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A FRAMEWORK FOR JUSTICE-CENTERING RELATIONSHIPS AND UNDERSTANDING IMPACT IN HIGHER EDUCATION COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

A Dissertation Presented

by

MELISSA M. QUAN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2021

Higher Education Program

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ABSTRACT

A FRAMEWORK FOR JUSTICE-CENTERING RELATIONSHIPS AND UNDERSTANDING IMPACT IN HIGHER EDUCATION COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

May 2021

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Community engagement in higher education has been promoted as critical to fulfilling higher education's responsibility to the public good through teaching, learning, and knowledge generation. Reciprocity and mutual benefit are key principles of community engagement that connote a two-way exchange of knowledge and shared power and decision making. However, it is not clear, from existing literature, whether community engagement impacts communities in meaningful or positive ways.

The problem addressed through this study was how campus-community partnership stakeholders define impact. This was a study of how impact was determined; it was not an assessment of whether identified outcomes were achieved. Using grounded theory, the ways community and campus partners defined, measured, and understood community impact in a diverse set of campus-community partnership initiatives at two U.S. Jesuit universities were explored, placing priority on community voice and knowledges. Relationships as facilitators

of impact and as impacts in and of themselves emerged as central themes. The ideal impact described by many community partners was a transformed relationship between higher education and the community, such that colleges and universities recognized their place, roles, and responsibilities as *part of* the community rather than apart from it.

Themes from the data led to the development of the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework. The framework includes two distinct paradigms for understanding community impact in higher education community engagement – Plug-and-Play and Justice-Centering Relationships – that are bridged by a Reframing process. A critical difference between the paradigms is the relationship between campus and community. In the Plug-and-Play paradigm, campus-community partnerships function as individual units/phenomena. Impact is focused on, defined as, and limited by individual behaviors and commitments and short-term, quantifiable outputs. Within this paradigm, the university acts as separate from the community. In the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm, campus-community partnerships are understood as part of a broader institutional commitment and collective effort. Impacts are longer-term and defined as ever evolving relationships that contribute to institutional and social change. Within this paradigm, the university recognizes its position as part of the community. Through the *Reframing* process, community-engagement stakeholders dismantle institutional structures and policies that perpetuate injustice to create the conditions for justice-centering relationships.

DEDICATION

To Sarah and Alex,

I love you more.

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This dissertation is nearly seven years in the making, since the start of my doctoral journey. During that time, I have been supported, lifted, and encouraged by many individuals and communities who have believed in me and the work that I have tried to advance. As the saying goes, it takes a village, and I am indebted to mine.

In *The Courage to Teach*, Parker Palmer writes, "Good teachers possess a capacity for connectedness. They are able to weave a complex web of connections among themselves, their subjects, and their students so that students can learn to weave a world for themselves…The connections made by good teachers are held not in their methods but in their hearts – heart in the ancient sense, as the place where intellect, emotion, and spirit will converge in the human self." I have benefited from the love and care of many good teachers throughout my lifetime and those at Fairfield University have been particularly important these past nearly twenty years. To Robin Crabtree, David Sapp, and Wendy Kohli for introducing me to social justice education and community-engaged learning, and for supporting me along a career path that has become my vocation. To Mary Frances Malone, for taking me under your wing, believing in me, persistently encouraging me to pursue a doctoral degree and remaining lovingly committed to ensuring I finish, thank you. To Jocelyn Boryczka, for being a partner and co-conspirator in our shared commitments to social justice and for encouraging me as a writer and scholar, especially this past year, as you helped our university remain resilient in the face of multiple pandemics while never taking your eye off caring for each of us as individuals, thank you. To Kamala, for being a great travel companion and inspiring me with your enthusiasm for learning and incredible drive.

To my colleagues in the Center for Social Impact, for your unfaltering support, encouragement, and good humor; and for picking up the extra work and stepping in to lead when I needed to focus on my research and writing, thank you.

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that my learning and well-being were a priority. That example is something I am incredibly grateful for and will carry forward.

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you did. Our relationship began because of a community partnership, and I am grateful for everything you have taught be about what it means to be a part of a community, to listen, and to lead change. Thank you. Last, but certainly not least, thank you Sarah and Alex, for cheering me on even when you would have rather had me come out to play. During this doctoral journey, we have moved homes, changed schools, and endured a pandemic. Your resilience and good humor through it all have been inspiring, and I am so proud to be your mom.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of United States (U.S.) higher education, the public purpose of colleges and universities has evolved along with changing social, economic, and political contexts. The story of this evolving relationship is complex, and tensions exist where higher education has played both a role in promoting the public good while at times also contributing to the oppression of marginalized communities. The present-day community engagement movement in higher education is part of and informed by this complex and dynamic history. The movement's leaders are driven by a long-held belief that education is critical to maintaining a healthy democracy (Dewey, 1916; 1938; Newman, 1985). However, as Peters (2017) points out,

> within the arc of an engagement trend in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there have been and still are forces that reward and privilege technocratic rather than democratic means… [thus] we need to attend to not only the question of whether or to what extent engagement has been and is supported, embraced, and practiced, but also to the questions of how we understand what engagement is, and – most important – what its purposes should be (p. 77).

