exist in an engagement network and those may also change over the time. While this limitation reduces the reality in important ways, the model still provides an opportunity to look into the dynamics of transformation in ways that may not be otherwise achievable. Recent research in SE have taken up the task of studying embeddedness of negotiated and reciprocal exchange structures in one another (Molm, Melamed, & Whitham, 2013). TEM introduces variables such as time and engagement structure into the study of university community partnerships, but the model itself can be informed through these recent developments in social exchange tradition so that it can enable more sophisticated research designs that may mitigate the limitations of complex exchange structures within an engagement network of partnerships.

SE focuses on behavior of actors, but does not provide psychological clues on how actors change in the exchange. This implication is important for educational researchers because they are mostly accustomed to studying individuals with psychometric tools and then associate behavior to changes in individuals' epistemologies. While this is also a benefit of SE, it remains a drawback for educational researchers who are interested in the study of learning and may wish to connect the findings from TEM directly to such topics as student learning outcomes.

SCT and RT are both developed in controlled experimental settings and their findings are not generalizable to real settings; this, however, has allowed a strong internal validity for the causal mechanisms (Collett, 2010). Zelditch (1969) notes that "experiments are relevant to theory, and *theory* is applied to natural settings" (emphasis in original, p. 539). TEM has adapted the instruments from SCT and RT to develop a questionnaire to empirically test the set of hypotheses it proposes (Appendix A). The TEM instrument can also be used in future studies (some suggestion are made in Ch. 5) but the instrument lacks external validity. Therefore, application of TEM remains limited until researchers test the model empirically.

In the experimental settings that SCT and RT have developed, actors do not know each other beforehand and will not have any known future interaction. However, in real-world, it is possible that partnerships are initiated with a prior knowledge of the partners. Also, the relationship between the partners may continue even after their engagement activity finishes. History and future expectations may both change behaviors of the partners and limits the applicability of TEM. Thus, in order to mitigate their effects, researchers should control for them in real-world research designs where TEM is used as a theoretical tool.

Strengths

TEM provides a tool to study the transformation of partnerships in different university community engagement activities and among different partners. While there exist a handful of evaluative tools to categorize partnerships (discussed in Ch. 3), no previous model exist that would enable the study of the dynamics of the transformation process.

As mentioned earlier in the limitations, SE provides a tool to study behavioral change through sustained partnerships. While this approach is somewhat unconventional to educational research, it is the most important attribution of SE for educational research that TEM inherits. The relationship between attitudes and behaviors is not well understood and is not necessarily correlated (Renforw & Howard, 2013). Thus, this weakness is also the most important benefit of SE in studying university community partnerships. SCT and RT focus on the affective and cognitive changes in individuals that are studied through the changes of behavior. For example, even if SCT deals with emotions, emotions become of importance only when they mediates the commitment behavior of actors. Indeed, changes in behavior and interactions, rather than changes in individual mindsets, aligns well with the Deweyan tradition that the university community literature draws upon.

Social exchange allows some flexibility in how actors are defined and even permits individuals and social units to be alternated. This flexibility is a great benefit to TEM, as it allows TEM to be applied to study behavior of both individuals and organizations. For example, the

partners in a university community partnership could be a non-profit organization and a department. It should be cautioned though that social units in SE need to have a boundary and should be recognized by participants as a unit; e.g., a community or university may mean different things for different people.

TEM allows the study of networks of partnerships in groups and beyond the dyadic analysis. Therefore, instead of explaining how faculty have formed trusting relationships to students and community residents involved in a service learning project, TEM can explain how faculty, students, and community residents have formed a trusting group. The implications of this strength will be elaborated in Ch. 5.

Summary

Transformational Engagement Model (TEM) is the product of the critical interpretive process in bringing the literature on university community engagement partnerships in conversation with the social exchange theoretical framework, SCT, and RT. TEM defines three types of partnerships that can take place within a network of four possible engagement structural configurations. TEM explains that mutually beneficial partnerships can evolve into reciprocal partnerships if they are sustained over time, and when they are interdependent and there is a risk of non-reciprocity. Mutually beneficial partnerships that possess such characteristics are called transformational partnerships. TEM suggests transformational process can lead to reciprocity where university members and community residents may work together in solidarity and in relational terms. The next chapter discusses the implications of the model in explaining the previous tensions highlighted in the literature review chapter and also the implications of this research for informing practice and policy.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Transformational Engagement Model (TEM) introduces a framework to conceptualize the transformation of partnerships over time and enables an alternative approach to understanding reciprocity. TEM investigates the transformation of transactional partnerships into reciprocal partnerships. In this section, TEM is applied as a lens to look into the current literature of university community engagement and discussions of reciprocity and mutuality of benefits to see what reciprocity means and how it may be cultivated over time. Moreover, it questions some of the unexamined assumptions in the literature and adds to our understanding of reciprocal partnerships for democratic university community engagement. Finally, implications of this research for practice and policy will be discussed and directions for future research are provided.

