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The Service Sojourn: Conceptualizing the College Student Volunteer Experience

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**THE SERVICE SOJOURN: CONCEPTUALIZING
THE COLLEGE STUDENT VOLUNTEER
EXPERIENCE**

by

Brian C. Schmidt

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Educational Leadership and Policy

The University of Utah

May 2000

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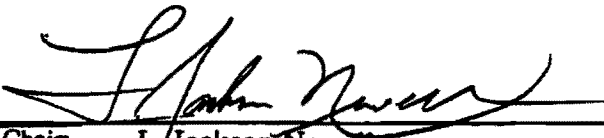
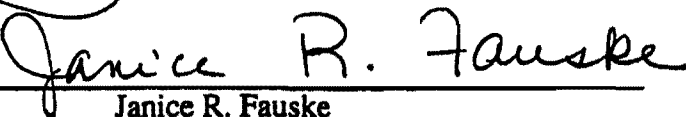
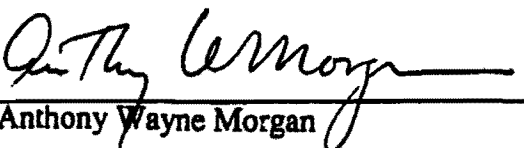
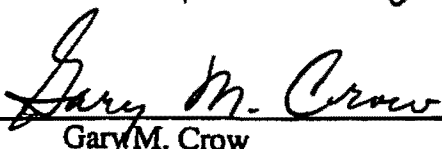
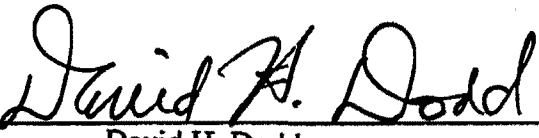
THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a dissertation submitted by

Brian C. Schmidt

This dissertation has been read by each member of the following supervisory committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

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<u>11-3-99</u>	 Janice R. Fauske
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FINAL READING APPROVAL

To the Graduate Council of the University of Utah:

I have read the dissertation of Brian C. Schmidt in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographic style are consistent and acceptable; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the supervisory committee and is ready for submission to The Graduate School.

March 2, 2000
Date


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ABSTRACT

Despite the increasing popularity of volunteerism in student activities and service-learning courses on college campuses, little is known about the experience of volunteers. This study examines the experience of 16 students from the University of Utah who participated in community service. The qualitative investigation is based on 54 interviews regarding student descriptions of their experience. What common events occurred? How did they make sense of their experience? What, really, did they learn? Ethnographic interviews and a "naturalistic" approach were used to identify patterns and analyze the data. Grounded in reoccurring themes such as leaving familiar surroundings, the shock of a new environment, and efforts to adjust, the concept of a sojourn was used to interpret students' experience. This interpretive metaphor not only provided a framework for conceptualizing common aspects of volunteer experience, but it also highlighted the cross-cultural nature of these encounters. Students who ventured on these "sojourns in service" reported positive outcomes such as a better understanding of others, a matured sense of identity, a more complex view of the world, and an enhanced sense of personal efficacy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In a time when community service is becoming increasingly popular in higher education, it is important to understand the student volunteer experience if we are to improve its developmental and educational potential. A national survey 5 years ago found that 64% of American undergraduates have participated in some form of volunteer service (Levine, 1994). More campuses are promoting community service each year by opening campus volunteer centers and offering courses that integrate service into the curriculum.

Community service is seen as one way to instill social responsibility, civic skills, and enhance academic courses. Political leaders and university faculty and staff have been supportive of volunteer programs. Campus compact, a confederation of colleges and universities dedicated to promoting service among students and faculty has grown to over 500 members. President Clinton's Learn and Service America: Higher Education (LSAHE) is running on over a hundred campuses. Almost every campus has some type of community-based service organization. Additionally a small but growing number of colleges and universities now require some form of service as part of their undergraduate degree requirements.

The term service-learning suggests that community service can also lead to profound learning and developmental outcomes. Many faculty have used community service as a form of experiential education to help students discover and apply the concepts of their courses. Student affairs educators have viewed it as a positive extra curricular activity that encourages community involvement, social growth, and character development. Although initial support for these outcomes was only anecdotal, a few recent studies have been moderately supportive of these conclusions (Astin & Sax, 1988; Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999; Batchelder & Root, 1994; Conrad & Hedin, 1995; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993).

Many of these researchers, however, point out the need for a better theoretical understanding of what is happening to students as they participate in service. In her review of the volunteer literature, Jone Pearce (1993) pointed out that “we know surprisingly little about the experience of volunteers” (p. 81). Volunteer program directors, faculty, and staff generally base their practices on the philosophies of experiential education and student development. Although these approaches are helpful in suggesting activities that promote learning and growth, they have lacked a descriptive framework that addresses the unique experience of student volunteers.

As a director of leadership development and community service programs at a private junior college in Idaho, I have been intrigued by the volunteer experience of students. I trace this interest to my experience as an undergraduate student at the University of Utah. Along with my extracurricular involvement in a campus fraternity I volunteered at the Lowell Bennion Community Service Center. Through this

involvement I learned a great deal about issues relating to poverty and became acquainted with several community organizations and agencies. I also became acquainted with other students with similar interests. We became actively involved in a number of social issues and supported each other in our causes.

This involvement appears to have influenced many of our career decisions. Bill was interested in political issues and has found a career in public advocacy. Rob, who coordinated volunteer programs to help the elderly, now directs a nursing facility. Dave, who was always concerned about people, became a physician. Now I direct a college community service program that perpetuates such volunteer experiences for students.

It is intriguing to think about the impact that these college volunteer experiences had in our lives. While we were at an impressionable time in life, these activities seemed to have had a particularly powerful influence on our development. A sense of this impact is one of the reasons I advise community service activities at Ricks College.

Despite my personal experiences in service, I felt that my understanding of the student volunteer experience was vague. Research is just beginning to address the possible outcomes of community service in the college years. Less is known about the actual process of volunteering. I only knew anecdotal stories from others involved in service and a few models from experiential education and developmental literature.

These, however, did not explain the dynamics of my volunteer experience nor that of my students. I was curious about the experience of student volunteers and how I could better implement community service programs. This investigation gave me the opportunity to explore these issues.

I started with several research questions. What common events occurred to students as they volunteered? How did they accommodate these incidents? What, really, did they learn? This investigation focused on the student perspective. How could the experience be conceptualized? What aspects appeared to be the most significant? I was seeking an interpretation that would be informative for both the students and practitioners in the field.

This study examined the experience of 16 student volunteers at the University of Utah. The scope of this investigation was limited to students involved in ongoing volunteer programs of a direct nature. Participants were selected from a pool of students who volunteered on a regular basis and in a fashion that permitted direct contact with the people that they were serving.

In reviewing the 54 interviews involved in the study, I found these students discussing similar themes. They talked about their desires to "make a difference," the shock of being in a new environment, feelings of inadequacy, efforts to "fit in," and their accomplishments. I pieced together a map describing these common elements.

I interpreted these experiences as being similar to a sojourn. Sojourns are trips to foreign countries for extended periods of time. On such journeys travelers often experience "culture shock" as they encounter contrasting customs and cultures. With time, they generally learn to adapt and make some sense of the new environment. As a result of the experience, they return home with a new perspective. Students followed a similar pattern when they volunteered. They left familiar surroundings, ventured into

different cultural settings, experienced shock, adapted to new situations, and also returned with a broader perspective.

Interpreting the volunteer experience through the metaphor of a sojourn helped to structure the common experiences of students in this study. The abstraction identified the major landmarks of the terrain. Although more specific aspects of the volunteer experience did not always parallel the sojourn, the metaphor as a whole helped to see how the larger pieces of the volunteer experience fit together. The sojourn served as an interpretive metaphor to conceptualize the experience of students in this study.

This study's interpretation of student volunteer experiences was constructed from my analysis of the data as it was placed within relevant fields of knowledge. I was the principle instrument in this inquiry. Because of this intimate involvement in the analysis it is helpful to understand my approach to the study. I brought my interests, previous experience, and perspectives to this investigation.

The report of this investigation follows in this dissertation. Chapter II discusses the methodology of this qualitative research. It describes how I use a naturalistic approach to gather and interpret the data. Specific details of the research design are covered and limitations described. The third chapter reviews the fields of knowledge that helped inform my interpretation of the data. Major concepts and findings from the fields of socialization, student development, and cross-cultural literatures are also surveyed to provide a larger perspective to view the results. The fourth chapter introduces the metaphor of the sojourn and presents the study's findings. The fifth chapter analyzes and interprets the data. This includes implications for practice and recommendations for

additional research. An epilogue presents my personal reflections on conducting this study.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

One of the most important considerations in conducting any study is the appropriateness of the methodology and the research design. Different types of questions lend themselves to distinct forms of investigation. This chapter specifically describes how I investigated the phenomenon and analyzed it within larger frameworks of knowledge.

This research concerned itself with students' interpretations of their volunteer experiences. What types of events occurred to students as they served? Were there any common patterns in their experience? What did they learn? And how could this experience be conceptualized? In other words, my purpose was to understand and interpret the ways in which students "made sense" of their experience.

The first section of this chapter describes my approach to these questions. More specifically I describe the epistemological stance of my methods. I follow the Interpretivist Tradition that argues that a social phenomenon is best understood from the perspective of the person's behavior that is under study. Meaning is constructed as people interpret events through their social interactions. In explaining this approach I will review the historical development of this philosophy and its connections to symbolic interactionism.

These paradigms of viewing the world through people's constructions suggested a "naturalistic" approach to my inquiry. Qualitative research fits this approach well because it attempts to construct meaning through inductive analysis, insider perspectives, proximity to natural settings, and a holistic perspective. The next section of this chapter discusses the appropriateness of qualitative research and the following section details some of the fundamental tenants of this methodology such as the researcher being the main instrument of inquiry.

I next describe the background of my research. As I am the principle instrument of inquiry, it is helpful to explicate my interests, previous experience, and perspectives. This permits the reader to understand my approach and perspective. I then describe the direction of the investigation by outlining the research questions that were formulated at the beginning of the study. These questions form the basis for the research design. Data collection methods, sampling, legal and ethical issues, and the instrumentation of the interviews are then covered.

In making sense of the information, a crucial component of the study relates to the analysis of the data. I then proceed to outline the concurrent process of data analysis. In the course of the study, I made constant decisions of what information to retain, organize, and sharpen. This was an inductive process that involved teasing out themes, verifying patterns, noting explanations, and clarifying relationships. Through the process I tried to maintain openness as I attempted to find the most useful way to conceptualize the student volunteer experience. I found that using a metaphor was helpful with interpreting student's experiences.

The framework of a sojourn to describe the student volunteer experience does have its limitations. The last section of this chapter explains that the model does not fit all student volunteer experiences, nor can the metaphor be interpreted literally. The framework is an interpretation based on my perspective on the data.

Ontological and Epistemological Stance

Michael Patton explains that historically two major theoretical perspectives have dominated social science research (1990). The first traces its origins to positivism. In Patton's words, "this philosophy seeks the facts or causes of social phenomena apart from the subjective states of individuals" (Patton, 1990, p. 57). The second theoretical perspective is committed to understanding social phenomena from a person's own perspective. In other words, understanding how they make sense of the world. In the second approach, a person's conception of the world is more significant than the actual reality.

With this investigation into the student volunteer experience I was more concerned with the students' conceptions of their experience than the mere facts of their community service work. The meaning of student experiences was the essence of this study. Such inquiry into human experience follows the "Interpretivist Tradition."

Interpretivist Tradition

The historical roots of the interpretive tradition can be traced to German social theory in the late 19th century. During this time, a group of theorists argued that there was a sharp distinction between natural science and human science. The main idea that

differentiated these two sciences was the premise that humans differed from other animals in their ability to make and share meaning. They felt that humans living together needed to be understood in the context of their social arrangements. Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman explain that one of these theorists, Wilhem Dilthey, maintained that human discourse and action could not be analyzed with the methods of natural and physical science (1994, p. 8). He felt that the methods of human science should be hermeneutical, the Greek term for “interpreter.” Thus, a researcher investigating human beings should approach his or her inquiry in a fashion similar to an interpreter that translates a foreign language. Understanding meaning is an important part of this process. To interpret meaning correctly, one must understand the context. Dilthey explained that the context for understanding people was their social reality. The social, historical, and cultural aspects of people’s lives are necessary to understanding how they make sense of the world.

Anthropologists use a similar approach as they describe a culture from an “insider’s” perspective. Frederick Erickson (1986) explains that this tradition started with a group of anthropologists studying Greek societies. Rather than trying to study the subcultures from a “Greek” viewpoint, the anthropologists attempted to approach the study of subcultures from their perspective. One of these subcultures was the “ethnoi” people (the Greek term for barbarians). Because of this approach to studying these people the term “ethnographic” was coined and has since been used to describe collecting data first hand (from an inside perspective) rather than relying on other viewpoints or information.

My approach to comprehending the student volunteer experiences can be traced to these fundamental ideas. This study focuses on how students view their experience rather than what others might think about it. This focus shaped the direction of my research. For example, I originally proposed interviewing a large number of volunteer program directors. In reviewing my proposal, one committee member asked why I was interviewing so many “outside” people if my focus was on the *students’* experiences. This was a good point—why not go directly to the source? I dropped many of these interviews unless they were helpful in understanding the context of the volunteer experience. Educational researchers, Meredith Gall, Walter Borg, and Joyce Gall, call this insider approach to understanding a phenomenon the “emic perspective” as the investigation focuses on the participants’ viewpoint rather than the researcher’s viewpoint (1996, p. 478).

Erickson (1986) explains that research in the interpretivist tradition attempts to answer questions like:

- What social action is happening in this particular setting?
- What do these actions mean to these people at this particular time?
- How are these actions interacting with the cultural and social organization?
- How is what is happening related to happenings inside and outside the setting?

The focus of my research was to develop an interpretive understanding of student volunteers. How could their experience be described? What was its meaning? Why

would college students take time out of their schedule to tutor a child, sort dirty clothing, or visit an elderly senior? Something symbolic was taking place and I wanted to understand it.

Interpretive social research looks at the symbolic meaning humans attach to their experiences. People choose their actions in response to their interpretations. These interpretations are developed through social interaction with other people.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a theory that further suggests how meaning is constructed through social interaction. This theory is built upon the work of George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer. Blumer (1969) asserts that symbolic interactionism rests on three premises: (a) humans act toward physical objects and other beings in their environment on the basis of the meanings these things have for them, (b) these meanings derive from the social interaction or communication between and among individuals, and (c) these meanings are established and modified through an interpretive process. Individuals are seen as purposive agents, acting upon, not responding to, their environment in constructing social action (Schwandt, 1994).

The symbolic interactionist asks: "What common set of symbols and understandings have emerged to give meaning to people's interactions" (Patton, 1990, p. 75)? Objects, situations, events, and people do not possess their own meaning but meaning is constructed with others. These meanings are not accidental. Robert Bogdan and Sari Biklen explain this process of collective interpretation:

Individuals interpret with the help of others—people from their past, writers, family, television personalities, and persons they meet in settings in which they work and play—but others do not do it for them. Through interaction the individual constructs meaning. People in a given situation (for example students in a particular class) often develop common definitions (or "shared perspectives") since they regularly interact and share experiences, problems, and background. (1992, p. 36)

Symbolic interactionism describes how individuals take one another's perspectives to learn meanings. Students in this study described a similar process as they volunteered. Service provided them different ways to view the world. These new perspectives also influenced the way that they came to view their "self."

The construct of the self is related to symbolic interaction theory. The self is the definition that people create or construct for themselves. People can construct the self by attempting to see themselves as others see them--through interpreting gestures and actions. Thus part of the self is also socially constructed through interaction (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Evelyn Jacob (1987) explains that this theory suggests that people develop by learning more about themselves through interaction with others (pp. 27-28).

These points describing the social construction of meaning and the self are central concerns as I seek to describe student experiences in the social context of community service.

Naturalistic Inquiry

Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba describe researching socially constructed meaning through "naturalistic inquiry." They use several axioms to describe this

paradigm: (a) reality is multiplicitous and socially constructed and therefore must be examined holistically; (b) the researcher and the research subject interact to influence one another, hence, the knower and the known are inseparable; (c) the aim of the inquiry is to develop an interpretive understanding of social experience; (d) because social phenomena are highly interactive, cause and effect are difficult to ascertain; and (e) the various choices made by researchers reflect the values they hold (1985, pp. 37-38).

The interpretive process of naturalistic inquiry is rather subjective. Geertz describes the interpretive process as a context-sensitive guessing game in which the analyst is “guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses. . .” (1973, p. 2). Della-Piana (1994) explains that “these better guesses can be understood as successful interpretations that bring to light an underlying coherence or sense though particular, precarious, and intrinsically incomplete. There is always a possibility of better guesses and better explanations of the understandings in place” (Della-Piana, p 86). Naturalistic inquiry is a “science whose progress is marked less by perfection of consensus than by refinement of debate” (Geertz, 1973, p. 28).

As Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain, the process of interpreting is complicated by the fact that the researcher and the researchee are both players in the “guessing game” of making sense of the world in which they live. For example, my interview questions asked students to interpret their volunteer experience--to look back and explain what it entailed. In my final session, I asked students what it was like to respond to such questions. A common reply was that it encouraged them to think about what they were

doing—to reflect and make sense of their experience. As one of the students explained, “It’s just made me realize what’s going on and how I am part of it.” In turn, after listening to students describe their experience, I further attempted to make sense of the volunteer experience. Meaning does not exist by itself, but is constructed as people reflect on their experience.

In this study I played a pivotal role in understanding the volunteer experience. As I interpreted student experience, I served as the main instrument of inquiry. My “guesses” at understanding student experiences were not mere “shots in the dark,” however, but were refined explanations—developed from following the tenets of qualitative inquiry.

Appropriateness of Qualitative Research

Miles and Huberman (1994) explain that qualitative research is fundamentally well suited for locating and understanding the meanings that people construct. The naturalistic paradigm strongly leans towards qualitative methods. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue, qualitative methods are appropriate because they are more flexible in addressing multiple realities, offer greater insight into the interaction between the inquirer and the object(s) of study, and make assessing the mitigating role of the inquirer easier. The qualitative approach is “holistic” and “grounded” rather than “detached” and “objective.”

With this approach the researcher can better understand how participants in a particular setting make sense of their experience. Qualitative research helps one “see

precisely which events lead to which consequences, derive fruitful explanations, get beyond initial conceptions and generate or revise conceptual frameworks” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 1). My research questions revolved around better understanding of the volunteer experience. Qualitative research methodology provided the best set of techniques for reaching this objective.

Principles of Qualitative Research

The array of techniques available through qualitative research is extensive. According to John Van Maanen, the label of qualitative research is an umbrella, “covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world” (1979, p. 520). In reviewing this “umbrella” of techniques various researchers have summarized aspects that underlie qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990; Whitt, 1991). Seven principles that are addressed in all of these reviews include inductive analysis, insider perspectives, investigator proximity and natural settings, context sensitivity, a holistic perspective, the self as an instrument of inquiry, and interpretation in the search for meaning.

Inductive Analysis

Qualitative research is primarily defined by its use of inductive methods. Rather than starting from prior assumptions or theories, the qualitative researcher grounds the selection of concepts in the social action itself. Since at the outset of the study the

researcher is not aware of all that is to be known, the use of preconceived hypotheses or explanations of what is happening is likely to inhibit considerations of all possible meaningful events and behavior. An inductive approach enables the phenomenon and the researcher's growing knowledge to direct data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

As I began to investigate literature regarding students and community service I found that some of the literature drew on ideas from student developmental theory. I initially thought that concepts from student development theory would inform the student volunteer experience. When I mapped out what students were discussing, however, their feedback and developmental literature did not directly correspond to the concepts of student development theory.

My first conceptual framework included two sections. The top diagramed what students were discussing—namely their efforts to “fit in” and make sense of their volunteered activities. The bottom of my framework indicated outcomes described in the student developmental theory such as moral and cognitive development. As colleagues inquired about the framework, I could easily answer questions relating to the top half (that was grounded in data from my interviews). As I tried to explain the lower half, however, my responses came up short. I could not describe how the developmental outcomes were linked to students' comments. Despite the inadequacies of the framework, I resisted dropping the concepts from developmental theory for a period of time.

It was not until I abandoned my preconceived notions about student developmental theories that I made any inductive progress. At this point I removed the lower portion of my framework and began to develop the top half of the conceptual framework based on students' comments. I expanded my descriptions of students' efforts to "fit in" and make sense of their experience. This inquiry proved more successful. By following their descriptions I found that literature from socialization was more informative in conceptualizing the student volunteer experience.

Qualitative research must follow the phenomena. The role of a qualitative researcher is to recognize and describe the understandings held-in-place by the members of the social system. What is to be considered significant is determined by the informants in the study. I found student volunteers discussing a "newcomer experience," not growth. This ultimately changed the direction of my inquiry. Because of the emerging nature of qualitative research, it is often difficult to determine the direction of the study until one becomes intimately involved in the data.

Insider Perspectives

In order to explicate the meanings held by others, one must take what is referred to as the insider or "emic" perspective (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p 478). This is contrasted to the "etic" or external view. To achieve this insider perspective, the qualitative researcher strives to look and appreciate the setting from the perspective of people within it. In other words, the object is to see the world through their eyes. By

gaining this insider perspective, one comes to understand what is significant for particular members of an organization at any one point of time.

Trying to understand the student volunteer experience from my informant's perspectives was difficult. I wanted to place their comments into the context of my undergraduate experience at the University of Utah. Although some aspects of their experience "fit" mine, other parts of their experience were significantly different. For example, I was a student program director in the Bennion Center for a couple of years. This entailed a significant amount of work at the Bennion Center itself. This Bennion Center "leader" experience, however, is much different from being a Bennion Center "volunteer." I realized this distinction when Daniel, who had been a Bennion Center leader, described his transition back to being a "regular" volunteer. Through this description I learned that I had to shed part of my previous experience.

Qualitative research involves understanding others from their perspective so that one can interpret and understand the meaning of why certain things are significant to them in that social setting.

Investigator Proximity and Natural Settings

To attain a better understanding of the insider, the researcher must also study behaviors in their natural setting. This is traditionally called the fieldwork. The object is to immerse oneself in a setting in order to obtain a native understanding of what is happening (Bogdan & Bilkin, 1992; Patton, 1990).

This approach differs from traditional empiricism in which the role of the investigator is defined in terms of an objective “observer.” In this approach, it is the proximity to the natural setting that makes the study more valid as it is rooted in the participation and observation of social action.

Since my investigation focused on how students were making sense of their experience, it was important to hear the words and thoughts of these volunteers unfiltered. Steinar Kvale explains:

If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk to them? In an interview, the researcher listens to what people themselves tell about their lived world, hears them express their views and opinions in their own words, learns about their views on their work situation and family life, their dreams and hopes. The qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects' points of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations. (1996, p. 1)

The validity of qualitative research is based upon its “grounded” connections to the data. Proximity plays a significant role in correctly interpreting the meaning in a social setting.

Context Sensitivity

A related characteristic of qualitative research is context sensitivity. An analysis and interpretation of social action cannot be explicated without an understanding of the context in which the meaning is based. A sense of the unique social, temporal, historical, and geographic contexts of the phenomena is essential to understanding the phenomena (Patton, 1990).

I originally proposed conducting my research at both the University of Utah and Ricks College (where I am employed directing leadership and service programs). I

reasoned that this would give me more data from which I could make generalizations. As I reviewed this plan with my committee, some members pointed out that these settings had two very different contexts (a private 2-year church college vs. a large public research institution). Drawing data from the varying contexts would confound the analysis. Clearly a trade-off existed between gaining a clearer understanding of the phenomena and the ability to generalize. Following the methodology of qualitative research I decided to focus on the former.

This study focused on students involved in community service at the University of Utah. Since they all shared a common background, it was easier to place student's comments in context.

Holistic Perspective

Another characteristic of qualitative research is its intent to understand a phenomena as it is constituted in a whole and complex system (Patton, 1990). Unlike quantitative research, which assumes things must be broken into their aggregate parts in order to be understood, qualitative research seeks to understand the ways in which the parts come together to form a whole--a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts.

Geertz (1973) explains holistic understanding aids interpretation. It is only when one understands the context and meaning in a social setting and at a particular time that one can understand whether an eye movement is a wink or a twitch. The holistic nature of qualitative inquiry can be best understood as the "aha" of insight, the putting-it-all-

together. It is the moment when the analyst finally understands that the eye movement means something more. He or she knows when a wink is a wink, and a twitch is a twitch.

Developing a holistic approach involves immersion in the data. This approach appeared to be overwhelming at the outset of my study. I was not sure what could be viewed as irrelevant or extraneous. Although I categorized various aspects of the data I often felt lost. How could all of these different pieces of information fit back together in a coherent fashion? What did it mean? This part of the analysis proved to be the most difficult. I was slowly able to piece together the interpretation of the volunteer experience as I tied the cross-cultural language with the metaphor of the sojourn.

A holistic perspective permits understanding within a larger context. Social practices cannot be only understood as discrete acts but must be placed in larger social settings.

To interpret the experience of students in this study, one must understand the social setting of the University of Utah. The university is located in Salt Lake City, Utah, and exists within a culture that is influenced by the predominate religion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The "Mormon" religion encourages its members to give service to others. In fact, the university's service center was named after Lowell Bennion, a well-known advocate of humanitarian service and instructor of religion in the church's education system.

The LDS Church also encourages young men (typically ages 19-21) to voluntarily serve 2 years as a missionary. A significant number of young women also serve in this capacity. This custom has an impact on campus in that many students anticipate and

reflect upon this church service. The rigor of these church missions encourages these students to be more driven in their personal affairs, more eager to proselyte, and more experienced in volunteer situations. One student in this study, who had just returned from a mission, explained that he decided to volunteer in a campus program because he missed serving people. These cultural factors appear to affect the larger campus atmosphere. For example, one non-Mormon student in the study commented that all of her friends were leaving on LDS missions and she felt like she should do something meaningful also. For this reason she decided to volunteer.

This university campus appears to value community service. The Lowell Bennion Community Service Center has received a significant amount of institutional support including a large staff and space in the student union building. The center is also recognized by academics as it provides resources to faculty interested in teaching service-learning courses. Materials promoting the campus often highlight the Bennion Center and its involvement in community service.

Understanding the context of the larger social system I was able to better interpret the meaning of student volunteer experiences. The larger culture gave community service ethereal connotations that tended to make it more visible and significant than other student extracurricular activities.

Self as an Instrument

Qualitative research requires an instrument that can assimilate various sources of data, integrate the information, and render a sensible interpretation of the social action

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990). Only human beings are capable of such diverse requirements. "The epistemological foundation of field studies is indeed the proposition that only through direct experience can one accurately know much about social life" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 3).

The worth of an instrument depends on its ability to accurately measure a phenomena. Golie Jansen and Alan Peshkin explain "if one's findings are to be acceptable, they must square with the real or imaginable perceptions of others. [otherwise] I may have had an interesting personal experience, but I have missed the boat" (1992, p. 707-708).

While acting as the main instrument of inquiry, I tried to improve my accuracy with interpreting students' experiences. One strategy I employed is what Louis Heshuvius terms "participatory consciousness" (1994, p. 15). She further explains that engagement in participatory consciousness involves attending to a level of "kinship" between the knower and the known. In other words, the researcher attempts to become so engulfed in the informant's world that he or she can temporarily suspend their personal bias in order to participate in the consciousness of others.

I found, however, that I could not withhold my predispositions all of the time. In several instances I noticed my bias. The following entry from my journal notes this issue:

I reported some compelling stories I was hearing to Jack Newell. I commented that I now know how John Coles can do so well with his writing on community service. He just writes up these moving stories that he is hearing from people.

The fact that these stories appear to be moving is something that I may need to be careful with. For example in an interview today, I was thinking

“what a sincere young man—he is picking up on so many things—he does this volunteer work of his own choice.” I began to have some deep respect and admiration for these people in my study.

How do I keep objective when I am feeling this way? I don't know anything to do but admit that's where I am at. I was moved by their stories. The two males talked about how they felt like they had been given a lot and that it was only fair that they share with others. I was impressed to see their charity. It seemed rather sincere too. One guy said how he was rather disgusted with himself after messing up on a test. He decided that if he was going to waste time, he might as well be doing it in the service of others. I would have never done something like that.

I'll just have to be explicit about what I am thinking and then discuss how it is affecting my work. It will be interesting to read the transcripts later when I am a little more distant. Coding will hopefully give me some more distance also. (Sept 22, 1998)

Jansen and Peshkin (1992) explain that qualitative research is inherently subjective in its nature. “For [researchers] to deny their subjectivity is to deny the basic assumption of the discipline that people are shaped by their social environment” (p. 708).

Since subjectivity is part of the methodology the main issue is how to acknowledge and manage personal bias. The first step in this management is self-awareness. As Lillian Rubin explain, “the only way we can be trapped by our subjectivity is for it to be out of awareness” (Jansen & Peshkin, 1992. p. 708).

One of the techniques that I found particularly helpful was writing down my personal thoughts and reactions in my journal. It seems that some biases are unavoidable. By making my thoughts explicit I can at least document how my biases were connected to my interpretations. For example, in the introductory chapter I described my background in community service in order to describe the interests and biases that I bring to this study.

Although this “baggage” may be considered a weakness of qualitative research, it can also be considered a strength. The human instrument is “not simply a recording machine” (Patton, 1990, p 242). Rather, it is the researcher’s ability to draw on intuition, tacit knowledge, and insights that inform the process of data collection and analysis that make the methodology powerful.

Interpretation

The final principle of qualitative research relates to the process of rendering sensible the meaningfulness of social action. Researchers seek to understand the ambiguities, consistencies, and actions of human beings through their data analysis. Rather than reporting the mere facts from their data collection, researchers develop interpretations. This approach is described by Geertz:

The claim to attention of an ethnographic account does not rest on its author’s ability to capture primitive facts in faraway places and carry them home like a mask or carving, but on the degree to which he is able to clarify what goes on in such places, to reduce the puzzlement . . . It is not against a body of uninterpreted data . . . that we must measure the congruency of our explications, but against the power of the scientific imagination to bring us in touch with the lives of strangers. It is not worth it as Thoreau said, to go round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar. (1973, p. 16)

Geertz further explains that good interpretations get to the “heart” of a poem, ritual, or social action. As the symbolic interactionist’s claim, people do not just do things—they do things that are meaningful. My role as a researcher was to discover and accurately explain this meaning.

These interpretations must then be presented in a way that helps others achieve a better understanding of the phenomena being studied. James Spradley (1979) explains that the role of an ethnographer researcher is to translate meaning from the informants' viewpoint so that outsiders (and even insiders) can better understand what is happening.

In this section on research methods I have reviewed the major techniques involved in this qualitative research. This methodology follows the argument that meanings are socially constructed and must be understood within the social setting. Thus the need to include inductive analysis, insider perspectives, investigator proximity, contextual sensitivity, a holistic perspective, and the self as an instrument of inquiry for an appropriate interpretation.

Research Background

With these general principles relating to qualitative methodology in mind, I will provide additional background about my inquiry. To begin, I will address the pilot study and research questions that influenced this inquiry. These starting points shaped the research design in regards to data collection and methodology.

In the qualitative research tradition "starting where you are" has a long history (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). This approach encourages researchers to begin with their own interests. By exploring personal concerns and interests researchers maintain enthusiasm and creativity that outweigh the methodological and ethical difficulties.

Lofland and Lofland (1995) explain:

If your own agenda is not personally meaningful, you may be alienated from it as well. Unless you are emotionally engaged in your work, the

inevitable boredom, confusion, and frustration of rigorous scholarship will endanger even the completion--not to speak of the quality--of the project. (p. 15)

Starting "where you are" also brings the advantages of a rich background and understanding of the phenomenon. My previous involvement in service as a college student and current work advising student service groups at Ricks College were useful starting points for this investigation.

Pilot Research

This investigation of the student volunteer experience started as a pilot study in qualitative research classes the Fall and Winter of 1996. At that time I was advising several student community service programs at Ricks College. To practice the methodology we were required to conduct a research project. I thought it would be helpful to learn more about volunteer programs at the University of Utah. This investigation reacquainted me with the Lowell Bennion Community Service Center where I had volunteered as an undergraduate.

Initially the pilot study did not have any particular focus. I "hung out" at the Bennion Center, took notes, and generally tried to figure out what was taking place. Spradley (1979) compares such initial research to taking a "grand tour." Through this tour one becomes introduced to the general layout and extent of a particular locale. As I observed at the Bennion Center I reflected on my student experience several years earlier. My junior and senior years were involved in volunteer programs through the center. I volunteered at a food bank and became the student program director the following year.

Looking back on these experiences, I sensed that these volunteer activities played an important part of my personal development. Yet I did not have the ability to conceptualize, experience, or really have a grasp on any of the outcomes. I became curious. The pilot study finally focused on student's perceptions of their volunteer experience.

Literature from service-learning suggested several positive outcomes for students involved in community service such as personal development, improved social skills, a sense of social responsibility, and increased learning when linked to class curriculum (Conrad & Hedin, 1995). Yet most of this initial research was anecdotal and did not describe any of the processes that brought about these outcomes. My pilot study investigated these issues in relation to student volunteers at the Bennion Center.

I found several themes that almost every student addressed in my interviews. They talked about their desire to "make a difference," the shock of being in a new environment, feelings of inadequacy, efforts to "fit in," and their accomplishments. I began to piece together a map describing several common elements that students appeared to be experiencing.

Pilot Study Findings

The findings were not what I expected. Rather than discussing outcomes, students were describing an entry experience into an organization. Socialization literature appeared to be more informative to what students were reporting than were concepts from student development. This pilot study resulted in conceptualizing the volunteer entry

experience in several phases that I labeled anticipation, surprise, making sense, and payoff as outlined in Figure 1. Together the various aspects describe common events that students appeared to experience when they volunteered in a new social environment.

Miles and Huberman explain that conceptual frameworks describe (either graphically or in a narrative form) the phenomenon being studied by outlining its key variables and the presumed relationships among them. "Conceptual frameworks are simply the current version of the researcher's map of the territory being investigated" (1994, p. 20).

The conceptual framework from my pilot study was helpful in explaining the entry experience of volunteers, but it did not adequately describe other aspects of the experience. I wanted to improve my understanding by interviewing students involved in service over a longer period of time.

Research Questions

Miles and Huberman explain that with experience we gain background knowledge that helps us "know the questions to ask, which incidents to attend to closely, and how our theoretical interests are embodied in the field. Not to lead with your conceptual strength can be simply self-defeating" (1994, p. 17).