Understanding the history of higher education and its relationship to the public good, acknowledging and working to rectify the missing stories and voices, and continually examining and sharpening the alignment between the movement's purpose and practice is important to informing how leaders advance the movement in the present day.

The earliest U.S. colleges were developed with the primary purpose to educate clergy and to serve the good of the church (Thelin, 2004). As such, they catered primarily to wealthy, White, protestant males. The early colleges were also intricately connected to slavery, relying on slave labor to physically build campuses and serve campus leaders, faculty, and students:

> Slaveholders became college presidents…Profits from the sale and purchase of human beings paid for campuses and swelled college trusts. And the politics of campus conformed to the presence and demands of slave-holding students as colleges aggressively cultivated a social environment attractive to the sons of wealthy families (Wilder, 2013, p.77).

By the late 1700,'s, Wilder (2013) wrote, "the American campus stood as a silent monument to slavery" (p. 137).

Colleges and universities expanded during the Industrial Revolution of the late 19th and early 20th Century to educate greater numbers of students and prepare them for work (Geiger, 2015). Land grant institutions were among the colleges and universities founded during this time, through the Morrill Acts 1862 and 1890, with the mission to teach agriculture, science, and engineering to prepare the workforce for growing industries. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 established the Cooperative Extension Program (CEP), designed to support the placement

of extension agents in communities to help facilitate campus-community engagement in the areas of agriculture and science. According to Peters (2017), as of 2013, the CEP program had grown to include more than 8,000 community-based educators and its history is comprised of "happy democratic and tragic antidemocratic counterstories" (p.75) that together comprise a narrative that reflects the complexity of U.S. society.

During World Wars I and II higher education served the military needs of the United States, primarily through research. The post-war boom in higher education facilitated by the GI Bill led to the largest growth in enrollment in history and a shift to a knowledge society, or one in which knowledge is seen as critical to individual and economic well-being (Herbold, 1994). However, as a result of discrimination inside and outside of higher education, women and Black students were among those excluded from the full complement of benefits the bill offered; this exclusion has direct implications for the disparities in wealth and education we see today (Herbold, 1994). The post-war era was also a period during which the capitalistic relationship between higher education and society was challenged by calls for more attention to addressing social inequities. The social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, including the anti-war, civil rights, women's liberation, and gay rights movements, spilled onto college campuses and the public called for a renewed vision for higher education's role in society, one more focused on social justice. It is in these social movements, that the pioneers of service-learning locate the origins of academic community engagement (Stanton et al., 1999).

Many leaders throughout U.S. history have considered education to be critical to maintaining a healthy democracy: "American higher education, from the first, assumed that all

of its graduates would participate fully in public affairs as well as in their own careers" (Newman, 1985, p. 74). However, during the 1980s and 1990s, the "civic disaffection of society" grew as a national concern (Hartley & Saltmarsh, 2016, p. 14). Leaders in higher education made a case for the role of colleges and universities in addressing this challenge, calling for a recommitment to the democratic purpose of higher education "to direct its core activities – teaching and learning, and knowledge generation – toward addressing the pressing issues that face society locally, nationally, and globally" (Hartley & Saltmarsh, 2016, p.1). These leaders put forth a vision for what became known as the engaged institution.

In his influential text, *The Scholarship of Engagement*, Ernest Boyer (1996) conceptualized engagement as employing the mission of higher education to address social and community issues: "the academy must become a more vigorous partner in the search for answers to our most pressing social, civic, economic, and moral problems, and must reaffirm its historic commitment to what I call the scholarship of engagement" (p.28). He advocated for a new kind of relationship between academic and civic cultures, one in which they "communicate more continuously and creatively with one another" (p. 20). This conceptualization of engagement suggested a two-way flow of knowledge from campus to community and community to campus such that the well-being of both were intertwined. In the current literature and dialogue, multiple terms are used to describe this conceptualization including civic engagement, public engagement, democratic engagement, and community engagement (Saltmarsh, 2017). While these terms are all grounded in "the importance of political and democratic participation as a cornerstone of what being a citizen means and as a central purpose of higher education" (Saltmarsh, 2017, p.3), "engagement" is the operative

word that refers to collaborative interaction with- and participation in- society for the purposes of knowledge generation. Engagement is different from application (where knowledge generated in the academy is applied externally) and differs from dissemination (where the goal is to share academic knowledge with the "public"). For the purposes of this paper, the term "community engagement" will be used.