Discussions

Reciprocity and mutuality of benefits are at the center of any discussion in the literature and practice of university community engagement, yet they remain vaguely understood to a point that scholars caution they may have lost their meaning (Dostilio et al, 2012). A few scholars and practitioners have taken the lead in trying to provide a clear definition for these terms, but these attempts are not always reconcilable, leading to a confusion on how to direct practice and policy. To this end, TEM is introduced as an alternative conceptual framework to understand mutuality of benefits and reciprocity in university community engagement. In this section, I bring TEM in a

conversation with other frameworks of reciprocity in an attempt to see how these frameworks support or contradict one another. In a field that much of the literature comes from practice, multiplicity of frameworks can improve practice and policies, hence further advancing our scholarly understanding as well.

Reciprocity through TEM and Other Lenses

In their concept review of reciprocity in the community engaged literature, Dostilio et al. (2012) note that reciprocity is generally conceptualized through epistemology, identity, qualities of relationships, and power. Out of these four categories, TEM deals directly with quality of relationships and indirectly with power and identity. Drawing from previous conceptualization of the mutual effects of service and learning (Porter & Poulsen, 1989), Dostilio et al. explain that the larger theme of reciprocity in their proposed formulation is that service and learning shape each other, and “their integration produces a new, synergistic whole that reflects a transformation beyond the norms that would otherwise hold” (p. 21). They explore a range of epistemes and disciplines to explain what exchange-, influence-, and generativity- reciprocity mean and conclude that exchange reciprocity is based on interchange of resources or goods, and the partners may have self-interest, mutual interest, or other’s interest. Furthermore, they note that individual gain can bring collective stability, but they do not make it clear whether collective stability is a requirement for exchange-reciprocity. It is also posited that it is exchange reciprocity that is often used interchangeably with mutuality of benefits (Dostilio et al., 2012). Indeed, exchange reciprocity aligns well with what TEM calls mutuality of benefits. Whether or not individuals are self-interested or have mutual interest, mutually beneficial partnerships in TEM are based on cost and benefits. TEM, however, does not include the possibility of other’s interest, i.e. partners that are altruistic. The loose definition of exchange reciprocity is further problematized when defining it through other frameworks of reciprocity.

Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) contrast mutually beneficial partnerships—or exchange-reciprocal partnerships in the framework by Dostilio et al. (2012)—with reciprocal

partnerships by explaining that the former implies a technocratic engagement and an approach characterized by doing for, while the latter implies a democratic engagement that captures the spirit of doing with. From their perspective, it is in working with communities that the university engagement can strengthen democracy, and reciprocity is the key to this end. Exchange-reciprocity, then, does not serve democratic ends. Clayton, Bringle, Senor, Huq, and Morrison (2010) categorize such mutually beneficial partnerships as either exploitive or transactional. Exploitive partnerships are ones where the cost of partnership is more than its benefits for one or both partners. Transactional partnerships benefit one or both partners but present no potential for growth. Therefore, in their conceptualization, mutually beneficial partnerships are either problematic or may benefit only one partner. Jameson, Clayton, and Jaeger (2010) also emphasize the usefulness of this categorization and explain that transactional partnerships are representative of a thin form of reciprocity and one that reinforces a technocratic approach to engagement. TEM's conceptualization of self-interested partners lies then in sharp contrast with these views.

Self-interest is an assumption in TEM which is embedded in the social exchange tradition; I argue though that it does not need to be equated with exploitation and one-way flow of benefits. Caruccio (2013) has applied RT to study university community partnerships and has showed that each partner understands costs and benefits differently. Specifically, higher education scholars have some pre-conceived notions of benefits that exclude intangible feelings like personal satisfaction from a charitable act. Indeed, volunteerism and charity are self-interested acts in TEM, and not selfless acts. Thus, a service project, like any other utilitarian partnership, may evolve into a reciprocal partnership. Therefore, by assuming self-interested partners, TEM excludes the possibility that benefits can be one-way, i.e. university or community partners are giving away their resources for altruistic reasons. Exploitation is also very perceptual, as Caruccio notes, and thus remains a discussion within the realm of ethics of engagement rather than a type of partnership that can be, or should be, characterized by an assessment tool. Characterizing reciprocal partnerships as equitable (Bringle et al. 2010) may

justify having categories where cost and benefits may not be distributed fairly. However, as TEM explains, if reciprocity is rendered as an outcome for a democratic end, then equity may also be an outcome of transformation of mutually beneficial partnerships.