In my dissertation proposal I outlined a rudimentary conceptual framework, a set of general research questions, and some notions about collecting data. This foundation gave direction to my investigation. As Harry Wolcott put it, "it is impossible to embark upon research without some idea of what one is looking for and foolish not to make that

Student Volunteer Entry: An Emerging Conceptual Framework

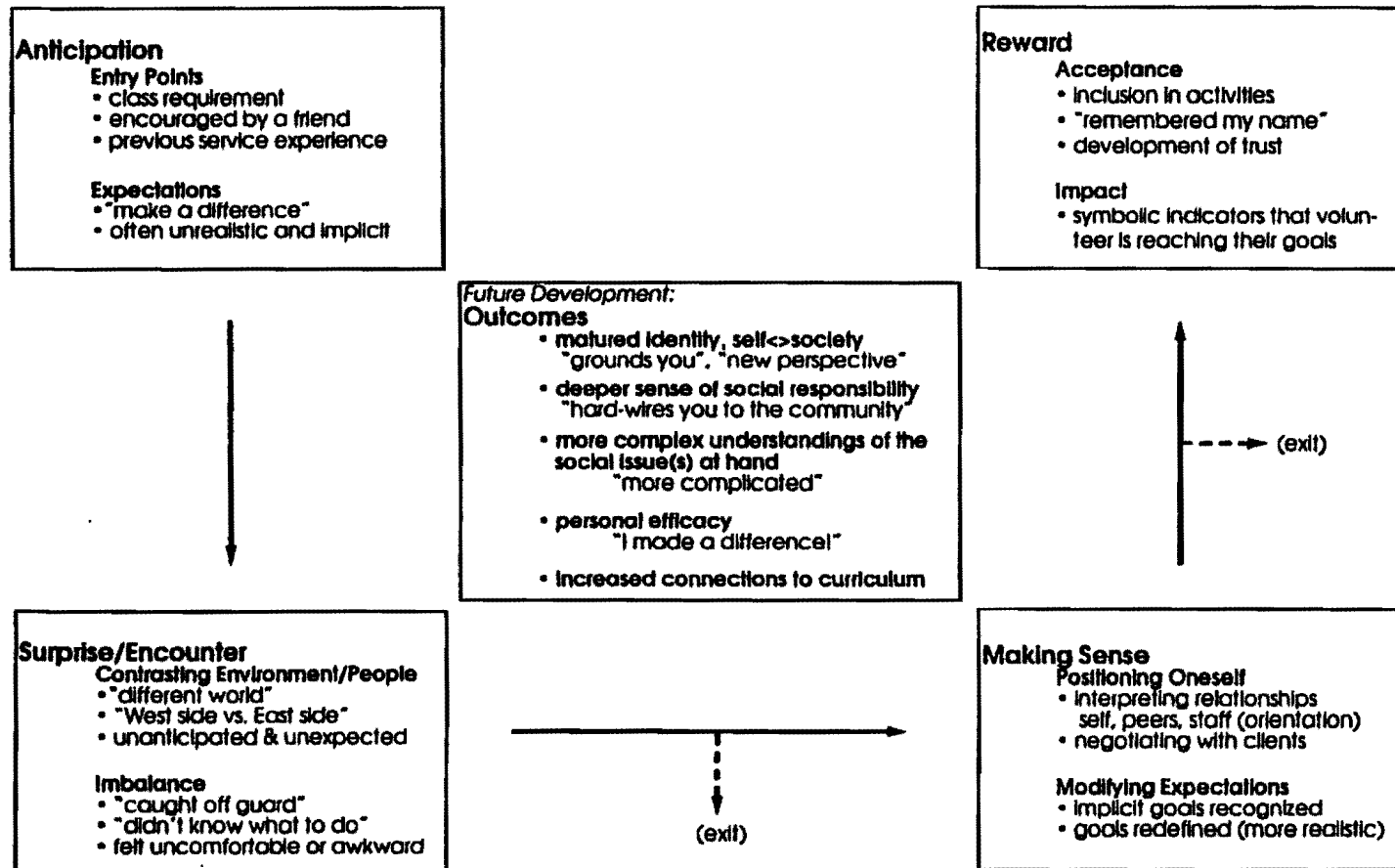


Figure 1. Pilot Study Conceptual Framework

quest explicit" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 17). Without some direction everything looks important. I started this dissertation research with the following questions.

1. What are students learning about themselves when they participate in community programs in new social settings?

What do students perceive as they work as volunteers? How do they accommodate their experiences? What common or different events occur as they serve in different social settings? I was interested in understanding the activity from the student's perspective—what were *they* experiencing and how were *they* making sense of it?

2. How might the experience of rendering voluntary service be conceptualized? Are schemes suggested by the socialization and cross-cultural literatures useful theoretical bases for describing this experience?

Pilot research has suggested several patterns in the way that students adjust to and make sense of their service experiences. The literatures of socialization and cross-cultural adjustment appear to provide informative frameworks. Do these conceptualizations fit the experiences of service-learning participants? If so, in what fashion and to what degree?

3. How might a cross-cultural/socialization conceptualization of volunteers' experiences inform our understanding of developmental and learning outcomes described by the service-learning literature?

Several positive outcomes of community service have been identified in the service-learning literature. Conceptual frameworks that link these outcomes to service-

learning activities however, have been lacking. This study has developed a new framework to view student volunteer experiences and possible outcomes.

4. What aspects of the volunteer's work appear to be most significant in relation to the reported outcomes of learning and development?

What specific elements of the service-learning experience appeared to have the most impact on outcomes? Does the conceptual framework suggest any propositions? How might these emerging propositions inform the practice of service learning?

Research Design

The research design of this project was influenced by my pilot study. This initial investigation included a variety of data sources that helped focus my research. I collected 25 student journals (from a service-learning class), took field notes (from Bennion Center service projects), and interviewed student volunteers.

Some data sources were more useful than others. For example, student journals from a service-learning class were descriptive about the first experience at the volunteer site as students were asked to describe their initial experience. As the entries progressed, however, the students were directed to address their journal entries towards the class curriculum. Field observations were also helpful for understanding the volunteer experience. For example, I accompanied a group of Bennion Center volunteers as they served breakfast at a low-income housing complex. It was at this activity that I noted the awkwardness that students displayed in adapting to a different environment.

The pilot study was helpful in determining what sources were most useful for data collection. Although observations and journal entries were useful for understanding the nature and content of the volunteer experience, they lacked the student perspective. What were students thinking when they volunteered? How did they make sense of it? And, how did this activity affect them? To get this type of information I needed to interview students directly.

Data Collection

To learn more about the students' perspective I proposed interviewing 15 students three or four times over the semester in a longitudinal format. In this way I could listen to students describe their volunteer experience as it unfolded firsthand.

To keep confounding variables to a minimum, the scope of the study was limited to one academic institution. I tracked students volunteering at the Lowell Bennion Community Service Center at the University of Utah. I selected this site for a number of reasons. First, I was acquainted with this center from my involvement as an undergraduate and the pilot study. Second, the Bennion Center was an established campus volunteer center with extensive program offerings at both the curricular and cocurricular level. Third, my association at University of Utah provided a network of contacts and support for the research.

In determining the number of participants I balanced several factors. On one hand, a small number of students would permit frequent interviews. On the other hand, a small pool of informants would have been problematic if any dropped out of the study.

To make some generalization between the students regarding common themes, I determined that at least 12 students would be required. Considering that some informants might not persist in volunteering over the whole semester I proposed including at least 15 participants.

To decide the number of interviews to conduct I weighed a number of factors including the type of data needed, student availability, and the time and resources available to me as the researcher. Several interviews over a period of time were necessary to collect student's impressions during the service experience. To capture this information and note changes a number of interviews were needed. Considering student schedules and my availability, I determined that three to four interviews periodically spaced over the semester would provide adequate coverage. This format provided a multifaceted perspective of students before, during, and after their volunteer experience.

Sampling

To select the 15 informants that would provide the richest data I established sampling criteria. First, I selected students that were participating in "ongoing" service. I defined this as service that was performed on a regular (generally weekly) basis. Second, I picked students who were serving on a strictly voluntary basis. This eliminated students that were volunteering in conjunction with an academic course. Class requirements would have introduced incentives (such as a course grade) to volunteer. This association would have confounded the study's ability to understand the experience of students who naturally discontinue service. I reasoned that the experience of students who ceased

volunteering was just as significant as the experience of students who persisted. Third, I selected students involved in direct service to others. This sampling criterion was related to the type of service students performed. Volunteer opportunities can be divided into five major categories (Nielsen & Cisneros, 1998). These different approaches are diagramed in Table 1. The table uses the issue of hunger to illustrate different ways service might be rendered.

During the 1998-99 academic year, the Bennion Center had 56 student-directed service programs. Of these, 47 provided direct service while 9 involved indirect service through education and awareness, fundraising, advocacy. Since the majority of the service programs were "direct" in their nature, I decided that this type of service would be the most important to study and conceptualize.

Participants for the study were recruited in two ways. I first asked Bennion Center student leaders to publicize the study. This method, however, was not very successful. Student leaders were consumed with publicizing their own volunteer projects and had little time (or incentive) to advertise my needs. With the next approach I contacted students directly. The Bennion Center keeps a database of students who volunteer in their programs. I obtained this information and randomly selected 200 people. These students were invited to participate in the study through the mail. Copies of the invitation letters and flyers are included in Appendix A.

It is important to note that the students in this study were self-selected. When I asked students why they were willing to help with this project they responded that they had time and felt like they could be of assistance. This suggests that the students sampled

Table 1
Types of Community Service

Service Approach	Response
Direct	Feed the hungry people/help grow more food.
Fundraising	Raise funds to feed the hungry people.
Education & Awareness	Educate others about the problem of hungry people.
Community Organization	Help the hungry organize them selves to address the problem.
Advocacy	Advocate the needs of hungry people.

in study were more open to self-disclosure, felt less constrained by time, and were more altruistic than the typical volunteer. These considerations are discussed in more detail as I discuss limitations of the study and reasons for the generally positive outcomes reported about their service experiences.

I received over 40 responses to participate. Over half of the responses were eliminated due to their involvement in service-learning courses. To work towards a representative sample, I did some selective sampling. I dropped some respondents in order to obtain a variety of participants. The following paragraphs explain the sampling in regards to class level, sex, age, and volunteer project.

Since this study focused on the volunteer experience of university students, I reasoned that it would be important to include students at various stages in this progression. Class level was one of the areas that I attempted to gain some diversity. With the study I was able to include 3 freshman, 5 sophomores, 5 juniors, and 4 seniors.

The study included 5 males and 14 females. Although this ratio is not representative of the undergraduate population at the university, it is reasonably close to the male/female ratio of students who volunteered with the Bennion Center Fall semester 1998 who were 32% male and 68% female.

The age of the informants also varied. The study included 2 eighteen-year olds, 4 nineteen-year olds, 2 twenty year-olds, 3 twenty-one year olds, 3 twenty-two year olds, 2 twenty-three year olds, and 1 thirty-eight year old. I made an exception to my sampling criteria in order to retain this older student. While she was involved in a service-learning

course, I felt that her perspective as a nontraditional student was valuable enough to waive the criteria of volunteering for a course credit.

The final area that I attempted to gain some variety in the participants was in regards to the type of volunteer work. I tried to select students participating in different Bennion Center programs. Only two sets of students duplicated participation in the same program.

I discovered one sampling problem as I was setting up appointments for the final set of interviews. I noticed that several of the students had the same telephone prefix. It dawned on me that these students were living in the campus dormitories. As I investigated this coincidence I discovered that 4 of the students lived in campus dormitories. This percentage was not representative of the University of Utah that has a lower percentage of students living on campus.

At this point in the study I was unable to make any corrections for this situation (other than disclose this issue and discuss the implications). When I asked these dorm students why they (and other dorm students) might have been more likely to participate, they explained that they had more free time than "commuter" students. This extra time on campus made it more convenient for them to volunteer and participate in the study. In relation to the findings, this sampling issue did not appear to be significant. The students living on campus discussed the same themes in their volunteer work as the students that lived off campus.

Table 2 summarizes some sampling information about the 16 participants in the study. In addition to the sampling information provided in the table some additional

Table 2
Study Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Age	Project
Alyce	23	Female	Junior	Children's Friendship
Bill	22	Male	Senior	Homeless Children's Playroom
Daniel	22	Male	Sophomore	Peer Court
David	19	Male	Freshman	Arts for Youth
Hannah	21	Female	Senior	Northwest Middle School
Jackie	20	Female	Junior	Elementary Tutoring
Judy	23	Female	Senior	Youth Mentoring
Roger	21	Male	Sophomore	Refugee Resettlement
Sally	19	Female	Sophomore	Befriend the Elderly
Sarah	19	Female	Sophomore	Elementary Tutoring
Stephanie	18	Female	Freshman	Headstart
Summer	19	Female	Freshman	Youth Gardening
Tammy	38	Female	Senior	Children's Friendship
Van	21	Male	Sophomore	First Aid for 4 th Graders
Vickie	18	Female	Junior	Hansen Planetarium
Virginia	20	Female	Junior	Circle of Friends

information should be noted about the participants. Fifteen of the students were Anglo-American and one was Hispanic.

Students in the study represented a variety of academic majors. Over the course of the interviews I learned that the most common major was elementary education (including three students). Two students were English majors. Other majors included psychology, family and consumer studies, political science, art, engineering, chemistry, biology, and special education. Other students were undecided. Six of the 16 students volunteered in service programs that were closely related to their major such as elementary education students tutoring in schools, an art major coaching art projects, a political science major helping in peer court, and a biology major teaching first-aid.

Although I did not define any categories of socioeconomic status, I noticed that students in this study had the means to attend college without much financial difficulty. Seven of the students mentioned that they held part-time jobs either on or off campus. In spite of this work, they had time in their schedules to attend the university as a full-time student and also were able to volunteer additional time in community.

Fifty-four interviews were conducted over a period spanning 5 months. This was generally comprised of three or four interviews with each student. The first round of interviews was completed by October 20, 1998. The final interview was conducted on March 18, 1999. Only two interviews were held with a student who never started to volunteer. (See Appendix B for the dates and locations of the interviews.)

Moral, Legal, & Ethical Issues

All research has consequences. This is particularly true with qualitative research that involves interaction with people (Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Spradley, 1979). In preparation for this study I considered a number of moral, ethical, and legal issues. A major consideration in this investigation involved the rights of the student informants. This section reviews the steps that I followed to insure the well being of student informants and the legal constraints of the university.

Before involving any student in the study I reviewed the study's intent with their participation in an "informed consent" document. The document briefly described the purpose of my investigation, the main features of the research design, the possible risks and benefits from participation, and the informant's rights to withdraw. I reviewed this information with each of the participants, asked if they had any questions, gave them a copy, and obtained their written permission to participate. (See Appendix C for copy of the consent form.)

At first, three of students mentioned how formal and legal the document appeared. After reading it, however, several expressed some relief in better understanding the purpose of my research. I was not going to psychoanalyze their personality. Rather, I was merely trying to understand what it is like to volunteer.

To protect the students' right to privacy, I assigned a pseudonym to all of my notes, tapes, and subsequent transcriptions and analysis. In cases where they mentioned the name of a person that they were serving (for example, the name of a child they were tutoring) I asked them to use a different name to protect their client's privacy. Finally, I

explained that despite these safeguards, fellow volunteers or Bennion Center student leaders could perhaps recognize their involvement from the circumstances they might describe in their interviews.

I also considered the issue of reciprocity. These students were giving hours of time to assist me. Did I owe them anything in return? I was giving no monetary compensation for their participation. Yet by paying serious attention, carefully listening, and expressing my appreciation, I noticed that students felt contented. These were people looking for ways to be helpful in their community through volunteerism. The interviews provided another way to serve. Additionally the interviews gave the informants a chance to reflect on their volunteer experience. "It made me reflect more and think about it. Just makes me realize what's going on and how I am part of it," Susan commented. At the final interview I gave the student participants a letter personally thanking them for their assistance.

Before conducting any research I also obtained permission from the Bennion Center to conduct research with students in their programs. The director, Irene Fisher, felt that better conceptualizing the volunteer experience was a worthy undertaking. She gave permission to move forward and offered the center's support.

The University of Utah requires approval from the General University Institutional Review Board before any research involving human subjects can be conducted. This committee reviewed my application outlining my research, made a few suggestions on the wording of my informed consent form, and approved my application.

Interviews as an Instrument

Most of the student interviews were conducted at the Bennion Center in the Olpin Union Building. This location was easy to find (the informants had been there before) and fairly accessible. I was able to use a small conference room or office that provided some seclusion from the conversations and activities taking place in the Bennion Center. One exception was David, whom I met in the lounge of his dormitory.

The interviews typically ran 20 to 40 minutes. I noticed that as the students (and I) became more comfortable with the interview situation the responses became more detailed. Thus each round of interviews was longer.

Nine of the 54 interviews were conducted by phone. In these cases, the student missed their appointment on campus or was unable to schedule a time to meet with me in person at the Bennion Center. All of the initial interviews, however, were conducted in person. Phone interviews were not as interactive because I could not "read" their facial expressions and nonverbal gestures. I was surprised to find that students were just as talkative over the telephone as they were in person. This response may have been due to the timing. The interviews over the phone took place in the evening (when students had more free time) while the in-person interviews took place during the day (often between classes or other appointments).

The interviews were tape recorded for later transcription. One student felt uncomfortable being recorded so I took notes of our conversation. After the interview I typed up my notes reconstructing as much of the interview as possible.

The tape recorder was initially uncomfortable for a few of the other students but they did not object to my use of it. David explained "I'm just nervous around microphones sometimes—I go blank." After a few minutes, however, students seemed to get over this fear and were able to speak freely. The slight annoyance of the tape was worth the effort because a complete transcription of the interview provided more information than I could possibly gather by taking notes.

The tape recordings were transcribed for later analysis. Steinar Kvale explains that the work of transcription in itself involves some interpretation. "Transcribing involves translating from an oral language, with its own set of rules, to a written language with another set of rules" (1996, p. 165). This work was completed by my secretary who is a more efficient typist than I. With the transcriptions I asked her to type the conversation verbatim (including the repetitions and filler words), to designate pauses, laughter, etc., and to note who was speaking.

The transcriptions were more difficult to comprehend than the original conversations. Without the face to face interaction and verbal intonation some meaning was lost. The repetition, jumbled ideas, and poor language was apparent in the transcriptions of the students. Conversational speech converted to text is not easy to read. I have taken the liberty to "clean-up" quotations in this dissertation in order to make them more fluent. This has included removing words that are repeated (or add nothing to the meaning such as "um" or "like"). If I have inserted words to clarify meaning I have noted this by placing my substitution in blocks [].

After formally concluding each interview (when the tape recorder was turned off) students would often make insightful comments as they were gathering up their things. I learned to verbally note these remarks along with my immediate observations about the interview on tape after they left the room. Having these dictations transcribed at the end of the interview was helpful with the analysis because it kept all the data pertaining to that interview in one document.

In addition to the logistical concerns regarding the setting, taping, and transcription of the interviews, an important aspect of my research methods concerned the format and framing of the interview questions.

Students initially had a difficult time understanding the purpose of interviews. They thought that I, as the researcher, was the "expert." One of the first issues that I had to attend to was an explanation of my purpose. This ethnographic approach is well expressed by Spradley:

I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to know what you know in the way that you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them, to explain things as you explain them. Will you become my teacher and help me understand. (1979, p. 34)

With a similar type of introduction I explained my desire to learn from them. This philosophy kept the dynamics of the interview focused in their direction rather than on my analysis.

To investigate students' experiences I followed an interview guide. With this approach a set of general questions was developed before the interviews took place. The sequence of these questions was varied (if needed) to fit the flow of the conversation

(Patton, 1990). This informal interview technique encouraged follow-up questions and probing so that more specific responses could be solicited.

The interview guide also served as a checklist to assure that all of the relevant topics were covered. In this fashion the interview was focused on the issues relating to my research questions. After a brief introduction and briefing to put the informant at ease, I moved on to the questions at hand. (Copies of the interview guides are located in Appendix D.)

I allowed for some variation of the questions but generally tried to keep to the original script. With some topics I had several variations of the same question. If the student did not understand the question (as indicated by their response), I would move to alternate phrasing.

The questions in the first interview were rather broad and open. What comes to mind when you think of community service? What is it like to volunteer? Spradley (1979) explains that initial ethnographic questions should be descriptive in nature. "Whether using space, time, events, people, activities, or objects, the end result is the same: a verbal description of significant features of the cultural scene" (p. 87).

As themes in the responses emerged, however, my questions did become more specific and pointed. I asked more structural and contrasting questions. Was the experience what they expected? What aspects of the experience were discouraging or rewarding for them? These questions further helped me comprehend what it was like to volunteer.

I was careful in the scripting of the questions. It is a well-documented finding that even a slight rewording of a question can influence an answer (Kvale, 1996).

Additionally my feedback as an interviewer could sway the response of an informant. I tried to keep the questions as neutral as possible. What is it like to volunteer? What experiences or events stand out as you serve? I tried to use phrasing that would not suggest a desirable or appropriate response.

Hermeneutical methodology emphasizes the importance of listening so that interviewee's descriptions can unfold without interruption from the predispositions of the interviewer. This permits the phenomena itself to drive the investigation (Kvale, 1996). For example, interview questions were guided by responses in previous interviews. During the first interviews several students discussed trying to adjust to the new volunteer setting. I tried to provide questions that allowed for students to respond to these issues in the subsequent interview such as, asking what volunteer experiences "stood out" since we last met.

The final interview contained a number of specific questions that would be considered "leading." My intent was to confirm or refute the themes that had emerged throughout the previous interviews. Lincoln and Guba call this strategy "member checking." They define this as the process of "informal testing of information by soliciting reactions of respondents to the investigator's reconstruction of what he or she has been told or otherwise found out" (1986, p. 77). Before asking these direct questions I explained how several themes had emerged during my previous interviews with other

students. I wanted to know whether or not these issues related to their particular experience.

In all of these interviews I found that follow-up questions provided the richest, most spontaneous, and relevant responses. I encouraged these responses by pausing, nodding, and giving verbal cues like “mm” for the interviewee to continue. To solicit more information I would also probe with questions like “Could you share an example of that?” “Could you tell me more about that?” “So what happened then?” With these questions I tried to get more content without leading the student in any particular direction.

I was particularly careful with questioning students’ motivations. For example, asking students why they volunteered might invite socially acceptable answers rather than getting at the real reasons for their participation. Instead of asking students why they did things, I simply asked what happened. “How did you come to participate in this volunteer project?” Kvale explains, “Figuring out the reasons and explanations for why something happened is primarily the task of the investigator” (1996, p. 131).

In this section I have reviewed this study’s data collection procedures. Following a naturalistic and ethnographic approach, I have tried to understand the volunteer experience from the viewpoint of the student participant. This has entailed finding students participating in community service through the Bennion Center at the University of Utah, interviewing them over a period of several months, and transcribing the conversations for analysis.

Analysis and Interpretation

In conjunction with data collection I analyzed and interpreted the data. Although I have separated the processes of analysis from data collection in this chapter, the two processes occurred simultaneously. As Patton (1990) claims, “there is typically not a precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins” (p. 297). Data collection and analysis are part of the continuous iterative enterprise in trying to understand a phenomenon (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

This section more explicitly describes the course I followed to analyze, interpret, and conceptualize the volunteer experience. One way to describe this process is to compare it to creating a map. My experience as a researcher was similar to that of a cartographer charting a new area. I have tried to “map out” the territory relating to the volunteer experience. Although I have found some guidance from literature on volunteerism, much of the field was uncharted. This investigation has involved focusing, coding, organizing, and interpreting information about the volunteer experience of 16 students in an informative format.

Focusing

Data from my pilot study suggested that volunteers were concerned about their entry into new environments. From these facts I developed a rough visual display outlining the various aspects of the volunteer entry experience. This initial conceptualization suggested areas that might be fruitful to investigate as I returned to the field with this dissertation research.

To better chart the territory I identified the major features of the terrain. This was an inductive process as the elements and categories of analysis have emerged from the data. I listened for common themes in the interviews and noted these in my journal. In some cases, this resulted in my adding follow-up questions to subsequent interviews.

An invaluable approach to analysis involved carefully reading the transcripts in qualitative software program, QSR NUD*IST. Analysis using this software program provided a number of advantages. For one, I moved from doing my thinking in a separate journal to writing down my thoughts in memos that were placed next to the text of the transcription in the software's window. The program allowed me to pull the memos out of the transcription text so I could read these comments separately. Being able to read my comments helped me focus and identify themes for coding.

Coding

Marking related themes or responses in the text is referred to as coding. If I noticed a particular pattern, I was able to code the electronic transcription of the text so that it could be identified for later use. I could therefore code parts of the interviews with any theme or pattern that appeared to be promising. This coded text could then be retrieved and read in conjunction with any other transcriptions that were marked with a similar code.

The decision of what to text code was influenced by a number of factors. If I noticed any patterns I would start a new code. I also coded responses to particular questions so that I could read all of the responses together and look for themes. The

software program also permitted me to search the transcriptions for particular words or phrases. This method also helped me analyze the interviews. Some codes were additionally suggested by my pilot data. For example, I marked the contrast and surprise segments of volunteer's descriptions of their first experiences. I also coded the various topics students addressed as they discussed adjustment.

The software permitted me to code any theme or pattern that appeared to be promising. If it turned out that a number of students were making similar comments, the text coded under a particular code would grow. If not, I would drop it. Or, I might find that one code was rather similar to something else and merge the two. The ease of coding and the ability to access the data were great resources.

Organizing

In addition to identifying themes in coding the interviews, I found it important to organize these pieces of data in an informative collection. The ethnographic analysis is defined by Spradley as "a search for the parts of a culture, the relationships among the parts, and their relationships to the whole" (1979, p. 142). The idea is to discover the internal structure of a social system and its meaning

One technique to aid this understanding is to conduct a taxonomic analysis. This involves describing the relationships among phenomena that have been identified. The computer software program included the feature that permitted me to visually diagram relationships in the data. For example, I mentioned that students talked about their previous service experience. I noted several types of service (church, school, family, etc.)

and the extent of this involvement. Figure 2 illustrates one of the diagrams that I created to view these aspects of their previous experience.

The left side of the diagram outlines the various types of previous service experience described by students. Some students discussed how service was part of their life while others made explicit comments about how their involvement in previous volunteer activities lead to their current involvement. I noted these comments by diagramming them directly above and below the central idea of previous experience. On the right side of the figure I added categories of my own making. I judged the extent of their previous service experience and placed them into one of three categories ranking the extent of their previous service involvement (little, moderate, or considerable).

Patton explains that two different types of typologies can be developed. The first, "indigenous typologies" are developed from the natives' understanding and perspective. These are outlined above by the various types of service described by students on the left. The second, "analyst-constructed typologies," are constructed to elucidate or describe patterns or themes that emerge from the data that are not addressed by the informants. Lofland and Lofland (1995) point out that such constructions must be made with considerable care to avoid creating things that do not really exist in the data.

The software program allowed me to keep track of over 100 different categories of themes and the related text. All of this coding, however, did not bring immediate meaning or understanding. After the interview stage of data collection I took time to read through the data and clarify and break down my codes. I wanted to have all of the data in front of me for examination. I broke categories into subcategories and even more

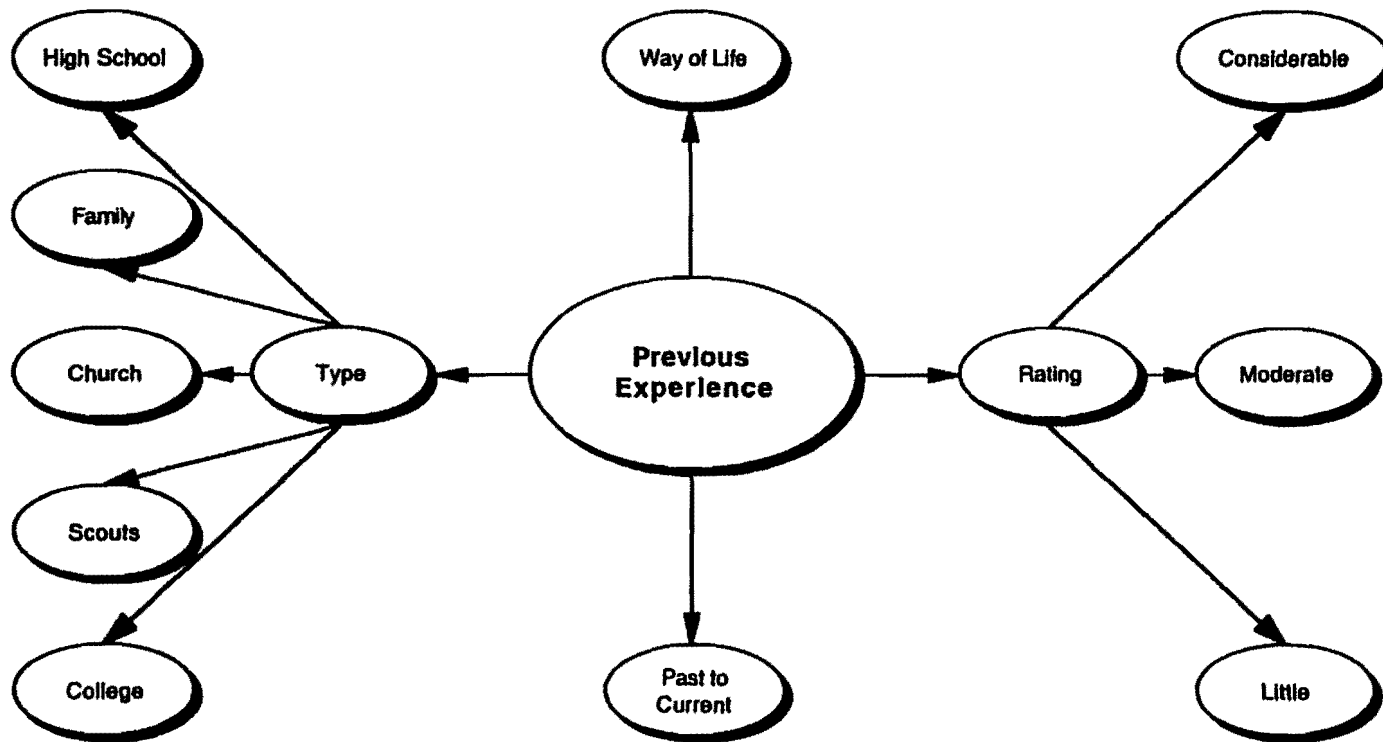


Figure 2. Previous Experience Diagram

categories. After several weeks of this analysis however, I felt completely lost in my diagrams and display trees. So much information existed I didn't know how it was related or what it meant.

Clearly some classifications and relationships were more important for understanding the volunteer experience than others. The final set of interviews helped determine what issues were most salient to the students. These interviews permitted me to verify themes that had emerged from my analysis and get their reactions. Additionally, the interviews were retrospective. The situation allowed students the opportunity to discuss what was most significant to them. Students described how the volunteer experience broadened their perspective, matured their identity, educated them about issue, and left them feeling better about themselves.

Another part of the analysis involved pulling all of the data together in a concise meaningful fashion. Thus I needed to see the big picture so that I could map the most significant features of the territory. At one point in the analysis I found that it was more productive to start fitting patterns in analysis together than breaking themes down into smaller categories. This also permitted me to judge the usefulness of different approaches to my analysis. I was able to compare different categories and explanations and see what interpretations seemed to best fit the data. Patton (1990) describes this intuitive process.

The naturalistic evaluator works back and forth between the data and the classification system to verify the meaningfulness and accuracy of the categories and the placement of data in categories. When several different classification systems have been developed, some priorities must be

established to determine which category systems are more important than others. Prioritizing is done according to the salience, credibility, uniqueness, heuristic value, feasibility, special interest, and materiality of the classification schemes. (p. 312)

One of the issues that appeared to be significant was the cross-cultural nature of the volunteer experience. I began viewing the encounter between students and others at the volunteer site in new fashion. Besides trying to fit into a new group, students were encountering and adapting to a new environment and culture. The volunteer experience broadened students' perspectives in that they perceived others and themselves differently.

At this point I focused my analysis more specifically on data that related to volunteers' efforts to fit in and adjust. I "fleshed out" these more relevant parts of the experience. I analyzed how students tried to figure out their roles, understand others, and make sense of the new environment.

I found myself drawing from two different frameworks to interpret the experience--socialization and cross-cultural literature. Conceptualizations from each of these appeared to be helpful in grasping the volunteer experience. They provided explanations for students' comments about acceptance, trust, and adjustment. These themes were part of larger processes. Socialization and cross cultural adjustment literatures brought meaning and explanation to the categories developed from student interviews. As Kvale explains, "the interpreter goes beyond what is directly said to work out structures and relations of meaning not immediately apparent in a text" (1996, p. 201).

Although I was beginning to grasp the volunteer experience with these frameworks, I had difficulty explaining my conceptualization to others. Most people are not acquainted with socialization and cross-cultural literatures. To explain myself, I would need to introduce the listener to both of these literatures. Such a presentation was rather cumbersome and I wondered how I could present my findings in a more apt fashion.

A solution came through using a metaphor. By likening the volunteer activity to a sojourn I could quickly move listeners to the main issues of the volunteer experience. Most people can relate to the experience of a missionary, Peace Corps volunteer, or exchange student making a visit to a foreign country. The concepts of "culture shock" and adjustment are immediately emphasized by the analogy.

The major aspects of the student volunteer experience are illustrated by comparing it to sojourning in a foreign country. Students leave the familiar environment of campus and become acquainted with people that have different socioeconomic backgrounds, values, and abilities. The encounter with a contrasting environment produces "culture shock." Students try to fit in to the new setting and figure out their roles. Through the cross-cultural experience students can gain a better understanding of others and their selves. This interpretive metaphor helped get to the core of my findings. "A metaphor is richer, more complete than a simple description of the data. Metaphors are data-reducing and pattern-making devices" (Kvale, 1996 p. 275).

A metaphor is powerful and can convey a great deal of meaning. For this reason, it is important to make sure that the metaphor serves the data and not vice versa (Morgan

1997, Patton, 1990). I believe that using the sojourn to interpret and describe the volunteer experience is appropriate because the connotations that it conveys parallel that of the volunteer experience. Although not all of the properties are the same, the general concepts of going to a foreign setting, experiencing shock and trying to fit in serve as a useful framework for describing the student volunteer experience.

One must be careful not to rely on a metaphor to the point that it is taken literally.

The metaphor is chiefly a tool for revealing special properties of an object or event. Frequently, theorists forget this and make their metaphors a real entity in the empirical world. It is legitimate, for example, to say that a social system is like an organism, but this does not mean that a social system is an organism. When metaphors, or concepts, are reified, they lose their explanatory value and become tautologies. A careful line must be followed in the use of metaphors, so that they remain a powerful means of illumination. (Denzin, 1978, p. 46)

The sojourn metaphor is a tool to help make sense of the meaning behind the data I have collected. I am interpreting the meaning of the volunteer experience as I have come to understand it through my data. I use the metaphor of the sojourn as a framework to access the various descriptions of what it is like to volunteer. In other words the concept of sojourn helps visualize the big picture. It is the larger story that explains how the subsequent chapters on shock, settling in and self-tie together. When I get down to more specific details in each of these chapters however, the metaphor weakens. At this point I use diagrams, descriptions, and other strategies to describe the student volunteer experience.

Trustworthiness

Interpretation of the data leads to the questions about the trustworthiness of analysis and the usefulness of the rendering. In most research such issues are generally discussed using the terms of validity and reliability.

Generally speaking validity refers to the match between the inferences drawn from the data and reality. To what extent are the interpretations and conceptualizations of this study authentic?

To increase the validity of my research, I have attempted to become close to the data. For this reason I selected a naturalistic approach that would permit proximity and prolonged exposure to my informants' perspectives.

I included a number of participants to gain a variety of perspectives (including students who ceased to volunteer). Such "outliers" not only help protect against self-selecting biases, but also often help create a better explanation as the theory is modified with the finding (Miles & Huberman, 1994). One example of how nonconforming data was of assistance related to the degree of shock experience by students. Rather than dismissing this information, I found an interesting correlation between the familiarity of the volunteer environments and the amount of shock or surprise described by the students.

In writing up the more detailed aspects of the volunteer experience I attempted to capture the nuances of the experience. This involved revising and rethinking the descriptions, phrases, and language used in the final report. With these decisions I considered the "native" terms used by the students, the jargon from cross-cultural and

socialization literatures, and the words suggested by the metaphor of the sojourn. In the process of making these decisions I appreciated the comments of Patton who stated “there is absolutely no right way of stating what emerges from the analysis. There are only more and less useful ways of expressing what the data revealed” (1990, p. 322). To interpret the findings in a “useful” fashion I considered to whom this information would be important. I determined that this study would be most helpful to people directing community service programs. Thus the analysis and discussion were directed towards campus student life practitioners involved in community service programs.

To improve the conceptualization of the service sojourn, I presented tentative findings from this research to the staff of the Bennion Center and at a national conference on community service. These practitioners in the field responded to the interpretive metaphor of the sojourn in a positive fashion. They felt that it was an effective way to conceptualize the volunteer experience. Their feedback also suggested areas for additional analysis. For example, I was so intrigued by the effects of the sojourn on the “self” that my initial findings neglected to discuss the outcomes related to becoming better acquainted with “others.” Presenting the findings for input and criticism helped to improve the conceptual framework and find “holes” in the analysis.

Another issued related to validity is the ability to generalize the findings to related settings. Although generalization in naturalistic inquiry is more difficult because it focuses on smaller purposeful selections rather than larger more random samples, the findings still can be used to aid understanding of related social environments. Patton (1990) suggests that naturalistic researchers be careful not to be so idiosyncratic that they

cannot translate findings to other situations. Research designs should include enough depth, breadth, and realism so as to permit reasonable "extrapolation."

In this research I have attempted to pay attention to the unique context of the informants in this study while uncovering patterns that might be more universal. This ability to generalize does not come at the level of the variables, but at a higher level of abstraction--where general concepts are similar to other settings. Qualitative research constructs theories (or interpretations) to explain phenomenon. "The greater the number and variety of phenomena a theory can explain, the greater is its scope The more comprehensive a theory is, the greater its ability to unify phenomena, to show that apparently different things are special cases of the same kinds of things" (Brodbeck, 1963, p. 70). By viewing the volunteer experience from a higher level of abstraction the social processes of newcomer and cross-cultural adjustment can be recognized. It is at this level of theoretical abstraction that the "pay off" of generalization can be used in a powerful manner.