Community engagement, which includes practices such as service-learning and community-based research, is defined as "collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities… for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" and has been a critical component of higher education's contribution toward promoting the civic health of U.S. society (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2015, p. 2). Reciprocity and mutual benefit are key principles of community engagement in higher education that scholars have begun to distinguish, with mutual benefit associated more with transactional relationships and exchange of goods, and reciprocity connoting a two-way exchange of knowledge and shared power (Jameson et al., 2011). Community partners are valued as co-educators, co-researchers, and co-constructors of knowledge. Institutions benefit from improved town-gown relations; faculty benefit from opportunities for research and to enhance teaching; and students benefit from active learning opportunities that apply knowledge and skills to real world challenges (Eyler et al., 2001).

As noted earlier, the arc of the engagement movement has been impacted by cultural, structural, and epistemological forces that have challenged its democratic aims (Peters, 2017). One manifestation is the lack of attention paid to how community engagement

impacts communities. While there are volumes of research on the benefits of community engagement to higher education, particularly student learning and development, there is little empirical research documenting benefits to communities (Butin, 2003; Cruz & Giles, 2000; Rubin, 2000; Sandy & Holland, 2006; Stoecker et al., 2009; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008). Stoecker, Beckman, and Min (2010) conducted an analytical review of community engagement literature in search of evidence of scholars giving attention to outcomes for communities, often referred to as community "impacts." They reviewed literature in disciplinary and cross-disciplinary journals and ran key-word searches on community-based research related websites. They found 53 articles that mentioned community outcomes. Half of the articles only mentioned community outcomes; the other half included brief discussions of community outcomes; and none of the articles dedicated more than a few paragraphs to the topic. Similarly, in a systematic review of literature on community-based participatory research in the field of Public Health commissioned by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, Viswanathan et al. (2004) found that few studies provided evidence of community impact. Most research on community impact focuses on the study of group dynamics or the process of partnering (Sandoval et al., 2012; Wallerstein et al., 2011). These focuses on the partnership unit and relational dynamics are important and have led to critical insights about promising practices but have fallen short of making a connection to community impact. In their systematic review of the literature, Reeb and Folger (2013) found weaknesses in methods used to study community impact: "inferences [were] sometimes based on general impressions of researchers, community respondents or students…methods of [qualitative] data collection have been relatively unsophisticated" (p.

402). Another challenge facing community engagement practitioner-scholars is the limited theory that exists to guide both practice and research (Stoecker, 2016).

The evidence provided to document the effects of community engagement in the literature does not always accurately reflect the meaning of the terms used to describe those effects. The Kellogg Foundation offers three terms to describe the effects of community interventions: "outputs" (direct products such as reports or service hours), "outcomes" (short to mid-term capacity or system changes), and "impact" (long-term, lasting effect for individuals in communities) (W.K. Kellogg, 2004). Within the community engagement literature outputs are often conflated with or a proxy for impact. For example, most articles report outputs (Stoecker et al., 2010; Viswanathan, 2004) or provide data on community perceptions of, or satisfaction with, the benefits of partnering with colleges and universities through service learning and community-based research (Cruz & Giles, 2000; Stoecker et al., 2009) but categorize these findings as impact. Although important, output data and satisfaction reports say very little, if anything, about social change or long-term effects that benefit individuals and organizations. Thus, while the terms outcomes and impact may be used often in the literature, a closer, critical look reveals a void in the exploration of true mid- and long-term changes that result from community engagement. For the purposes of this study, the term impact will be used to refer to the ways that community engagement produces mid- and long-term results that benefit the people and organizations within partnership communities.

In studies that do address impact, community partners report impacts such as increased access to resources and social capital, which can assist in fulfilling the missions of

community-based organizations (Rubin, 2000; Sandy & Holland, 2006; Viswanathan et al., 2004; Worrall, 2007). They emphasize the importance of communication and relationships, affirming the importance and critical role of the partnership unit. Community partners also report several challenges to meaningful impact, including lack of faculty engagement; lack of clarity on how to access university resources; student unpreparedness for community work; spotty communication; and misalignment between community engagement principles, such as reciprocity and mutual benefit, and community engagement practice (Sandy & Holland, 2006; Stoecker et al., 2009; Stoecker et al., 2010).

The challenges that community partners and higher education practitioners experience in their pursuit of positive community impact is rooted in an epistemological problem, originating with the dominant epistemology in higher education that privileges expertise in the university. This expert paradigm places higher value on academic knowledge over community-based knowledge and reflects a one-way flow of knowledge “from inside the boundaries of the university outward to its place of need” (Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton, 2009, p. 8). Within a paradigm that privileges the expertise of the university, community knowledge is not valued as an asset for constructing new knowledge through research and teaching, thus the values of collaboration, reciprocity, mutual benefit, and co-construction of knowledge are not prioritized or embedded within the culture, policies, and practices of higher education. When there is not a full acknowledgement and appreciation for the knowledge assets in the community that can contribute to the knowledge roles of the campus, then there is not a focus on community impacts.