The discussion of influence reciprocity within the concept review of reciprocity by Dostilio et al. is highly relevant to TEM as it highlights the key implication of TEM in understanding reciprocity as an outcome. Influence reciprocity maintains that “processes or outcomes (or both) can be influenced as a result of the iterative and inter-related interactions within a collaboration” (Dostilio et al., p. 23). Therefore, influence reciprocity requires interactions within a partnership to be iterative, i.e. have high frequency, and to be inter-related. Frequency of interaction is the main variable in TEM, but as TEM’s causal mechanisms rule, not all high-frequency interactions lead to reciprocal partnerships—a prediction that is well supported in the literature (Clayton, Bringle, Huq, Senor, & Morrison, 2010; Doardo & Giles; 2004). Through their analysis of literature, Dostilio et al. also contend that “[reciprocity] can actually be a process or an outcome of engagement, depending on the type of interaction at play” (p. 24). This statement points to the most central contribution of TEM, as TEM explains how reciprocity can be developed through repeated interactions and also shows what type of interactions can lead to such development. TEM also proposes that reciprocity is the outcome of transformational processes.

The discussions on generativity reciprocity by Dostilio et al. further describes how TEM helps explain transformation of mutually beneficial partnerships into reciprocal ones. Dostilio et al. posit that generativity reciprocity “refers to interrelatedness of beings and the broader world around them as well as the potential synergies that emerge from their relationships” (p. 24). By comparing generativity reciprocity with exchange and influence reciprocities, Dostilio et al also note that “reciprocity can affect a change in what entities do or in what and how entities are” (emphasis in original, p. 24). The language of generative reciprocity is then pertinent to the conceptualization of transformational partnerships: partners and partnerships change through their

repeated exchanges. Dostilio et al. suggest that generativity reciprocity “is best understood not as a relationship between atomistically-constructed individuals engaged in a utilitarian calculus of costs and benefits but rather in terms of the transformative power of relationality and the co-construction of emergent systems of collaboration” (p. 25). Dostilio et al. also extend the conversation on generativity reciprocity by adding elements of transformational learning, concluding that “[a] generative approach to reciprocity extends beyond the task at hand in an open-ended manner; identities and ways of being in relationship, commitments to each other, processes of collaboration, and envisioned outcomes evolve” (p.25). These descriptions of generative reciprocity align well with what TEM proposes, as relational cohesion, bonds of trust, and solidarity lead to behavioral commitment and gift giving. But TEM does not undervalue self-interest even in reciprocal partnerships. For a partnership to be reciprocal in TEM, it has to be also mutually beneficial. Indeed, the definition of reciprocity by Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) implies this very subtly: “reciprocity signals an epistemological shift that values not only expert knowledge that is *rational*, analytic and positivist, but also values a different kind of *rationality that is relational*, localized, and contextual” (emphasis added, p. 9-10). TEM reaffirms this position that partners in a reciprocal partnership need not be selfless and irrational, but they are rational in a relational way.

Similarly, Dostilio et al. (2012) contend that multiple forms of reciprocity may co-exist in a partnership. They suggest that the three categories of reciprocity may be developed over time, but the authors do not suggest that they can be necessarily developed from one another—a position also held by Clayton, Bringle, Huq, Senior, & Morrison (2010) and Enos & Morton (2003). Ironically, their distinction that a generativity reciprocity excludes any utilitarian view is not reconcilable with their description that exchange- and generativity-reciprocity can co-exist within a partnership.

Bringle, Clayton, and Price (2009) discuss that transformational partnerships based on equity, integrity, and closeness, can be potentially developed from engagement activities, only if

“interactions...are grounded in collaboration” (p. 6). However, the observation that collaboration is the determining factor that would lead to reciprocal partnerships is based on their experience and not grounded in empirical research. Closeness, integrity, and equity are also considered as the elements of transformational partnerships, regardless of the length of partnerships, but “they are assumed [emphasis added] to contribute to the identity, mission, and growth of individuals involved” (Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009, p.10). These unexamined assumptions further weaken the argument that collaboration leads to development of transformational partnerships. They also explain that “[t]heoretically,... transformational partnerships should establish social bonds between individuals and social groups as the diversity of their interactions and the interdependency of their interactions increases. An outcome of this development should be increased expression of social bonding” (Bringle, Clayton, & Price, p. 12). So, while closeness is one characteristic of transformational partnership, it is not clear what authors mean by social bonding that increases over time through interdependency of interactions; do partners need to be close to develop a social bond? How is closeness different from partners connected by a social bond? Regardless of the ambiguities in definitions, the descriptions of transformation are similar to the language of SCT within TEM.

Indeed, TEM explains that reciprocity may grow out of mutually beneficial partnerships, and thus provides a framework to investigate the development of reciprocity in engaged partnerships. TEM also provides a causal mechanism to explain why some partnerships develop reciprocity while some others don't.