Reliability is another issue relating to the trustworthiness of the study. Reliability in qualitative research may be better understood in such terms as consistency, dependability, stability, and accuracy (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

Using a software program to assist in this coding process has been particularly helpful in this area. For example, in establishing any particular code, I had to come up with a basic definition. All data under the code could be instantly accessed and checked for consistency. Additionally the program allowed me to search the text of all my documents to look for related words or phrases that I might have missed in my coding.

In describing the framework of the service sojourn in this dissertation I have tried to stay close to the data. In other words, I have attempted to provide good access to the primary sources of data in my analysis. In this way, others can see the "evidence" that I used to support the conclusions. This helps answer the important question of whether "the conclusions depend on the subject and conditions of the inquiry rather than on the inquirer?" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 278). Since it is difficult to reproduce the study, I have attempted to document and explicitly describe my investigative process in this dissertation.

Several researchers compare this process to leaving an "audit trail." (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In a similar fashion, this dissertation attempts to "mark the path" that I followed in the investigation. For example, this chapter on methodology has outlined the major steps of this study including my stance, background, research questions, methodology, design, and analysis. Subsequent chapters continue this explanation in the hopes of leaving the reader with a sense of how the data were collected, processed, and analyzed.

Limitations

In concluding this section on methodology it seems appropriate to discuss the limitations of this investigation. Although I attempted to collect the richest data possible, I was only able to capture "snapshots" of student's actual experiences. From these brief glimpses that I was able to record, I tried to piece together an interpretation of the volunteer experience. Therefore the findings of this study should be considered in light

of the study's sampling of participants over various points in time, the duration of the study, and biases of my interpretation.

Since research is based on the experiences of only a few students, it is important to understand the context of the participants. Students participating in this study performed direct service in social settings that were quite new to them. The spectrum of volunteer work is much broader than these two categories. For example, environmental issues, advocacy, and fundraising do not require social contact with the beneficiaries of the service. A significant amount of service is also rendered within familiar social settings. Family members, friends, and associates assist one another in native environments. For both of these types of service, the metaphor of a sojourn does not appear to be relevant. For the typical student who comes to a campus volunteer center seeking new opportunities for service, however, some aspects of the sojourn interpretation can be helpful.

The sample in this study consisted of self-selecting participants. These students distinguished themselves from other volunteers in a number of ways. First, they were more open. They were willing to share their experiences with a stranger. Second, they felt like they had the time to visit. Several students explained that their schedules were not too busy and they had time to help. Finally, most of the students tended to reflect on their experience in positive terms. This sample does not represent shy students, people who had busy schedules, and those who had negative experiences as they volunteered. Caution must be taken in generalizing this study's findings to other situations.

Another limitation of the study relates to its duration. The nature of the investigation did not permit tracking the students beyond four months. Only initial outcomes from the volunteer experience were identified. Data from the study mainly describe the entry and subsequent adjustment of volunteers. In other words, the journey is well documented, but what about returning home? How do students look back on the experience over a longer period of time? Is the sojourn model still useful in describing their experience? What are the effects over a longer period of time? The framework of the sojourn suggests several possibilities, but this study does not provide any conclusive data. Additional research is needed to validate the model in conjunction with long-term outcomes.

I must also disclose the limitations on my interpretation of the volunteer experience. As explained in the methodology I served as the main instrument of inquiry in the analysis of the data. My perspective is the tool that is used to make sense of others' comments. This study is limited by my ability to translate my understanding (or measurements) into the language of the reader.

The framework of the sojourn is a broad interpretation. It is not the literal experience of one particular student. Rather, it is an ideal model that attempts to explain the common elements that students experienced in the study. With this perspective one can gain a better perspective to conceptualize other students' volunteer experiences.

The metaphor of a sojourn also has limitations as a framework for conceptualizing the volunteer experience. "One of the interesting aspects of metaphor is that it always produces this kind of one-sided insight. In highlighting certain interpretations it tends to

force others into a background role” (Morgan, 1997, p. 4). Thus, by drawing attention to cultural adjustment, the metaphor glosses over the fact that the same experiences could be compared to a roller coaster (having ups and downs), an investment (a gamble to better society), or a marathon (entailing a lot of hard work).

Furthermore, metaphor can be misinterpreted when it is taken literally. Strong images can imply only one way of thinking or seeing. Believing that a volunteer experience is really a sojourn can create false assumptions. Student volunteers generally do not leave their native country to live in a foreign setting. Nor do they manifest symptoms of physical illness generally associated with travel and “culture shock.” The framework of a sojourn is merely a tool to understand and interpret the volunteer experience, not the experience itself.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the approach, methodology, and specific techniques used in this study to understand the experiences of student volunteers. In this process I have based the investigation on scientific methods that have informed my understanding and shaped the design of my research.

This research was concerned with understanding students’ perceptions of their volunteer experience. To accomplish this I followed the Interpretivist Tradition that holds that a social phenomenon is best understood from the perspective of the person’s behavior that is under study. In social settings meaning is created through interaction with others. People attach symbolic meaning to their experiences to make sense of them.

Qualitative research methods were well suited for investigating the meaning of student volunteer experiences because they incorporated an interpretive approach. Important aspects of this methodology included inductive analysis, insider perspectives, investigator proximity, contextual sensitivity, a holistic perspective, and the self as the instrument of inquiry for making appropriate interpretations of the data.

The direction of this study was driven by the phenomena. For example, a pilot study focused the research questions and suggested lines of additional research (several interviews over a period of time) and informative literature (socialization and cross-cultural adjustment). This section also covered issues relating to data collection, sampling, moral and legal questions, and the instrumentation of the interviews. Data were collected over a period of months in interviews with 16 students who volunteered in service projects through the Bennion Center at the University of Utah.

In conjunction with data collection the information was analyzed. This was an intuitive process that involved gleaning the data for the most significant issues relating to the volunteer experience. I compared this analysis to mapping the terrain of a new territory. The process involved focusing, coding, organizing, and interpreting the data. The objective of my research was to conceptualize the volunteer experience in a way that others could grasp the major aspects of this experience. The metaphor of the sojourn was a helpful vehicle to accomplish this aim.

The framework of the sojourn, however, does have limitations. The final section of this chapter discussed the sampling, duration, and interpretation of this research. The study focused on few student volunteers involved in direct service in unfamiliar

environments. Thus the application of the sojourn model is limited to similar conditions.

Long-term outcomes were not explored in this study. The metaphor of the sojourn highlights and diminishes certain aspects of the experiences and therefore the interpretation must be applied cautiously.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

In attempting to conceptualize the volunteer experience I have drawn from several areas in order to enhance my understanding of the phenomena. The findings of this study were placed within larger frameworks of knowledge. This chapter reviews the most pertinent aspects of these sources and explains why these literatures are informative to this study.

Following the tradition of qualitative research, the phenomena of the volunteer experience has driven the direction of this investigation. In listening to student's descriptions I have looked for information that would inform the issues that students were addressing. I have found four major literatures that are informative to interpreting the data in this study; community service, socialization, cross-cultural adjustment, and student development. Before elaborating upon these various fields, I will briefly explain the relevance of each of these areas to this study.

Community service literature provides the context and history of community service on campus. This material explains the philosophies that have been used to advocate service in the classroom and as an extracurricular activity. Community service has been viewed as a way to teach civic values, encourage moral development, and involve students more actively in the curriculum (service-learning). Research in this area

has investigated the “reasons” people volunteer in addition to tracking the effects of the service involvement. Explanations about the actual experience, however, have been lacking. This study attempts to fill part of this void.

Although this background information on community service was helpful in understanding the context and history of community service on campus, it does not address the specific issues that students were discussing in this study. They were talking about their relationships with other people--trying to figure out how they, as volunteers, “fit in.” Students addressed issues of inclusion and acceptance. They talked about people remembering their name, hugs from children, and the acceptance of clients. They also discussed their expectations and hopes. Concepts from socialization appeared to be most helpful in understanding these aspects of their experience.

The literature of socialization discusses the entry of individuals into new social settings. As student volunteers were leaving campus to volunteer, they were entering new social environments. They spent a significant amount of time discussing this transition. The concepts and theories of socialization helped to inform the process that students were experiencing as they entered these organizations.

One drawback of the literature, however, was the final outcome. Ultimately socialization describes the transition of a “outsider” to an “insider.” Students did not make this shift. They were only temporary visitors to the new setting. After volunteering for a period of time, they returned back to their previous situation.

Cross-cultural literature proved to be more helpful in conceptualizing the transient nature of the volunteer experience. Students explained that volunteering similar to

visiting a foreign country. The settings where students volunteered were often foreign. They gave vivid descriptions of how these encounters contrasted their expectations and enlarged their perspective. "It's a different world" recalled one student who compared his upper middle class upbringing to his experience on the "other" side of town. Students appeared to be experiencing a minor form of "culture shock" as they encountered these new environments. Cross-cultural literature was helpful in describing students' encounters with people of diverse backgrounds and different values. Furthermore, consistent with the concept of a sojourn, the contact with a new social system was a temporary visit rather than a permanent stay.

Cross-cultural literature discusses these processes of shock and adjustment. It also suggests variables that affect successful adaptation. Additionally, the literature discusses outcomes of cross-cultural experiences upon return to the native environment. These concepts of adjustment paralleled to the experience of student volunteers. The personal outcomes described by students were also similar to those of people encountering foreign cultures.

Such experiences of contrast and shock encouraged students to look at the world differently. Many commented that they gained "a new perspective" from the experience. Students redefined the way they view the world (and themselves). Such qualitative changes in thinking are described by developmental literature in the field of psychology. One part of this literature focuses specifically on college student development. Theories in this area discuss the intellectual, moral, and personality changes of students as they progress to more complex or comprehensive levels of growth.

Student developmental literature further informed the outcomes described in this study by providing an explanation of student's growth. The shock of a new environment can create a cognitive disequilibrium that provokes growth. Such experiences encourage people to think in qualitatively different ways because their previous explanations no longer make sense. The contrasting environments that students encountered created similar opportunities for learning and development as students were challenged to look at themselves and others from a new perspective.

Each piece of literature brings some type of knowledge that is informative to understanding the volunteer experience of students in this study. In discussing the findings of this study, I will draw on these sources to conceptualize the student volunteer experience.

The following four sections of this chapter review these areas. I first introduce the context of the volunteer experience through community service literature. This literature provides a background into the campus volunteer experience and the common terms used in this field. I next review the field of socialization that includes concepts relating to newcomers' expectations, the shock of the encounter, and subsequent adjustment. I then review cross-cultural literature that addresses concepts and research regarding sojourns in foreign settings. I next introduce and review student developmental theories in relation to extracurricular involvement on campus. In closing, I address the strengths and weaknesses of each piece of literature in relation to understanding the phenomenon of the volunteer experience.

Community Service Literature

During the 1990s community service became more visible on American college campuses as they developed a new interest in volunteerism and the integration of service as a tool to enhance learning. Both of these activities have used the term “service-learning” to describe the educational benefits that can come from service. Student affairs practitioners have labeled volunteer involvement in student-run programs as co-curricular service-learning--to distinguish it from curricular service-learning that entails service in academic courses (Jacoby, 1996, p. 6). Most people on the academic side however, reserve the term of service-learning for courses that integrate service into the class curriculum (Waterman, 1997, pp. 1-2).

With the growing popularity of community service in higher education this decade, writings on the subject have proliferated. This literature can be divided into three major categories; philosophical writings, principles of practice, and research. In this section I will briefly review the first two perspectives and then focus more specifically on the research in the field.

Philosophical Roots

Advocates of service justify the practice on campus because of its assumed potential to develop students' moral character, civic skills, and sense of social responsibility. Additionally, the participatory nature of service encourages involvement in settings outside of the traditional classroom. This active participation in a new environment fosters learning and is advocated by the educational philosophy of

experiential education (Theus, 1998; Waterman, 1997). This section briefly reviews these justifications for service involvement on campus.

The first rationale relates to the idealistic American tradition of service in the community. Alexis de Tocqueville (1969) observed more than a century ago the nature of Americans to choose voluntary action to get really important things done. The roots of this heritage can be traced to writings of Thomas Jefferson who discussed the need in a democracy for ordinary citizens to participate in community affairs. At the turn of this century, the American philosopher, William James, proposed educating youth about this civic responsibility through a national youth service program that would function as the “moral equivalent for war” (1920, p. i). It is interesting that in the 1990s several national youth service initiatives were proposed using this same argument. Community service was viewed as method to teach social responsibility, civic skills, and public morality to children and young adults in America. (The National Service Act of 1990, The Corporation for National Service were some pieces of legislation and programs that were enacted.)

Another argument for service in education relates to its use as a pedagogical technique. Proponents of experiential education draw upon the educational philosophy of John Dewey who stated that active participation in learning was an essential element of effective education (1916, 1956). He defined learning as an intuitive process involving observation, reflection, and experimentation. Service-learning is considered experiential education as it challenges students to reflect and discover relationships among ideas for themselves through participation, rather than merely learning them from authority figures

(Giles & Eyler, 1994). Service-learning also entails applying the curriculum so that students can see its relevance--judging the merits of this knowledge in their own lives and in the lives of other people (Waterman, 1997).

The instructional value of community service involvement along with the ability to teach moral and civic values have been two of the major philosophies discussed in literature promoting community service (Jacoby, 1994; Theus, 1988; Zlotkowski, 1996). Urging educators to adopt service in their curriculum, Robert Coles explained "students need more opportunity for moral and social reflection on the problems that they have seen first hand" (1994, A64).

Principles of Practice

Another perspective in community service literature relates to principles of practice. This literature can be divided into four broad areas of emphasis: reflective learning, community collaboration, integration into the curriculum, and institutionalization on campus.

The first two areas relate to principles suggested by rationales of experiential education and civic involvement. Involvement and reflection are key components of the learning process. The service experience alone does not insure that significant learning will occur. The literature recommends that service programs also provide structured opportunities for people to critically reflect on their experience through activities such as group discussions, debriefings, or personal journals (Conrad & Hedin, 1987; Gish, 1978; Kendall, 1990; Mintz & Hesser, 1996; Parter, Honner, & Poulsen, 1989). Other

principles of good practice suggested by philosophical roots relate to community collaboration. Service programs should engage students in responsible and challenging actions for the common good (Kendall, 1990; Newmann, 1990). This involvement should empower both those who are being served and those who serve so that service does not become one-way or paternalistic (Kendall, 1990; Mintz & Hesser, 1996; Sigmon, 1990, 1994).

The two other areas relating to practice are more pragmatic and logistical. They involve the integration of service into the curriculum and the larger campus institution. Much of this literature is based on case studies.

In regards to developing service-learning curriculum, a number of "how to" articles and books are available to assist faculty in establishing service projects, grading student participation, connecting the service to the course content (Kendall, 1990). This literature includes a three volume series by the Organization of Community Service Press, Praxis I-III, edited by Joseph Galura and Jeffrey Howard (1993-95) and an 18 volume series on service-learning in the disciplines published by the American Association for Higher Education, edited by Edward Zlotkowski (1996-99). Several other works such as publications by Campus Compact contain sample syllabi and course suggestions.

The final type of practical literature addresses the administration of community service. These works discuss strategies to promote service-learning programs at an institutional level. Examples from several institutions have been reviewed to serve as models for application. Approaches for garnering support from various campus

constituencies are also addressed (Buchanan, 1998; Kendall, Duley, Little, Permaul, & Rubin, 1990; Rubin, 1996; Seeman, 1990).

Research

The literature most significant to this discussion relates to research on community service. This section reviews studies that have investigated the behavior of volunteers of various ages in variety of settings. Most of this research is quantitative in nature and has focused on particular aspects of the experience, such as volunteer motivation, retention, and outcomes. Generally speaking, research in the field of community service (especially in relation to students) is relatively new and tentative. Only a few qualitative studies have been conducted to describe the volunteer experience as a whole.

The oldest and most comprehensive field of research has investigated the "reasons" why people volunteer. This research is suspect, however, due to the self-reporting data that the studies are based upon. Volunteers (ages 12-17) surveyed by Wiche and Isenhour reported, in order of importance, altruism, personal satisfaction, self-improvement, and demands from the outside (1997). Gillespie and King (1985) reported that Red Cross volunteers ranging in ages from 18 to 25 reported they volunteered to help others, obtain job training skills, and contribute to the community. Fitch (1985) found the most cited reasons for students joining college service organizations were to gain a sense of satisfaction (through helping others), to meet friends, and because they felt an obligation or duty (and hoped others would help them if they were in a similar situation). In reviewing the literature, Jones found three major themes that consistently appeared

across these divergent studies; volunteers serve in hopes of helping others, for social contact, and to promote a cause (1993).

Another interesting finding relating to reasons for serving was reported by Astin who found that students who were volunteers in high school are more likely to participate in volunteer work in college (Astin, 1996; Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999).

Research investigating volunteer retention is limited. In a one-year longitudinal study of volunteers assisting AIDS patients, Snyder & Omoto found that volunteers that continued were more likely to be motivated by esteem enhancement or personal development than by community concerns, values, or gains in understanding or knowledge (1992). In relation to retention, Alan Waterman has proposed the hypothesis that the fit between students' interests and their subsequent placement as a volunteer will impact the duration of time that the student volunteers (1997). No research, however, is currently available to evaluate this proposition. In summary, research concerning volunteer retention is scarce. Although anecdotal reasons for volunteers ceasing to volunteer are described in the literature, only one specific theory concerning retention has been proposed.

The last area of quantitative research investigates the effects of community service upon those who volunteer. I have summarized the findings regarding outcomes into three broad areas for this review; cognitive and moral development, social and civic development, and enhanced learning (in service-learning courses).

In spite of the anecdotal suggestions, solid research investigating the cognitive and moral development of student service participants is lacking. Batchelder and Root (1994)

reported significant gains in cognitive dimensions such as multidimensionality of undergraduates involved in service-learning courses. Astin (1996) also reports an increase in students' critical thinking skills. In regard to moral development, Cognition and Sprinthall, (1978) found evidence for more principled moral reasoning after service participation in teaching roles. Additional studies on more specific and often intense service related programs have also reported evidence of development (Boss, 1994; Gorman, Duffy, & Heffernan, 1994; Keen, 1990). Although standardized instruments were used in these studies, the designs lacked the ability to control confounding variables and they generally had small sample sizes.

Research regarding the social development and growth of civic responsibility of volunteer participants is more substantiated. Several studies have found that service participants exhibit a greater sense of civic responsibility and commitment to their community after their involvement (Astin & Sax, 1998; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Gray, et al. RAND Study, 1996; Rutter & Newmann, 1989). Evidence of social development has also been demonstrated. In reporting the long-term effects of volunteerism during the undergraduate years, Astin, Sax, and Avalos reported the following results from a national study: "Volunteering encourages students to become more socially responsible... it encourages socialization across racial lines and increases commitment to promoting racial understanding" (1999, p. 200). Most of these studies were based on large national samples with strong research designs. These findings demonstrate strong evidence for the increased social development and civic commitment of volunteers.

Several investigations into the effects of service on learning (in service-learning courses) have been conducted. Current research shows some evidence for the enhancement of learning through community service. In a nationwide survey of over 4,000 secondary schools, students participating in service and other experiential programs reported learning “much more” through their participation than in their regular classes (Conrad & Hedin, 1982). Cohen and Kinsey’s (1993) case study of journalism students suggested that service-learning courses were more effective than regular courses because the service helped students place the course curriculum into a meaningful context. Markus, Howard, and King (1993) found that students who participated in political science service-learning courses were more likely to report they had performed to their potential in the course and had learned to apply principles from the course to new situations. In a more comprehensive nationwide study of college students, results indicate that participating in service during the undergraduate years substantially enhances the student’s academic development, persistence in college, and interest in graduate study (Astin & Sax 1998; Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999).

Quantitative research investigating the effects of community service provides moderate evidence about the nature and magnitude of personal outcomes. For the most part, studies in this area are tentative due to small amounts of data from just one institution. Additionally it is difficult to design studies that isolate the effects of service. More comprehensive and controlled studies are currently underway (Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999).

Only a handful of qualitative studies investigating student service-related experiences have been conducted. A few related studies have been conducted with students who participate in field experiences or internships. I will first review the studies relating to the field experiences of high school and college students and will then review two qualitative studies relating to college students involved in community service.

In looking at the field experience of high school students, two studies commented on an adjustment process of students as they were plunged into new environments. Hamilton (1981) noted that the placement took students out of an “adolescent ghetto” and placed them in a more positive peer relationship with adults. Moore (1982) also observed that students developed greater confidence in working with adults in their internships and service placements.

In regard to college students involved in internships, similar findings were reported. Rubin (1983) noted that these placements plunged students into a different set of cultural norms for knowledge acquisition; whereas students in the classroom obtained information from authorities, students in the field obtained it through observation, questioning, and chance. Moore’s findings (1986) agreed with these observations and added the comments that tasks performed in the field required greater creativity and flexibility than those typically faced in the classroom and that they required understanding of the task in the context of an organization. Pataniczek and Johansen (1983) also observed that students in field placements took on new roles as learners, including learning by doing, collegial relationships with agency personnel, setting their own goals, and giving as well as receiving feedback.

In reviewing the qualitative research on these field studies Eyler and Giles (1996) found five common themes that students addressed: the nature of the tasks they were asked to perform, the social relationships with other volunteers and clients, the student's role as a service provider, the way in which knowledge is sought and applied, and the nature of the feedback students received for their efforts.

A unique qualitative study was conducted by Mara Beth Gross (1991) to trace the experience of four high school students over the period of a year. Through observations and interviews she attempted to give the students a voice in describing their experiences. Based on these data, she developed five themes that the students addressed. First, she noted that service helped the students feel better about themselves as they found they were able to help others. Second, she found that community service exposed students to a world beyond their normal life as they were brought face to face with people outside their families and school. Third, the experience placed them in positions of responsibility in the community. Fourth, the exposure to new people and situations helped them learn how to face challenges. Fifth, the community service provided opportunities for the students to be successful and develop their self-worth.

Michelle Dunlap (1997) analyzed the journals of students participating in a college service-learning course and found that students had an inclination to develop high expectations about what they could accomplish through their voluntary efforts. She depicted this tendency of students to feel uniquely capable of solving the world's problems as having "heroic overtones and described the behavior in terms of a personal

fable. The concept comes from Jean Piaget's concept of adolescent idealism that notes the tendency of young adults to picture themselves as part of a heroic mission.

A qualitative study that was conducted by Robert Rhoads (1997) focused specifically on the experience of college students involved in community service. He explains that community service is, by its nature, an encounter with diverse others and thus provides students with valuable opportunities to understand the complexities of postmodern social life. He found that some students reconcile their "otherness" by situating cultural differences as either irrelevant (as denying differences) or as something beautiful and exotic (as in celebrating difference). As a result of their interactions, students are more likely to personalize social concerns and thus become more willing to be involved with causes for social change. Rhoads also found that the positive feedback involved in service boosted volunteers self-esteem.

These two qualitative studies about students in service have findings that parallel the research on field studies and internships. Students are describing encounters with new environments, people, and social settings. These experiences help clarify students' identities as they compare their values against those of others.

To summarize research in the field, strong empirical studies concerning students in community service are scarce. Most of the quantitative research is inconclusive due to methodological problems with samples and confounding variables. Recent studies that are better designed and more comprehensive in their scope are starting to offer more definitive findings (Astin, 1998, 1999). Many of these studies point out the need for more broad-based longitudinal studies. Additionally more qualitative research is needed

to understand and conceptualize the experience of volunteers as they encounter new environments. In her review of the volunteer literature, Jone Pearce (1993) comments, "We know surprisingly little about the experience of volunteers once they are within organizations" (p. 81). These observations echo a 1991 conference on setting the service-learning research agenda that stated "We need to understand more about the relationship of service-learning activities to individual development" (Giles, Honnet, & Migilore, 1991, p. 7). This was recently restated in a research agenda proposed by Dwight Giles and Janet Eyler "to design effective programs, we need to understand how the service experience affects these outcomes" identified in the literature (1998, p 67).

Community Service Literature Summary

The strength of community service literature lies in its strong connections to educational theory and moral reasoning. These philosophical roots promote the implementation of service on campus and drive much of the current practice. A weakness in the area relates to the lack of research. Little is actually known about the volunteer experience. The philosophical underpinnings of the practice should be validated or refuted through empirical data. Better models are needed to conceptualize the volunteer experience. These findings must then be supported through larger studies. Program administrators need more than isolated case studies to base their practice upon. Principles of practice could be strengthened by more comprehensive research linked to a strong theoretical foundation.

Socialization Literature

The literature of socialization is helpful to understanding the experience that students described as they entered new settings where they volunteered. Socialization has been defined as the processes "by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society" (Brim, 1966, p. 23). Socialization studies encompass many points of view and disciplines (Hart, 1993). Concepts from socialization are useful in the examination of the content, processes, and outcomes associated with student volunteers.

Arnold Van Gennep (1960) was an anthropologist who identified basic concepts about the processes involved in socialization. In studying various world cultures Van Gennep noticed patterns in people's behavior as they transitioned into new roles or levels of status. He coined the term "rites of passage" to describe this process. Van Gennep explains that "the life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. Wherever there are fine distinctions among age or occupational groups, progression from one group to the next is accompanied by special acts" (1960, p. 3).

Van Gennep focused on describing these special acts and the situations in which they occurred. He found that these rites of passage occurred in three separate, but related, stages: separation, transition, and incorporation. Separation involves the process of an individual disengaging from a previous social status or identity in preparation for taking a new identity or role. The second stage, transition, describes a period in which the individual stands between the two social worlds: the old one, which is being relinquished

and the new one, which is trying to be obtained. During this period of time the individual's interactions and normal rules of living are suspended. It is a time of negotiation as the individual attempts to define new relationships with others. The final stage, incorporation, is the point at which individuals are accepted and incorporated as new members of a group or into their new social position. The former is forgotten and the new is publicly celebrated.

These basic processes can be found in most social settings as transitions and are symbolically ritualized through baptisms, weddings, or getting "keys to the car." These basic concepts can be applied in all social settings. More relevant to this investigation, however, are the concepts related to the transitions of newcomers into organizations.

Organizational socialization is the process by which an individual comes to know, appreciate, and accept the values, abilities, and expected behaviors for assuming an organizational role or membership (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). The experience has been characterized as a time of disorientation, sensory overload, and foreignness as the newcomer adapts to the unfamiliar organizational settings. Regardless of an individual's previous socialization experiences, each major passage or role change involves some socialization into the new role and setting (Louis, 1980). Socialization continues until the time that the individual adjusts to the setting, "learns the ropes," and ultimately comes to understand and accept the organization's norms and values (Van Maanen, 1979).

Although individuals can also influence the organization that they join, the focus of much adult socialization literature is generally directed towards describing the assimilation of the individual into a work organization (Etzioni, 1964; Van Maanen &

Schein, 1979; Wanous, 1992). The literature has been criticized for its predominant focus on the socialization process from the organization's perspective (Jablin, 1984).

The content of socialization in work settings traditionally includes three processes: developing work-related skills, adjusting to the work environment, and learning the organizations values (Feldman, 1976). Besides learning the established techniques to accomplish one's job, the newcomer must adjust to the new organization culture. This entails learning how things really get done (Schein, 1985). Such assumptions are implicit and collectively shared. One must understand the culture in order to interpret what is really happening. Ultimately, the socialization process includes the acceptance of the organization's norms as the group's values are internalized and reconciled with individual preferences.

The research in organizational socialization has been primarily organized around three key themes (Hart, 1993; Louis, 1980). These include: (a) the stages and processes of socialization, (b) the methods of socialization, and (c) outcomes and effects of socialization. The following sections review these areas and close by discussing the strengths and weaknesses of this literature.

Stages

To describe the process through which newcomers become integrated into an organization, several theorists have used the concept of "stages." Stages help describe the aspects of socialization by grouping similar developmental activities in a sequential

order. The sequence is further explicated by describing what differs between the groups and what constitutes movement from one stage to another (Wanous, 1992).

Generally speaking, most stage models include three aspects. Ann Hart (1993) explains that although the names of the stages may vary, the models generally describe anticipatory, encounter, and adjustment phases.

The first stage, anticipation, involves the development of expectations. As individuals become outwardly acquainted with the organization, they imagine what it will be like. The second stage, or encounter, describes the actual entry. During this time the individual may experience a “reality shock” depending on the accuracy or inaccuracy of his or her expectations (Hughes, 1959). The final stage, adjustment, involves the individual’s accommodation to the new environment. The transition is apparent as the individual receives symbolic forms of acceptance. This may include new responsibilities, “privileged information,” or extra rights as the organization demonstrates that the person has earned the trust of the group.

Wanous (1992) illustrates the similarities of the various stage models in Table 3. The models appear to vary by the amount of emphasis to different parts of the experience. For example, Feldman's model was developed from looking at newly hired hospital employees while Schein's was more general and based on the transition of numerous workers' careers.

Researchers have criticized stage models for a number of reasons (Crow & Mathews, 1998). First, the sequential fashion assumes that everyone will pass through the same distinct phases in the same order. Second, the models fail to look for changes in

Table 3

Stage Models of Organizational Socialization

Feldman's Three -Stage Entry Model	Porter, Lawler, & Hackman's Three-Stage Entry Model	Schein's Three-Stage Socialization Model	Wanous's Integrative Approach to Stages of Socialization
Anticipatory socialization- "getting in." Setting of realistic expectations. Determining match with the newcomer.	Prearrival. Setting of newcomer expectations. Reward and punishment of behaviors.		
Accommodation. "breaking in." Initiation into the job. Establishment of interpersonal relationships. Role clarified. Congruence between self and organizational performance appraisal.	Encounter. Confirmation/ disconfirmation of expectations. Reward and punishment of behaviors.	Entry. Search for accurate information. Creation of false expectations by both parties. Inaccurate information is basis for job choice.	Confronting and accepting organizational reality. Confirmation/ disconfirmation of expectations. Conflicts between personal values and organizational climates. Discovering rewarded/punished behaviors.
Role management "settling in." The degree of fit between one's life interests outside of work and the demands of the organization. Resolution of conflicts at the work place itself.	Change and acquisition. Alteration of newcomers self-image. Forms new relationships. Adopts new values. Acquires new behaviors.	Socialization. Accept organizational reality. Cope with resistance to change. Congruence between organizational climate and person's needs. Organization's evaluation of newcomer's performance. Cope with either too much ambiguity or too much structure.	Achieving role clarity. Initiation to the job's tasks. Definition of interpersonal roles. Coping with resistance to change. Congruence between self and organization--performance appraisals. Coping with structure and ambiguity
		Mutual acceptance. Signals of organizational acceptance. Signals of inclusion. Commitment to the organization.	Detecting signposts of successful socialization. Company dependability and commitment. High general satisfaction. Feelings of mutual acceptance. Job involvement and intrinsic motivation increases.

the job itself--assuming the individual makes all of the changes. And third, the model overlooks the fact that ineffective socialization may take place with individuals who are marginalized but still active in the organization.

Meryl Louis (1980) has proposed a more flexible conceptual framework in contrast to these traditional models. It focuses less on stages and more on the actual features of the entry experience; change, contrast, and surprise.

“Change” is defined as objective difference between the new and old settings. It is the newness of the changed situation that requires adjustment by the individual.

“Contrast” describes the differences that people notice. The contrast between new experience and previous knowledge brings certain features to the forefront. This effect is similar to the effect described by gestalt psychologists, it involves the emergence of a “figure” against the ground or general background. “Surprise” is the third feature in Louis’s framework. It describes the difference between a person’s assumptions and the subsequent experiences in the new setting. Several forms of surprise can be experienced that depend on one’s expectations, including unmet expectations, unanticipated situations, and cultural differences.

Methods of Socialization

Although the previous models were helpful in understanding the process that individuals experience during socialization, they did not specify how this process was initiated or driven. This section discusses what factors affect socialization and how organizations might employ different socialization tactics.

Van Maanen (1976) considered various factors that mediate an individual's initial experience with an organization. These are summarized and described below.

Environmental. The degree to which the culture values the rewards offered by the organization, i.e, the status of the organization.

Organizational. The ability of the organization to control and confer rewards valued by the individual and the ability to control or make demands on the nonorganizational life of the individual.

Group. How work groups may serve as a "reference group" for the newcomer and help cushion the "reality shock" of entry. Smaller and more homogeneous groups are more influential.

Task. Assignments and tasks that are either too difficult or too easy can upset and disconfirm newcomers' expectations. The significance of the task and feedback about performance of the task can be important.

Individual. The degree of commitment or investment that a newcomer brings is important to consider along with the match between personal and organizational goals.

Other individual factors that influence socialization include personal characteristics, attitudes, sources of information and previous experience (Hall, 1987). The influence of previous experience is particularly significant because newcomers bring expectations that may or may not align with the organization.

Inkeles (1969) separated socialization methods by the timing of the intervention. Training and orientation that is received by an individual before joining an organization is

labeled “first wave.” Strategies used by groups or organizations after an individual’s entrance are called “second wave” because the learning takes place in the actual setting.

A number of researchers have investigated the strategies used by organizations to socialize new members. One of the most comprehensive typologies was developed by Van Maanen and Schein (1979). Using paired comparisons they placed socialization tactics along a continuum in six different dimensions:

Collective vs. Individual refers to the distinction between an individual entering an organization with a group of other newcomers (such as a cohort in schools or the military) or in a single fashion (such as an apprentice or other situation where newcomers are isolated from one another).

Formal vs. Informal refers to the distinction between formal training programs in which the newcomer is segregated from veteran members of the organization and informal socialization in which the newcomer begins as a member of the work group and learns through on-the-job experiences and training.

Sequential vs. Random refers to the distinction between a given sequence of identifiable steps in completing the socialization process and a continually changing, ambiguous, or random process.

Fixed vs. Variable refers to the distinction between a fixed versus a variable timetable in which the socialization steps are to occur.

Serial vs. Disjunctive refers to the distinction between situations in which experienced organizational members are involved in socializing the new members by serving as role models on either a formal or informal basis (serial) and situations in which predecessors and other role models are not accessible to the newcomer (disjunctive).

Investiture vs. Divestiture refers to the distinction between socialization practices that build on and validate skills, attitudes, values and personal characteristics with which newcomers enter the organization and practices in which many such attributes of the newcomer are disconfirmed so that new attributes will be learned.

Jones (1986) adapted these dimensions into three categories of tactics including the context, or the way in which the organization introduces information to the newcomer; the content, including what information newcomers receive; and interpersonal aspects, referring to the social aspects of socialization.

In closing, a number of factors have been identified in the socialization process of newcomers. Various strategies may be employed by organizations in order to achieve particular responses with newcomers. Some may be preferred above others because they are more feasible, effective, or appropriate. The following section on outcomes discusses research linking the outcomes with socialization methods.

Outcomes

Socialization has ramifications for the individual and the organization. The literature has generally emphasized conformity and the effect of the organization on the individual. Although organizations are relatively stable, they can be modestly shaped by the influence of newcomers.

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) propose that the six tactical dimensions reviewed in the previous section have a cumulative effect. The tactics can enhance, reinforce, conflict or neutralize each other. The following outcomes are distinguished as

Custodial. This response refers to newcomers who accept the status quo in connection with their role. This includes performing the requirements of their positions in a customary fashion within the organizational norms. This type of response will most

likely result from socialization processes that are sequential, variable, serial and involve divestiture.

Content innovation. In this response the newcomer seeks to accomplish traditional outcomes but does not accept existing practices for accomplishing the desired ends. Strategies, activities, and practices may be discarded in hopes of better achieving the former goals. This response is most likely to occur through socialization processes that are collective, formal, random, fixed, and disjunctive.

Role innovation. With this response the newcomer redefines the ends to which the role functions. The traditional mission of the organization is rejected. An active attempt is made to be innovative in redefining the mission, content, and roles in the organization. This response is most likely to occur through socialization processes that are individual, informal, random, disjunctive, and involve investiture.

Studies testing the theory of Van Maanen and Schein have provided only moderate support and have suggested some alternate predictions (Allen & Meyers, 1990; Jones 1986).

In summary, empirical evidence regarding the connections between socialization tactics and outcomes is moderate. The strategies of organizations to socialize newcomers are mediated by broader environmental and personal factors.