The epistemological problem is expressed in multiple ways. The expert model and culture serve as obstacles to deep university-community collaboration (Boyte, 2009; O'Meara & Rice, 2005) and manifest in structural barriers, such as inadequate communication processes, limited staffing to support community engagement (due to a lack of prioritization of these factors), promotion and tenure policies that do not recognize or reward community engagement (Stoecker et al., 2010; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008), and flaws in the design of practice. A second, related, way the epistemological problem finds expression is when the benefits of community engagement default to a focus on student outcomes. The inclination to emphasize student outcomes over community outcomes emanates from their connection to student development and learning, whereas community outcomes, when not tied to the knowledge roles of the campus, are not perceived to be integrally connected to the academic core of the institution (Cruz & Giles, 2000; d'Alarch et al., 2009; Mitchell, 2008; Stoecker et al., 2009; Stoecker et al., 2010). This leads to a poor alignment of theory and practice, as community engagement activities are informed primarily by student learning and development theory, as opposed to community development, social change, or partnership theory (Mitchell, 2008; Stoecker, 2016). Again, when community outcomes are not seen as connected to the core academic mission and purpose of the university, attention to and achievement of positive community impact is limited.

The dominance of the expert model has contributed to a historical relationship between higher education and communities that has been largely exploitive, with colleges and universities using communities to extract knowledge for the benefit of research and teaching, rather than co-constructing knowledge for the benefit of higher education and

community well-being (Stoecker, 2016; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008). Fundamentally changing this relationship will require new epistemologies that value the knowledge assets of the community and lead to a better alignment and integration of the central role of higher education – the generation and dissemination of knowledge (translated into research and teaching practice) – with community outcomes (Saltmarsh et al., 2009).

Research Problem

The problem that this study addresses is how campus-community partnership stakeholders define impact. This is a study of how impact is determined; it is not an assessment of whether identified outcomes were achieved. Community engagement in higher education has been promoted as a practice critical to fulfilling higher education's responsibility to maintain a healthy democracy, contribute to the public good through teaching, learning, and knowledge generation, and confront societies most pressing problems (Hartley & Saltmarsh, 2016). Reciprocity and mutual benefit are key principles of community engagement in higher education that connote a two-way exchange of knowledge and shared power and decision making. However, it is not clear whether community engagement impacts communities in meaningful or positive ways. Deeply rooted traditions and norms that privilege an expert epistemology have led to the prioritization of academic benefits and the deprioritization of community benefits, sometimes leading to the exploitation of communities and negative impacts. To achieve the democratic aims of the community engagement movement and contribute to the public good, a shift in epistemology is needed and voices that have been traditionally excluded will need to be engaged in defining and co-constructing a shared vision for change.

Research Questions

The purpose of this grounded theory study was to explore how campus-community partnership stakeholders (university faculty and staff and community partners) defined, measured, and understood community impact in a diverse set of campus-community partnership initiatives at two U.S. Jesuit Universities that have earned the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification. The guiding research questions included,

1. How do campus-community partnership stakeholders define impact and what types/forms of impact do they value? In community-campus partnerships,
    a. Who has voice in defining impact?
    b. Who is accountable for ensuring that community impact is achieved?
    c. What elements of community-campus partnerships contribute to impact?
    d. How do contextual factors such as historical relations, racial and socio-economic differences, and organizational supports and policies influence or inform how stakeholders understand and experience impact?
    e. What negative impacts have emanated from community-campus partnerships and what were the implications?
2. In what ways do the similarities and differences between how campus and community partners define, measure, and understand impact contribute to our theoretical understanding of how campus-community partnerships can be designed to achieve positive community benefit?

Significance

The risk of not giving due attention to community outcomes is that colleges and universities will be perceived as using communities as labs to extract what they need to advance student learning or research outcomes, resulting in a loss of trust that undermines the purpose and sustainability of community-engagement in higher education and inhibits higher education from fulfilling its public purpose. In the words of Boyer (1996), “the campus is being viewed as a place where students get credentialed and faculty get tenured, while the overall work of the academy does not seem particularly relevant to the nation’s most pressing civic, social, economic, and moral problems” (p. 23). Further, by not tracking and assessing the impact of our work, we risk engaging in efforts that have “unintended side effects that exacerbate, rather than alleviate, the problems those communities suffer from” (Stoecker et al., 2009, p. 7). To follow through on the ideals of higher education as a critical agent in promoting the health of a democratic society and contributing to the well-being of individuals and communities, it will be important to demonstrate the value of higher education community engagement to communities and include voices that have historically been marginalized in defining what that value should be.