The Problem of Intentionality in Democratic Engagement

The literature of university community engagement emphasizes the importance of reciprocity as a means to overcome the town and the gown, the solution domain and the problem domain, the server and the served, the teacher and the learner dichotomies, but seeks these ends by emphasizing the alignment of one party to the other in levelling the field between the two. I

argue that this conventional intentionality to create reverse engineered reciprocal partnerships by educating partners may indeed reinforce these dichotomies.

One of the main goals of several lines of scholarship in recent years has been creating a framework to evaluate reciprocity. For example, TRES is one such approach that identifies exploitive, transactional, and transformational partnerships (Clayton, Bringle, Senior, Huq, & Morrison, 2010). Distilio et al. (2012) distinguish between exchange-, influence-, and generativity-reciprocity. While such categories can help provide tools to see where partnerships are, all these categories suffer from the same drawback that they cannot inform us about if, and how, partnerships can evolve. The categorization in TEM distinguishes between mutually beneficial, reciprocal, and transformational partnerships, the latter having the potential to develop into reciprocal partnership while the former doesn't. By establishing reciprocity as an outcome of transformational partnerships, TEM problematizes a widely accepted view on intentionality on university's part to create ideal reciprocal partnerships.

The development of conceptual frameworks of reciprocity in order to evaluate partnerships has a major consequence that is evident in the conversation on intentionality of institutional approaches to develop reciprocal partnerships. Distilio et al. (2012) explain the steps required to intentionally improve the three different categories of reciprocity in their framework. Clayton, Bringle, Hug, Senior, and Morrison (2010) hypothesize that "improving relationships in intentional ways may enhance outcomes for all constituencies" (emphasis added, p. 6). Jameson, Clayton, and Jaeger (2010) advocate for intentionally creating transformative and counter-normative partnerships with a thick reciprocity. While intentionality as a purpose is beneficial, but these suggestions are directed toward university partners who have to take the "difficult and frustrating" task of "taking on such counter-normative roles and relationships and identities" (p. 269). I compare this with "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" (Kendall, 1990, p. 21-22). Therefore, I caution that this advocacy for

intentionality to create reciprocal partnerships by educating partners reifies the university status-quo in working *for* the communities. Moreover, intentionality in teaching partners to create reciprocal partnerships is rooted in traditional ways of classroom teaching and not the Deweyan way of learning by doing that the engagement scholars advocate for.

If building reciprocal partnerships is the goal of being intentional in doing democratic work, can we approach it un-democratically? Is the goal of reciprocal partnerships only to understand that communities are not only domains of problems, but also domains of solution? or reciprocal partnerships should also promote the understanding that universities are not only domains of solutions, but also domains of problems? If the intentionality in building reciprocal partnerships is aimed at bringing social change through counter-normative collaborative work, can the characteristics of reciprocal partnerships themselves be well-defined? Does reciprocity need to be imitable—rooted in the positivist thought default of higher education institutions—or does its meaning have to be constructed in relationships, within contexts, and locally?

Therefore, an important implication of TEM is that reciprocity is the outcome of transformational partnerships, not characteristic of a process or an a priori defined outcome we can imitate by studying it. This view of reciprocity as a process outcome can inform practice and policy in several ways that will be elaborated on in the following discussion points.

The Value in Mutuality of Benefits

The value of transactional, exchange-based, mutually-beneficial partnerships is highly contested in the literature on university community engagement and largely left out of a rigorous debate. By reflecting through TEM, these different opinions can be reconciled in ways that would inform practice and policies on university community engagement. Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) argue that mutually beneficial partnerships, where parties benefit from their engagement, are characteristics of a form of civic engagement that is based on activity and place and reinforces the technocratic approach of universities to communities. A technocratic approach promotes an expert culture in a society where degree holders from colleges and institutions

provide solutions for a clientele citizenry who lack knowledge or skills to contribute to societal problems they are facing (Boyte, 2009, 2011; Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010). Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton contrast technocratic civic engagement with one characterized by reciprocity and structured by processes and purpose. However, Hammersley (2017) cautions against characterizing reciprocity as an authentic ideal form of engagement that promotes mutual growth and transformation, and notes that doing so would “fail to take into account the diversity of partner relations, commitment levels, activity types, or the context in which relationships take place” (p. 121). Dostilio et al. (2012) also advocate for a more fluid notion of reciprocity that is inclusive of transactional mutually beneficial partnerships, going as far as suggesting that depending on the context, exchange- or influence-reciprocities may be preferable to generativity reciprocity. TEM’s approach to defining reciprocity as an outcome of transformational processes may reconcile these contrasting views.