Socialization Literature Summary

Socialization literature provides an informative framework for conceptualizing the entry experience of newcomers. The descriptive nature of the literature makes it a

powerful tool for understanding the processes of transition from an outsider to an insider of a group. The broadness of this literature makes it possible to apply this perspective to almost any organizational setting.

This perspective, however, does have drawbacks. First, the literature emphasizes the organizational influence upon the individual rather than the effect of individuals on the organization (Hart, 1993). Second, the field generally focuses on the "changing to" process of entering a new organization at the exclusion of "changing from" previous affiliations. This neglects the process of leavetaking, transitions, and rites associated with leaving former associations (Louis, 1980). Third, the framework pays little attention to situations of ineffective socialization (Bullis & Stout, 1996).

One weakness of the socialization perspective in relation to the issues of this study regards the final outcome of newcomer. Socialization discusses how one becomes a member of a group. Volunteers, however, only temporarily visit the site where they volunteer. College students do not typically move in to the homeless shelter or work full-time at a school, hospital, or any other volunteer site. They are part-time volunteers who visit periodically. The literature fails to discuss such situations where individuals overlap their memberships, temporarily belong to, and participate in several organizations simultaneously. Although students assume roles where they volunteer, their primary affiliations are elsewhere. The field of organization socialization has not examined these situations of "secondary socialization" (Wentworth, 1980).

Although students are not completely assimilated into the organizations where they volunteer, they do go through typical entry experiences. The socialization

framework is particularly helpful in describing the processes experienced by newcomers in these experiences.

Cross-Cultural Literature

A field that provides more insight into membership in multiple social settings is cross-cultural literature. This field uses the concept of culture to describe the various norms, customs, and behaviors found in different environments. Several students in this study used such cultural terms to describe their volunteer experience. They described being surprised and uncomfortable in the new setting. This literature elaborates on the phenomena of “culture shock,” the process of adjustment, and the outcomes that result from the exposure. This section introduces the concept of culture and then describes some of the major theories and research in the field.

Cultures exist in social units of all sizes (including civilizations, countries, ethnic groups, organizations, and social groups). Edgar Schein defined culture as:

A pattern of basic assumptions--invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration--that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (1985, p. 9)

In the field of organizational behavior two cultural perspectives have emerged; one that views culture as a root metaphor and another that treats culture as simply a critical variable. Researchers within the two different paradigms have been respectfully categorized as “cultural purists” or cultural pragmatists” (Martin, 1985). A more moderate view incorporating both perspectives, however, is becoming increasingly

accepted. This view explains that through the process of interaction, culture is shaped, created, and influenced, as well as passed on and imparted (Naylor, 1993; Schein, 1985).

Socialization and cross-cultural literatures are closely related. Edgar Schein (1964) and Everett Hughes (1958) used the idea of culture in developing their initial treatments of socialization. They noted that as people enter new social settings they are often confused by the apparently incoherent behavior of others. The previously acceptable norms and taken-for-granted assumptions are no longer valid. Socialization describes the process of becoming a member of this new group. Cultural literature, on the other hand, focuses on understanding the new group. Anthropologists explain that one does not always need to become a member to “make sense” of what is happening in a new environment. Rather, one must simply understand “the culture” to correctly interpret the behavior of natives.

As people move in and out of different social settings they attempt to learn the culture of the new setting. This is most apparent with travelers who experience “culture shock” as they venture into foreign countries. Cross-cultural literature describes the process of these sojourns.

This review examines the sojourner literature by first discussing what is meant by culture shock. I then summarize and examine several of the descriptive theories describing this phenomenon. Following this the major groups of variables related to adjustment will then be reviewed and discussed in relation to reported outcomes. In closing, I critique the literature and discuss how this theory and research might be pertinent in this investigation of the volunteer experience.

Culture Shock

It is no coincidence that travel and travail are etymologically linked. Stress, fatigue, and strain are common ailments described by travelers sojourning in foreign lands and different cultures. "Culture shock" has become a somewhat pseudo-psychological term used by many to describe these more unpleasant consequences of travel. The term has a rather general meaning that implies the shock or surprise associated with the unexpected experiences inherent in encountering a new culture.

The anthropologist Oberg (1960) is generally credited with first introducing the term "culture shock." He viewed it as an "occupational disease" suffered by people who were suddenly introduced to new cultures very different from their own. In this brief and largely anecdotal article he identified several aspects of culture shock including strain, a sense of loss, feelings of deprivation, confusion, surprise, anxiety, disgust, and impotence at not being able to cope with the new environment. He explains that culture shock is precipitated by "anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse" (p. 177).

Since this introduction others have built on Oberg's definition. Bock (1970) explains that culture shock is primarily an emotional reaction that follows from not being able to understand, control, and predict a social environment (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). When customary actions and norms are no longer helpful in understanding what is happening, one loses points of reference. Thus people become anxious, confused, or apathetic until they can develop a new set of constructs to help them understand and better interpret what is happening. Anxiety may manifest itself in a variety of behaviors

such as excessive preoccupation with drinking water, food, minor pains, avoidance of local people, and longing to be with fellow nationals (Church, 1982).

A clear definition of culture shock has been complicated by the introduction of terms related to, but not identical to cultural adjustment. For example, Smalley (1963) used the term "language shock," Ball-Rokeach (1973) "pervasive ambiguity," and Guthrie (1975) "culture fatigue." In each of these treatments emphasis was placed in slightly different areas such as language, role ambiguity, and physical irritability.

Some of the literature related to culture shock has focused on sojourners. Researchers have struggled with defining this group of people who spend a fair amount of time in a foreign culture. Generally speaking, a sojourn is defined as a temporary stay in a new place--which is distinguished from permanent residence on one hand (migration), and insignificant visit on the other hand (tourism). People usually classified as sojourners typically reside in a host culture from 6 months to 5 years and includes groups such as diplomats, missionaries, students, and voluntary workers (i.e., Peace Corps). Most research has been conducted on the latter two groups, although more recent studies have been done on business sojourners (Weissman & Furnham, 1987).

Descriptive Approaches

Numerous conceptualizations have been developed to describe how sojourners adjust to their new environment. One of the most useful taxonomies of these theories was developed by Church (1982) who classified the literature into several types of

descriptive approaches (stages, curves of adjustment, types, and culture learning). I will use these four classifications to review and critique each of these areas.

Stage descriptions. Several theorists have described a number of common stages or phases that sojourners go through as they reside in a host culture and return home.

Oberg (1960) described four stages. The first he labeled “the honeymoon” since this period of time was characterized by a fascination and elation with the new culture. This initial optimism ranged from a period of a few days to six months when the sojourner had to cope with the realities of their new conditions. The second stage was described by hostile and aggressive attitudes toward the host country as sojourners vented frustration in troubles related to their adjustment. The third stage was characterized as a recovery period as ability (and language) increased to understand the new culture and a sense of humor helped soothe their attitude. The fourth and final stage describes “completed adjustment”-- a point at which anxiety is largely gone and new customs are accepted and enjoyed.

Jacobson (1963) extended these stages by describing a nine phase sequence that sojourners pass through in their adjustments. Predeparture, actually leaving, enroute, entry, post arrival orientation, exploration, tentative commitment, ultimate commitment and finally a decision whether or not to continue the travel. These phases, however, lack useful description and appear to be more of a sequential order of travel than a helpful depiction of different psychological states that sojourners experience.

A broader stage description was developed by Peter Adler (1975) who proposed an alternative view of culture shock by suggesting that one did not need to travel to a

foreign country to experience culture shock. He viewed cross-cultural activity as a transitional experience in which people moved from a state of low self and cultural awareness to a state of high personal and cultural awareness. He characterized this transition occurring in five progressing stages.

The first stage (contact) is described as a time of excitement and euphoria in which the person views the new culture from an ethnocentric viewpoint and is more attuned to the similarities than differences. The second stage (disintegration) is characterized by increased tension, confusion, depression, and alienation as the cultural differences become more noticeable. The third stage (reintegration) is marked by a rejection of the second culture. Cultural similarities and differences are rejected through stereotyping, generalization, and judgmental behavior. The fourth stage (autonomy) is characterized by a rising sensitivity and understanding of the second culture. The person has increased in their personal flexibility with the development of appropriate coping skills. The final stage (independence) is marked by a cherishing of cultural differences and relativism. The individual is capable of exercising choice and responsibility and able to create meaning for situations. Important outcomes of this stage include increased personal and cultural awareness that often enables the individual to undergo further life transitions.

Adler's conceptualization, although similar to others, implies that the individual who has reached the final stage would be better prepared for additional cross-cultural experiences. It also allows for regression within the stages.

While these stages are helpful in conceptualizing basic steps that sojourners pass through, for the most part, I found the descriptions unclear and a bit fuzzy. They lacked key indicators of what actually constituted a stage and how movement between them could be identified.

Curves of adjustment. Lysgaard (1955) was the first to propose and test the idea of a U curve that describes the sojourner's level of adjustment as a function of time (Church, 1982). The U curve graphically depicts the initial excitement and elation of being in a new culture, the subsequent dip in well-being after settling in, and the gradual recovery to higher adjustment levels over a period of time.

Movement through this process varies from person to person, but most researchers report the process taking around a year (Zapf, 1993). Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) proposed an extended W curve explaining that sojourners often undergo a second U curve in their home environments similar to what they experienced abroad as they are reacculturated back into their previous environment.

In reviewing the research testing the U curve hypothesis, Church (1982) concluded that support is rather weak. After an initial number of confirming studies in the 1950s and 1960s (Deutsch & Won, 1963; Lysgaard, 1955; Scott, 1956) more controlled studies were undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s. Most of these later investigations found little support for the idea (Hsiao-Ying, 1995). although curves describing adjustment seem to make common sense, they lack empirical support.

Types of adjustment. Another way of describing sojourners' experiences has been to classify them by their patterns of adjustment. For example, these typologies are usually

comprised of a continuum ranging from individuals who are more conservative and introspective (detached observers) to those that are extremely involved in social interaction with host nationals (enthusiastic participants) (Sewell & Davidson, 1961). Between these two extremes are sojourners that are more integrative in their assimilation. They base their new behavior, roles, and norms on a mixture of both their previous home culture and the new one.

In reviewing these classifications Brein and David commented, "Such typologies tend to be largely impressionistic, posthoc rather than predictive, and have not been empirically cross-validated or related to other sources of data for consistency" (1971, p. 543). They are often based on small samples and national groups that make their generalization difficult. While these groupings may represent some tendencies of groups, they appear to be less helpful in consistently describing the nature of single individuals over time (Church, 1982).

Culture learning. Another framework describing the experience of sojourners has been cast in the terms of learning--using operant conditioning and social learning principles (David, 1976; Guthrie, 1975). This framework rejects the previous conceptions of assimilation by explaining that the sojourner experience is better seen in the terms of looking at the removal of customary reinforcers (food, approval, friends, and other social rewards) and the presentation of aversive stimuli (such as novel situations, language difficulties, and unfamiliar social encounters). Thus changes in the response-reinforcement contingencies cause confusion in the sojourner as they try to figure out the new cues and social norms.

A major difference in this type of theory is that it does not imply that a person must undergo a basic shift in values and conform to a new set of cultural norms. Culture learning makes a distinction between skills and values. Thus coping difficulties are attributed to a lack in appropriate skills rather than some deficiency in the character of the sojourner. This conceptualization suggests more culture specific orientation programs before departure. A number of recent training programs (especially for business travelers) have been based on this approach that emphasizes social skills training. While quite a substantial amount of research has been conducted with social learning theory, little research in the context of the sojourner experience exists and more investigation is needed to assess the usefulness of this approach.

In summary of the descriptive approaches, no specific approach has become paramount--despite the considerable amount of theory and research describing sojourner experiences over the past several decades. Stages lack clarity and key indicators. The U-shape hypothesis has inconclusive support. Types of adjustment appear to be overgeneralized and culture learning has not been well investigated (although it appears rather promising).

The Nature and Extent of Problems Encountered

Another area of research relates to the nature of the problems that sojourners experience. Hull (1978) has summarized the findings of foreign students who most frequently report language difficulties, financial problems, adjusting to a new educational system, fatigue, sickness, and adjustment to new social customs and norms. Other

sojourner groups such as missionaries, volunteers, and businessmen report difficulties with different conceptions of time, the added importance of human relations, social niceties, and the importance of saving face (Church, 1982).

In reviewing the literature that describes the extent of these problems, Brein and David (1971) found a considerable amount of disagreement. Not much clarity has come since. Numerous studies exist but trying to compare them and draw larger conclusions is difficult. Overall conclusions difficult due to the complexity of measuring the extent of adjustment difficulties must take into account different factors of nationality, the host country, and the individual. Thus firm comparisons between sojourner groups has also been difficult given the available data.

Variables and Sojourner Adjustment

Numerous variables have been theorized relating to sojourner adjustment. Church (1982) has organized these into three major categories (background, situational, and personality). I will summarize his review of the literature and add research that has been reported since this critique.

Background variables. Modest success has been reported in predicting sojourner adjustment with background variables. One of the variables with the most substantial support is language proficiency. Language proficiency, however, is usually connected to increased social interaction with the host nationals (another key variable to be discussed later) that aids adjustment.

Where a person comes from and where they go also appears to be rather significant. For example, studies have demonstrated that it is easier for Scandinavian students to come to the United States than it is for them to go to countries in the Far East. Studies making reference to this difference have often used the term “cultural distance” to describe the varying difficulty sojourners face in encountering cultures that are more distinct from their own. Research has generally supported this general notion (Hull, 1978).

Other background variables that appear to have some empirical support include the perceived loss or gain of personal status in the new host country (Lambert & Bressler, 1956) and age. A recent study of adolescents in Japan found youth between the ages of 10 and 15 were more likely to have reported a positive experience than older adolescents or younger children (Tamura & Furnham, 1993).

Situational variables. This category of variables has received the most attention by researchers. Situational variables are the conditions by which individuals are exposed to the host culture. Church’s (1982) review includes over 30 studies. The large interest in this area makes sense because if any of these variables were relevant they could be used to help sojourners improve their adjustment.

One of the most significant variables in this area relates to the nature and extent of social interaction. The more that sojourners are able to have positive social encounters within the new culture, the more likely they will adjust. From their research Colacicco (1970) and Garraty and Adams (1959) went as far as to say that it is the most “crucial” or “most decisive” factor in adjustment. The variable of social interaction course is limited

by proficiency in the language, status differences, attitudes, ignorance, and judgmental attitudes. Studies have also noted that the type of contact is also significant. Thus intimately working together towards a common goal is more significant than mere social acquaintance (Hull, 1978). One of the difficulties with these studies is the numerous ways in which social interaction has been quantified.

A related variable is the ability of the sojourner to establish a balance of identification between their home culture and the host culture. Obtaining an optimal balance has been the subject of several studies (see Church, 1982). Overidentifying with the host values and reference groups can inhibit adjustment and alienate the sojourner from his or her home culture (upon return) while rejecting the new culture can result in defensiveness and superficial adjustment during the sojourn.

Another significant set of variables relate to the success that sojourners are having in relation to the purpose of their travel. For example, student sojourners that were more successful academically appeared to adjust better (Hull, 1978). In a similar fashion sojourners traveling for work reasons demonstrated a strong relationship between job satisfaction and the adjustment process (Byrnes, 1966).

Although many theorists and researchers have mentioned the importance of formal orientation programs, few systematic studies have been undertaken to look at their effectiveness (Church, 1982). One study by Selltize et al. (1963) found that a 6-week orientation program did have an effect on increased social interaction, but not on general adjustment. Weissmen and Furnham (1987) have postulated that it is not so much the

orientation, but the expectations of sojourners that play a decisive role in adjustment. Research provides moderate support for this idea.

In conclusion, two more situational variables are of note. The first relates to living arrangements. Studies of Peace Corps volunteers found higher satisfaction and morale in those volunteers that were in more rural and indigenous cultures (Guskin, 1966). The second relates to the health of the individual. Cleveland, Mangone, and Adams (1960) suggested that the anticipation or fear of illness appeared to have more of an effect on adjustment than the actual consequences of any illnesses.

Personality variables. Some of the first research conducted in this area focused on the hypothesis that sojourners with a closed mind or ethnocentric tendencies would have difficulty adjusting to the new culture. More recently theorists have suggested that people with a more multicultural (Adler, 1977) or mediating personality that includes cultural sensitivity and resiliency would be better able to adjust. Numerous other personal characteristics have also been described as important for sojourner adjustment. While these personality descriptions have been generally accepted in the literature, both Brein and David (1971) and Church (1987) conclude their reviews of the research by stating that these assumptions are based primarily on face validity rather than on empirical data.

To illustrate this point Church (1982) reviewed 24 studies of Peace Corps volunteers that included personality tests or variables. The majority of the studies provide little or no evidence for the prediction of field performance in relation to measures of personality or interest. Of the four moderately predictive studies a correlation was found between field outcomes and measures of authoritarianism, manifest

anxiety, sociability, and tolerance. These modest findings are limited and have not been replicated.

Generally speaking, no consistent predictions of sojourner adjustment in relation to personality variables have been demonstrated. Several researchers have pointed out the difficulties in attempting to do this as personal dispositions interact closely with cultural context creating unique transactional contexts for each individual's situation.

Outcomes

In addition to the physical symptoms and illnesses commonly associated with sojourns, a variety of positive outcomes have been espoused in the literature, ranging from increased appreciation of both the host and home culture to increased self-confidence and personal awareness.

In the area of personal outcomes, increased self-awareness appears to have most support. Peter Adler (1974) theorized the dynamics of this outcome with his conceptualization of the "transitional experience." He broadened his theory by explaining that one does not have to travel to a foreign country to experience culture shock. Transitional experiences involve crossing cultural lines, for example, what happens to "minority students entering college...married couples who divorce, and to those who change roles or occupations in midcareer" (1974, p. 13). Although culture shock is most often associated with negative consequences, Alder points out that it can be a powerful catalyst for learning, self-development, and personal growth.

Adler's model outlines how specific psychological and social dynamics occur when new cultures are encountered and that these dynamics are, in large part, a function of one's perceptions of similarities and differences. The model of the transitional experience implies that "a successful cross-cultural experience should result in the movement of personality and identity to new consciousness of values, attitudes, and understandings" (p.15).

To use this model it is important to understand the assumptions and premises that Adler's framework is based upon.

1. People live within discontinuous, overlapping fragments of experience such as areas of politics, education, and social life. These spheres of activity are partially separate views of reality. Simultaneously, however, there are tendencies toward integration, gestalt, and holism. As a person attempts to comprehend both the universe and him or herself, these two tendencies come into interplay. In situations of psychological, social, or cultural tension, each person is forced into redefinition of some level of his or her existence.
2. A pattern of perceptions which is accepted and expected by an identity group is called a culture. The patterns of perception which an individual experiences or reflects at any given time are, in large part, determined by the individual's outlook, orientation, and world view. Culture, in addition to being a perceptual frame of reference, is an environment of experience.

Every person experiences the world through his or her own culturally influenced values, assumptions, and beliefs.

3. Most individuals are relatively unaware of their own values, beliefs, and attitudes. Transitional experiences in which the individual moves from one environment or experience into another, tend to bring cultural predispositions into perception and conflict.
4. Psychological movements into new dimensions of perception and new environments of experience tend to produce forms of personality disintegration. This disintegration is the basis for the clarification of personality as values, attitudes, and understandings are reoriented from a different perspective.

Adler summarized the experience as “a movement from a state of low self- and cultural awareness to a state of high self and cultural awareness.”

Adler’s conceptualization fits David’s (1971) hypothesis that the largest increases in self-awareness will occur for sojourners that visit the most contrasting cultures. In such situations the culture shock appears to be so unexpected that it encourages self-questioning.

In reviewing the research on positive outcomes, Church (1982) found that personal outcomes such as self-awareness and increased self-confidence appeared to be more substantiated. The hypothesis that sojourn experiences would produce liberalizing effects on attitudes of the traveler, however, has not received much support.

Additionally, it appears that primary cultural values related to family, religious, and

political beliefs remain the same after the experience--although they may be slightly moderated. Modest support also exists for increased international interests, a more global view of the world, and the ability to see things from multiple perspectives has also been reported. For example, Bochner, Lin, and McLeod (1979) found that the sojourn experiences lead to increased participation in global issues and international activities.

In summary, personal growth in terms of self-awareness and reliance appear to be more consistent positive outcomes than changes in value laden ideologies and beliefs (see Church, 1982).

Cross-cultural Literature Summary

Culture shock and sojourn experiences have been investigated for almost four decades by researchers in various disciplines including sociology, psychology, and anthropology. It appears to have been quite a hot topic during the 1960s and 1970s. The past two decades however have seen a decline in publishing theory and research

Despite the extent of this literature, most research is inconclusive. For example, the descriptive frameworks are rather simplistic and lack specific indicators of what constitutes a stage and how movement between phases could be identified. Research has demonstrated that variables like social interaction, cultural differences, and cross-cultural balance are helpful with sojourn adjustment, but they have not been systematically linked to any larger theory.

One reason for the lack of empirical support of the conceptual frameworks lies in the methodological difficulties of cross-cultural research. The complexity of several

different cultures makes it extremely difficult to have baseline data or normal control groups. For example, operationalizing terms systematically across cultures often results in varied and ambiguous meanings.

In spite of these difficulties, concepts from the cross-cultural literature are particularly helpful for understanding the volunteer experience because of the parallels that can be drawn between volunteer experience and traveling in a foreign setting. When students volunteer they are exposed to different cultural norms and values. Like sojourners, they also encounter foreign settings, and must “make sense” of the different customs. In fact, students often used cultural terms to describe the shock and subsequent processes of adjustment of these activities. Finally, the literature is helpful in conceptualizing a cross-cultural exposure. Such experiences provide provocative situations for development as students are challenged to contrast their perspectives, attitudes, and predispositions against the host culture. New and contrasting experiences provide a rich environment for growth and development.

Student Development Literature

Theories about how students learn and grow have come to be known as student developmental literature. This literature has concepts that help explain some of the outcomes reported by students in this study. For example, students said that their service activities helped them to look at themselves and others in a different fashion. Developmental literature explains the processes involved in this type of growth.

To introduce the field I will give some historical background and will review some of the major concepts of this field--such as what is meant by development, and the conditions considered necessary for development to occur. After this introduction, I will present a few theories that specifically describe the development of students during college years. In closing, I will briefly critique the literature and discuss the use of this information in relation to this study.

The meaning of the term student development has grown with the field of student affairs. Initial concepts of student development were based on Christian values, the philosophy of *en loco parentis* and the development of moral character through adherence to strict rules (Rudolph, 1962). During the last century, the field of student affairs has also turned to psychology to inform the practice of student development.

One psychologist that was influential in this field was Erik Erikson who focused on adolescent development. Erikson (1950, 1968) theorized on the personality development of youth and introduced the term "identity crisis" that is often quoted (and frequently misunderstood). Erikson described the development of personality in a social context. He explained that establishing one's identity was especially critical during the college years, during which youth must redefine themselves. This period of development can be a time of emotional turmoil and disorientation.

Student development literature was also influenced by the child psychologist Jean Piaget (Kitchner, 1986). He noted that the mental structures of children gradually become more complex through the process of problem solving and analysis. In describing these mental structures he developed a theory that included a number of stages

describing the mental structures of children at various ages in their growth. In transitioning from one stage to another he noted a period of disequilibrium in which the current mental structures failed to be useful towards problem solving activities. In this period children experience confusion and discomfort as they attempt to restore equilibrium by developing more complex mental processes that can accommodate the activity.

Student development is a field of theories describing the developmental processes of college students. This development can be generally understood in terms of increasing complexity in individuals. Development represents redefining the self in more complex and distinct ways (Sanford, 1962). Two conditions must exist for development to occur: a willingness for development to occur and the stimuli or provocation to challenge the individual (McEwen, 1996). This suggests that a delicate balance of challenge and support must exist in order for development to occur. If too much challenge is presented, the individual may retreat. If too much support is provided, however, growth is impeded as the individual stagnates. Thus, practitioners in the field of Student Affairs are concerned with fostering campus environment with the appropriate amounts of supports and challenges.

Numerous theories regarding the moral, social, cognitive, career, and psychosocial development of adolescents and adults have been proposed. In this review I will only cover a few major theories that relate to student volunteer activities in the areas of intellectual development, moral development and student growth in community service (Delve, Mintz, & Stewart, 1990).

Intellectual Development

One of the first student-based development theories was proposed by William Perry (1970). His model of student development was based on extensive interviews that he and his associates conducted with students at Harvard and Radcliffe during the late 1950s. Aroused by the patterns they were finding, Perry and his staff determined to radically expand the study to increase its descriptive procedures and validity. In the 1960s they conducted hundreds of additional sets of 4-year interviews to refine the conceptual framework.

From this data Perry and his associates found an evolving structure in the way that students made sense of the world, their origins of knowledge, and their self-understanding. Students were progressing through a series of stages involving shifts in their patterns of thought from concrete simple ways of viewing the world towards more complex understandings. Perry summarized these stages into a scheme of nine positions. For the sake of explanation and summary these nine positions are collapsed into four general categories:

Dualism Students in this category see things in black and white, bad versus good, right versus wrong. Knowledge is absolute. Authority figures such as teachers and parents are the source on information. Answers are to be memorized by hard work. Knowledge is quantitative.

Multiplicity Students realize that authority figures may not have all the answers (although they do exist somewhere). Diversity of opinion can exist and the student becomes comfortable with multiple perspectives--"everyone has a right to his own opinion; none can be called wrong."

Relativism Students perceive that knowledge is relative, qualitative, and dependent on context. A diversity of opinions, values, and judgments can exist. They are derived from various sources of logic and evidence. Some authorities'

opinions are better than others. Knowledge is more or less useful as it is seen within its context. The student sees a need to make commitments but does not make many.

Commitment Despite the awareness of relativism (described above) students make an affirmation, commitment or choice related to self (career, lifestyle, religion). Personal identity is developed as the student experiences the implications of their commitments. (Perry, 1970 & 1981)

The sequence of these patterns has been described as a developmental pattern (in a biological sense) in that it consists of an orderly progression from one level of complexity to another. "More complex forms are created by the differentiation and reintegration of the earlier simple forms" (Perry, 1970, p. 44). In other terms, students change the ways in which they think about the world, moving from basing their knowledge on what others tell them to constructing knowledge for themselves from a variety of sources. The model also accommodates for regression and pauses in development with three additional processes described as temporizing, escape, and retreat.

Extensive research has been conducted to verify Perry's findings using a variety of techniques (Magolda, 1992). King and Kitchener (1994) have proposed a similar model to Perry's that affirms that the mark of mature rationality is a return to a new, often more discriminating, form of subjectivism.

One criticism of Perry's study was its lack of diversity. Few women were included and the students were from elite colleges. Belenky et al. (1986) and Magolda (1992) have both proposed more gender specific theories of development. While there are significant differences between Perry's and Belenky's theories, their epistemological structures are quite similar. These feminist theorists point out however, that women tend

to view knowledge in a more integrated, connected, and collaborative fashion. Perry's theory, and the theories that have extended it, are helpful in explaining fundamental cognitive changes that can be provoked by community service.

Moral Development

Moral development relates to the processes and structures of moral reasoning. It is closely related to cognitive development because it also concerns mental structures. One of the first major theories on moral development was advanced by Lawrence Kohlberg (1972).

Kohlberg's model was developed from interviews using hypothetical situations. In his research he frequently used the "Heinz Drug Dilemma" in which participants were asked to discuss what someone should do if they were faced with a situation in which a loved one needed an inordinately expensive drug. With this scenario, moral reasoning could be examined in relation to issues of life, property, and individual rights.

The model outlines three levels of moral development; the preconventional, the conventional, and the postconventional. Each of these levels is more complex and abstract with its reasoning than the previous level

1. **Preconventional Level:** The motivation to obey rules is to avoid punishment. Morally correct behavior is what satisfies one's needs; consequently much effort is spent in manipulating others.

2. **Conventional Level:** The moral imperative at this level concerns what will maintain the expectations of others. Ideas about general law and order are important to maintain order in a social group.

3. **Postconventional Level:** Reasoning for law and order is based on the critically examined standards that have been agreed upon by the whole society. Respect for the dignity of individuals is paramount.

With this model it is not the particular moral action that is being judged, but the reasoning behind the moral decision.

Carol Gilligan (1982) criticized the model because it was developed from a male perspective. She noted that male moral development is more rationalistic and individualistic, while female moral development is more embedded in relationships. She proposed an alternative model that also includes three levels, but based on different rationale.

Robert Kegan (1982, 1994) has proposed a broader model that appears to clarify some of the issues that divide Gilligan (female yearning towards inclusion and connectedness) and Kohlberg (male preference towards autonomy and independence). Kegan's theory of development is based on how individuals make meaning of what is "self" and what is "others." In other words, the theory describes the process of differentiating self from other and then reintegrating this in a new and broader fashion.

Kegan posited six cognitive structural stages called temporary truces, each an equilibrium that people establish for a time to define the boundary between the

self/subject and the other/object. These stages are defined in the way that people settle the issue of what is me and what is other.

For example, Kegan's third stage, interpersonalism, is a stage common for many college students. In this stage, individuals are embedded in their relationships and have difficulty defining themselves outside of their relationships with others. They are, in Kegan's terms, embedded in mutuality with their peer group. They cannot be without this relationship. Hence, many college students determine who they are in relation to their peer group. Therefore if caught with a damaged property situation in a residence hall, the self would rather help pay the damages than risk disapproval of the group by reporting the person actually responsible.

At stage four, institutionalism, individuals are able to distinguish their relationships (as opposed to being embodied in them). The self becomes more autonomous as it becomes more embedded in an independent philosophy (or ideology) rather than a relationship.

Kegan's developmental model is based upon the complexity of the perspective that an individual uses. He describes the difficulty and mental struggle associated with leaving one's previous perspective in favor of a more complex and differentiated view.

Development through Community Service

In considering the involvement of students in community service, Cecilia Delve, Suzanne Mintz, and Greig Stewart (1990) developed a theoretical framework to describe the developmental process of students as they engage in service-learning activities. The

model is based on their experience as practitioners and on the intellectual and moral development theories of Perry, Kohlberg, and Gilligan. The theory describes a change in social responsibility from sporadic involvement to internalization of social responsibility through five phases.

1. **Exploration:** In this phase students are eager to get involved in community service, but have not focused commitment to a campus group or community agency.

2. **Clarification:** During this time students begin to clarify their values regarding service work. Motivation may be personal or social.

3. **Realization:** In this phase students often experience a change in orientation in which they learn something important about themselves and become committed to a particular population or issue.

4. **Activation:** As part of this stage, students begin to grasp a larger, more complex understanding of social issues. They begin to identify with the population they serve and to become advocates.

5. **Internalization:** In this final phase, students have integrated their service experience into their lives, often to the point of making changes in personal and career goals. Students may demonstrate their commitment to their new values through all aspects of their lifestyle and communication. (Olney & Grande, 1995, pp. 43-53)

In promoting development of students along these phases, Delve, Mintz, and Steward also categorized four key variables of the volunteer experience. The first variable, intervention, has two classifications. One refers to whether the service is performed individually or as a member of group. The other refers to the relationship of

the volunteer to the client population, whether it be indirect or face to face. The second variable, commitment, describes the frequency and duration. The third variable, behavior, refers to the motivations of students for service and the outcomes that they describe upon completion of the service activity. The fourth variable, balance, refers to the equilibrium maintained between challenges and supports for students. Although helpful in categorizing important aspects of the volunteer experience, the model lacks validity because the theorists do not describe the data that the model is based upon. Furthermore the model has only received modest empirical validation through one small study (Olney & Grande, 1995).

Despite these flaws, the general philosophies of developmental theory can be very helpful to the practice of community service. Delve et al. provide practitioners concrete examples of developmental interventions that provide appropriate support and challenges to foster the growth of students as they volunteer.

Developmental Literature Summary

Developmental literature conceptualizes the growth of students and has been used to inform the field of student affairs. Although only a few theories of development could be covered in this review, key concepts from the literature were introduced. In order for growth to occur, these theories suggest that students must first be challenged. Students are more likely to successfully adapt and grow from these provocations if they are provided with appropriate support.

As growth occurs it can be measured. This evolutionary approach to development assumes that growth proceeds in sequential fashion as levels of complexity or capacity are expanded within individuals over time. Like the previously reviewed literatures of socialization and cross-cultural adjustment, it employs the concept of stages to describe these changes. One difference with this literature, however, is that theories in the field generally have stages that are better defined and can be reasonably measured.

Concepts from developmental literature are particularly helpful in understanding what aspects of the volunteer experience may encourage growth. They help explain why the challenge of volunteering in a new cultural setting can be such a powerful environment for both learning and development.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the four major literatures. Each of these larger frameworks provides a unique perspective to inform the data of this study. In conceptualizing the volunteer experience I have built on knowledge in each of these fields to better interpret these students' volunteer experience.

Literature on community service has a strong philosophical background and history. These underpinnings have driven much of the current practice on college campuses and provide a helpful context for understanding student volunteer programs. Research on student volunteers is meager, but growing. Studies have investigated the motivation, retention, and outcomes of volunteers. Conclusive findings about student

volunteers, however, have been limited by methodological difficulties. Additionally, not much is known about the student volunteer experience itself.

Socialization brings insight to the volunteer experience in that it describes the integration of newcomers into a new social system. The field identifies and describes processes such as anticipation, adjustment, and acceptance. The framework ultimately describes the outcome of assimilation as it is concerned with the effect of the social system upon the individual. Students in this study, however, were only temporary visitors.

Cross-cultural literature is related to socialization in that it describes similar processes of adjustment--but for travelers. This framework focuses on the confusion and anxiety experienced by newcomers as they try to interpret a new cultural scene. A helpful concept from this literature is the relationship between cultural distance (the disparity between the native and host culture) and culture shock. The cross-cultural framework differs from socialization in that it concerns itself with learning to correctly interpret a different social system rather than becoming accepted as a member.

Finally, theories relating to student development help conceptualize how the student volunteer experiences provide a rich environment for growth. These theories explain how new and discontinuous experiences challenge students to come up with innovative and more complex understandings. Appropriate support can encourage the process of growth and suggest interventions that are helpful in balancing challenges and supports.

Practitioners in college student affairs have traditionally used concepts from experiential learning and student development to inform student volunteer programs on

campus. Data from this study suggest concepts from socialization and cross-cultural literatures that are also essential to understanding the volunteer experience.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the central findings of this investigation. In reviewing the interviews I found several common themes that students discussed. Students wanted to “make a difference” through their volunteer work. They were “caught off guard” as they encountered different people with contrasting cultural norms. They described their efforts to “make sense” of the new environment and their efforts to “fit in.” They also appraised whether their volunteer efforts were “worth it.” In spite of their involvement in a variety of community service projects, students were describing similar challenges and activities.

In reviewing these patterns I wondered how they fit together. What was their relationship? How could one interpret them? What did they mean? The purpose of this study was to conceptualize the student volunteer experience with a model that could generally describe what was happening to students.

Through my analysis I have come to understand the volunteer experience better using the interpretive metaphor of a sojourn. This chapter begins by introducing this metaphor. This sojourn serves as a framework to structure the data in a meaningful way. The metaphor is far from being perfect, but it does provide “a handle” to better grasp the volunteer experience. I use it as a tool to organize the common aspects of students’ volunteer experiences. Without this structure “it can be difficult to see the forest through

the trees.” Such abstraction helps identify the major landmarks of the terrain. In this fashion one can get their bearings, so to speak, before exploring the more detailed aspects of the experience.

A sojourn implies a journey to a distant land. Generally speaking, a sojourn is defined as a temporary stay in a new place--which is distinguished from permanent residence on one hand (migration), and insignificant visit on the other hand (tourism). People classified as sojourners typically reside in a host culture for an extended period of time and include groups such as diplomats, missionaries, students, and voluntary workers. After this excursion, the sojourner returns to their native country. The concepts of traveling to foreign setting, residing in the culture, and returning home are diagramed in Figure 3.

Student’s volunteer experiences were similar to sojourns. They traveled to foreign settings for a period of time and then returned home. In these places they meet people with different socioeconomic levels, educational backgrounds, political affiliations, and personal values. Like sojourners, they experienced a form of “culture shock” as they tried to make sense of these new environments.