The engaged institution is based on the value of reciprocity and the premise that the well-being of the university is tied to the well-being of the community; thus, it is incumbent upon scholar practitioners to better understand how communities are impacted. Peppered throughout the literature on community engagement is the reoccurring question: how does community engagement impact communities? Efforts to respond to this question have yielded mostly descriptive case studies and satisfaction surveys. Further, there is gap in

available theory to guide scholar practitioners in designing, implementing and evaluating community engagement that is focused on community impact. This grounded theory study will move beyond description to address the gap in theory by telescoping into the relational dynamics and contexts of campus-community partnerships to explore how impact is understood and defined and who has the power to define and measure impact. This multidimensional analysis will lead to theory grounded in the experience of community members involved with and directly impacted by community engagement and the experience of their university partners.

Understanding how communities define and value impact will lead to enhanced community engagement practice including, better alignment between community engagement practices and intended outcomes, improved campus-community relationships characterized by trust and sustainability and, ultimately, an increase in the knowledge assets in higher education and communities. Further, at a time when the idea of higher education as a public good is under deep scrutiny, demonstrating the role and possibilities for colleges and universities to make meaningful and measurable contributions to community well-being will help to clarify and reaffirm higher education's democratic and public purpose.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review is organized into five areas: clarifying relevant terms, community impact and related partnership values and practices, factors that inhibit the achievement of positive community impact, emerging frameworks and models for community engagement, and sensitizing concepts. The first section reviews commonly used terms in community engagement practice and assessment. This discussion aims to clarify and provide a rationale for the terms used in this study. The second area explores research on community impact, the intersection and influence of partnership practices, and examines the weaknesses in current approaches to research and practice and opportunities for improvement. The third area focuses on the higher education side of the partnership, discussing the limiting effects of the dominant, expert epistemology on the achievement of community impact. The fourth section explores several promising community engagement models that open doors to new epistemologies, paradigms, and practices that may prove beneficial to the achievement of positive community impact. The final section introduces sensitizing concepts that synthesize key insights from the review of literature to inform a conceptual framework for the study.

Clarifying Relevant Terms

One of the challenges in the field of community engagement is a lack of clarity and consistency in terms and, as mentioned in the introduction, assessment terms are often used haphazardly when describing the outcomes of engagement. In this section, I will discuss and provide a rationale for the terms I have chosen to frame this study. In addition to clarifying community engagement terms, I will also identify and define assessment terms to provide context for the discussion of literature.

Defining Community

How do we define community within the field of community engagement? This remains a challenging and contested question and there is more than one answer, depending on the context. As Cruz and Giles (2000) point out in their seminal article "Where's the Community in Service Learning Research," community has been defined as the organization, as the people that work in the organization, as the individuals impacted by the work of the organization, as a neighborhood or geographical area, etc. In their research focusing on community perceptions of service learning, Stoecker, Tryon and Hilgendorf (2009) define community as "those responsible for recruiting, training, managing, and evaluating service learners" (p. 11). Thus, like Cruz and Giles, they are defining community at the level of the organization. However, in his later work, Stoecker (2016) defines community as "a face-to-face collective characterized by a multiplicity of interconnecting and overlapping roles that mutually enhance the sustainability of the collective and all of its constituents" (p. 114), reflecting Dewey's understanding of community that placed primacy on face-to- face interactions and communal association (Giles & Eyler, 1994). Stoecker's later definition also

reflects his contention that higher education community engagement needs to focus on community building, empowerment, and collective action to affect social change.

Higher education community engagement practice that adheres to the principles of democratic engagement (Saltmarsh et al., 2009) – such a reciprocity, collaborative problem solving, and co-creation of knowledge – draws on Assets-Based Community Development (ABCD), a community development model that centers community strengths rather than deficits (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Kretzmann and McKnight define communities as the individuals (residents), associations (religious communities, neighborhood associations, cultural organizations, etc.), and institutions (schools, libraries, police, business, etc.) that make up a geographic area which they refer to as a neighborhood. Three key characteristics define ABCD: 1) it is "asset-based" meaning it focuses on the existing strengths and capacities of the community (its residents, associations, and institutions) as opposed to its needs or deficits; 2) it is "internally focused" meaning it draws on and builds the capacities of the community and relies on community knowledge to identify priorities, make decisions, and drive solutions; and 3) it is "relationship-driven" requiring consistent attention to building, nurturing and sustaining relationships (p. 9). This definition of community is important to higher education community engagement because it positions universities as part of the community rather than separate from it.