TEM proposes that mutually beneficial partnerships can develop into reciprocal partnerships if they sustain over time and if the interaction process meet certain conditions, like interdependency of tasks, mutual accountability, or under engagement structures with high risk of non-reciprocity. In this regard, a mutually beneficial partnership is not automatically a technocratic approach and may indeed be the seed for democratic engagement based on reciprocity. Therefore, following Distilio et al. (2012) and Hammersley (2017), TEM re-affirms that mutually beneficial partnerships should not be automatically judged technocratic and charitable. However, transactional partnerships that are developed only for a short period of time and do not have the potential for growing into reciprocal ones may indeed maintain the status quo; therefore, unlike Hammesley and Distilio et al., and in alignment with Saltmarsh, Hartley, et al. (2009), in TEM, reciprocity is the foundation for democratic engagement that higher education aspires to. Mutually beneficial partnerships with no potential for developing reciprocity can provide service but they do not serve democratic ends. Thus, mutuality of benefits that transforms

partnerships into reciprocal ones—transformational partnership—makes the fabric of democratic engagement.

Transformational Partnerships and Purpose for Democratic Engagement

Reconciling mutuality of benefits and reciprocity, and framing mutuality of benefits as a requirement for reciprocity enable democratic engagement defined by process and purpose (Saltmarsh, Hartley, & Clayton, 2009) to become a possibility, not an unachievable ideal within the current system of higher education. Democratic engagement based on reciprocal partnerships requires a second-order change in higher education institutions (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2011). This fundamental change in how higher education institutions work has been plateaued in recent years and many scholars and practitioners caution that the current engagement activities fall short of achieving the democratic aims (Saltmarsh, Hartley, Clayton, 2009; Saltmarsh & Zlotowski, 2011; Sandmann & Kliewer, 2012). Kliewer (2013) argues that the neoliberal ideology within which higher education institutions operate undermines the democratic purpose of community engagement “in which citizens organize, cooperate, and act outside the bounds of market and economic activity” (p. 73). The intentionality in creating reciprocal partnerships by training individuals to act outside the norms of higher education institutions then not only is undemocratic and situated within a paradigm of charitable service, but also limited by the market based higher education system. Kliewer suggests that by recognizing how the neoliberal ideology affects democratic engagement, institutions can insulate themselves from it. TEM’s position that mutually beneficial partnerships can evolve into reciprocal partnerships provide an alternative solution to the problem of institutionalizing democratic engagement. Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton note that a “shift in discourse from...’mutuality’ to that of ‘reciprocity’ is grounded in explicitly democratic values...” (p. 9). As such, development of reciprocal partnerships from mutually beneficial ones may facilitate the democratic purpose of civic engagement. However, situating reciprocity as an outcome of mutually beneficial partnerships in itself is not, and should not, be taken as an adequate purpose to achieve democratic ends. Yet, it can be a starting point for

a conversation on what democratic purpose for higher education means for practitioners and policy-makers.

Implications

By bringing TEM into conversation with other frameworks of reciprocity, I suggested that reciprocity as a goal for transformational partnerships, serves the democratic engagement based on process and purpose. In this section, I apply TEM to inform practice and policy that aim at promoting democratic engagement between universities and communities through transformational partnerships.

Self-Interest as a Catalyst for Achieving Democratic Purpose

TEM explains that reciprocity may be an outcome of mutually beneficial partnerships between self-interested partners, and that such mutually beneficial partnerships can facilitate the democratic ends of the civic engagement movement. Fretz (2008) distinguishes between self-interest, selfishness, and selflessness. He notes that the concept of self-interest “sits between selflessness (the denial of the self) and selfishness (greedy, stingy, conceit)” (p. 76). I argue that mutuality of benefits based on self-interest in itself can help start partnerships that would benefit both the university and their surrounding communities and that self-interest need not compromise democratic ends. As Markham (2015) points out “[understanding self-interests of stakeholders] does not mean capitulate to selfish demands ... it means understand what each stakeholder cares about the most” (emphasis in original, p. 252). I argue that university practitioners and engaged scholars should indeed pursue their self-interest in collaborating with community residents, but the partnerships should be designed to be transformational to serve a democratic purpose. The intentionality here is not directed toward partners, but toward the process and purpose. For example, a faculty member may only want to engage with a community resident in a mutually beneficial partnership to improve her students’ learning outcomes and improve her tenure portfolio. I argue that the partnership should not be automatically flagged as transactional or exploitive, discouraging faculty from engaging with community residents only because the

partnership's purpose is serving the community while benefitting the university—traditional service category. Rather, the administration should encourage the faculty to sustain the partnership beyond the initial project over a longer period of time and hold faculty and community residents mutually accountable for their collaborative work. This intentionality in facilitation of the transformational processes should then be the purpose of higher education, in contrast with an intentionality aimed at training partners to do counter-normative work.

Consequently, higher education does not need to be selfish or selfless in its approach to communities. Rather college administrators, faculty, and students should engage in self-interested partnerships which would mutually benefit all parties but also purposefully aim at reciprocity through transformational processes.