In justifying the use of the sojourn to frame the volunteer experience, I refer to the comments of Peter Adler who explains that “one need not sojourn outside one’s own country to experience culture shock or undergo a cross-cultural experience” (1975, p.13). This was illustrated with Roger. This student volunteered with the Refugee Resettlement Program and was coincidentally assigned to work with two young adults (the same age)

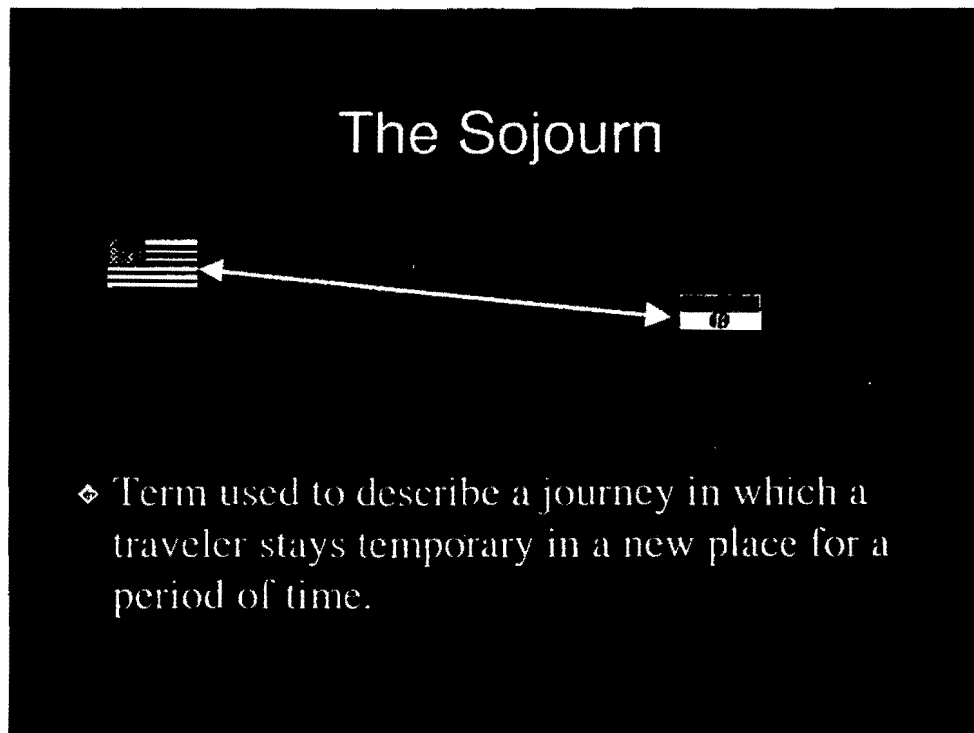


Figure 3. The Sojourn Model

who lived directly across the street. Despite the proximity to his apartment, Roger was surprised to find the people that he assisted to be quite different from himself.

It was kind of different I guess. It is what some people would refer to as kind of like a culture shock [in] a way because they were just so culturally different. And it was very different for me. It was something that I hadn't expected!

With many of the same processes at work, the metaphor of the sojourn serves as a useful framework to conceptualize the volunteer experience. Students had expectations before they departed. When they arrived they were shocked (as their assumptions differed from what prevailed at the volunteer site). Students tried to make sense of the new cultural environment, figure out their role, and how they fit in.

The cross-cultural nature of the activity certainly made it comparable to sojourning in a distant land and experiencing a minor form of culture shock. Furthermore, student descriptions relating to outcomes of the experience such as a "broadened perspective" and a "matured sense of identity" also corresponded to the experience of sojourners.

Students also used cultural terms to interpret their experience. For example, Hannah explained:

Usually with volunteerism you're working with people who aren't your own. You know...people not of the norm. I think that you do run across a lot of projects that take you into different cultures. [For example] working with elderly. There are so many different things that pull you out of your comfort zone.

To present the findings of this study, I have organized the common themes students discuss within the framework of a sojourn. Rather than visiting to a foreign

county for a period of time the sojourn refers to the change in locale as students leave campus to volunteer in unfamiliar environments in the community. Figure 4 diagrams a conceptual framework of the volunteer experience that is structured around the interpretive metaphor of the sojourn.

The conceptual framework divides aspects of the experience into various components that are represented by boxes. In keeping with the metaphor of a sojourn, the conceptual framework designates the native setting (on the left side) and the site of the service (on the right). A dotted line between the two sides designates the change in locale. The anticipatory activities and final outcomes occurred in the native setting. The components of shock and settling in took place at the service site.

Before starting to volunteer students showed an interest in a particular project, developed expectations, and received some form of orientation. I have grouped these activities that occurred before volunteering under the title of anticipation.

Upon encountering different people and new cultural norms at the volunteer site students experienced what I have labeled shock. During this time students were temporarily “out of balance” as they figured out new social cues and contrasted their values and assumptions against those in the new social system.

The next group of themes I placed under the component called “setting in.” With these activities, students adjusted to the environment, figured out the norms, and defined their roles. They also looked for signs of acceptance and assessed whether they were reaching their expectations.

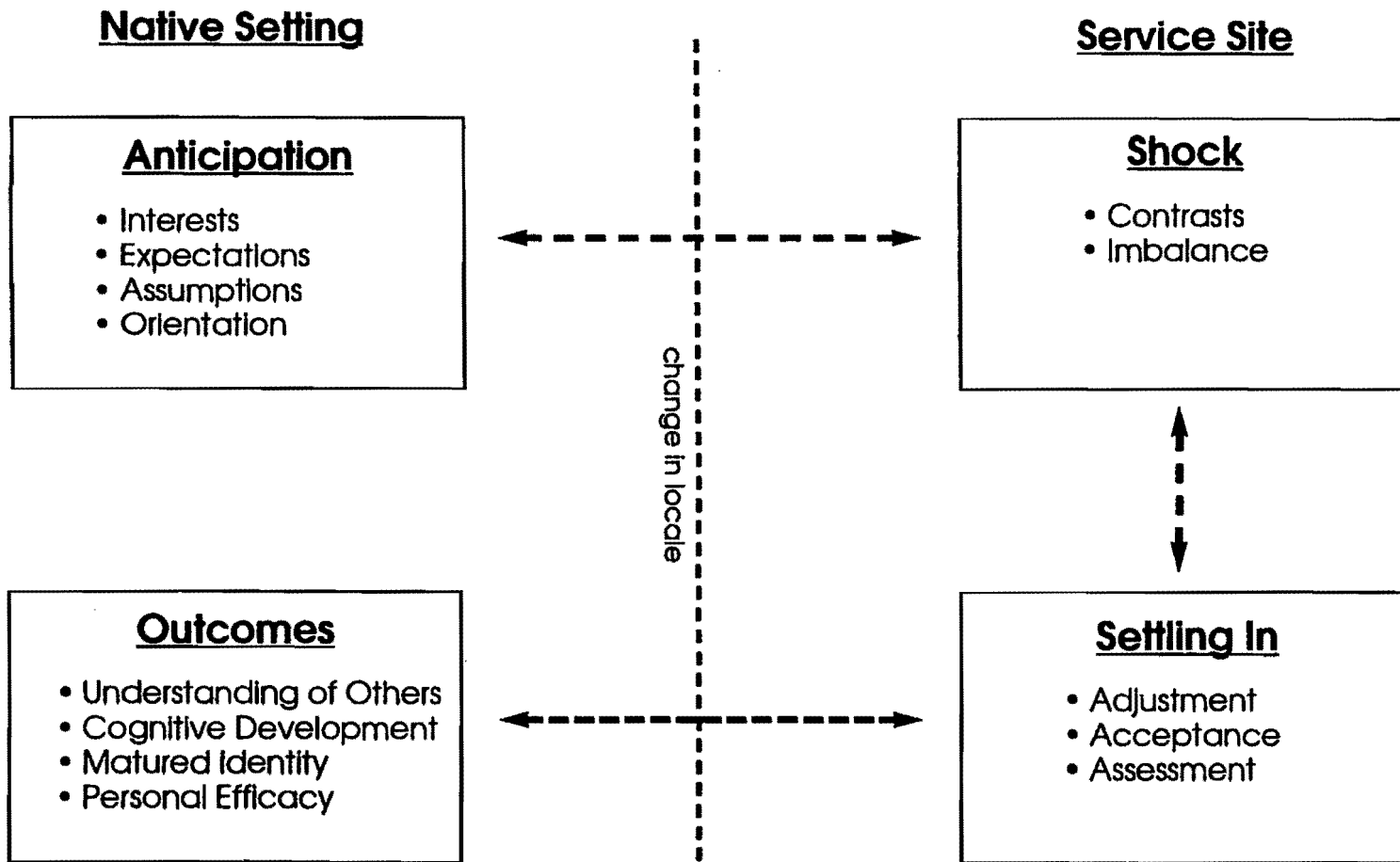


Figure 4. Change in Locale

Students also gained something from the experience. The final component of the service sojourn describes outcomes I identified as students reflected on their volunteer experience.

The four components of the framework do not designate specific stages. Rather, the intent is to highlight general aspects of the journey that occur in a somewhat chronological order. A common pathway if you will. The model can be interpreted in two different ways. The first, and most literal approach, would imply that students experienced aspects of these components every time they volunteer. The second, and more figurative interpretation, suggests looking at the entire volunteer experience of the student as a singular sojourn in service. This latter, and more encompassing interpretation, is the basis for framing the semester-long volunteer experience of students in this investigation.

The following sections, Anticipation, Shock, Settling In, and Outcomes, elaborate more specifically on these components of the volunteer experience. In each of these sections I present the evidence for developing this component of the framework.

Anticipation

Before students started volunteering some significant events occurred in relation to their experience. Past experiences and student interests motivated students to volunteer. Students formed expectations about their volunteer project and what they could accomplish. Expectations and assumptions were further modified as students received additional information from the Bennion Center and orientation meetings. This

section describes these anticipatory activities of the student volunteer experience. I have categorized these aspects into four areas: interests, expectations, assumptions, and orientations.

Interests

Why did students volunteer? Obviously, they received no financial rewards for their efforts. Was it pure altruism? Or, did students hope to gain something from the experience? My data suggest that both explanations have support. Students in this study volunteered for a variety of reasons. This section analyzes students' comments about their volunteer interests while recognizing the methodological difficulties inherent in understanding people's motivation.

I am reluctant to use the term motivation. This implies that I was able to get inside the head of the students and understand their reasoning. I wasn't able to get inside their heads and I'm not sure they spent too much time in self-analysis either. I could not judge whether students responded truthfully to questions about their "reasons" for service. Society praises altruism and condemns participating in charitable activities for the pursuit of "selfish" goals such as social position, diversion, career experience, and socializing. Because of these methodological issues I am cautious in describing findings in this area.

The tentativeness of my findings, however, does not diminish the importance of the question about students' motivation. How can one begin to understand their experience without addressing the question of why they volunteered?

In trying to understand the reasons why students volunteered I was careful not to directly ask students about their motivation. I was concerned that the students might give socially accepted "reasons" for their service rather than expressing their personal inclinations. So instead of asking them about their motivation, I merely asked how they came about volunteering (referring to their current project at the Bennion Center).

This broader question presented a response that I was not expecting. Students reported they were involved in service because of past experiences that were positive.

Jackie's response was typical.

I was involved in service even when I was in high school, just, it was an important thing perhaps through my family, we were just encouraged to do service. And when I came to the university, I found out that they had a service organization and so I got involved just a little bit with the volunteer quorum. I did that over a year...and this year I wanted to be more involved so I decided to do a program that I could give service every week.

This connection between previous and present service became apparent after only a couple of interviews. I noted in my journal

The second interview also had a significant amount of previous volunteer experience. It will be interesting to check out if this is true with all volunteers. It appears...that people just don't "start" volunteering in college. They have a background or history. (Sept 21, 1998)

In response to this question about how they came to their current involvement at the Bennion Center all of the informants (except one) mentioned involvement in previous service activities. I classified the different categories of past types of service that emerged.

The largest area of previous involvement was through previous school activities (mentioned by 12 students). Several informants described their involvement with particular clubs and honor societies in high school. This service attitude appeared to continue into college. Sally explained. "When I got to college I was not [very busy] so when I walked past the rest home...I asked them if they needed any volunteers."

Church service was another area of previous involvement (mentioned by six students). These students had participated in youth service activities or scouting activities sponsored by their church. A couple of students had served LDS missions--volunteering two years to proselyte for their church. Roger commented "I just got back from a mission...you know, in that it's a lot of service involvement and so I thought that's something I miss doing.

Four students linked their past service experiences to family activities. For example, Daniel commented on the impressions he had while assisting his father.

[During] my teen-age years, my father and I did a lot of service together. It was actually a really good memory that I have with my father. Once we did a Thanksgiving--we went to an Indian Walk-In-Center. There is one in Salt Lake. It's actually one of my really good memories that I have with my father. Pretty distinct. I remember it very well actually. (1: 10-17)

Daniel refers to this experience as a "good memory." Whether involving family members, church activities or school clubs, almost all informants described their previous experiences in a positive manner--it was "fun," "meaningful," "enjoyable," etc. This past experience appears to have led students towards volunteering again.

One exception to the theme of positive past service experience was David. He did not mention any past service experience as he described the entry into his project. I

probed him further asking about previous volunteer activities. He replied he had none except some mandatory service required by his father when he was a young kid. "When I lived in Montana my dad would volunteer me to go clean out ditches on the side of the road and I didn't like it...I couldn't get anything out of it...it wasn't even near where I lived so it wasn't anything." David saw nothing enjoyable or worthwhile in this activity.

These data suggest that previous experience played a significant role in volunteers' motivations to serve again. As Alyce explained, "I have volunteered a lot in the past and this experience has given me the motivation to volunteer again on my own." Students who had positive associations with past service experiences wanted to renew the feeling.

To learn more about the students' motivation I asked them what specifically interested them in their current project. In response to this question I received a variety of similar answers. I have categorized these into three categories: personal edification, social inclusion, and value expressive.

The most commonly cited set of reasons to volunteer related to personal edification. Ninety-three percent of the students gave reasons for their volunteering that related to the personal benefits of the service. Several students explained how this gave them a chance to practice particular skills related to their major or career. Sally, for example, wanted to develop her people and caring skills in preparation for a nursing career. Several students thought the volunteer work could open doors for future employment opportunities. David explained "it sure looks good on a resume."

Some students also felt like the experience would give them a chance to explore a particular field without making a large commitment. "I think that's why I like volunteer work," explained Hannah "It lets you get out and explore things that you wouldn't normally do." Students were curious about different fields and volunteering permitted them to get an inside look. Students also felt that the experience would generally improve their persona. "There are certain things that you can do in your life that make you more effective that 'sharpen your saw' so to speak," said Daniel. A couple of other students said that service fulfilled a need to feel useful and needed. "It would be nice to know that I am useful as I help out with others." Students felt that service would help them develop skills, explore new vistas, and feel useful.

Social inclusion "reasons" were mentioned by 68% of the students in this study. The social aspects of the experience also involved personal benefits. As Alyce commented, "It adds the social dimension to my life--an interaction with people that's really important." Students wanted to develop relationships--both with fellow students and the clients they served. A couple of students explained that they started volunteering because they were invited by friends. Others thought they would meet "good" people (that also volunteered) through the experience. Service was considered a type of leisure or recreation in that it was considered enjoyable. As Vicki stated, "I wanted to like, go out and have fun and do stuff [rather than] watching TV." Students wanted to be in something fun--to be part of the action. Service was one way to get involved.

The last category I have called value expressive. Thirty-eight percent of the students commented that service gave them the opportunity to act on their altruistic

ideals. "It lets you share your talents or feel like you can help someone in a certain way," explained Susan. A few students even felt obligated to serve society. Daniel commented, "It relates to my idea of society [where] everyone would help each other...I am in the situation right now where maybe I have something to give." Other students explained that service was just part of their life--something that they just did. Vicki captured this sentiment as she explained:

I was talking to someone the other day and I was telling them about stuff I did in high school and they were like "Wow, I guess you did a whole lot of community service." That struck me as weird because I never thought that what I did was doing service. I just thought it was having fun...I never thought of that as community service in my entire life...I thought it was just going out and having fun and doing what you think should be done.

In summary, students reported volunteering for a number of reasons. An important finding was the connection that students made between their past and current involvement. Students cited past service as a major reason for their service involvement in college. Another significant finding related to the "reasons" students gave for their service. The majority of these explanations related to the personal benefits of service rather than acting upon altruistic ideals. Students felt that service would give them the chance to practice skills, meet new people, explore career opportunities and be part of a group.

Expectations

In addition to the interests described above, students hoped to accomplish something through their volunteer efforts. "I want to feel like I made a difference somehow or [with] something...to help people...to be able to contribute to that program,"

explained one student. All of the students wanted to make some type of impact. These hopes, identified about their service, I have called expectations.

Expectations came in two forms depending on their focus. The first type focused on what the volunteer hoped to accomplish in regards to his or her self. The second type of expectations focused on the service itself--what the student hoped to achieve at the site where they volunteered.

With expectations regarding the self, students felt like they could somehow benefit from their service that they rendered. Sally explained this general notion:

I think that [service] gives a good opportunity for learning for the long term--learning for both sides. It also gives hands on experience. I think it helps everyone. It seems like it helps the volunteer and then it helps whomever the volunteer is serving. It's a win-win situation.

Many of the students felt like Sally in that they would learn something from the experience. As I pressed students in these initial interviews about what they thought they would learn, however, they gave nonspecific responses such as "it will help you be a better person" or "you will gain so much from the experience."

As I continued to probe about these responses about personal expectations I was able to piece together a somewhat better understanding. Students hoped that the experience would be enlightening or "eye opening." Hannah was the most explicit of all the students. In her first interview as she explained:

I think that's why you do volunteer work. It lets you get out and explore things that you wouldn't normally do...[like] working with older people or certain ethnicity or certain socioeconomic backgrounds. Because we get caught in our own little world and I think it's neat to get out.

Students appeared to be curious about the world. Volunteer work gave them the opportunity to meet people with different backgrounds. Five students wanted to do something "out of the ordinary." The exotic nature of the experience was appealing and students had notions about being able to grow from this exploration.

The other form of expectations related to what the volunteers desired to accomplish where they served. As Judy asserted, "I feel like I can make a difference somehow or [with] something." Students had high expectations of what they could accomplish through their volunteer work. To demonstrate the high level of these expectations I share the following quotations from five students who explained what they hoped to accomplish:

I'm really excited to see how the mentor is able to touch and kind of get involved in a kid's life because there is definitely a chance...I really hope to establish an equal relationship, a bond between both of them and a real relationship, trusting relationship so that the parent can confide in me.

I guess just seeing someone that's in need and being able to satisfy that need and help them out. To see how that helps their quality of life and improve, you know, and make them happier.

I think it was gaining a friendship. I like visiting with old people and they're just fun and um had a lot of good experiences before so I'm just excited to kind of get to know 'em and [learn] about their past.

I think it will be really neat to see kids faces light up after they accomplish something. It would be great to know I was able to help them accomplish their goals. To see them conquer their fears. It is the most amazing look when you can see kids when they are able to do things that they would like to reach.

I would love to go into these schools and see kids just wowed [by my presentation]! I think that would be such a cool feeling. That, you know after all these years of people wowing me I can wow them now...I just think if you can get people doing what they want to do--then you can gain

a total attitude about it and so I would just love to see these kids excited about science.

Students expressed a strong desire to significantly impact the clients they were serving.

These expectations appeared heroic in their nature because students viewed themselves as being capable of and responsible for correcting many of the problems in their community. For example, Vicki (quoted above) hoped to get kids excited about science because it was something important to her. Tammy, a mentor, wanted to expand her assigned child's mind beyond the "homeless shelter mentality." Alyce wanted to help her child learn to read.

In several of these examples the students hoped to serve as role models to children. By building a relationship and sharing useful skills they desired to help the child escape their current plight. As Jackie explained

I just want to make a difference in some child's life--maybe inspire them to want to learn or to do better. To have someone to look up to like me as a role model in that I [made] it through an elementary school and now I'm at a University. I'm happy with my life and you too can do this.

Before students volunteer, they have rather idealistic expectations about what they could accomplish. They are excited about the possibilities that they possess to make a difference. Novice volunteers were particularly naive about what they could do and literally believed recruitment slogans that promised to "save a child" or "end homelessness." Students also felt like they would also gain something personally from the experience. In regards to a child that she was tutoring, Sarah commented: "she will make a difference in my life by making me feel that I have made a difference in the life of

a child.” Students were curious about others many held the notion that the encounter would be enlightening.

Assumptions

Students were not consciously aware of all of their expectations before they started to serve. When they started to volunteer, however, more implicit expectations came to their awareness. I call these types of expectations assumptions. Students found that their assumptions did not always match their later experience.

Alyce explained how her project was different from what she anticipated.

In the mentoring project you team up with a kid. When I was reading about it initially and it said mentor, I was thinking it was more of a tutoring [program] because I had served as a tutor for high school kids at my work. They have an internship kind of thing. I was thinking it was more of that kind of thing and that you could help them. I was thinking that they were trying to learn. But this is more a Big Brothers/Big Sisters sort of thing. So that kind of surprised me.

In this example, Alyce based her assumption on previous service experiences. Her past experience as a tutor shaped her expectations about the mentoring project.

Eleven other students similarly mentioned implicit assumptions that they had since detected. Daniel thought he would be working more with the youth offenders in Peer Court than their parents. First graders were so much smaller than what Jackie had “pictured.” Stephanie, on the other hand, was expecting her service project to be “more structured.” Although the magnitude of the differences between student assumptions and reality varied, every student mentioned something that was different from what they had anticipated.

Before students started to volunteer, their assumptions shaped their subsequent experience. Previous service activities were significant because they were the backdrop (or basis) upon which students compared their experience with reality. Assumptions were different for each person because of their individually unique background.

Orientation

In preparation for their volunteer service most students received some form of orientation. In these sessions basic information about the volunteer program was generally transmitted. This section describes the variety of orientations that students received. It also describes what students found to be the most valuable aspect of these experiences and how this information reinforced or modified their expectations.

Students explained that orientation meetings typically introduced the purpose of the volunteer program, the physical location, the commitment involved, and the steps necessary to participate.

The extent of the orientation varied from program to program. Daniel, for example, was only referred by the Bennion Center to the Peer Court Program where he served. On the other hand, Vicki participated in several comprehensive orientation and training sessions .

Fourteen of the 16 students in this study received some form of orientation before they volunteered. The other two students were placed directly in their program without any formal explanation. One did not seem to mind the lack of preparatory information and commented how he learned to “roll with the punches.” The other student commented

that the lack of information made her uncomfortable. She felt that it would have been helpful to have someone to “reassure her,” “give some of the details,” and “explain it better.”

Orientations were given by a student leader from the Bennion Center or a staff members from the volunteer agency, or both. All of the volunteer programs in this study were directed by agencies that were separate from the Bennion Center. For example students volunteered at the homeless shelter, a school, or some other program sponsored by a nonprofit agency. These agencies formed a “partnership” with the Bennion Center. In this relationship the Bennion Center and the agency selected a student leader that helped recruit, orient, and retain student volunteers. The student leader also acted as a liaison between the volunteer agency and the Bennion Center.

The setting (or context) of the orientation meetings also varied from project to project. Eight students participated in group orientations that were more formal in their nature. The other six students, who had some form of orientation, received this information through a less formal one-on-one basis. Students commented that associations developed with fellow students were helpful to them as they tried to make sense of the new culture where they volunteered. Students were first introduced and became acquainted with fellow volunteers at these orientation sessions.

In listening to students describe the content of the information they received at orientation I developed two major categories. The first category related to general details or “housekeeping” items. For example, the location of volunteer site, the times that students would volunteer, and the official rules and regulations involved in participation

with that organization, and other specifics. The second category of information related to the particular social issue. For example, Roger found it particularly helpful to understand the circumstances of the refugees from war torn countries of Bosnia (that he was assisting). With this type of information students were given an explanation of how their efforts could help solve a problem in the community. This type of knowledge was particularly salient for students as they drew connections between their efforts and what could be done. Sally explained:

The purpose of it stood out to me...why we were volunteering. At Lowell Elementary a lot of students are there; their families are just above the poverty line--we're talking disadvantaged students that need one-on-one help and stuff like that. That kind of stuck out to me...it ignited the excitement of going out there and doing it.

As students understood the larger purpose behind the volunteer work they became excited as they imagined what their efforts could accomplish. Orientations varied in the way that they either reinforced or modified students' expectations. As the previous section described, students had a tendency to be idealistic and naïve with their expectations.

It appears that most orientations attempted to intervene in regards to students' inflated expectations. Several students explained how their orientation sessions attempted to prepare them for the reality of their volunteer program

Everything was covered in a very tactful and straightforward way. There were no dark spots. There was no gray. I was very impressed because I know that most of the time people omit some things that you might be reluctant about. They explained all of the hard things. They put them up front--put it on the table. "We just need you to understand this. If you can't understand then you can't do it." (Susan)

They talked about what the kids were like. They made them sound like they were going to be a handful. A lot of [children] have ADD, are at risk children and stuff. I was expecting them to be a lot worse than they really are. They're really not as bad as they made it sound. (David)

Bill explained that his orientation almost persuaded him not to volunteer. After completing a rather blunt orientation session, volunteers were asked if they still wanted to help. Bill felt like the meeting was designed to weed out volunteers and prepare those who really wanted to serve for the "grim realities" of the shelter. Overall, students felt that orientations attempted to prepare them.

On the other hand a couple of orientation sessions appeared to build up, rather than downplay, student expectations. "They really got you excited about what you could accomplish" commented Van. Alyce felt that the enthusiasm expressed at her orientation went too far. "[The presenter] was so excited that I thought that she was sugar-coating it."

Orientation sessions appeared to be an important part of the volunteer experience. These information-sharing meetings were conducted for most students in various forms and settings. Students recalled that the sessions not only gave them "specifics" about the program, but also elaborated on how their service connected to solving a social problem. These possibilities excited students as they imagined how their efforts could make a difference. The sessions also appeared to be a key time for intervention. It appears that most programs deliberately tried to explain the realities of the program in order to check student expectations although a few programs appeared to emphasize the benefits of participation

In summary, a number of anticipatory factors affected students' volunteer experience. Students served for a variety of reasons. Students came to the volunteer experience with history of previous service that affected their assumptions and expectations. Students reasoned that they could explore career possibilities, get valuable experience, meet new people, and have fun, all while growing from the experience and serving others. Students had a tendency to develop idealistic and unrealistic expectations as they contemplated the impact they could make in regards to a particular problem or issue. Thus orientation activities appeared to be an important time for intervention as student's expectations were reinforced or modified as they received additional information.

These key anticipatory activities of a volunteer parallel the experience of one who might sojourn. Logic suggests that one must have sufficient interest in order to justify embarking on the trip. In anticipation of the journey, the sojourner often gathers information. They also form expectations about what they might accomplish on the journey, suggesting some type of crusade. Many of the assumptions about the trip are based on past experiences and knowledge. Additionally, the sojourner may attempt to become oriented by visiting with people from the country or acquaintances that have previously visited that part of the world. Some tours embarking on extended visits to foreign countries sponsor orientation meetings to prepare the tourists for the customs and cultures of the land they are visiting. They attempt to modify sojourner's expectations so that the culture shock will be limited.

Volunteers passed through similar stages of anticipation. Like sojourners, students expected to accomplish something from their efforts. They made assumptions and developed expectations about the journey before they embarked.

Shock

Student assumptions were pivotal in the next component of the volunteer experience. As students volunteered they found that their assumptions did not always correlate with what they found. Additionally, the new setting was culturally unfamiliar and problematic. Students had difficulty interpreting what things meant and how they could go about getting things accomplished. Both of these factors contributed psychological reaction manifested in feelings of anxiety and awkwardness. Like sojourners traveling in a foreign land, students experienced minor symptoms of shock.

This reaction was precipitated by a change in locale. The dotted line in the conceptual framework of the service sojourn depicts this feature of the volunteer experience that was physically evidenced and publicly noticed. Students left campus to visit schools, people's homes, the homeless shelter, and other sites to render service.

Although students knew the location where they would volunteer in advance, the data suggest that other aspects of the experience were not so obvious. The accounts that follow describe the apprehension of two students' first visit to the schools where they tutored.

I was really scared about the neighborhood...it's in the Gateway District. As I was getting off of the bus the driver said to me "be careful where you walk in this neighborhood." That was a pretty weird introduction. And then as I was going over there people starting honking their car horns at

me. I don't know why, but they were just honking their car horns...that was pretty strange.

The first day the teacher had me just watch what was happening in the classroom. I was surprised how the teacher was always yelling to keep order to keep their attention. I wondered why they needed to be so loud. I guess they just needed to get the kids' attention. I wasn't expecting to see that. I sure didn't grow up in a school that was like that.

Apparently they were being kind of wild. Seems like there was a lot of violence. It was so different. For example, a few of the kids had to go to court the next day for some fight that they had been involved in. It seemed like they didn't have any desire to learn. They were just hanging out at school...To the kids being "street wise" is much more important than doing well in school...They see no connection of how a formal education could assist them.

As I drove to the elementary school, I felt nervous. I was unsure of my duties as a volunteer and didn't know what to expect of the school. I drove into the parking lot and parked by the playground where recess was going on. I could hear yelling and saw a pair of kids fighting while teachers were anxiously trying to break them up.

My first thought was "Oh no, what kind of school is this?" However, I found my way to the main office which was packed with kids awaiting the principal's attention, and the secretary was on the phone with a Spanish speaking mother trying to make her understand unexcused absences.

We walked through the auditorium to an individual room full of pillows, desks and books. I was shocked by the set up of the auditorium. It was divided off into several areas, one for music, some for offices and a couple of classrooms. The so-called "classrooms" didn't have a chalkboard or desks, simply chairs and a table for the teacher. I felt sorry for the teacher who was required to teach in a classroom equipped with nothing.

Both of these accounts described an affective reaction to the situation. They reported being "nervous" and "scared" about the new situation. Although the elementary school environment was not unfamiliar to them, the new neighborhood and cultural

setting created anxiety. These affective reactions were common in students as they described their first encounter with new situations and people where they volunteered. I call this affective component of the sojourn model "shock" because it parallels the culture shock experienced by travelers in a foreign country.

Every student that volunteered expressed some degree of discomfort as he or she entered the volunteer site. The degree of this reaction, however, appeared to vary with the perceived difference between the student's expectations and the reality of the situation. The larger the contrast, the larger the shock. Figure 5 illustrates this phenomena. The perceived difference between students' assumptions and what they found created an affective reaction that can be expressed as shock.

I actually went down there ready for the worst--and I kind of saw it and it took. But it still shocked me even though I was prepared for it. I wasn't ready for that.

Bill explains that in spite of the preparation he received at an orientation meeting, he still experienced some shock with his first visit to the homeless shelter. Not everything can be correctly anticipated.

In analyzing students' comments I noticed that students perceived differences and experienced shock in two different ways. I have called these contrast and imbalance. Contrast, the most immediate aspect of shock, relates to features that emerge as students notice differences between their assumptions and previous experience. The other aspect of shock deals with the socially constructed differences that students experienced upon encountering the setting. Students did not understand the social norms and found it

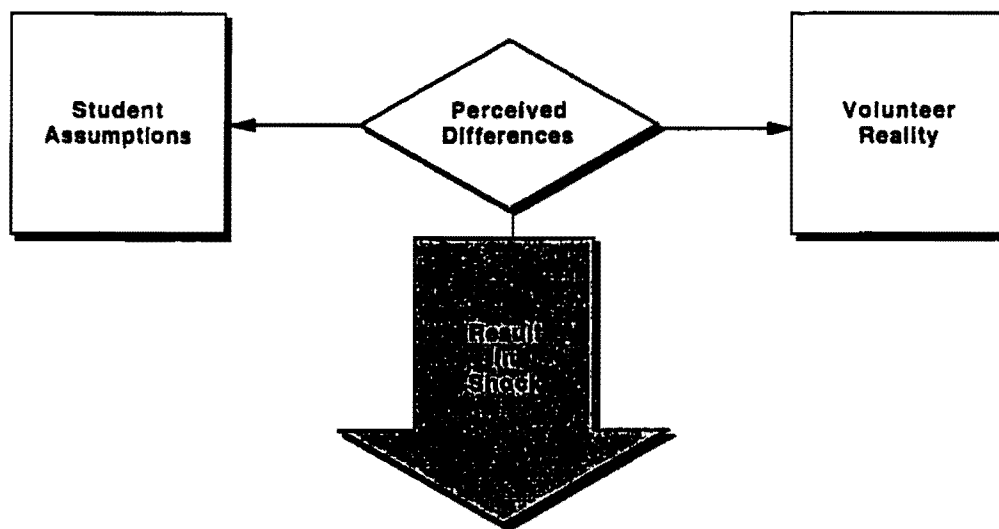


Figure 5. Model of Volunteer Shock

difficult to interpret what was happening and how to appropriately act. The following two sections describe these aspects in more detail.

Contrasts

As students surveyed the new setting where they volunteered they quickly pointed out distinctions that emerged. Certain things “stood out” as they contrasted their previous experience. Since each student’s background was unique, the features that emerged varied from student to student. In other words, the contrast was person specific rather than inherent to the experience of organizational entry.

For example, Alyce was dumbfounded that homeless people did not have phones. “The biggest revelation to me was that not everyone has a telephone. I just assumed that everyone has a basic line. I guess I just took that for granted.”

Student assumptions were the basis for these contrasts. Twelve of the students discussed these observations during the interviews. Bill, for example, talked about the white walls, tiled hallways, gated doors, and intercoms at the homeless shelter. He felt the shelter looked more like a hospital than a “home.” David felt his sixth grade experience was very different from the “rowdy” students to whom he taught art. Tammy was surprised by the lack of “normal” education her assigned child had received.

I found Samantha cannot read. She could not read anything. She’s seven years old and she can’t read—which just really shocked me.

As we started to do other activities with her it became extremely evident that in her life experiences she has never been to a zoo, or to an amusement park, or a museum....She couldn’t tell the difference between a tiger and a leopard. I don’t know if she’s ever seen a farm animal. It became extremely evident to me that this child hadn’t had life experiences

like normal children. I mean most people take their two-year old to the zoo and they can make all the animal sounds by the time they're three or four.

There are many experiences that she is lacking. While maybe her life is rich and full in other kinds of experiences, those [that are] normal, what I take for granted as the normal childhood experiences, [were] lacking. I was totally shocked and devastated.

These contrasts often brought students to awareness of the disparity between their socioeconomic or educational level in comparison to that of the people they were serving.

Tammy expressed her emotions in relation to this awareness.

One thing I have learned is that they have so little and I have so much. So it's really hard to balance. Should I deprive myself and my family because we have so much and they have so little or do I just go on continuing in my life. That's the thing that's been hard. You almost feel guilty when you sit down to a nice dinner....She's probably eating a cup of noodles. I do have more than what they have (pause) and that's what I really grapple with more than anything.

As I probed Tammy about how she dealt with this disparity she explained.

There are some things I can do. There are some things I can't do. This helps me to delineate those lines. These are boundaries. I didn't put people in these situations. I can try to help, but this is all I can do. This is my boundary. This is the line and I'll do what I can within my boundary. I really care about this little girl, but I can only do so much.

Students dealt with these issues in different ways. A few felt guilty, but most explained how this awareness made them more appreciative. "I realized that there are a lot of people that need health care that can't [afford] it." "I used to complain about not having a car," said another student. "This experience really put my feet back on the ground."

Each student had a unique background that evoked a distinct reaction. Whether a particular feature stood out or emerged depended on its relative importance to that particular volunteer.

Imbalance

The shock that students experienced went beyond noticing contrasts. Students also expressed an inability to make sense of the new volunteer setting. Their previous ways of interpreting an event did not appear to make sense. These situations created an imbalance in students' psyche that caused distress. Students reported feeling "at a loss" or "caught off guard" as they tried to figure out how to appropriately interpret and relate with people at the volunteer site.

Roger, for example, had a difficult time understanding the refugees that he was assisting.

It was just kind of different for me. Something that I hadn't expected because I'd never worked with people like that. I've never worked with Yugoslavians or Bosnians. [In fact,] I've never worked with any European group.

They were different. When I came in they had on their TV. The internet was hooked up to a Bosnian radio station. They had that music going and they would speak back and forth in their language. Although their apartment was clean and tidy, there was something...(pause). I just don't hold it against them. They just had different grooming habits.

Roger did not know how to interpret this situation. Because of the cultural differences he did not understand the meaning of his welcome. Did the loud background noises and grooming habits suggest he was welcome or not? These people had different customs and norms. Trying to make sense of these differences created some anxiety.

Thirteen of the students in this study reported some form of difficulty in making sense of their new volunteer environment. These challenges appeared to be of two types.