The complex, dynamic, and relationship-driven characteristics of communities and partnerships make the study of impact a challenging endeavor to say the least, which is a contributing factor to the lack of research on community outcomes within the field of higher education community engagement (Cruz & Giles, 2000; Stoecker, 2016). Cruz and Giles

propose identifying the partnership as the unit of analysis when studying community impact, arguing that “the partnership is the infrastructure that facilitates the service learning and is both an intervening variable in studying certain learning and service ‘impacts’ as well as an outcome or ‘impact’ in itself” (p. 31).

In this study, I draw on the ABCD definition of community that is inclusive of the individuals, associations, and institutions within a geographically defined area and that centers assets and local knowledge. Study participants, as will be discussed further in chapter 3, wear varied hats within the community – they are residents, neighbors, friends, colleagues, members of associations, representatives of formal institutions, advocates, professionals, educators, and some embody all those identities. These voices inform the generation of new knowledge as an outcome of this research and share a love for their common community, which fuels their desire for and commitment to creating change for the public good.

Community Engagement

Community engagement often becomes a catch-all term in higher education for any activity that involves the institution (college/university, faculty, students, etc.) working in some capacity in/on/for/with the community. Colleges and universities have the capacity to impact the communities in which they are located in a variety of ways. For example, colleges and universities can impact local economies through purchasing power, infrastructure development, and job creation (Gius, 2017). Further, research shows that higher education has an impact on the civic health of U.S. society as college educated persons are more likely to vote and participate in community service (Buckman et al., 2016). Saltmarsh (2016) cautions against a

broad definition, inclusive of economic development, not because economic development is unimportant, but over concern that it is "little more than a reflection of colleges and universities adopted prevailing neoliberal principles" (p. x). Thus, he advocates for understanding community engagement as "primarily focused on impacting the core academic and developmental aspects of students' educational experience and on changing the fundamental educational operations of the campus" (p. x).

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's (2015) defines community engagement as the "collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities… for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (p. 2). As the field has evolved and placed more emphasis on centering community knowledge and democratic principles, key characteristics have grown to include assets-based; inclusive, collaboration; multi-directional follow of knowledge, co-creation of knowledge, shared authority, and community change (Saltmarsh et al., 2009). In democratic community engagement model, community partners are valued as co-educators, co-researchers, and co-constructors of knowledge. Given its broad acceptance across the field of higher education community engagement, for the purposes of this study, I will draw on the Carnegie Community Engagement Definition, overlayed with the important principles and characteristics of democratic engagement.

The Language of Results: Outputs, Outcomes, and Impact

The W.K. Kellogg (2004) *Logic Model Guide* is an often-cited resource within the community engagement literature and is a tool widely used in the non-profit field that distinguishes between key terms used to describe the effects of community change efforts.

The guide defines outputs as "the direct products of program activities and may include types, levels and targets of services" (W.K. Kellogg, 2004, p. 2). Outputs are usually described in terms of the size and/or scope of the services and products delivered or produced by the program. A program output, for example, might be the number of classes taught, meetings held, or materials produced and distributed; program participation rates and demography; or hours of each type of service provided. Outcomes are specific changes in attitudes, behaviors, knowledge, skills, status, or level of functioning expected to result from program activities and are most often expressed at an individual level. Short term outcomes appear 1 to 3 years following an intervention and long-term outcomes appear in 4 to 6 years. Impacts are organizational, community, and/or system level changes expected to result from program activities. Impacts emerge 7 to 10 years following the intervention and may include improved conditions, increased capacity, and/or changes in the policy arena.

The language of assessment can be confusing, because terms are often used interchangeably or without intentionality when writing about community engagement. The terms most often used in the literature to describe the effects of community engagement are "outcomes" and "impact." However, the actual effects that these terms are used to describe are varied. For example, the number of students tutored through a service-learning course may be described as impact when, according to the W.K. Kellogg model, they are actually outputs. An output tells what happened, but it does not reveal whether what happened created any kind of change. In another example adapted from Marullo et al. (2003), a program intended to improve the nutritional intake of families may include an intervention that increases family access to food through food banks. The amount of new food that the

family has access to is the output. However, there is no guarantee that this output will have the intended effect of improved nutritional intake (outcome). If the food is low in nutritional value, or if it replaces rather than expands food resources for the family, then it will not have the intended outcome.

Just as there are important distinctions between outputs and outcomes, there are also important distinctions between outcomes and impact. Building on the previous example, increased food resources (outputs), may enhance nutritional intake for families (outcome), which can lead to better health indices (impact) when expanded across a community. The varied and loose use of assessment terms can be confusing, and the lack of clarity can serve as a distraction from studying what we really want to know about benefits to communities and social change.

While the Kellogg model is critiqued by some community engagement practitioners (Stoecker, 2016) and complicated by others (Marullo et al., 2003), the terms offered are widely recognized and will be used throughout this paper to describe the effects of community engagement. The term that I will use as the umbrella term is “impact,” as reflected in the title of this paper, because I believe that is what we are aspiring to achieve and understand as the goal of community engagement.