Transformational Processes

Based on TEM, I have suggested transformational partnerships for practice and policy in higher education, not as the goal, but as a requirement for achieving the ultimate goal of reciprocity for a democratic engagement. TEM's internal causal mechanism provides some clues on what a transformational partnership may look like and how it can be achieved. TRES (Clayton, Bringle, Hug, Senior, and Morrison, 2010) is based on the works of Bringle and Hatcher (2002), and Enos and Morton (2003); collectively these studies remain the most systematic and the only lines of scholarship that tell what kind of partnership processes may be transformational. Bringle and Hatcher (2002) argue that transformational partnerships are characterized by closeness, integrity, and equity. Among the different ways these qualities are conceptualized in TRES, two items are relevant to process: frequency of interactions and diversity of tasks.

In TEM, for a partnership to be transformational, primarily it has to be sustained through multiple interactions. Period of partnership may safely capture this, although it should be remembered that it is possible to have high-frequency of interactions in a short period of time or low-frequency of interactions over a long period of time. This aspect of TEM seems aligned with observations of Clayton, Bringle, Huq, Senior, & Morrison (2010) and Dorado and Giles (2004) in

that partnerships sustained for longer periods of time were more likely to be reciprocal. Therefore, a one-semester service learning course is less likely to be a transformational partnership than a multiple-semester long service learning project.

TEM does not provide an easy answer to the length of partnership or frequency of interactions that is required to achieve a reciprocal partnership. This is partly because time is one variable in the model and that structure of reciprocity and the perception of interdependency would affect the dynamics of transformation as well. Clayton, Bringle, Huq, Senor, and Morrison (2010) also cite diversity of tasks as a variable that can affect transformation of partnerships. However, the variable is conceptually vague and lacks a clear definition in their framework. TEM's incorporation of structure of engagement may be able to shed light on this variable that indeed seems important in transformation of partnerships. SCT and RT provide two different causal routes to development of reciprocal partnerships, both predicting that increasing frequency of interactions leads to higher chances of developing reciprocal partnerships. However, they predict contrasting results on the effect of structure of engagement on transformation dynamics; RT predicts SE-reciprocal partnerships to more strongly facilitate reciprocity development, vs. SCT that predicts negotiated partnerships are more likely to enhance transformation. Therefore, TEM re-emphasizes that diversity of tasks can be helpful in evolution of reciprocal partnerships. Diversity of tasks, in TEM, explains that incorporating different engagement structures in multiple activities or sub-projects within a partnership makes it more likely for a partnership to be transformational. Indeed, SCT relies on positive emotions to mediate formation of relational ties between partners; therefore, a failure in a task within a partnership that is solely comprised of one type of activity can be detrimental to development of reciprocity. On the other hand, if a partnership has activities that are negotiated and result in positive outcomes, as well as activities that are done through a SE-reciprocal engagement structure, then it is more likely that the partnership would be transformational and it may indeed evolve into a reciprocal partnership in a

shorter period of time. Structure of engagement may also contribute to understanding of conflict and negotiation in university community engagement.

Increasingly, institutions of higher education ask for Memorandum of Agreements between partners to ensure that the benefits to communities are clear and also to reduce the possible conflicts that may arise during the partnerships. While conflict has a negative connotation, TEM shows that it may have both positive and negative effects in development of reciprocity depending on the nature of the tasks and structure of engagement. SCT predicts that interdependent tasks that produce positive outcomes (hence positive emotions) can facilitate development of reciprocal partnerships. In such tasks, negotiation makes a positive impact on partnership by reducing the chances of conflict. However, if a task is complex and may not immediately or eventually result in outcomes that would induce positive emotions in partners, negotiation is less likely to help develop reciprocity among partners compared to a laissez-faire SE-reciprocal or generalized engagement structure. Indeed, in addressing some of the complex problems universities and communities are facing, a positive outcome may not be an immediate outcome and it may take years for a partnership to address such problems as homelessness in a town. In such partnerships, RT suggests that negotiation may only result in partners to quickly point to one another for the frustration in achieving good results, but negotiation makes it clear who is responsible for what. However, in SE-reciprocal or generalized forms of exchange, the conflict is less salient to partners and each time partners complete their responsibilities, it shows to the other partners that their partnerships is important to them—what RT calls affective regard. Therefore, TEM suggests that negotiation and conflict reduction is not necessarily always helpful in achieving reciprocity.