The first type related to not knowing what was expected and was mentioned by eight students. Sarah explained this first type of difficulty. She felt like she was “in the dark” when she was asked to supervise children. “I didn’t know what types of behavior were expected of the children left under my care.” Another student commented on her difficulty working with deaf children. She called the experience “frightening,” not because it was scary, but because she did not know at what level to approach the kids she was trying to help. She further explained that she didn’t want to appear patronizing to the kids and “speak down to them.” In these situations students were hoping that their actions would be interpreted correctly by others. Anxiety was created as students tried to “second guess” how their actions might be interpreted.

The second type of difficulty was when students did something considered “taboo” in the culture at the volunteer site. In the course of their service six students broke the norms and were reproved by “insiders.” For example, Bill did not know the “guidelines” for admitting children into the playroom where he volunteered. In his words, a mother, recognizing him as a “rookie,” talked him into admitting her children before the supervisor arrived. Upon discovering the error, the supervisor became upset and intervened.

She got really fanatical about it. It hurt me because [the kids] weren’t hurting her or anyone else by being there. They were playing. I mean the littlest girl was about two and the older boy was about six or seven...and he was on his best behavior. The girl really didn’t understand why [they were asked to leave] and the boy was just crying.

Bill had a difficult time understanding and making sense of these “norms” of the children’s playroom. He did not mean to cause such a problem. In this, and similar cases, students did not understand what was considered appropriate behavior and inadvertently did something that was incorrectly interpreted by people at the volunteer site. Students were shocked in these instances because they did not understand the signals of disapproval being given by others.

Imbalance was created when students either felt uncomfortable because they did not know what was expected or when they broke the “rules.” In both of these cases it created feelings of anxiety and students did not know how to correctly interpret the situation.

In conclusion, students experienced shock as they entered the unfamiliar environment of the volunteer site. Like a sojourner in a foreign country they experienced culture shock. Differences between students’ background and the volunteer became apparent as students contrasted their assumptions against what they found. Cultural differences also created an imbalance that caught students off guard. Students often did not know how to interpret the volunteer environment and had to figure out the “norms” of the culture. Students reacted to these differences with mild affective reactions of apprehension, distress, and anxiety.

Settling In

After experiencing the shock of volunteering in a new setting, students went through a series of adaptations that I have called “Settling In.” This was a period of time when students became more comfortable with the new culture, made sense of the environment, and worked on “fitting in.” Additionally students questioned the worth of their efforts. I have labeled the three major aspects of this volunteer component: adjustment, acceptance, and assessment.

Before discussing these aspects in more detail, a clearer understanding of the volunteer environment is needed. At the volunteer sites, several different social systems generally intermixed. For example the volunteers, agency staff, and clients each had a unique subculture. These groups tended to hang out together and had their own way of doing things. Collectively these groups formed a larger social system or culture that prevailed at the volunteer site (see Figure 6). The degree of influence exerted by each of these subcultures varied with the projects in this study. Students reported that in order to interpret the larger culture environment correctly they had to understand elements of these subcultures.

The first subculture related to fellow volunteers. Students first associated with other volunteers. As volunteers from the Bennion Center, these students formed an identifiable group of people. In this sense they were a group of peers. Orientation meetings were often held specifically for these students. A program director from the Bennion Center was usually considered this social group’s formal leader (although their responsibilities varied from acting merely as referral contact to directing details of the

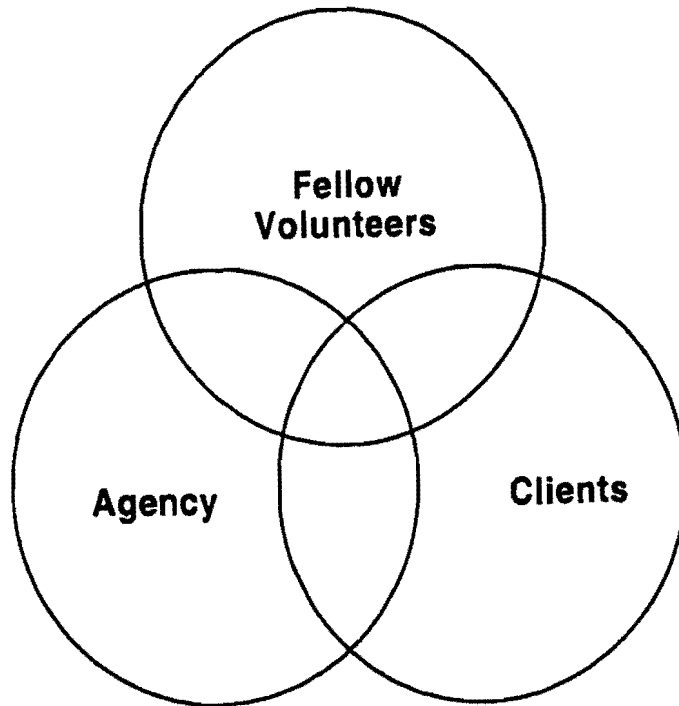


Figure 6. Major Subcultures in Student Volunteer Settings

volunteer program). The identification through the Bennion Center also encouraged association among fellow volunteers. Students formed carpools to travel to the volunteer site together or visited about common interests before and after serving.

The next subculture was based on the community service agency that sponsored the volunteer work. This was often a nonprofit organization. Agencies in this study included the Homeless Shelter, Headstart, Hansen Planetarium, Refugee Resettlement, Circle of Friends, Befriend the Elderly, public schools, etc. These organizations generally had a central office, or headquarters, with a paid staff that directed the service programs and administered the aid given by volunteers. The location of these headquarters (in relation to the site where the volunteer work was rendered) varied. In some cases they were both at the same physical locations (such in the schools and the homeless shelter) or they could be more distant (as with more dispersed programs such as Befriend the Elderly and Refugee Resettlement).

The third major subculture involved the world of the client that was being assisted. This was the culture of the populations being served. These clients had their own social system and primarily associated with their peers. For example, children in the schools played with each other, residents in the homeless shelter associated with each other, and the senior citizens in the community shared a common era. Each of these groups had a distinctive subculture. Students who came to serve them were considered outsiders who were temporarily visiting their world.

The extent of each student's involvement with each of these subcultures varied among service projects. These patterns are described in more detail in the following sections that detail the various aspects of settling in.

Adjustment

As students dealt with the shock of encountering a new environment they went through a period of adjustment as they "learned the ropes" and "got up to speed." This section on adjustment describes the major aspects of this experience. Two issues appeared to be particularly important for the students in this process. The first related to students understanding the general norms of the new culture. The second area of issues related to figuring out their role as a volunteer.

Although students were introduced to many of the official policies of their program during orientation, students commented that quite a number of norms and procedures were not covered before they were placed at the site. As Alyce explained "I found out that things didn't work out that way...I had to learn how to get around."

Five students described how they learned these "norms" through trial and error as they inadvertently did something that was considered "taboo" by the "insiders" at the volunteer site. For example, Tammy was extremely upset because a misunderstanding had possible repercussions for the child she was mentoring at the homeless shelter.

I had an incident happen which just made me angry, extremely angry because I don't know the rules and regulations of the shelter. I don't know what rules and regulations that [my child] is under. It is extremely frustrating especially when I unknowingly and unseeingly violate rules or cause her problems when I don't understand.

This has been devastating to me! I have made phone calls. I have screamed. I have shouted. Hopefully something can be done because it's not right (for me as a mentor who's supposed to be enriching her life) to put her survival...in peril.

In this situation Tammy had stayed longer than usual reading to the child that she mentored. The mother dropped by to check on them and assumed that they were going to continue reading for a period of time so she left on an errand. In the meantime, they finished reading and Tammy, not finding the mother nearby, dropped her child off at the front desk. The mother, who did not appear when paged over the intercom, was cited for negligence (an offense that, if repeated, would be grounds for eviction from the shelter) despite Tammy's explanation of the miscommunication.

Bad circumstances. Everything just blew up and it was just horrible. I am frustrated because I don't know the rules and regulations and that's hard. I couldn't sleep and Saturday morning I made a bunch of phone calls...I called the shelter. After I talked to the coordinator at the Bennion Center, he settled me down.

Although this situation explains the problems associated with breaking the norms it also illustrates the process of trying to make sense of the norms. Tammy visited with several different people as she tried to resolve the issue for both the family and her self.

It was only after speaking with the Bennion Center student leader that her emotions calmed. This peer was able to put the experience in perspective explaining why the rule was important at the shelter that some parents had previously taken advantage of their mentors by not showing up at the designated time. The perspective of a fellow

student appeared to be more sympathetic and helpful in understanding the homeless shelter's seemingly unfair practices.

When students' previous experience could not help them interpret the situation, they often turned to fellow volunteers. Students were less threatening to ask questions of than were agency staff or clients. Students were peers--members of the same subculture who were also trying to make sense of the new situation. Understanding the norms of the larger culture at the volunteer site was often aided by the assistance of fellow volunteers. It was often common for students to call upon Bennion Center student leaders to help them understand the new environment. If these student leaders couldn't inform their understanding, students were often upset. "I expected him to know more, but he didn't know much" exclaimed Alyce.

The other major area of volunteer adjustment related to students figuring out their role as volunteers. No longer were they students, but were designated as tutors, mentors, helpers, etc. Understanding the duties of assignments was sometimes problematic as Daniel explains:

I think in all community service things that I've done, there's a certain amount of initiative that you have to take for yourself because everyone's busy. Everyone's doing their thing. You can either [wait for] someone to tell you what to do or you can get down in the food lines and just fill up the [empty] punch bowl. You find things and see what needs to be done. Yeah...in community service you just have to kind of do that. You have to take it upon yourself to be in charge in a lot of situations. I think it's important that you have to see what needs to be done, do it, and not wait for people to tell you to.

Daniel comments that volunteers often receive little instruction about their duties and must take the initiative in defining their tasks.

Eight students commented that their roles were somewhat vague (despite orientation sessions). The workload of many of these social service agencies was so large that the staff had little time to worry about detailed instructions for volunteers. One agency staff member suggested that they gave their volunteers a lot of latitude because they felt volunteers enjoyed this freedom--"volunteers aren't paid, so you let them do what they want."

To make sense of the ambiguous volunteer roles, students turned to a variety of sources that included past experience, the clients they were serving, fellow students, and a volunteer supervisor or leader. The examples below illustrate these different sources of information.

Jackie explained that she often relied on past experience. "I do it by myself--from what I learned in my past...the teacher will say basically you need to do this, this, and this. But there's also room for implementations and I generally go from my experience." Many times, however, student's past experience was inadequate in helping them figure out their role.

At this point, the most common source of information (to figure out one's role) came from the clients that were being served. Sally explained the process that she used with her adopted grandmother. "Most of the times she likes to play cards, or we just talk, or go for a walk around the rest home. It kind of depends on whatever she wants to do or what she's up to. I'll try to suggest whatever she wants." When figuring out their specific roles in one-on-one volunteer situations students usually preferred to get assistance

directly from the clients they were serving. The nature of these service programs required that students negotiate their role with the client they were serving.

Another source of information included fellow volunteers. As discussed earlier (in relation to figuring out cultural norms) it appeared that students were less intimidated to ask questions from their “peers” than from the agency staff. Tammy explained how much she valued talking with other students. “You swap helps, hints, and things like that.” Student leaders from the Bennion Center were frequently approached in this fashion.

A final approach to understanding one’s role was to ask a supervisor from the agency. As Sarah explains “I just go and ask the teacher what she would have me do.” This approach was more common in sites where the headquarters or office of the agency was located near the site of the service being rendered.

In adjusting to new volunteer situations volunteers had a number of resources. In making sense of the new cultural environment, students generally turned to fellow volunteers. Students felt more comfortable trying to understand the volunteer setting from the perspective of other students. Peers had similar reference points and cultural backgrounds that made interpreting the experience easier. In trying to figure out their role as a volunteer, however, students felt more comfortable going to a variety of different sources. This included their past experience, the clients they were serving, fellow volunteers, and staff from the agency. The source that they turned to often depended on the scope of their role and proximity of the source. For example, students turned to the

client, if they were in a one-on-one relationship. If they were in a broader situation, such as a classroom, they turned to the teacher.

Acceptance

As students settled in to the volunteer program, they were also anxious to know how they fit in socially. Students discussed their relationships with people at the volunteer site and were quick to point out any signs of social inclusion. Although a few students talked about relationships with fellow volunteers, the majority of the students discussed their relationships with the clients.

Students were delighted when clients remembered their names, gave them hugs, joked with them, or demonstrated signs of acceptance or appreciation. These responses helped answer important questions about their social acceptance. Did the child that they were tutoring like them? Were they valued as a “friend” by the refugee they were assisting? Students looked for symbolic indications that would answer these questions about their relationships with the clients.

I have categorized these symbolic forms of acceptance into four categories: gestures of endearment, approval, admiration, and trust.

The most common form of acceptance I have labeled gestures of endearment. Nine students reported indications of acceptance when people “looked them in the eye,” gave them a handshake, hug, or some other form of personal acknowledgement. For example, Stephanie was thrilled when the children at the school remembered her after the

Christmas break. "They shouted my name and grabbed my hand. It was great to know that they actually cared about you."

A more involved form of acceptance I call approval (mentioned by two students). This was when the client actively sought out the volunteer's attention. Such as children who wanted approval from their volunteer mentor. Summer, for example, was thrilled the day that a child wanted to "show off" her art project to her instead of the classroom teacher.

A closely related form of acceptance I have labeled admiration. In this type of acceptance two volunteers described situations where the clients admired them. David, who was helping to teach art in a junior high school, explained. "The kids, they really look up to you so it's really a neat experience." Volunteers who worked with children found such events particularly rewarding as it symbolically validated their mentoring relationship.

The final type of acceptance I call trust. This was when clients felt enough confidence in the relationship that they could share personal feelings with the student volunteer or ask for advice. Three students described this form of acceptance. For example, Jackie related an experience of trust about a client that shared her feelings about her grandfather's passing. Bill was pleased that a parent would trust him enough to ask his opinion. Some of the most valuable events for volunteers were such indicators of trust.

The need to be socially accepted was expressed by Roger who felt like he was never "really close" to the refugees he was assisting. Because of this situation he felt like

they never trusted him enough to explain what they really needed. He commented, "Not much was happening there" as he expressed his disappointment in not developing a relationship.

Another issue that appeared to be important to volunteers related to the nature of the relationship. One-third of the students in the study discussed the idea of their relationship being on equal terms or reciprocal in its nature. Virginia explained:

I've done service before, but it's always been [one way] like I'm serving you and that kind of thing. But this was different. It's just you there with people and you talk to them and you hang out with them....The whole purpose was to get to know these people and see how you could help them and they ended up helping you and making friends. I made a lot of friends through it, its just so much fun.

Four students were careful not to place themselves above the people they were serving. For example, Daniel did not want to imply that he was better than the clients he served. Stephanie explained "You can't just stand off and watch the kids from a distance. You have to get in there and get down on their level." Students were careful in framing the relationship in a fashion that included others.

Volunteers in this study were concerned about acceptance by the clients that they served. They acted in ways to promote equal relationships and were thrilled by acts of endearment, approval, admiration, and trust. These symbolic indicators were key in helping volunteers figure out how they fit into the volunteer setting.

Assessment

After volunteering for a period of time, students in this study evaluated their volunteer work. They wondered if their efforts were worth it. As students compared

their expectations against what they found, three general responses usually occurred. In the first case, students modified their expectations to conform with the realities of the situation. In the second case, students felt rewarded because they perceived that they were making a difference. In the third case, students were discouraged because they felt they were not able to reach their expectations. In the following paragraphs I will illustrate each of these responses with examples from the study. In closing, I discuss these responses in relation to volunteer retention.

This study found that students had a tendency to be idealistic in supposing what they could accomplish. Upon entering the volunteer program, students became more aware of the complexity of social issues and their personal inability to correct them. With experience, students modified their expectations. Alyce, for example, was rather forthright in explaining:

I had some expectations at the beginning about how things would be set up that fell through (laugh). I think I began to have fewer expectations because the things that I thought would happen did not happen at all. You learn to not have expectations and to be really open to things because things [are] going to change a lot.

As students learned more about the volunteer situation, they adapted their expectations. In the final set of interviews I asked students if they had altered their expectations in any way. All of the students who volunteered acknowledged modifications they had accepted. It appeared, however, that some students were more flexible with their expectations than others.

Many students found it difficult to assess their service efforts and had to be flexible in accepting information they could use to assess their efforts. As Jackie

explained, "It's hard to measure your impact with people." Several students wondered if their efforts were helping or not. As Summer commented, "I'm not sure what an impact I am making. I am helping them learn how to focus on what they are doing. With my other [expectations] I don't even know if I phase them."

Despite the difficulty in linking outcomes to their efforts, 70% of the volunteers felt like they were reaching their expectations (usually modified, however). For example, Tammy, who was not sure if she could accept any of the credit for a child learning to read, still stated, "I've learned that volunteers are needed and can make a great difference with their kid." Jackie, who also had a hard time measuring her impact, felt determined that her efforts were worthwhile. "I figure I'm probably making a good impact because I'm giving the children a role model of some sort."

In these situations it did not matter whether the volunteer could specifically measure their success or not. What was important, however, was whether *they* felt like they were making a difference. The prospect that their efforts were making a difference provided sufficient evidence for some students to give themselves a positive evaluation of their efforts. Take, for example, David, who was teaching art. "Maybe one day one of [these kids] will be a great artist because I affected their life and got them excited about art." In this case, the reward was the mere speculation of future outcomes. Whether tangible or not, the most important factor in volunteer's assessment was the perceived impact.

Thirty percent of the students felt that their efforts fell short of their expectations and were disappointed in the results. These determinations were reached in a couple of

different ways. In the first case, students judged their efforts by how “needed” they felt.

In the second approach, students directly compared their expectations against reality.

Because judging the worth of one’s efforts was so elusive, a few students evaluated their volunteer work in relation to how “needed” they felt at the volunteer site.

Judy explained:

Between the teacher assistant and me, there was a lot of people, and so between stamping papers and doing other things, there wasn’t really a whole lot I was doing...and that’s one of the reasons why I wanted to do something else.

In this case (and possibly in one other), the students perceived that they were not making much of a difference because their help was not particularly needed. Although the social issue may have been important, they did not see themselves as making a significant contribution

In the second approach to assessing efforts, students directly compared their efforts to the situation. Bill, for example, was hoping that his efforts to baby-sit children at the homeless shelter would make a rather significant difference. He explained.

It just doesn’t seem [like there is] much I, as a person, can do about it. You know. If I was John Huntsman and, or another rich person and could make a difference in these people’s lives, then, maybe, I would feel better about it, but I really don’t feel like I’m making all that much of an impact.

As Bill volunteered in the playroom, he did not see that his efforts were accomplishing very much in relation to the larger issue of homelessness.

To be honest, I have to be truthful here, I have missed three times this month....Part of it is that I feel like the impact is just not enough sometimes. Well that’s not totally honest, one day I just couldn’t deal with it because I had a final....But the thought has run through my head that this really isn’t enough change.

Bill was expecting to see some change in regards to the larger issue of homelessness and was disappointed. He explains how this affected his motivation. "At first I was really excited at the thought of [volunteering]. Then I sort of recognized what needed to be done. I couldn't do it and maybe that's why I didn't feel like going there any more." All of the students who had negative evaluations of their efforts discontinued volunteering (during the semester or at its end). One exception was Roger, who felt like the refugees to whom he was assigned might need some help in the future.

As students "settled in" to the environment where they served, they "took stock" of their situation. They assessed whether their efforts were worth it. Since measuring their impact was difficult they also looked for indicators of success such as "seeing progress" or "feeling needed." They often imagined what their results might be and compared their expectations against what they found. Such indicators satisfied students' evaluations. This suggests that if students did not feel like they were making a difference, they were more likely to stop volunteering.

In summary, the component of settling in describes students' adjustment to the new setting, their efforts to fit in, and their evaluation of their efforts. Students entered a new cultural environment that included subcultures of fellow volunteers, the service agency, and the world of the clients. To make sense of this environment students turned to fellow volunteers. Students also tried to figure out their role and were concerned about how they were being received. Indications of inclusion, trust, and acceptance were important factors in gauging these relationships. Ultimately, students assessed the worth

of their efforts by comparing their expectations against the experience. Before continuing their sojourn students determined if the trip was worth the effort.

Outcomes

The framework of the sojourn has conceptualized the volunteer experience as a journey to a foreign culture including components of anticipation, shock, and settling in. Students in this study, like sojourners, did not become settlers, but returned home. This section discusses the outcomes of the journey. What did students gain from their community service? After several months of student volunteering I asked them what they took from their volunteer experience. Students explained they were not the same person that they were before they started. They had learned a great deal from the experience.

Although findings of this investigation are limited by the relatively short time frame of the study (roughly over the period of one semester), the data did provide support for several outcomes that were consistently mentioned by volunteers. Students described their experience as “eye opening” in that it afforded them the opportunity to learn more about others and themselves. They also explained that it was “broadening” in that it challenged them to think in different ways. In light of these descriptions I have categorized students’ reflections into four areas: an understanding of others, cognitive development, a matured identity, and personal efficacy. This section describes these general findings.

Understanding Others

The volunteer experience provided a rich environment for learning about other people. Volunteer programs pulled students away from campus to experience people with different socioeconomic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. Eleven students reported that crossing these boundaries gave them a better understanding of others.

Daniel explained how this contact permitted him to confront many of the stereotypes and generalizations that he had about “others.”

I would say that [my service experience] gave me an overall awareness of other people that live in different environments and have different economic situations. Where I live, going to high school where I did, and now affiliated with people at the university, I found I was associating with the same people.

And so, [service] helped me have an overall awareness for people that aren't in my situation. Maybe [the experience] will help me relate to them better and relationships with people in different circles. It will help me in the future to build relationships with others and help me so that we can understand each other and open up to each other more easily.

I think that getting to know other people is important because when you stay enclosed you live with blinders--you can't really learn and grow. When you meet other people, you see their good and their bad. It helps you understand them--which can do a lot of good. I think a lot of racism, sexism, and stuff like that comes from a lack of understanding. By understanding other cultures and people from other walks of life it takes that away you know. I mean, it affects yourself and that you learn from them. (Daniel)

Community service helped Daniel meet people that were different from him. The experience removed “blinders” that previously enclosed him. He explained how this larger perspective gave him an awareness of people in “other walks of life.” This

awareness helped him better understand others and he felt it helped limit “racism, sexism, and stuff like that.”

Other volunteers gave similar descriptions. For example, Stephanie explained, “I never had brothers or sisters so I didn’t realize what it was like [to work with kids]. This experience helped me understand them better.” Sarah explained how service helped her see things from other people’s viewpoint. “Everyone should put themselves in other people’s [shoes] so they can understand them better.”

Community service provides an environment in which people from different walks of life can intermix. Students learned to appreciate “others” as they became better acquainted with their backgrounds. This enlarged students’ perspectives and helped them understand “where other people were coming from.” It also challenged students to drop previous generalizations and stereotypes. Students made comments like “I can better see where they are coming from” that suggested they were more open minded and less judgmental.

With broader perspectives of people, students also became more aware of the complexity of the social issues related to the agency where students volunteered. For example, Alyce explained how she had learned that homeless people needed more than simple assistance. “You see people bringing [homeless people] clothes and food--these are important things, but they’re not what the people need.” Hannah felt that her volunteer experience in the public school system was as informative as any college course. She felt so strongly about her experience that she suggested it for others.

If parents took the time to go into classrooms and see what's really going on, I think they would [demand] that our schools run differently. Policy makers should go down to that level and spend two, three, or four months, and you know—they might change their minds on the things they are trying to push....Going to the school has been like a vast change of view, it has definitely given me the justification for how I felt about these issues.

Direct experience appeared to be key in this process. Travelers explain that you can only learn so much from books or others about a foreign county. It is not until you actually visit the county that you really learn what it is like. This seemed to be the case with student volunteers who described learning something (through the experience) that they would have otherwise missed.

Cognitive Development

Six students reported that service enlarged their perspective and challenged them to view the world in a new and different ways. Although this may appear similar to the previously described outcome of learning, there are some important distinctions. Development describes the way in which one structures information rather than the extent of knowledge. Students reported thinking about issues (and people) in a qualitatively different fashion.

The larger perspective suggested new ways to think about issues. Bill explained.

I just got a better perspective. I feel like I do see society better. I mean I think I'm more qualified to be a public official. I feel like if I could implement a policy and try to meet the needs of the community, I'd have a better understanding of what the [problems] are, how to do it.

As part of this development, students paradoxically reported feeling more capable of addressing social issues while simultaneously feeling overwhelmed by the newly understood complexity of the problem.

[Service] helps you be less narrow-minded and lets you see what the world [is like] through other people's eyes. Sometimes it's sad. Sometimes you see things you wish you didn't have to see. Its the reality of seeing poverty. I was at the homeless shelter and [saw] how sad it is....That was really quite eye opening. (Hannah)

Students perceived that their experiences were challenging them to conceptualize the world in a less naive (and sometimes discouraging) fashion. These provocations often came about as students attempted to explain the disparity between them and the less fortunate population that they served. Hannah explained that issues were more complex than she originally envisioned--rather than being black and white everything appeared to be more "controversial."

Cognitive growth was provoked by contrasting environments. Answers that previously appeared to be convincing were no longer adequate. Developmental theory explains that active cognition is more likely to occur when we encounter the unexpected. This often happens when our roles are changed, our concepts challenged, or our world is brought into question. Such experiences were common as students left the "ivory tower" to volunteer in homeless shelters, nursing homes, etc. Virginia explained:

It's a walk a mile in his shoe kind of thing. [Service] teaches you how many things. You may think you know so everything about something, but if you just change your angle, or just change your reference point, you're going to learn so much more about the thing. Looking at the way a different person [with different abilities or a different culture] views things can change your whole perspective and can open your eyes.

Development could also be tracked on another level. Students tended to adjust to volunteer environments in one of two ways. They situated their differences from the clients as either being irrelevant (as in denying differences) or as something pertinent (as in acknowledging the differences). Virginia, for example, commented that she felt handicapped people were just like everyone else. She explained that after a while, she could not see any difference between their world and hers.

Hannah, on the other hand, described how her thinking became more open to these cultural distinctions.

[I used to reason] that I'm not going to look at anyone as being different because we're all essentially the same. And I kind of thought that for awhile. Well that's a good policy. You're all the same you know. We're all humans here on earth. You know we all have similar things, wants, and needs.

I watched a video in the class that sparked me to think differently. In this study there were white men, black men, some Asians, and a Hispanic man. They were all talking about not being prejudiced but one found out that he kind of was. You know because you don't realize what you feel until you're in that kind of [situation], until you are faced with it.

Hannah explained how this video helped her recognize that she had some biases, and that she should recognize these feelings.

In another case, Tammy did not attempt to minimize the cultural differences between herself and the people she served. She explained that an anthropology class helped her reconcile her feelings of otherness and sameness with different cultures. "They do things that way. I do things this way. I wouldn't do it that way and they wouldn't do it my way. But you know, I can still take out their daughter and we can have a good time."

Three students appeared to move from a “fair and “color-blind” view of the world to one that was more able to recognize biases and inequities. It is interesting to note that both Tammy and Hannah appeared to develop in their ability to appreciate differences (rather than minimize them) through classroom interventions dealing with race and culture.

The data from my research demonstrate that students are often having such discontinuous experiences as they experienced the shock of the sojourn. The unanticipated or unexpected aspects of service created an imbalance that caught students off guard and provoked students to restructure the way they thought about the world.

A Matured Sense of Identity

As students participated in service they not only became more aware of others, but learned more about themselves. This awareness was demonstrated as students contrasted their way of thinking against the perspectives gained from their volunteer activity. Such comparisons resulted in a clarification of the “self” as similarities and differences were perceived.

I mean that’s the whole process of why [you volunteer]. That’s one of the reasons why you go down there. You face yourself because you want to be expanded--your vision to grow. You see it and you say okay, well its okay to be this way.... You see it and you feel it and it’s a lot more. It’s there. It hits your heart and so inevitably you’re going to have to change something about your perception of the world.

Hannah viewed service as a way to grow, to face her self and become expanded. Hannah felt that these encounters did something to change and define her--“you see it and you feel it...and inevitably you’re going to have to change.”

By becoming acquainted with different cultures students also became more aware of themselves. Evidence of this increased self-awareness was demonstrated nine students who compared themselves with the clients that they were serving. Many students commented on how they came to appreciate their circumstances because of the experience. As Daniel explained "They're maybe less privileged...and you realize that you have lived your life in ignorance of them, you don't realize that there's this whole other group of people that haven't been given the same opportunities as you have.

The cross-cultural experience permitted students to stand outside of their previous views and look at themselves from a new perspective (see Figure 7). With this view students were able to better distinguish themselves as they made comparisons between themselves and others.

Student comparisons tended to be in one of two forms. Students either wanted to incorporate traits that they noticed in others or the students wanted to disassociate themselves from particular qualities that they observed.

In cases of incorporation, students admired some of the qualities their clients possessed. Several of the students working with children commented on the positive attributes of their kids. For example, Stephanie was amazed at their ability to openly accept and trust other people. Admiration could also be directed towards people besides the clients (such as fellow volunteers or workers at the agency). Whoever the subject, students noted values in others that they wished to emulate. Jackie explained this stating "It's kind of a sharing thing, the more experiences you're exposed to, the more you can pick out the good things in all these different cultures that you could incorporate into your

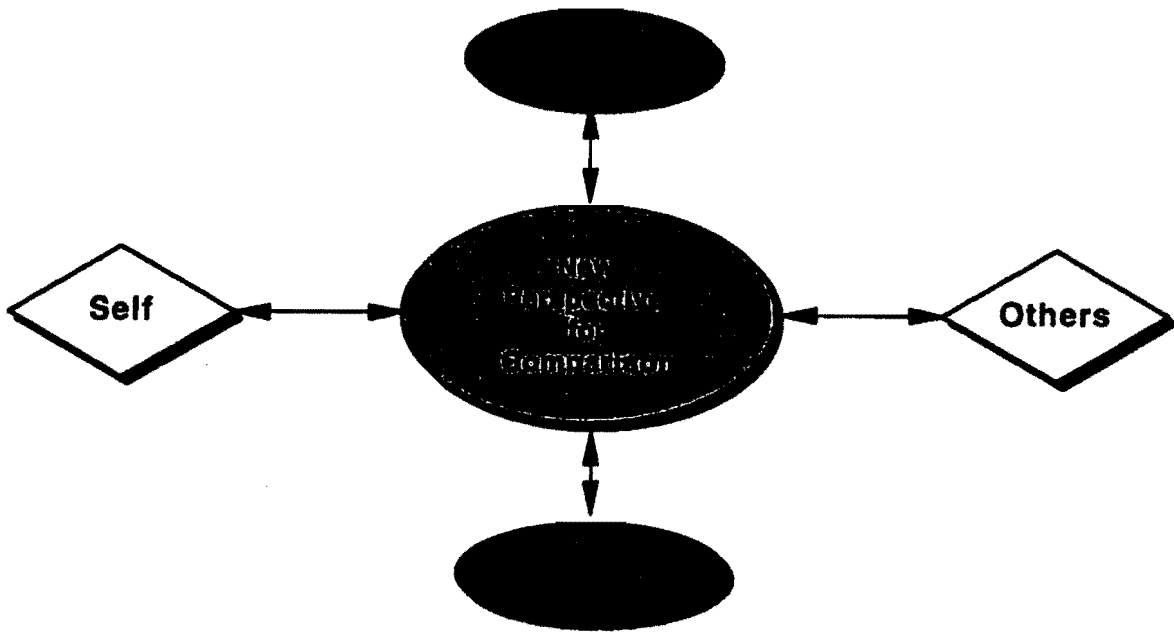


Figure 7. Model of Identity Clarification

own life." As students experienced aspects of other cultures that they appreciated, they expressed an interest in incorporating these attributes into their lives.

Students also disassociated themselves from the values of the people they served. Sally explained how she came to distinguish the differences between herself and the elderly woman she was assisting. "Seeing how she lived and how her life is now, and her choices, it makes me look at my life and see if I'm on the right path." Sally hoped to make choices that would lead to a different outcome in life. Tammy also disassociated herself from the values of some of the people at the homeless shelter.

Its made me, myself, want to have higher standards--to keep my standards high. It has made me re-emphasize to my children my standards. [I want] to teach my children to be responsible for their mistakes and to correct them and move on and to do their best at school and to make sure that those high standards are put in their life. I want them to know that an education is important.

As a gestalt, the volunteer experience presented intense and evocative situations in which students perceived and experienced other people in a distinctly new manner. As a consequence, students were more likely to recognize their biases and viewpoints.

The larger perspective also gave students the opportunity to view themselves within a larger society. One student in a pilot study interview observed:

I think that [students] go through this arbitrary stage. We wonder who we are in comparison with the rest of society. We wonder how we fit in. [Service] grounds people. It grounds college students...in the college situation, especially here on this campus, where you don't see how you belong. How do you relate to community?

These experiences helped student to better place themselves within society.

As students became more aware of diverse people and their backgrounds, they were better able to view themselves and others. This broadened perspective clarified their identity as they were more capable of distinguishing themselves from others.

Personal Efficacy

The last outcome identified in this study related to student's positive feelings about themselves. Eight students described that after volunteering they felt better about themselves. Such comments suggest an uplifting or therapeutic consequence from volunteer service.

Feelings of efficacy developed in two ways. On one hand, students felt better about themselves because of the feedback they received from the people they served. Sally explained, "They let me know that they really like me--that I'm a special person. That kind of boosts your self-esteem."

The recipients of service had high regard for the students in this study. Children looked up to volunteers, elderly appreciated the visits, and mentally challenged individuals enjoyed the association with students. Signs of social acceptance highlighted earlier in the findings included gestures of endearment, admiration, approval and trust. Several students also described how satisfying it was to feel "needed." As David explained "things like that leave you with a neat feeling."

On the other hand, students also gained a sense of worth from accomplishing something through their volunteer efforts. Judy found the most satisfying part of her experience was "feeling that I made a difference somehow--to be able to help people

somehow and contribute to a program. Bill, for example, thought he would feel better about himself if he assisted others:

I was annoyed with myself one day because I had a poor midterm. I was telling myself, "you didn't even bother to prepare yourself so if you're not going to use the time you have to study then you might as well use it to help somebody else get something done." So I just walked in [to the Bennion Center] and looked through [the brochure] and said this [project] would be a good one.

Other students also discussed the satisfaction of being able to offer something to others.

Jackie explained how service allowed her to "do something productive with [her] life."

The ability to "make a difference," to be of service to others, was also edifying for volunteers.

In conclusion, this section has reviewed the major outcomes of community service. An increased understanding of others, cognitive development, a matured identity, and feelings of personal efficacy were the major themes discussed by students as they reflected back on their service.

Additional outcomes might be identified in a longer study. For example, one experienced service veteran in my pilot study reflected back on 2 years of community service and described how it had increased his sense of social responsibility. He felt that service "hard wired" him to the community and because of that connection he cared more about society around him. Students in this shorter study, however, did not mention this result.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the data of this study as they have been framed by the interpretive metaphor of the sojourn. This model has included four components of sojourn: anticipation, shock, settling in, and outcomes. The sojourn metaphor provides a useful framework to interpret and conceptualize the student volunteer experience.

Like sojourners, students were curious, willing to travel, and ready to learn more about themselves and others. For these and other reasons, they sojourned in service. Some ventured to more distant projects while others stayed closer to home. In either case, students found that despite all of their preparations, things did not proceed as planned. Surprises abounded. Depending on the variance from previous experience, volunteers reported some form of “culture shock.” They went through a period of adjustment, figuring out the cultural cues and making sense of the new environment. During this time students appreciated any signs of social acceptance. Positive social contact and acceptance were important dimensions to help the student figure out their role and standing in the new environment. Students also revisited and modified their expectations. They assessed whether the trip was “worth it” as they determined whether to continue volunteering. Along the way students reported increased feelings of personal efficacy. They also gained more complex understandings of themselves and others as they contrasted their own behaviors, attitudes, and assumptions against those at the volunteer site.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this study I examined the volunteer experience of 16 students at the University of Utah. These students discussed common aspects of their experience that I have interpreted within the framework of a sojourn. Before departing for service, students formed expectations. Upon arrival at the volunteer site, students experienced a minor form of culture shock as they adjusted to the volunteer setting, figured out their role, and settled in. Along the way, students also assessed whether their journey was worth the effort. Students reported that the sojourn broadened their perspective and increased their understanding of others and themselves.