Community Impact: What Do We Know?

In order to claim that community engagement means something qualitatively different than community outreach or service, Rubin (2000) argues that “approaches to evaluating the partnership will have to be up to the task of defining, measuring, and interpreting their novel and essential characteristics” (p. 215). As director of the Office of University Partnerships at

the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Rubin conducted an analytical review of the literature on campus-community partnerships to examine the types of questions being asked about community outcomes, the scope of data collected, the methods of analysis, and the relationship of authors to the partnerships. He found that much of the research, at that time, were self-studies conducted by faculty members that focused on the evolution of the partnership. Other studies focused on local evaluations of campus-community partnership projects and many of these were of grant-funded initiatives that required or encouraged an evaluation of community outcomes. These local evaluations consisted primarily of community perspectives of project impact. Most studies took place early in the evolution of a partnership and were intended to inform longer-term engagement. Rubin noted that long-term success would depend on the "ability of faculty to operate effectively as teachers within the community context," (p. 223) implying the need for institutional support and the valuing of their work.

Analytical reviews of the literature on community outcomes, like Rubin's, reveal that most studies focus on program evaluation, are not guided by theoretical frameworks, and do not ask complex questions (Reeb & Folger, 2013). Nearly ten years following the study conducted by Rubin (2000), Stoecker et al., (2010) conducted an analytical review of community engagement literature and found that few articles focused deeply on community outcomes and that most focused on short-term outputs, such as documentation of activities, rather than longer-term outcomes or effects of the activities.

Community Perceptions of Community Engagement Outcomes

As noted by Rubin (2000), much of the research on community outcomes is comprised of community partner perspectives and accounts of their experiences working with faculty and students through service-learning courses and community-based research projects. Community partners report many benefits including access to new resources, enhanced relationships with college and university partners (Worrall, 2007); increased social capital (Rubin, 2000); and capacity building (Viswanathan et al., 2004).

Sandy and Holland (2006) conducted 15 focus groups with 99 community partners involved with 8 campuses in California to gather community partner perspectives. Among their findings were that community partners placed great importance on relationship building and their role as educators of the next generation. Partners in their study recognized a spectrum of benefits including increased organizational capacity, positive impact on client outcomes, and increased social capital and networks. These benefits seemed to be directly correlated with the health of the partnership relationship meaning that the easier it was for community members to interact and engage with their higher education partners, the more likely they were to experience positive impacts beyond transactional outcomes (service hours, reports, etc.). Challenges identified by partners in Sandy and Holland's study included difficulty accessing and communicating with faculty; limited collaboration and opportunities to serve as co-educators; and too narrow of a focus on single courses or programs rather than full institutional engagement in social change.

How Do community Partners Define Impact? Sandy and Holland (2006) found that community partners described a spectrum of benefits stemming from their collaborations with

higher education partners. These included direct impact benefits such as improved outcomes for the community members served (for example, students who were tutored), increased organizational capacity as volunteers add to the workforce of the community organization, and the intellectual assets of the higher education partner contributing to organizational and staff development. Community partners also identified and placed value on the increase in social capital they gained when higher education partners connected community organizations with other resources within the college/university or the community.

Drawing further from the research on community perceptions of service learning and community engagement, we can infer what partners seek and value in their relationships with campuses. A consistent finding in the literature is that community partners seek to contribute to the education of next generation non-profit leaders:

> Looking to our future is particularly important today, as the baby boomers that led the way for expansion of social services and grassroots groups in the 1960s and 1970s are now looking to retirement, and we who are left need to figure out creative ways to fill the gaps left by those who led our field for more than thirty years (Stoecker et al., 2009, p. 138).

Community partners want to contribute to the development of educated citizens – next generation donors, voters, leaders (Sandy & Holland, 2006; Worrall, 2007).

Community partners also place high value on the relationship between the campus and the community. In their recent dissertation study, (Muse, 2018) found that community partners viewed their relationship with campus as both a means and an end. The literature indicates that an outcome that community partners seek is a sustainable relationship

characterized by trust and commitment (Sandy & Holland, 2006; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008; Worrall, 2007). They want to have direct relationships with faculty that they can rely on to provide them with the information they need to effectively supervise students (Tryon & Stoecker, 2008). These ingredients are correlated with community partners' interest in pursuing outcomes beyond transactional ones (Sandy & Holland, 2006). However, while partners place value on student development and relationships as important outcomes of the work, the research also indicates that partners want more. They want their university partners to give more attention to their mission and goals and policy and social change outcomes (Sandy & Holland, 2006).