Finally, as part of SCT, interdependency affects the development of partnerships. The way SCT operationalizes interdependency and distinguishes between perception of interdependency and structure of interdependency, adds to the current understanding of partnership transformation in the literature. The literature on community engagement places

emphasis on working collaboratively with community residents, so that partners decide on goals of the partnerships together, work together to achieve these goals, and assess the outcomes in collaboration (Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2013; Community Partner Summit Group, 2010; Fitzgerald, Burack, & Seifer, 2010). However, this collaborative approach to working together is equated with the conceptual frame of *doing with* rather than *doing for*. Within this framework, the partners are required to work together and the partnership may be or may transform to become reciprocal. TEM adds a level of complexity to these statements, by re-affirming that working collaboratively and interdependently is required for a partnership to be or to become reciprocal, but also noting that these conditions alone do not suffice to achieve the goal of reciprocity.

Interdependency is a focus of SCT and is generally considered as having structural and perceptual elements. Based on SCT, working together, the way the community engagement literature emphasizes, comprises the structural element of interdependency, i.e. the task is interdependent and requires both partners to complete it. Lawler, Yoon, and Thye (2009) argue that even when a task is interdependent structurally, it is quite possible that partners can distinguish their contributions to the outcomes of the partnership. Therefore, they emphasize that “task interdependence should make the collective results of their individual behavior salient” (Lawler, Yoon, & Thye, 2009, p. 61). Therefore, the group, and not the individual should be held accountable to produce a strong perception of interdependency. Lawler, Yoon, and Thye contend that a strong perception of interdependency is achieved when “a group of [people] who have complementary skills, are committed to working together to achieve common goals, and who are collectively responsible and held mutually accountable for results” (p. 62). Therefore, based on these elements of SCT, TEM emphasizes that shared accountability can help the growth of reciprocity beyond a simple collaborative work design.

Despite the consensus on working together in co-creation of knowledge, there is little emphasis in the literature and the practice of community engagement on holding partners

mutually accountable. Institutions of higher education generally demand accountability from faculty, administrators and staff who develop the partnerships. According to TEM, this makes administrators, staff, faculty, and students distinguish their own contribution to the outcomes of partnerships, thus reducing their perception of interdependency. Based on TEM, I suggest that community engagement administrators and practitioners create structures that would encourage development of partnerships that can be sustained for long periods of time so that the partnership would provide the opportunity for growth. Also, by encouraging collaborative work and holding all partners mutually accountable for the collective outcomes, administrators can facilitate the transformation of partnerships. Moreover, if reciprocity is the outcome of a partnership, then beyond asking for evidence of benefits, administrators need to create evaluative tools to see if the partnerships are growing in reciprocity, i.e. faculty and community partners would rate their partnership as more relational and more trustworthy. TEM thus may provide an evaluative tool for practitioners to see whether the partnership is transformational or not.

Networks of Reciprocity

One of the most important contributions of the concept review of reciprocity by Dostilio et al. (2012) that TEM highlights is the point they make in their discussions that “[r]eciprocity may be enacted in different ways at varying levels of a coalition or organization, and the larger map of interactions ... [and] might be evaluated differently than a subset of the relationships comprising it” (p. 26-27). SOFAR model by Bringle, Clayton, and Price (2009) is the closest approach to situating university community engagement within a network of constituencies. However, the lack of a clear framework to explain why some dyadic partnerships grow while others don’t, appears to have limited the applicability of the SOFAR model. For example, Clayton et al. (2010) associate the lack of development in faculty-community partnerships with a lack of aspiration. By placing partnerships in the network structure of TEM and mapping the engagement structures, TEM enables practitioners to evaluate partnerships and provide suggestions on how to modify task structures in a way that the partnership becomes

transformational for all partners. TEM can explain why a dyadic partnership in a network of partnerships among several university and community residents becomes transformational while another one doesn't. Furthermore, TEM's generalized and productive exchange structures provide a tool to study partnerships that involve more than two partners working together and explore the possibility of them becoming a group whose relationships are based on solidarity and trust.

Assume a dean of community engagement would have liked to involve her unit staff to form trusting relationships with community residents. Through a conventional lens, the dean would have recommended that the staff members work in direct relationship with community residents and making sure that both parties would benefit from that partnership. This expectation may bring difficulties in designing a service learning course where faculty, students, and the community engagement office staff would work each in directly mutually beneficial ways with the community residents. However, TEM stimulates a different proposition, where staff members may not work directly with community residents but may have to work with the faculty and students to contribute to the project. If the network partnership meets the criteria of TEM, like interdependency and/or salience of conflict, then the network of faculty, students, staff members, and community residents would form a group-level trust and solidarity in working together on a service learning project. In this way, TEM provides one conceptual framework to study not just partnerships, but what Kezar and Gehrke (2015) call communities of transformation, i.e. communities that "create innovative spaces that have the potential to shift institutional and disciplinary norms" (p. i).