Although the framework of the sojourn helps conceptualize the larger volunteer experience, it lacks the ability to explain more specific aspects of the experience. The perspectives of socialization, cross-cultural adjustment, student development and research on community service better inform the specific findings of this study. This chapter will follow the framework of the sojourn, discussing the components of anticipation, shock, settling in, and outcomes. In closing, I give recommendations for practitioners and further research.

Anticipation

The component of anticipation in the service sojourn model describes activities that occurred before students volunteered. During this time students became outwardly familiar with their volunteer project as they signed up and participated in orientation meetings. Students' interests, assumptions and expectations formed during this time played a significant role in their later experience as these activities "set the stage" from which students perceived differences from the actual experience.

This section discusses these anticipatory features of the volunteer experience of students in this study in more detail. In reviewing this material I will follow the sequence outlined in the model describing student interests, expectations, assumptions, and orientation.

An important finding in this study was the connection between students' past experience and their current involvement. Students in this study volunteered because they wanted to repeat a good experience. This inference is supported by a recent nationwide study that found a high correlation between high school and college service involvement (Astin, 1996; Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999). Students summoned their history to anticipate the future. They speculated on what it would be like to volunteer based on their previous experience. This background experience supplemented the information received at the Bennion Center and orientation meetings.

Student assumptions emerged later in their volunteer experience as they contrasted what they took for granted against what they found. Many of the students'

preconceived notions came from their unique background and previous service experience.

In addition to positive associations with past volunteer activities, students explained other reasons for their involvement. I classified these into categories of personal edification, social inclusion, and value expression. It is interesting to note that the majority of reasons given by students related to personal benefits of the experience rather than altruistic motives. These results are similar to Thomas Fitch's study (1993) that found students volunteered to gain a sense of satisfaction, meet friends, and to fulfill perceived obligations to society.

These findings suggest that while altruistic reasons for volunteering are important, egoistic rewards are also necessary. Delve, Mintz, and Stewart's (1990) model of student service development tracks the development of student's motivation for serving based on needs that center around self-interest to an expression of civic responsibility and humanitarian values. White (1981) points out that students often become involved in humanitarian causes for various reasons, not always altruistic at first, but that intrinsic concern follows as a consequence of actually helping others. If this is true, students may be enticed to volunteer using a number of reward systems. It also suggests that service, over time, becomes its own reward.

The development of altruistic ideals can be seen more specifically in the expectations formed by students. Students were very idealistic and often unrealistic in anticipating what they could accomplish through their efforts. They hoped to make a

noticeable (if not significant) difference through their efforts whether it was to eliminate hunger or put an end to homelessness.

Michelle Dunlap (1997) noticed this inclination with students in a college service-learning course she taught. She depicted her students' expectations to influence the community as having "heroic overtones." She described this behavior in terms of a "personal fable." The concept comes from Jean Piaget's concept of adolescent idealism that notes the tendency of young adults to picture themselves as part of a heroic mission. The inclination "grows out of the normal process of adolescent egocentric thinking, which is the tendency to see oneself uniquely capable of correcting the social ills of the world" (p. 56).

The cognitive development of young adults involves an increasing awareness of the world and its operations. It also permits more complex understandings. Rather than thinking in strictly concrete terms or in fantasy, the emerging intellectual capacities permit adolescents to consider both the problems and possibilities regarding social issues. Thus, the idealism of youth. Students are more likely to entertain noble desires because they do not know the constraints of reality. They lacked experience with social issues and often did not comprehend all of the limiting factors involved in these contexts.

The idealistic expectations of students in this study suggested conceptualizing their experience in terms of a crusade. Using such a model, would suggest more than visiting a foreign land, it would entail a "mission" and fight for a particular cause. This could also entail a proselytizing aspect. In some ways the metaphor of a mission could be used to describe the situation of students mentoring children. In such cases, students

hoped that they would pass on skills and values that would help their assigned children escape their plight. In this sense, some volunteers acted like missionaries--traveling to a foreign land teaching and converting people to their way of thinking. While students did not describe their volunteer experiences in these terms, the religious metaphors help capture the conviction and well-intentioned enthusiasm that students expressed. Students were clearly motivated by the anticipated results of their efforts.

Before students participated in service, orientation played a critical role. Whether deliberately or unconsciously, volunteer program directors used a number of tactics to prepare students for their roles as volunteers. Socialization literature provides concepts that are helpful in understanding this anticipatory process for student volunteers. These in-advance preparations are considered the "first-wave" of activities that can influence recruits as they work towards becoming a member of a group.

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) presented a structural analysis of socialization tactics that traces the effects of each strategy on the newcomers' responses. Using paired comparisons in six dimensions they suggest that these strategies can take a variety of forms in regards to formality and timing. Jones (1986) modified this taxonomy into three areas: context, content, and social aspects. Analyzing these tactics in regards to student orientation provides helpful distinctions that can affect the outcomes of socialization.

Jones' first distinction, context, refers to the setting of the orientation, whether it be individual or collective. Orientations that involved several newcomers at one time tend to be more formal and tend to present information about official policy as compared to more personal orientations that permit remarks to be more relaxed and "off the record."

Jones points out, however, that those socialized independently tend to be less homogeneous than members of a cohort and are more likely to be innovative.

Students in this study had both group and individual orientations depending on their circumstances. Initially students didn't appear to show any preferences between these two approaches. As students started to volunteer, however, they appreciated the camaraderie of fellow volunteers. Students found it easier to relate with others students than the clients they served or the staff at the volunteer agency. The acquaintances developed in orientation meetings often developed into later associations. Students first turned to fellow students as they tried to make sense of the cultural differences in the new environment at the volunteer site.

The formality of the sessions also appeared to affect students' ability to make sense of the new volunteer environment. Although formal policies and rules were important for students to understand, it appears that students appreciated information about the "way things really got done." This was more likely to be provided by the Bennion Center leader than staff members from the agencies. Bennion Center leaders were fellow students that coordinated the project at the university. As former recruits, they had recently experienced what it was like to be a new volunteer. Students also expressed that it was initially easier to approach these student leaders with questions than representatives from the agencies.

The second area of distinction noted by Jones relates to content. This refers to how information is presented and learned. For example, the order in which the information is presented and the time frame that is permitted to master the material.

Generally speaking, the content of students' socialization in this study was random, ambiguous, and continually changing. Little attention was paid to the transition of volunteers after the initial orientation. Often, these nonprofit organizations were so preoccupied with the needs of the people that they were serving that students generally received little attention. Two exceptions to this general trend did exist (the Hansen Planetarium and First Aid for Fourth Graders). In both of these cases students were involved in several extensive and formally structured orientation meetings. Before students could volunteer as presenters, they had to pass requirements demonstrating they had mastered the curriculum and were ready to teach. These tactics encouraged teaching in a customary fashion within these organizations' norms.

The third area of tactics distinguished by Jones relates to the social aspects of the entry experience. This refers to role models that recruits can look up to as examples and the amount of social pressure that applied to maintain a particular image in a new role. Usually these aspects do not occur during the orientation process of volunteers. Volunteers did not report strong role models at the volunteer site. If any role model was exemplified it is generally the student leader from the Bennion Center. These students generally introduce the recruits to the volunteer agency and acquire some respect from this leadership role at the orientation. Fellow volunteers, however, appear to be the primary source of influence. Students generally turned to their peers for assistance once they started volunteering.

It appears that most orientations did not consciously use socialization tactics to influence the outcomes of volunteers (except in preparing students to teach). The data

demonstrate that volunteer agencies and student leaders from the Bennion Center were more concerned with modifying student expectations to be more practical. This finding supports Dunlap's observations that "students are likely to be more susceptible to disappointment and disillusionment in regards to their service, if they are not made aware, early-on, of perceptions and feelings related to adolescent reasoning tendencies" (1997, p. 57).

The fact that volunteer program directors pay so much attention to modifying student expectations in orientation meetings suggests a correlation between expectations and volunteer retention. It is assumed that volunteers are rational beings, who enter unfamiliar organizational settings with conscious expectations about their work. If these expectations are met, the volunteer is satisfied; if not, the volunteer stops coming.

In conclusion, this discussion about anticipation has highlighted several important aspects of this component of the volunteer experience.

- Students have unique histories that spark their interest and form the assumptions they take to the volunteer experience.
- Students formed expectations about what they could accomplish through their service. These hopes had a tendency to be idealistic and heroic in their nature.
- Orientation meetings modified and reinforced student expectations. Interventions at this time appeared to offer some assistance in preparing students for later adjustment.

These anticipations played a significant part of the volunteer experience. Student interests, assumptions, and expectations were part of the “baggage” students packed before they embarked on their sojourn.

Shock

The component of shock describes the affective reactions of students when they volunteered. Students felt awkward, inadequate, and anxious as they entered new social environments. Things were different from what they anticipated. Students didn’t know how to appropriately act and often misinterpreted events. Situations were unclear and problematic for students until they learned how to correctly interpret the environment.

The framework of the sojourn is helpful in understanding these experiences of volunteers in that it describes a similar reaction to travelers who visit foreign countries. The literatures of socialization and student development are also informative as they describe processes of surprise and cognitive dissonance in these experiences. This section discusses the implications of these literatures in light of the data in this study.

The term culture shock has been used to describe a variety of symptoms resulting from a loss of the familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse (Oberg, 1960). Socialization literature has used this concept to describe this aspect of entry experience of newcomers who are placed in new environments as their senses are inundated with unfamiliar clues that make it difficult for them to interpret what is happening. Time and space are problematic until the newcomer is able to construct some meaning of the new

situation. Thus, people become anxious, confused, or apathetic until they can develop a new set of constructs to help them better understand and interpret what is happening.

Students reported similar symptoms, but on a smaller scale, as they volunteered and tried to make sense of the situation. These reactions were common as students started volunteering and less frequent as they adjusted to the new situation.

This phenomenon parallels descriptive theories of cross-cultural adjustment that use a U curve to illustrate the intensity of shock varying over time. These models describe a sojourner's level of adjustment towards a new culture in relation to time (Lysgaard, 1955). The U curve depicts the initial optimism and elation in the host culture, the subsequent dip in well being, and the gradual recovery to higher adjustment levels. Students in this study appeared to follow a similar pattern with their emotions. Before volunteering students were generally excited, optimistic and only slightly nervous. During initial visits, students reported feeling awkward and uncomfortable. They did not understand the norms of the new environment. Things were different from expected and it took a period of time for them to adapt and make sense of the situation and feel more comfortable.

Some students appeared to be more shocked than others. In the findings I discussed how shock related to the perceived differences between volunteer assumptions and the reality of the situation. These differences varied in each particular case.

Cross-cultural literature uses the concept of "cultural distance" to describe the disparity between a person's native culture and that of another. I have found it a useful term to describe the mismatch between volunteer's expectations and reality. For

example, the students that volunteered in public schools had fairly realistic expectations. (They had grown up in this system.) These students noted only a few contrasts such as the “small halls” and “obedient children.” On the other hand, volunteers who went to more foreign sites experienced more anxiety, confusion, and shock. The concept of cultural distance is helpful in conceptualizing the different outcomes of these volunteers.

Theorists in the cross-cultural literature have hypothesized that the larger the cultural distance, the greater the cultural shock and the more difficult the adjustment to the new environment (Furnham and Bochner, 1982). This study suggests a similar relationship, but in the context of volunteerism. The greater the difference between the students’ volunteer and native cultures, the more likely the student is to perceive differences and experience shock.

In the previous chapter, I described how students perceived differences and experienced shock in two different ways. With the first, contrast, students noticed differences between their assumptions and previous experience. Socialization literature has drawn from gestalt psychology to explain this psychology. In her model of “Surprise and Sense Making,” Meryl Louis explains that contrast “involves the emergence within a perceptual field of ‘figure’ or noticed features, against ground, or general background. Particular features emerge when individuals experience new settings. Which features emerge as figure is in part, determined by features of previously experienced settings” (1980, p. 236).

This theory explains why a particular contrast may have stood out for one student and not another (in a similar situation). For example, one student assumed that everyone

had a telephone line. She quickly noticed that this was not the case at the homeless shelter. The theory also emphasizes the role of an individual's past history. The first time a student was involved in any new volunteer situation, memories of any corresponding activities were brought to mind. The process is similar, though less emotionally charged, to the anniversary of a significant event, such as the death of a loved one. As students recalled past experiences, contrasts were generated that triggered a variety of subprocesses. For example, students compared their socioeconomic status, nationality, education, and class. This disparity "opened students' eyes" and created emotions of guilt and appreciation.

The second aspect of shock experienced by students related to the socially constructed differences that they noticed in the new setting. Students didn't understand the social norms and found it difficult to interpret what was happening. Both socialization and cross-cultural literature conceptualize this process in a similar fashion.

Shock is primarily an emotional reaction that follows from not being able to understand, control, and predict a social environment (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). When customary actions and norms are no longer helpful in understanding what is happening, one loses points of reference. Thus people become anxious, confused, or apathetic until they can develop a new set of constructs to help them understand and better interpret what is happening. In other words, "When scripts fail, the individual must develop explanations for why the actual outcomes occurred and why the predicted outcomes did not" (Louis, p. 240). The resulting explanation helps resolve the tension or "imbalance" through a new interpretation.

This explanation is built on the interpretivist tradition. This epistemology argues that the meaning of social events is constructed. People form collective definitions of how to act and interpret situations through their interactions. Thus, "culture" plays a significant role in determining what things mean.

Without a "good reading" of the cultural environment, students often developed inappropriate or dysfunctional interpretations. Louis (1980) explains that these can come in a variety of forms such as attributing permanence to temporary situations (or visa versa), misunderstanding cues, and making inappropriate attributions. Students did not understand what certain things meant in the new culture at the volunteer site. Did "being on time" mean arriving five minutes early or suggest showing up ten minutes late. Since students did not know the unwritten rules they often did things that were considered "taboo." Students were also concerned about acting in the appropriate fashion so that their behavior would be interpreted appropriately. Until students figured out these norms, they felt uncomfortable.

The contrasting social environments that volunteers encountered also created a cognitive dissonance that is discussed in developmental literature. Piaget explained that when previous knowledge structures fail to adequately explain a situation people experience an imbalance that throws their intellectual equilibrium out of balance. With adequate support these situations encourage growth as people look for new explanations to restore the balance.

The contrasts and different cultural atmospheres at the volunteer sites challenged students to look at the world in a new fashion. Students noticed differences between their

background and that of others. They were also encouraged to learn a different set of interpretations that were more appropriate for the new cultural environment.

In summary, students experienced a form of shock as they encountered the unfamiliar environments at their volunteer sites. Socialization and cross-cultural literature help explain this was due to the contrasting social and cultural environment. Students did not know how to correctly interpret what they encountered. Developmental literature explains that such situations of psychological disturbance were developmentally rich because they challenged students' previous assumptions and encouraged them to think in new and more complex ways. The major concepts of this discussion are summarized in the following statements:

- Students reported an affective reaction as they entered their volunteer programs. These reactions were defined by the term "shock."
- The degree of shock that students experienced was related to the differences that they perceived.
- Each students' background formed a unique basis upon which they contrasted their volunteer experience.
- Volunteer environments had different cultural "norms" that created a psychological "imbalance" as students attempted to correctly interpret the meaning of events.
- The cognitive dissonance involved with entering and making sense of these environments encouraged students to think in new and different ways.

The framework of sojourn succinctly illustrates these aspects of the volunteer experience by comparing it to a traveler who experiences culture shock upon encountering a foreign environment.

Settling In

After experiencing the shock of a new volunteer setting, students went through a series of adaptations that I have called settling in. This involved becoming more comfortable with the new environment, making sense of the new culture, and “fitting in.” Students also assessed the worth of their efforts by comparing their expectations against the experience. Before continuing their sojourn, students determined if the trip was worth the effort.

This section continues this analysis of these data in relation to larger frameworks of knowledge. I have labeled the three major aspects of this volunteer component: adjustment, acceptance, and assessment and I will discuss the aspects of the sojourn model in that order.

Students described two major areas of adjustment. One was concerned with making sense of the cultural norms while the other related to figuring out their particular volunteer role. Socialization literature has identified that these two areas (role-related content and cultural appreciation) encompass most of the content of what newcomers learn.

Louis (1980) describes that newcomers need help to make sense of new social settings and their culture.

Until newcomers develop accurate internal maps of the new setting, until they appreciate local meanings, it is important that they have information available for amending internal cognitive maps and for attaching meaning to such surprises as may arise during early job experiences. (p. 244)

Louis further explains that in order to make sense of these new settings (beyond one's personal understanding) individuals look to other people for explanations and interpretations.

In this study, for example, several students described inadvertently breaking the norms while they volunteered. In their minds, they could see no reason why their behavior was considered "inappropriate" for the situation. To make sense of the situation, these students turned to others to help them understand and interpret cultural meanings.

An interesting finding of this study was the group of people that volunteers looked to for assistance. Rather than turning to the clients or staff from the agency, students looked to fellow volunteers. Peers were easier to approach with questions. Van Maanen (1976) proposed that newcomers often turn to "reference groups" to help cushion the reality shock of entry. He also noted that the more homogeneous the group, the more influence it exerted.

Cross-cultural literature provides an explanation for this behavior. When traveling in foreign countries, fellow nationals have a tendency to look to each other for explanations of the local cultures. Tourists are reluctant to ask natives such questions and find it much easier to discuss possible interpretations with others that speak their "language" (Furnham, & Bochner, 1986).

This cultural explanation may also account for the respect students gave more experienced volunteers (especially Bennion Center leaders). They were considered “insiders” (at least from the less experienced volunteers’ perspective). Louis further explains the value of these sources.

It seems particularly important for newcomers to have insiders who might serve as sounding boards and guide them to important background information for assigning meaning to events and surprises. Insiders are seen as a potentially rich source of assistance to newcomers in diagnosing and interpreting the myriad [of] surprises that may arise during their transitions into new settings. Insiders are already “on board;” presumably, they are equipped with richer historical and current interpretive perspectives than the newcomer alone possesses. (1980, p. 243)

When Bennion Center leaders lacked adequate explanations, students were disappointed and looked to other “less experienced” volunteers for interpretations.

The other major area of adjustment concerned the volunteers’ roles. Despite orientation sessions and training, many volunteers felt inadequately trained when it came to performing specific tasks of their role. Volunteer agencies often lacked the ability to spend much time orienting volunteer recruits.

This situation appears common with most voluntary organizations. In her research of voluntary organizations, Pearce, (1993) found that volunteer’s roles and responsibilities are generally vague. She found that more often than not, the volunteers have a high degree of freedom in defining their role.

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) describe three basic outcomes of the socialization of newcomers: custodial, in which the newcomer maintains a status quo; content innovation, in which individual seeks the traditional ends but does not use existing

practices; and finally, a role innovation response, in which the newcomer redefines his or her role. Most of the students in this study would be classified under the custodial response--they just followed the program. A few disliked the "system" and found unique and ingenious ways to carry out their assigned roles. For example, one student disregarded a policy by giving out her phone number (for easier communication) to the child she was tutoring. Other students took similar liberties in "bending the rules." Not a single student in the study, however, felt like they needed to "buck the system" and drastically innovate their role. Despite little conscious attention being paid to socialization tactics and a high degree of freedom, students generally followed the program.

The next aspect of settling in dealt with acceptance. Students were curious about how they fit in and were anxious to receive any type of feedback about their work. Socialization literature explains signs of acceptance are important indicators to the newcomer because they outwardly demonstrate movement from an "outsider" to an "insider" of an organization (Feldman, 1976, Schein, 1978). These signs of acceptance may include receiving symbolic forms of trust that may include new responsibilities, "privileged information," or other signals that the individual has earned trust from the group.

Most organizations have clear markers for organizational entry and exit (Van Genep, 1960). For example, employees must show specific credentials and pass through a series of procedures before they are hired. In contrast, volunteers are readily accepted into organizations--usually without application, tests, or ceremony. Lack of attention to

these “rites of passage” complicates the entry and exit of volunteers because they often lack any official signs designating membership (Pearce, 1993). Although volunteers are not attempting to join an organization, per se, they are seeking some forms of acceptance.

This lack of attention to organization entry rituals makes socialization more difficult for newcomers (Van Gennep). They lack the “rites of passage,” the outward signs that demonstrate their status in an organization. This explains why VanMaanen and Schein (1979) found volunteers took 6.7 months as compared to 4.1 months for employees to “feel like a regular member of the organization.”

Consistent with this research, students in this study did not receive much attention from the voluntary organization where they served. Except for a couple of students, entry markers were few. Lack of attention in regard to these issues may explain why volunteers paid so much attention to the signs of acceptance they received from their particular clientele.

Volunteers appreciated any sign of acceptance from the clients. I categorized these events into four different forms including gestures of endearment, approval, admiration, and trust. Students were thrilled when clients remembered their names, gave them a hug, told them a joke, or demonstrated other signs of acceptance or appreciation. As explained by the socialization literature, these responses helped students answer important questions about their social standing. If the agency subculture gave them few indications of their status, students focused on their clientele. Did the child that they were tutoring like them? Were they valued as a “friend” by the refugee they were

assisting? Students looked for symbolic indications that would answer these questions about their relationships with the clients and their status at the volunteer site.

As students paid attention to relationships with their clients, half of the students were careful in the way that they defined the relationship. They tried to avoid the typical giver-receiver pattern typical in service. Rather, they explained that they were receiving important knowledge either from the people they were serving or the situation that they were placed in. Such behavior has been encouraged by service-learning literature because it avoids a one-way or paternalistic attitude and encourages "mutual learning between the student and the community with whom he or she is actively engaged" (Kendall, 1991, p. 20).

Concepts from socialization suggest, however, that these reciprocal relationships may be encouraged by students' needs for feedback in addition to students' egalitarian ideals to empower both parties.

As students became more comfortable with the volunteer setting, they began to assess the situation. They wondered if their efforts were worth it. They compared their expectations against what they found. In the process they modified their expectations to be more realistic. Since making evaluations of their efforts was difficult, students speculated about the outcomes. The mere hope of making a difference was satisfactory for many students. Other students looked for indicators of success such as "being needed." A few students, however, did not see much change in relation to their efforts. The data suggest that the assessment of these expectations played a role in their subsequent level of commitment.

These findings are consistent with studies involving volunteers. Phillips (1982) found that such incentives are an important factor in the long-term commitment of volunteers. "While the initial motivation to volunteer may be altruistic, that motivation may also be reassessed in terms of its return. Similarly, the decision to continue as a volunteer will be evaluated in terms of its costs and rewards" (as quoted by Pearce, 1993, p. 78).

In their research, Clark and Wilson (1961) found that people are attracted to join organizations for three major reasons: material payoff, social inclusion, and purposeful motives. Although voluntary organizations may not "pay" their workers, they may offer other incentives. This might involve a mix of incentives such as social inclusion or the honor of participating in some important societal goal. The typology points out the importance of some type of incentive. Logic suggests that people do not work for "free." This study supports this proposition. Students hoped to accomplish something through their participation.

The relationship of expectations and motivation has been investigated in organizational entry literature dealing with employee turnover. Louis (1980) explains that this perspective suggests that newcomers' expectations are a critical factor associated with the voluntary turnover of newcomers. If recruits expectations are inflated or idealized the resulting reality can be disappointing (unrealistic expectations). Recruits can also become discouraged because they experience less of something desirable than was anticipated (unmet expectations).

A few studies in cross-cultural literature have also investigated expectations. For example, Weissman and Furnham (1987) found that the expectations of Americans sojourning to England had a significant effect on their mental health while traveling. If their expectations were unrealistically high or low people became depressed. While the results of this and other studies did not result in people terminating their trip, the difference between expectations and reality did have a significant impact on the sojourners' enjoyment.

Students expected to accomplish something through their efforts. This study noted that these expectations had idealistic and heroic overtones. Cognitive literature explains the tendency of young adults to be egocentric and optimistic about their capabilities to correct the social ills of the world. Upon seeing the reality of the situation, all of the students modified their expectations in some form. If students did not see progress towards reaching these expectations they became disappointed and disillusioned. "God, there's so much wrong in the world and I can't fix it," said one student hopelessly. On the other hand, students with positive evaluations appeared to be very excited. "I've learned that volunteers can make a difference with a child," claimed another student pointing out that a child could now read.

The concept of expectations provides an explanation of why one student might have stopped volunteering even before performing any service (despite hours of preparation and training). Vicki wanted to give a presentation on science to elementary children that would be so impressive that every child would want to be an astronaut. "I want to get the other kids excited about [science] because it has had such an influence on

me," she remarked. In spite of her enthusiasm for the project, Vicki never made time to give the presentations--passing by several opportunities. Instead, she became involved with other programs in student government.

I wonder if she avoided the presentations because her expectations were unrealistic. The reality of only giving a mediocre presentation would have been disappointing. In this situation I am clearly speculating, but the data in this study suggest a strong relationship between volunteer commitment and expectations. Volunteers expected some form of intrinsic pay from the experience. This was demonstrated as students assessed their efforts against their expectations. The results of this assessment influenced student decisions about continuing to perform community service.

This discussion has reviewed the most significant processes that students described as they settled in to their volunteer programs. Students entered a different cultural environment that required new interpretations. The data suggest that student volunteers, like sojourners, looked to their peers to make sense of the situation. Students also struggled to clarify their role. Socialization explains the importance of outward signs or markers to help newcomers gauge their entry. Indications of acceptance were important to students because these signs helped them better understand their role and their relationship to others. Expectations also played an important role in volunteer motivations as students assessed the worth of their efforts. The major aspects of this component are summarized below.

- Students generally turned to fellow volunteers to “make sense” of the different cultural norms at the volunteer site.
- Vague volunteer positions were clarified for students by drawing on past experience, clients, fellow volunteers, and agency staff.
- Signs of acceptance were important to volunteers as it helped gauge the status of their standing with the clients they were serving.
- Students modified their expectations after encountering the reality of the volunteer situation.
- Students did not volunteer for “free.” Students had expectations that played a role in their level of commitment.

These adaptations help describe the component of “settling in.” Students had to figure out the new cultural norms and how they “fit” into this new environment. Students modified their expectations and considered whether their efforts were worth the trip.

Outcomes

After volunteering for a period of several months (over a semester) I asked students what they took from their experience. I was curious how their anticipations, shock, and adjustments played out over a larger period of time. Did events continue to parallel the experience of a sojourn? How did the outcomes correlate with other studies and research? This section continues to analyze the volunteer experience by discussing student volunteer outcomes in relation to other sources of knowledge.

A common outcome reported by students was an increased understanding of others. They found the volunteer experience to be multicultural in its nature. Students were introduced to people and cultures that were different from them. This awareness developed an appreciation for people with different backgrounds. Generalizations and stereotypes appeared to decrease.

This phenomenon has been described by social psychologists studying intergroup contact. Gordon Allport (1954) found that contact between two groups reduces intergroup prejudice, conflict, and tension. The principles underlying this assumption contributed to the Supreme Court's 1954 landmark decision, *Brown vs. Board of Education*, regarding school desegregation. Thirty-five respected social scientists submitted a brief to the court that ended with the following statement:

Under certain circumstances desegregation...has been observed to lead to the emergence of more favorable attitudes and friendlier relations between races...There is less likelihood of unfriendly relations when change is simultaneously introduced into all units of a social institution. The available evidence also suggests the importance of consistent and firm enforcement of the new policy by those in authority. It indicates also the importance of such factors as; the absence of competition...the possibility of contacts which permit individuals to learn about one another as individuals, and the possibility of equivalence of positions and functions among all the participants. (Allport, F. H. et al., 1953)

Volunteer work also encourages people from different groups to work together on an individual basis in a noncompetitive environment. Such contact has been found favorable in reducing biases among groups.

The experience of dealing directly with other people was in itself a powerful tool for learning. The educational philosopher John Dewey elaborated on the nexus between

experience and learning in his work *Experience and Education* (1938). A fundamental point of his philosophy was the “organic connection between education and personal experience” (p. 25). Under the right conditions (that he elaborates in this book), Dewey postulates that experience gives the most authentic instruction. The real and concrete nature of community work provides such a fertile ground for learning. Volunteers are able to experience the world “first hand” rather than vicariously reading or hearing about it. As one student commented “It’s incredible how much you learn and change your opinions when you see it as opposed to reading it or just hearing about it.”

Experience was also critical to encouraging students’ cognitive development. When students were placed in contrasting environments they had to adapt in order to maintain an equilibrium. The term imbalance ties directly to Piaget’s concept of equilibrium. This concept of equilibrium relates to the ability of living organisms to maintain a balance or harmony with their environment. If the environment changes, the organism attempts to adapt to the change. This adaptation can provoke growth and development.

Piaget explains that adaptation involves two complementary processes: assimilation and accommodation (Kitchener, 1986). With assimilation students fit the new experience into their current cognitive organization. For example, a student may have visited a food bank with a preconceived idea about what causes poverty. They may have believed that low minimum wages were the reason for this social problem. Rather than keeping an open mind to other issues, that might have been involved, they only focus

on what they were looking for--low wages as the root of all poverty. Their understanding is only informed by what they expect to see.

On the other hand, this student may find that their preconceived notions do not make sense--they may discover that many of the clients are single mothers and cannot work due to children. In this case they may accommodate this new information to consider other reasons for poverty.

Students in this study reported how they made accommodations for the new volunteer situations. Often the scenarios were so different from students' previous experiences that they lacked any conceptual structures to make sense of the situation. "I didn't know what to do" explained a student who tried to figure out the best way to serve to clients in these new environments. In such cases, students learned new ways to interpret the situation. This seemed to put everything "in a new light." For example, one student changed her reasoning about homeless people as a result of her volunteer experience. She came to see that they needed more than just material necessities like housing, clothing, and food. "[They need] a hope or a direction of a feeling of purpose." Through her service involvement she came to a more complex view of the problem. Students who worked with children discussed how their experience helped them rethink their approaches to kids. These comments suggested that these students came away from their experience with a very different way of thinking about children (and how they would act as parents).

William Perry's theory of intellectual development (1970) conceptualizes cognitive growth as a progression from simplistic ways of viewing the world to a more

complex and relative approach. Students' discussion of broadened perspectives or ways of viewing the world suggest that service encouraged growth in this area.

Students perceived that their experiences were challenging them to conceptualize the world in a less naive (and sometimes discouraging) fashion. These provocations often came about as students attempted to explain the disparity between them and the less fortunate population that they served. Things were more complex than students originally envisioned--rather than being black and white everything was "gray" or "controversial." One student commented that service "opened her mind to how relative everything is." These comments suggest that these volunteer experiences provided fertile ground for the type of intellectual development described by Perry.

Another type of development related to students' philosophies concerning multicultural issues. Students tended to adjust to new volunteer environments in one of two of ways. They situated their differences as either being irrelevant (as in denying differences, or as something pertinent (as in acknowledging the differences). For example, some students discussed an attitude of open-mindedness in which they described a commitment to be unbiased with respect to others in their volunteer placement. Although others express the opinion that these differences should not be ignored, but appreciated.

In his study, Robert Rhoads (1997) found student volunteers making similar comments.

Students' comments frequently revealed a certain naivete about the other and about race and class. They desired either a color-blind world or one in which Blacks were somehow transformed into Whites--a world in which

“we are all the same.” As a senior in elementary education commented “There is only one race--the human race.” Students seemed unable to grasp the positive aspects of difference and were trapped within a modernist and functionalist discourse of homogeneity. (1997, p. 123)

Through the volunteer experiences students were challenged to develop in how they situated themselves in relation to others. Robert Kegan (1982, 1994) discusses this type of growth in his model of development. It is based on the way in which individuals differentiate themselves from others (in broader and more complex ways). This type of development was suggested by several students who came to appreciate (as opposed to minimize) differences.

Student's development was often aided through assistance from others. When students' conceptions of the world were no longer adequate they looked for alternate explanations. Students turned to others to help them make sense of these experiences. This created a reciprocal dynamic that encouraged mutual learning between fellow students and clients with whom they were actively engaged. As one student explained. “[Service] gives an opportunity for learning for both sides...I think it helps everyone....It seems like it helps the volunteer and then it helps whomever the volunteer is serving. It's a win win situation.”

Students sensed that service helped them grow. The different environments encountered challenged students to make sense of the situation by rethinking previous conceptions of the world.

Contrasting perspectives also helped students clarify their identity. With a larger perspectives they were more capable of comparing themselves against others. This

permitted students to distinguish themselves. They differentiated and incorporated traits that they saw in others. By becoming acquainted with different cultures students became more aware of themselves.

This phenomena of service was described by Howard Radest in his work

Community Service: Encounter with Strangers.

So the community service project always involves crossing some cultural line and entails a meeting of strangers. Not the least of its puzzling features, however, is the encounter within myself, so to speak. Diversity appears not only between myself and others, but in a confusing way within the "self" by itself. In the meeting of strangers I also meet myself as a stranger. I have seen it when the youngster enters a nursing home, or the healthy enter a hospital, or the sighted meet the blind, or the adolescent re-visits kindergarten. There is a personal shock in the encounter and there is a collective alienness too. (1993, p. 120)

In the process of encountering others through service, one also encounters their "self."

Cross-cultural literature is helpful in understanding the processes that occur through these types of encounters with diverse other and ourselves. In his introduction to the classic anthology Culture Shock Phillip Bock (1970) explains the liberating value of cross-cultural experiences. He points out that the strange customs of others are not meaningless to those who practice them. They have a meaning that is constructed within that society. This reality is just as valid as our own viewpoint. One reason that an anthropologist goes "into the field" is to "increase his self-knowledge by discovering the roots of his own ethnocentrism (1970, xi)." Church explains that by discovering the meaning of other cultures, we come to better understand our society and ourselves.

The sojourner slowly learns to interpret correctly the relevant intercultural cues--he becomes conscious of many of his behaviors and attitudes that he had previously taken for granted. While learning how to act in another

culture he has encountered inestimable breakdowns in communication and he can no longer take for granted that his culturally-bound ways of responding....Thus, the extremeness of the experience seems to be important in developing self-awareness--it takes a severe jolt to force many of us to overcome our complacent acceptance of culturally determined behaviors. (Church, 1971, p. 47)

In his model of cross-cultural adjustment Peter Adler (1974) further outlines the specific psychological and social dynamics that occur when new cultures are encountered. These behavioral dynamics are, in large part, the function of one's perceptions of similarities and differences.

The model of the transitional experience explains that "a successful cross-cultural experience should result in the movement of personality and identity to new consciousness of values, attitudes, and understandings" (Adler, 1974, p. 15).

Adler further describes the experience as "a movement from a state of low self and cultural awareness to a state of high self and cultural awareness" (p.15). This portrayal was echoed by students in this study. They said things like "You learn so much about yourself and others through service."

In conclusion Adler explains, "Paradoxically, the more one is capable of experiencing new and different dimensions of human diversity, the more one learns of oneself" (1974, p. 20).

Robert Coles explained this type of identity clarification in *The Call of Service* by quoting his mother's admonition to read Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. In a personal forward to this work his mother challenged him to learn from the characters of the book:

Let them have a life in you, too, and let them teach you how to live your life. Let them teach you to avoid some of their mistakes, Tolstoy's

mistakes. We all make them, blunder our way along, but we can step out of ourselves, now and then; we can take the hands of others and walk with them. That is what Tolstoy gives us in his characters; through them he approaches us and tries to be of help to us. (1993, p. 287)

Coles views service as a call inward--an experience to understanding oneself through service to others.

The college years are recognized as a period of "coming of age." During this period young adults are actively formulating their identity. Community service provided students in this study an opportunity to explore the world and learn more about themselves through the process.

Students described that after volunteering they also felt better about themselves. These feelings of efficacy developed in two ways. First, students felt better about themselves because of the feedback they received, and second they gained a sense of accomplishment by seeing that they made a difference.

To better understand the first way students' efficacy increased, I will draw upon concepts from symbolic interactionism. This framework was introduced in the methodology section and builds on the idea of meaning being constructed through symbolic social interactions. The perspective proposes that one's view of the self is influenced through interactions with other people. William James (1890) first suggested the idea that an individual's self-conception is derived from the responses of others mirrored back to the individual. Charles Horton Cooley (1902) later used the figurative example of a looking glass self to describe the way that only way we "see" ourselves through the reflections we receive from others.