Future Research Directions

This study can be complemented and developed by further research. First, TEM is a conceptual model based on the elements of social exchange framework, particularly SCT and RT. Both of these theories have been extensively studied under controlled experimental settings. Thus, by using the questionnaire (see Appendix A), which has been adopted from these theories, TEM can be empirically studied. An empirical study would give credibility to the model and can

further strengthen the arguments put forward in this study. Moreover, a qualitative case study may apply TEM in investigating the development of partnerships in service learning or engaged research activities. This case study can include all the partners involved in the partnership and their engagement structures in different activities. The case study can shed light on how to use TEM as an evaluative tool in practice.

Second, by conceptualizing reciprocity as an outcome of mutually beneficial partnerships in democratic engagement, TEM may enhance our understanding of learning and learning outcomes from engaged activities. Future research can explore how reciprocity as an epistemological shift may relate to the substantive literature on learning outcomes of service learning courses. TEM provides a clear definition and conceptual framework on exploring development of reciprocal partnerships between students and community residents. This clarity can finally make it possible to study what it means for students to value a rationality that is relational and contextual.

Third, TEM can be applied to study faculty commitment to staying in and contributing to partnerships. Commitment, as O'Meara (2013) defines it, is a concept of "long-term, conscious, personal, and professional investments that scholars make in certain people, programs, places, and social concerns through concrete activity that furthers the goal of higher education" (p. 220). Faculty commitment to community-engagement has been studied using a variety of methodological approaches and conceptual frameworks, but can benefit from the application of other theoretical frameworks as well (O'Meara, 2013). TEM not only provides a strong framework to explore the possibility of commitment development throughout partnership transformation, but it can also add to the current understating of commitment by providing a tool to study behavioral commitment.

For example, studies by Collett (2010) on family relationships may provide us with evidence that TEM can be further advanced for studying commitments in partnerships. Collett (2010) questions the basic cost-benefit analysis in family relationships and posits that

commitment may evolve as a result of emotions and solidarity. Drawing on contemporary social exchange theories (Lawler, Thye, Yoon, 2009; Molm, 2010), Collett suggests that positive emotions generated through shared tasks, like child rearing, can form commitments that extend well beyond an equity perspective based on the proportionality of outputs and inputs (Collett, 2010). If family relationships were based on equity and proportionality of input/outputs alone, Collett muses, then we should wonder why partners would remain in a relationship while they might have alternatives that are more attractive.

Finally, this study focused on the fundamental elements of the social exchange tradition to form a structural foundation for TEM. However, there exist other theoretical tools, within SE tradition, that can add to the complexity of TEM in studying university community engagement.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: TEM Questionnaire

Think about your most recent engaged activity. How would you describe your LATEST INETRACTION with your community partner on each of the following? (9-point likert)

Displeased/ pleased
unhappy/ happy
not satisfied/satisfied
discontented/ Contented
not interesting/ Interesting
Boring/exciting
Unenthusiastic/ Enthusiastic
Unmotivating/ Motivating

Think about your most recent engaged activity. How would you describe your LATEST INETRACTION with your community partner on each of the following? (9-point likert)

Distant/ close
Conflictual/ cooperative
Fragmenting/ integrating
Fragile/ solid
divisive/cohesive
diverging/ converging
self-oriented/ team-oriented

Think about your most recent engaged activity. In your latest interaction with your community partner:

How much did you trust your community partner? (9-point likert)

Very little/very much

What is your impression of your community partner on the following? (9-point likert)

Untrustworthy/trustworthy

Unreliable/reliable

Undependable/dependable

Think about your most recent engaged activity. In your latest interaction with your community partner:

What was your general feeling toward your community partner? (9-point likert)

Negative/Positive

What was your impression of your community partner on the following?

Awful/nice

Bad/good

Uncooperative/cooperative

Think about your most recent engaged activity. How would you describe your LATEST INETrACTION with your community partner on each of the following? (9-point likert)

Divided/United

Adversaries/Partners

Self-oriented/team-oriented

Coming apart/coming together

Think about your most recent engaged activity. How would you describe your LATEST INETrACTION with your community partner on each of the following? (9-point likert)

Uncommitted/committed

Think about your most recent engaged activity. In your latest interaction with your community partner:

What was your general feeling of commitment toward your community partner? (9-point likert)

Uncommitted/committed

Think about your most recent engaged activity. Which of the following statements best describes you and your community partner?

We were competitors, working against each other.

We were separate individuals working for ourselves.

We were separate individuals, but working together.

We were a group, a team working together.

Think about your most recent engaged activity. On the whole, do you think your interests were in conflict with your community partner, or were your interests in agreement? (9-point likert)

Agreement/conflict

Would you say that the motives of your community partner were generally cooperative or competitive?

Cooperative/competitive

VITA

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Thesis: DEVELOPMENT OF A TRANSFORMATIONAL ENGAGEMENT MODEL
TO STUDY UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

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