George Herbert Mead (1934) further developed this social theory of self in his book *Mind, Self, and Society*. In this work, Mead argued that the self is formed out of an interaction between the “I” and the “me.” The “I” is the individual acting out some sort of behavior such as talking, playing, or interacting with others; this is accomplished through language which plays an important part of this interaction. The “me” relates to the sense that one has about the “I” who is acting out the behavior. In other words, the sense of self that we develop about the “I” comes from the interpretations that we suspect that others have of us. In more simple terms, Mead suggests that we cannot understand ourselves without the help of others who provide feedback.

Community service involves a great deal of interaction between the self and others. Volunteers met other members of the community as they identified problems and took action. In this process students often noted positive feelings being reflected back to them. This feedback had a positive effect on the students’ sense of self.

The framework of symbolic interactionism additionally reveals that feedback from others does not even have to be received-- it can simply be imagined. In other words, students could have pictured what they thought the reaction of others would have been towards their behavior. Thus, students who did not receive any feedback may have projected positive responses about their volunteer work, and felt better about themselves.

This theory raises questions about the extent to which people are socially constructed. The concept could be interpreted in such a fashion that people are denied individual agency. Mead’s theory of the “I,” however, does not have to be exclusively interpreted as a response to the reflections derived from situating oneself as the object of

(the me). People have the ability to break away from social norms and customs. "In other words, people are capable of removing the masks at times and stepping away from a socially staged drama" in order to write their own scripts (Rhoades, 1995, p. 30). This broader interpretation is helpful in understanding the condition of students who derived a sense of efficacy from a different source.

This other source of personal efficacy became apparent as I listened to one student describe an experience of sorting donated clothing at a thrift store. He made it clear that he disliked the work.

I don't really like messing in other people's clothes... 'cause the clothes are usually pretty stinky. But every time I came home, I thought "that's something that has to be done by someone. It might as well be me that does it."

As I probed about his involvement he implied that there was something uplifting about it despite its unappealing nature. "When you go out and do it on your own, it gives you a sense of accomplishment." It appeared that the reward was not in the task itself, but was related to the sense of attainment that came from acting upon his own values. I interpreted his comment of doing it "on your own" to mean that he was acting in accordance to his own feelings--not in responding to the socially constructed identity of "I" explained by Mead.

In relation to the second fashion in which service built in students' sense of efficacy, I turn to developmental literature. Students reported feeling "good" about themselves because they felt that they could "make a difference."

A common theme among theories of motivation is the need for people to be productive, creative, or in some fashion capable of leaving one's mark upon the world (Maslow, 1970; Murry, 1938).

Service is an idealistic endeavor through which students feel that they "can make a difference." Service not only provides a way for students to act on the world, but also act upon higher principles. Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development (1975) describes how people make moral decisions on different levels based upon justifications ranging from fear of punishment to guiding moral principles. A few students appeared to be at levels in which they were acting upon their ideals. Community service gave students the opportunity to act on ideals such as the "golden rule." Acting on these values enhanced students' sense of worth because *they* purposefully directed their actions.

Students' sense of efficacy increased when they participated in community service. They received positive feedback and felt good about what they were doing. Volunteer work also gave students the ability to act upon self-directed values and "make a difference."

This study identified four major outcomes in students that volunteered over a period of several months. These are summarized in the following statements:

- Positive contact with people from different backgrounds increased students' understanding of others and reduced bias.
- The cognitive dissonance created by a different cultural atmosphere provoked and encouraged student development.

- Students clarified their identify as they distinguished themselves in broader cultural perspectives.
- Students felt better about themselves as they received positive feedback and saw that they could make a difference.

I found that cross-cultural literature reported similar outcomes for sojourners. In reviewing this literature, Church summarized the positive consequences of such extended travel as:

...enhanced knowledge about the host culture, increased appreciation for the home culture, a broader worldview or perspective, cultural relativism, a reduction in ethnocentrism, intolerance, and stereotype, increased cognitive complexity, and greater personal self-awareness, self-esteem, confidence, and creativity. (1982, p. 557).

The framework of the sojourn also parallels the outcomes of students who volunteer (but on a smaller scale). Students reported similar results from their journeys.

It is interesting to note that students rarely discussed negative outcomes of the volunteer experience when they retrospectively commented on their experience. The one exception was Bill, who wondered about the worth of his efforts. Students looked back at their service involvement in a positive fashion as they discussed what they learned and how they grew. As I mentioned in the methodology section, I was careful with wording my final questions to leave room for both positive and negative outcomes.

The positive remarks about the service could be explained by a number of factors. First, students in this study were self-selected. They were people interested in going the "extra-mile" as demonstrated by their willingness to participate in this study in addition to their regular volunteer work. Second, most of these students persisted in their volunteer

work over the semester and did not cease from their service efforts. Students who “dropped-out” from their volunteer work sooner might have had a different response. Third, the students might not have been interested in thinking about the negative consequences of their efforts. Who wants to reflect on bad outcomes--let alone admit they had spent their time in a less than productive fashion.

Less desirable outcomes may accrue from the volunteer experience, however, students in this study choose not to discuss these as they looked back on their service. They viewed their sojourn in a positive fashion.

The sojourn metaphor highlights the major components or landmarks of the volunteer experience. It lacks the ability, however, to explain more specific aspects of this experience. For this reason, this discussion has also drawn from previous research in service-learning and the literatures of student development and socialization.

Implications for Practice

The findings of this study can be helpful to practitioners directing campus volunteer activities and service-learning programs. The framework of the sojourn helps conceptualize the experience of students involved in direct community service. It describes the shock and adjustment to a new social setting at the volunteer site. This analysis identifies key aspects of the student volunteer experience and theorizes how these are related to learning about others, cognitive development, identity development, and personal efficacy. Such information can help volunteer coordinators, service-

learning professors, and administrators anticipate some of the concerns and issues of volunteers so they can be better equipped to assist students in this process.

This section discusses how the findings of this study could be applied towards coordinating volunteer programs. I have structured this discussion in a chronological fashion to include the areas of volunteer recruitment, orientation, and support.

Volunteer Recruitment

Recruitment deals with the information that students receive before they decide to join a particular volunteer program. Generally speaking this is accomplished through word of mouth and promotional materials. This study suggests several practices that can assist students in this initial process.

The first implication relates to advertising. This study found that students volunteered for a variety of reasons. Students wanted to develop skills, serve others, explore a career, have fun, meet people, feel needed, participate in a cause, etc. This suggests that people promoting service could be more effective in their recruitment if they advertised a variety of benefits from service rather than just focusing on one or two.

The next implication relates to expectations. Students do not volunteer for free. They expect something from the experience. Recruitment practices can assist students in establishing realistic expectations. To attract volunteers, service program directors may tempted to use idealistic slogans like “end poverty,” or “eradicate world hunger” that tug at the heart strings. Although these are worthy goals, they are not going to be reached through any single project. New volunteers may naively believe that such objectives are

achievable and will be disappointed when they later learn the effects of the project on a macro level. If idealistic slogans could be modified to a more realistic tones such as "make a difference in a child's life" or "someone needs you" students would be less likely to set such high expectations. Recruitment should encourage achievable goals.

The final implication for recruitment relates to matching students with an appropriate volunteer project. Students often make this critical decision without much information.

To encourage growth, developmental literature would suggest placing students in programs that are different and challenging. Active cognition is more likely to occur when we encounter the unexpected. Such cognition happens when our roles change, our concepts are challenged, or our view of the world is brought into question. These experiences were common as students left campus to volunteer in homeless shelters, nursing homes, etc. Cone and Harris (1996) commented from their years of experience with service-learning classes that "it is important to make the experience a 'discontinuous' one, distinct from students' everyday experiences, so that students are challenged to broaden their perspectives on the world" (p. 33).

Although learning and growth are encouraged by discontinuous experiences, developmental literature points out that some experiences can overwhelm individuals that are not prepared for them. Students should not be placed in projects for which they are not ready. It can be difficult, however, to judge each recruit's degree of preparedness for any particular situation.

One way to handle this situation is to provide ample and accurate information about the volunteer opportunities so students can assess the degree of “cultural distance” involved in the project. Students can make more appropriate choices if they are provided some information about the culture of possible projects available to them. Students could then gauge the degree of shock that they might experience. In this fashion, students would be more informed and self-selecting in their decision making processes. The idea is similar to a travel agency giving detailed information about each of its tours so that potential travelers can select the destination with which they would feel most comfortable.

The findings of this study have some important implications for service-learning classes and the placement of students. If students are forced to perform service (through a class requirement) that does not “fit” their level of comfort, they may face a level of shock beyond their ability to cope. If they cannot drop out of the experience, or find adequate support, several negative outcomes may be encouraged. For example, the awkwardness of the situation may invite them to reject or ridicule the “host” culture rather than accept and appreciate the cultural differences inherent in the volunteer experience.

Orientation

After recruitment, orientation is the next critical period in which implications from this study can be applied. Besides providing basic information about the volunteer program, orientations can be used as an intervention. Realistic expectations can be

encouraged, flexible attitudes explained, roles clarified, and support systems established to better prepare students for their sojourn.

This study found students idealistic about what they could accomplish.

Developmental literature explains that this heroic tendency is a normal part of the adolescent growth. Unrealistic expectations, however, can make students vulnerable to disappointment and disillusionment.

Orientation can be a useful intervention to help students modify their expectations to be more realistic. By providing accurate pictures of the volunteer setting and offering examples of practical goals, students can enter the volunteer situation with less naïve inclinations. Michelle Dunlap (1997) suggests having experienced volunteers share their feelings about their first experience in that particular program. By providing examples of others who were anxious, shocked, or disappointed, students will have more confidence that they can overcome these parts of the process.

Care should be taken to do this in a matter-of-fact fashion so students are not predisposed to self-fulfilling prophecies. Such flexibility could be encouraged by informing students about the diversity of issues that may arise and by providing several responses. Students would learn that there is no particular formula that works for everyone in making sense of their experience. Every student must navigate his or her own sojourn. Fellow students, however, can provide helpful support.

Experienced volunteers can be a helpful resource to new volunteers. This study found that students turned to their peers to make sense of the situation. Student program directors were particularly helpful in this process because they acted as a liaison between

the volunteer agency and university students. These leaders were figuratively from the same country and spoke the same language. They had also experienced the shock of the encounter and have more experience interpreting the new culture. Orientations could introduce student program leaders and make them visible and accessible to new students.

Orientations could pay more attention to preparing students for one-on-one volunteer situations such as a tutors, mentors, or adopted grandchildren. Since agencies are more removed in these relationships, they often neglect to address these issues. Students would be aided if orientations could give more explicit attention to explaining the negotiation process involved in establishing a relationship. As part of these instructions, however, it should be explained that there is no exact formula to establish these associations. Orientation materials could suggest several ways that students may choose to work with their client(s).

Preparing students for their volunteer work is the role of orientation. This study suggests several interventions that can improve students' volunteer experience such as encouraging realistic expectations, promoting flexible attitudes, establishing support systems, and training students how to better negotiate their roles. Such interventions can take place before students begin to volunteer and should establish supports systems that students can turn to at more critical times in their experience.

Support

This study demonstrated that students need just as much attention after volunteering as before. The shock and subsequent processes of adjustment suggest that it

is important for students to have assistance after they start volunteering. Students need to make sense of the new environment, feel accepted, and feel like they are making a difference if they are going to continue to volunteer. This section provides ideas to assist program coordinators in these areas.

Volunteers need to assign meaning to the events, surprises, and shocks that they encounter where they volunteer in order to make appropriate interpretations. Unless they “figure out” the norms at the volunteer site students lack the knowledge of how to act in a functional manner and may stop volunteering.

To help students make sense of the social system, practitioners can intervene by encouraging students to share information with each other. Several students in this study talked about their discussions with other volunteers. It is interesting to note that these were informal conversations that usually took place in route to or from the site. During this time they swapped stories, shared meanings, and passed on other helpful pieces of information. For this reason it appears that structuring an informal time for volunteers to visit with each other could be particularly helpful. Students appear reluctant to ask leaders for assistance unless they have a major concern. Fellow volunteers are easier to approach.

The literature of service-learning has emphasized the importance of “reflection sessions.” This practice has been promoted to increase learning from the service experience. For example, students volunteering at a soup kitchen might meet afterwards to discuss what they learned about the issue of poverty. It appears, however, that before students can reflect upon social issues, they must first begin to make sense of their own

experience. Students need time to interpret and make sense of their particular volunteer experience before they can discuss larger social problems.

This suggests an additional function for “reflection sessions.” Rather than discussing what students are learning, the questions should first focus on what students are trying to figure out. (This is still learning, but with a different approach). Peers can serve as a reference group to diagnose and interpret confusing events.

One danger with such groups however is their lack of historical and “insider” perspectives of the agency and clients. Rather than acting as a transitional community, that helps understand these other social systems, such groups can perpetuate volunteers’ misunderstandings and biases. This situation is well illustrated by sojourners who only associate with “fellow nationals” in a foreign country. By isolating themselves, they distance themselves from local interpretations and native understandings. (I need only think of my last trip to South America to see how easy it is to become cynical of foreign culture).

To encourage students’ appreciation of the native understanding practitioners can assist volunteers by discussing both emic and etic perspectives. In other words, those directing volunteer programs could explain the difference between an outsider’s and insider’s point of view. While discussing outsider’s viewpoints is necessary, conversations can be directed towards the native’s perspective. Rather than asking volunteers how they feel, for example, practitioners might ask volunteers how they perceive the clients that they are serving are feeling. This helps volunteers look for broader interpretations and more context specific meaning.

Another way to encourage adjustment is through social interaction. Both cross cultural literature and contact theory suggest that in order to reduce prejudice the relationships should be based on an equal status, with groups working on goals that are important for each group. This suggests thinking about clients in a different fashion. Rather than a “giver” and “receiver” of service, both parties should be encouraged to work together to alleviate a common problem.

Even after orientation meetings volunteers have a difficult time clarifying their roles. Because of the part-time nature of volunteers' work, agencies tend to give volunteers more latitude and autonomy compared to regular employees. Students often have a difficult time understanding what behaviors are expected from them as they take the assignment to be a tutor, mentor, teacher, etc. It appears that more attention could be paid to this area. Practitioners can assist volunteers with their role clarification by being available for questions and by making occasional contacts with student volunteers after orientation.

Another aspect of settling in relates to acceptance. It was important for students to feel included, accepted, and trusted. Students were quick to describe situations that symbolically demonstrated the acceptance by their client(s). Socialization literature describes how acceptance is a key aspect of a newcomer's adjustment as it symbolically demonstrates one's membership status.

Practitioners can encourage the acceptance of volunteers in a number of realms including the social system of the agency, the clients, and fellow volunteers.

Some ideas for agencies might include remembering volunteers' names. Physical space may be another form of recognition. Do volunteers have a designated desk, area, or working space that is reserved for them? Dedicating such resources to volunteers demonstrates that their work is valued. Another strategy may be granting volunteers employee privileges such as access to the telephones, the employee lounge, or parking spaces. The general strategy suggests recognizing volunteers by placing them on equal status level in the organization and creating an inviting environment. Official markers could also be prudently used to designate a volunteer's status in an organization. Certificates, awards, or plaques are another way to distinguish the level of a volunteer's contributions and show appreciation.

The second realm of acceptance relates to how the volunteer relates to the client(s) who they serve. It might initially appear that practitioners have little influence in this relationship, however, some helpful tactics can be implemented to get this relationship off to a good start. One strategy relates to how volunteers and clients are introduced. Program directors can help facilitate the introduction of volunteers by preparing both parties before the initial meeting. This might include saying positive things about the other, etc. As the initial introduction can be awkward, it might be helpful to provide some type of "get to know you" activity that permits some self-disclosure between the volunteer and the client. Practitioners might also encourage positive feedback between the volunteer and the client. This might be done in a variety of forms. One student in the study mentioned how much they appreciated a picture that a child had drawn for them. Any form of positive social interaction appears to improve relationships. To

encourage this type of interaction practitioners could provide parties or other informal periods of time for relationships to develop.

The last realm for developing trust relates to fellow volunteers. This may not be as applicable in some projects where volunteers serve alone, but some intervention can take place. For example, the Bennion Center found that volunteer program directors that kept in weekly contact with their volunteers had a much higher rate of retention than those program directors that did not keep in touch with their volunteers. Acceptance from fellow volunteers appears to be more important if students do not have much social interaction with clients or the agency. For example, students involved in an environmental project may have a greater need for social inclusion among their associates than volunteers that have a high degree of positive contact with children that they tutor.

Student program leaders can play a pivotal role in promoting acceptance among fellow volunteers. They can first do this by establishing a good relationship with the student volunteers in their program. This would include things like remembering their names, saying "hello" on campus, periodic phone calls, and expressions of appreciation.

Another strategy would relate to promoting acceptance among fellow volunteers. Practitioners can attempt to influence this variable by promoting an inclusive environment or culture among volunteers. To do this program directors might point out that volunteers are facing similar problems and conversations with each other can be helpful.

As mentioned in this study, several students found that informal conversations with other volunteers were helpful for swapping ideas and sharing accomplishments and

disappointments. A couple of students, however, mentioned that formal discussion sessions sponsored by student program leaders felt contrived or “too deep.” Care should be taken not to push the group beyond their willingness to participate. Rather than preparing questions for discussion, student program directors might find their efforts more productive in setting up appropriate avenues for social interaction among volunteers.

The final area of implications for practice relates to helping students assess their volunteer efforts. Program directors should provide accurate information to volunteers about what they are accomplishing. Since volunteers have invested a significant amount of time, they are likely to overestimate their efforts. Practitioners must be careful not to take advantage of this tendency of volunteers to quickly attribute success to their efforts.

It is difficult to measure the worth of individual's specific efforts in community service efforts. To help students make accurate assessments of their efforts some larger pieces of information should be provided. This could include statistics about the agencies' objectives. Such information not only lets students see how their efforts “fit in,” but also usually helps students see their efforts in more concrete ways. For example, rather than judging the worth of their efforts by how “accepted” or “needed” they feel (emotions) students could note small changes that lead towards the agencies' overall objectives.

This study highlights the needs of students after they start volunteering. Assistance at this point can be just as critical as orientation. Students need help to deal with the shock of a new cultural environment. Associations with fellow students can

provide a reference group to interpret the new setting. Students also need to feel accepted. Practitioners can foster acceptance through demonstrations of inclusion. Additionally students need information so that they can accurately assess their efforts.

The model of the sojourn suggests several practices that can aid students in their transition to volunteer experience. It highlights the social aspects of the entry experience. Students do enter a new culture when they volunteer. By preparing and assisting students in this process they are more likely to continue volunteering and experience the outcomes of cognitive development, personal efficacy, and a better understanding of themselves and others.

Implications for Research and Theory

Research and theory describing the actual experience of volunteers has been lacking. This study furthers our understanding of the nature of volunteer work by conceptualizing the experience of college students involved in community service programs at the University of Utah. Although previous research has focused on the outcomes of community service involvement, this study examined the volunteer experience as a whole. This has helped clarify the processes of the volunteer experience in relation to retention and outcomes.

Consequently this study enlarged theory regarding service-learning by conceptualizing the multicultural nature of the volunteer experience within the framework of a sojourn. The study also builds on socialization research investigating the entry experience of temporary members who hold their primary affiliations in other

organizations. Finally, the research informs student developmental theory by outlining the environmental conditions of the volunteer experience that are conducive to growth.

In making recommendations for research and theory this section is divided into four sections related to the fields of student development, cross-cultural adjustment, socialization, and service-learning.

Developmental literature has primarily focused on describing what change is actually taking place in individuals. Theories of development use stages to describe what constitutes growth or movement from one phase to another. Some theories are better than others for describing what provokes growth. For example, Piaget's theory of cognitive development describes how specific knowledge structures are abandoned and reformulated by children in times of intellectual disequilibrium. On the other hand, student developmental theories are less specific about what provokes development. This study has theorized that the disparity involved in cross-cultural service experiences encourages cognitive growth. Additional research could explore this variable in intellectual development. The concept of cultural distance appears to be a helpful framework to explore this issue.

Cross-cultural literature has generally investigated the experience of sojourners in foreign countries. Peter Adler (1974) theorized that one need not travel outside of one's country to experience culture shock. Other experiences can provoke the same response such as individuals who change careers, are divorced, or otherwise make significant changes in their social relations. In these situations of transition personal and cultural awareness increase due to the contrasts provoked by the change. Little research, however,

has been conducted in regards to this type of culture-shock (outside of anthropological settings). The processes of the transitional experience described by Adler provide a framework to investigate such encounters in the fields of psychology and organizational behavior.

The literature of socialization could draw some helpful concepts from the field of socialization (and vice versa). Although initial treatments of socialization were based on cross-cultural literature the two fields have remained distant. This is unfortunate because they could benefit from one another. For example, the concept of cultural distance could be helpful in describing the disparity between newcomers' past experience and the norms of the organization in socialization literature. The more specific descriptions of stages in socialization, however, could improve vague models in cross-cultural literature.

The field of socialization also lacks theories regarding the entrance of newcomers whose primary affiliations are with other organizations. Research and theories regarding individuals holding multiple memberships could be expanded.

In regards to service-learning literature, this investigation suggests further research in regards to conceptualizing different types of service experiences, variables of retention, and their relation to long-term outcomes in volunteers.

This study conceptualized the experience of college students involved in direct service. Direct service entailed some form of contact between the students who rendered service and individuals who benefitted. This study, however, did not investigate the experience of students involved in advocacy or environmental service projects. These experiences are quite different and would likely be conceptualized in a completely

different fashion. Models and frameworks describing these experiences would also be helpful to practitioners.

The framework of the sojourn developed in this model suggests several important variables that relate to the retention of student volunteers. These included adjustment to the new cultural environment and roles at the volunteer site, signs of acceptance, and a positive assessment of one's efforts in relation to one's expectations. The significance of these variables could be quantitatively tested in relation to volunteer turnover.

Finally the short-term nature of this study limited the framework in its ability to describe the entire volunteer experience. At the completion of the study a number of volunteers were continuing in the same volunteer project. Because of this situation the framework focused on the entry experience of volunteers. More could be learned, however, about their exit. How did they terminate their volunteer experience? What factors were involved as they ended relationships (as opposed to starting them)? Do the parallels to the sojourn continue as students return home (with reentry experiences to one's native culture)? Research with a longer time frame could answer questions and also investigate other outcomes. For example, this investigation's pilot study included several students who had participated in service over a number of years. A couple of these students explained that community service helped them develop a sense of civic involvement and social responsibility. These findings were not identified in this study although these outcomes have been reported in other studies.

This study has found frameworks of knowledge that are helpful in understanding the student volunteer experience. The framework of the sojourn conceptualizes the

experience of students and suggests several variables that relate to retention and the reported outcomes of cognitive development, personal efficacy, and a better understanding of oneself and others. Additional research is needed to clarify these relationships and ascertain the interpretation of the sojourn.

Epilogue

In reflecting on this dissertation, I am tempted to use the sojourn metaphor once again. This investigation was not a casual vacation exploring a topic of interest like so many research papers I have written. This was a true excursion--an extended and thorough investigation of students involved in service. Besides reading everything I could find on the subject, I explored the student volunteer experience firsthand by collecting and analyzing my own data. At times, the task was overwhelming and daunting. With the support and advice of others, however, I kept moving and found the journey to be a rich and rewarding experience.

This dissertation has clearly been the capstone experience for my doctorate. Besides learning about the student volunteer experience on this sojourn, I have also learned a great deal about conducting research, applying the theory to practice, and myself

I compare the research methodology of this investigation to my transportation. This was the method by which I approached my investigation. Although qualitative research is extremely rich and comprehensive, the approach is demanding, circuitous, and slow. It requires an open mind, plenty of time, significant documentation, and a lot of flexibility. It is like taking the slow boat somewhere.

I learned that with qualitative research you often do not know the final destination. Rather than testing a hypothesis or theory, you follow the phenomena of your investigation wherever it may take you. I traveled through several literatures in an attempt to find concepts that would inform the data. What I have presented in this dissertation is my best interpretation of student volunteer experiences (as it is informed by several frameworks). I am aware of the study's subjective nature and of the tentative conclusions that it suggests. Much more remains to be discovered.

From this journey, I have become more astute about judging the quality of research. I am more skeptical about the appropriateness of the methodology, the research design, and inferences derived from the data. I know the components of the process so that I am better able to judge the reliability and validity of the analysis. While my research was qualitative in its nature, I feel that many of the issues are related to quantitative research.

In fact, the inductive nature of my research helped me better understand the way that we draw inferences. I have seen that various interpretations can often explain the same facts. This has encouraged me to be more open-minded and less naïve. Someone's conclusions about the data might not be the best explanation. I am now more likely to question other's analysis. I am also more open to flaws in my own thinking. I see the need for presentation, critical review, and open discussion of one's conclusions. It is in this environment of questioning that better understanding is truly gained.

The close association to students in this study has helped me to sift through the literatures in the field. I have a broader perspective from which I can judge the merit of

various theories in the field. I found that students in this study were concerned about “fitting in” and “making sense” of their volunteer experiences. These issues have received little attention by practitioners in student affairs. From this I have learned the importance of research guiding the agenda of a field. While philosophical points about service and learning have their place, it is important to have a clear understanding of what is actually happening. Agendas can be irrelevant without solid research in the field.

The process of developing an interpretive framework has not only helped me see how theory is developed, but how it can be applied. As the sojourn model unfolded, I couldn't help but relate the analysis to my work directing service programs at Ricks College. I used the sojourn metaphor to help student program directors conceptualize their role in directing student service programs. With this approach I was able to focus their attention to the issues that new volunteers faced upon entry, how they made sense of new environments, and assessed the worth of their efforts. I have also enjoyed discussing this research with colleagues and feel that the dialogue spurs us to improve our practices.

I look forward to continued participation in these forums. This dissertation has given me an added ability and confidence to participate in national meetings and conferences on important issues in student affairs and higher education.

Finally, this dissertation sojourn has let me learn more about myself. On the excursion I have had a significant amount of time by myself. I have learned how much I enjoy learning. It was exciting to read, reflect, and discuss ideas with others. I also enjoyed being with college students. They are vibrant, curious, and idealistic. This is probably the reason I was so intrigued by this study. I have also learned about my

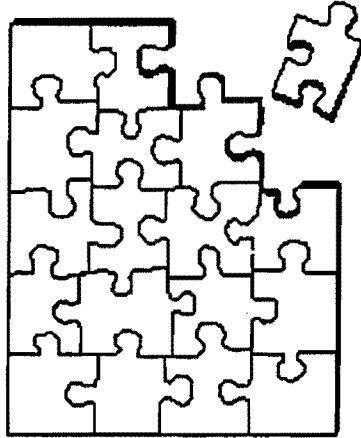
determination. Not all parts of this dissertation were thrilling. Seemingly endless hours of writing and rewriting were frustrating and painstakingly slow. I have learned that if I just keep moving forward in the right direction, with a consistent effort, I can eventually climb any mountain. I could not have done it without the help of others, however. I owe a great deal to faculty for their guidance and to my family that sacrificed so that I could take this journey. In the end, I have learned how much I have appreciated their assistance.

APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT MATERIAL

Flyer

Make Your Service Count for More



Help "piece together" a picture of what its like to volunteer by visiting with Brian Schmidt. This graduate student would like to hear about your service experience so he can put this puzzle together. As part of his dissertation project he wishes to visit with some "new" Berrien Center volunteers a few times during the semester.

If you would be willing to assist please fill out the back side and return to the front desk of the Berrien Center.



Thank you for offering to help piece together this puzzle! Brian Schmidt will be visiting with people Monday afternoons and Tuesday mornings at the Berrien Center. Please fill out the information below so that Brian can contact you.

Name: _____

Volunteer Project: _____

Phone: _____

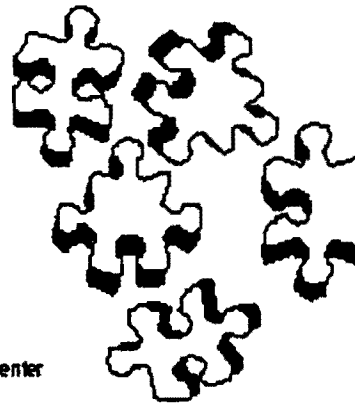
Best time to reach you: _____

Email: _____

Have you volunteered with the Berrien Center before? _____

Is this in conjunction with a service-learning class? _____

If you have any questions you can contact Brian via email at Schmidt@bricks.edu or leave a message in his box at the Berrien Center



Please return this to the front desk of the Berrien Center

Letter

The following text was printed on letterhead from the Department of Educational Leadership & Policy and mailed with the previous flyer to 200 randomly selected volunteers from the Lowell Bennion Center Community Service Center at the University of Utah.

Name
Address

Date

Dear Bennion Center Volunteer:

I am working on a project to better understand what it is like for students to volunteer. In order to do this I need your help. Please read the enclosed flyer and return with the envelope provided if you could assist.

Thanks!

Brian Schmidt

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW DATES AND LOCATIONS

Pseudonym	First Interview		Second Interview		Third Interview		Fourth Interview	
	Date	Location	Date	Location	Date	Location	Date	Location
Alyce	9/28/98	1	11/2/98	1	12/14/98	3	1/26/99	1
Bill	9/22/98	1	11/30/98	1	2/18/99	3		
Daniel	9/21/98	1	11/2/98	1	1/26/99	1		
David	10/19/98	2	11/16/98	2	1/26/99	2		
Hannah	10/20/98	1	11/17/98	1	1/26/99	1		
Jackie	10/2/98	1	11/2/98	1	12/17/98	3	1/25/99	1
Judy	9/28/98	1	11/16/98	1	12/9/99	1		
Roger	10/2/98	1	11/2/98	1	12/9/98	3	1/26/99	1
Sally	10/19/98	1	12/10/98	3	1/27/99	1		
Sarah	9/28/98	1	11/2/98	1	12/9/98	3	1/2/99	1
Stephanie	10/19/98	1	11/17/98	1	12/14/98	3	1/26/99	1
Summer	9/28/98	1	11/16/98	1	12/10/98	3	1/26/99	1
Tammy	9/21/98	1	11/2/98	1	12/14/98	3	1/25/99	1
Van	10/2/98	1	11/2/98	1	2/16/99	3		
Vickie	10/19/98	1	11/16/98	1				
Virginia	10/20/98	1	12/10/98	3	1/25/99	1		

Location Designations

- 1 Bennion Center
- 2 Trading Post at Ballif Hall
- 3 Telephone Conversation

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT

Purpose

My name is Brian Schmidt. I am a student at the University of Utah working on my doctorate degree in Educational Leadership and Policy. For my dissertation I am conducting research on college students involved in community service. Not much is really known about the effects of service-learning or how these experiences can best be structured for the student volunteer. My research will attempt to begin answering some of these questions by developing a model that describes common aspects of a student volunteer experience. This framework will hopefully assist leaders of campus volunteer organizations in designing better service activities.

Procedure

This study will involve several interviews with students participating in community service projects sponsored by the Bennion Center. The interviews will consist of questions that ask about the participant's community service experience. The interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed for later analysis.

Duration

Your participation in this study would involve three to four interviews with me, the researcher, over the period of the semester (periodically spaced). These interviews will generally take 20 to 30 minutes and will be scheduled at a time and place (usually at the Bennion Center on the U. of U. Campus) that are mutually convenient for both of us. If this is difficult we may just try visiting over the phone.

Confidentiality

The researcher will protect your privacy in this study by assigning a different name (pseudonym) to your taped interviews, subsequent transcriptions, and notes. The "key" to these pseudonyms will be available only to the researcher and his assistants. This confidentiality would be breached only under situations such as a court subpoena or the involvement of criminal activity. Although all possible safeguards will be used to protect your anonymity, the methodology of the study prevents complete anonymity in all situations. The use of pseudonyms will protect your identity from outsiders, but fellow volunteers or perhaps leaders in the Bennion Center may recognize your involvement from the circumstances described by your interviews.

Risks

Few potential risks or discomforts are anticipated with this study. The interviews, however, will require some of your time and energy as you will be asked to thoughtfully respond to questions regarding your service involvement.

Benefits

Involvement in this study will allow you time to think and reflect on your volunteer service. Results from the study will contribute to a body of research that can assist future campus leaders in designing and structuring better service opportunities for college students. The findings of this study will be published in my dissertation. Upon approval from my committee a copy of the dissertation will be placed in the Marriott Library on our Campus.

Withdrawal

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time throughout the study. Simply inform me of your desires by sending an email, writing me a note, or calling me by phone (my addresses and phone number are listed in the next section). You may also refuse to answer any question(s) in the interviews at your discretion. Your participation in this study will not affect your relationship with the Bennion Center. Additionally, you are under no obligation to continue your volunteer work with the Bennion Center for the benefit of this research. If however, you discontinue volunteering, I would still be interested in one final interview with you.

Concerns

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. My work phone number is (208) 356-2242, my address is P.O. Box 41, Sugar City, ID 83448, or you can reach me via email at schmidtb@ricks.edu. If you have a matter that you do not feel comfortable discussing with me that relates to this study you may contact the University of Utah's General University Institutional Review Board at (801) 581-5382.

Consent

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above. You are also acknowledging that you have received a copy of this informed consent for your records.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Before Volunteering

I. Before Starting

Date:

Place:

Comments:

II. Getting Started

At Ease

Explanation of my study

Criteria--Do they fit?

Informed Consent, review, questions, & have sign

Start Recording

III. Basic Information

Pseudonym

Age:

Sex:

Class:

IV. Question Guide

What comes to mind when you think of community service?

How did you come about participating in this project?

Tell me about previous volunteer experiences?

How did you select this particular project?

Tell me what you imagine it will be like to volunteer at....?

What do think will be the most rewarding/difficult?

What, if any, expectations do you bring to an experience like this?

Did you receive much orientation?

What were the most/least valuable parts of your orientation?

V. Closing

Thanks

Next Meeting

VI. Comments

After Volunteering

I. Before Starting

Date:

Place:

Comments:

Pseudonym:

II. At Ease

III. Questions

How open are you to change (seeking out new experiences)? On a scale of one to 1-10. One being never, and 10 being always open to change.

How different has this volunteer experience been from anything you have experienced before? One being not very different, 10 being extremely different

What is it like to volunteer at...?

What experiences have been the most memorable or are the most vivid?

Any events that stand out from your volunteer experience?

What do you think about _____ (the experience)?

Now that you have actually volunteered what things do you wish would have been covered more/less in your orientation?

If you could orient a new volunteer what would you tell them?

Tell me about your first day?

How did you feel about this service activity before you went?

How do you feel about this service activity now?

When you look back at your volunteer experience(s) what issues come to mind?

Are you finding what you expected?

- III. Closing
 - Thanks
 - Next Meeting

- IV. Comments

After Volunteering Continued

- I. Before Starting
 - Date:
 - Place:
 - Comments:
 - Pseudonym:

- II. Ease

- III. Questions

How has it been at . . . ?

Any experiences that stand out since we last meet?

Last time you told me about ____? Follow up on sense making and other types experiences that may stand out.

How did you figure out what you were supposed to be doing?

Tell me about the most discouraging/rewarding aspects of your experience.

What experiences have been the most memorable or are the most vivid?

How much contact do you have with the Bennion Center leader or volunteer coordinator at the agency?

IV. Questions for Non persisting Volunteers

If you could advise/orient a new volunteer what would you tell them?

When you look back at your service experience what issue come to mind?

Did you make the impact you had hoped for?

V. Closing

Thanks

Any questions

Next Meeting

VI. Comments

Final Interview

I. Before Starting

Date:

Place:

Comments:

Pseudonym:

II. Ease

III. Questions

How has it been at . . . ?

Last time you talked about _____? What do you think about that now?

What's happened since we last visited?

Tell me about your status as a volunteer—continuing?

IV. Member Checking Questions

Expectations

A number of students changed their expectations after they began serving. Did you get what you were hoping for from this experience or did you modify your goals?

Personal Expectations (from beginning)

Personal Outcomes

What will you take from this volunteer experience?

A lot of students say that service has “opened their eyes. Has this volunteer experience “opened your eyes?” If so, in what way?

A _____ (vivid experience) happened to you. How has this affected you? Do you think, feel, act differently.

Looking back, in five years, what do you think you will remember about this experience
How might you (or not) act differently in the future because of this experience?

Relationships

Many of the volunteers that I have visited with have commented on how they have enjoyed getting to know the people they were serving. Was this true for you? If so, how?

Other people have commented that it was difficult to figure out their role. Was this true for you? If so, how?

Intervention

What’s it been like to talk about your volunteer experience with me?

Did you feel more obligated to volunteer?

How did you come to participate in this study?

V Closing

Questions
THANK YOU!

VI. Comments

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