Partnership Factors. Best practices in campus-community partnership development are well documented in the literature. Jacoby (2003) draws on three frameworks for promising practices in campus-community partnership development: Campus Compact's Benchmarks for Campus/Community Partnerships (Torres & Schaffer, 2000), Community-Campus Partnerships for Health's (CCPH) (1998) Principles of Community-Campus Partnerships, and Judith Ramaley's (2000) Lessons Learned from Existing Partnerships. Promising practices common across these frameworks include having a shared vision among partners, mutual benefit, trusting relationships, clear organization and leadership, shared process for decision-making, a focus on assets and strengths of all partners as well as needs, and a practice of evaluation and assessment. Ramaley (2000) extends the discussion of best practices by advocating the importance of institutional commitment and change, particularly on the part of higher education, and CCPH's principles address the importance of shared power and resources. Bell-Elkins (2002) utilized CCPH's nine Principles of Community-

Campus Partnerships to evaluate a successful partnership (note: CCPH has since edited and expanded on the original nine and is currently up to twelve guiding principles). In addition to demonstrating their usefulness, Bell-Elkins identified a tenth principle which they identified as "the partnership is a community-campus partnership." In shifting the terms, from campus-community to community-campus, Bell-Elkins aimed to emphasize the importance of the campus recognizing itself as part of the community; centering the community and decentering the campus; and the need for the partnership to be based in- and focused on- the well-being of the community.

Enos and Morton (2003) enriched the conversation on campus-community partnerships by proposing a theory of partnership that distinguished between transactional relationships focused on getting things done and transformational relationships that are less defined and aimed toward changes in identity, decision-making processes, and values. Jameson, Clayton, and Jaeger (2010) added a dimension to Enos and Morton's transformative theory by distinguishing between two orientations to partnerships: 1) a technocratic orientation characterized by the exchange of resources and 2) a democratic orientation characterized by mutual goals, non-hierarchical leadership, shared power, and dialogue. According to Jameson et al. (2010), a democratic orientation is prerequisite to a transformative partnership. Dostilio (2014) identified three determinants important to facilitating a democratic orientation – partnership conditions, learning interactions, and stakeholder attributes – and examined the interaction between them. Dostilio discovered that conditions and stakeholder attributes were most important to publicly-oriented processes and roles, whereas learning interactions and stakeholder attributes were most important to

participatory roles. Findings also revealed that technocratic processes played a role in democratic orientation. Further study of the interaction between determinants of a democratic orientation may lead to greater understanding of the connection between partnership characteristics, processes and community impact.

Dorado, Giles, and Welch (2009) broke ground in examining the correlation between partnership practices and community outcomes through their grounded theory study of eleven campus-community partnerships in New England in which they identified delegation as a key factor in determining whether campus-community partnerships led to pre- or co-defined outcomes. Delegation is a structural factor in which the partnership coordinator, often a service-learning or community-engagement coordinator, engages in the coordination aspect of the partnership – for example, connecting a faculty member and a community partner based a pre-defined need – but does not participate in the carrying out of the project. Four of the partnerships in the study were delegated partnerships and the other seven were undelegated partnerships. The delegated partnerships, where community engagement coordinators essentially matched a faculty member and a community partner based on a pre-defined goal and then participated no further in the implementation, each led to pre-defined outcomes that could be described as transactional (for example, reports). These outcomes could have been achieved with alternative pairings of faculty, students, and community partners and were perceived by community partners as status quo and non-distinct (in other words, anyone could have produced them). The seven undelegated partnerships, where community-engagement coordinators participated in the partnership beyond the match-making, all led to co-defined outcomes that accounted for the context and specific skills of

student participants. In these cases, community partners expressed excitement about the outcomes and satisfaction about their needs along with students' needs being met.

These findings have implications for the role of community-engagement coordinators and for the process of partnership development. Like Dorado et al. (2009), Sandy and Holland also found that community engagement coordinators, in their gate-keeping role, can unintentionally inhibit deep collaboration between faculty and community partners, a relationship and interaction that community partners place high value on and associate with beneficial outcomes. Findings from Dorado et al. point to the importance of community engagement coordinators either staying involved in the partnership or getting out of the way to enable faculty to engage with community partners directly. Further, there must be a willingness among all participants to stay in communication with one another and to engage as thought partners in defining shared outcomes based on context and available skills rather than two parties connected simply to complete a transaction.

Key Challenges. Stoecker et al.'s (2009) study on community perceptions of service learning has alerted community engagement practitioners to the urgent need for attention to research on community impact. The study was grounded in the question, "who is being served by service learning" (p. 5) and was designed as a community-based research (CBR) project that engaged students, faculty and community partners as researchers. Undergraduate students enrolled in a qualitative methods CBR course interviewed 67 staff from 64 community organizations. The research uncovered key challenges with service learning from the perspective of community partners. Several challenges fell under the broader theme of communication. Partners reported communication as being spotty and inconsistent; they

wanted more contact with faculty and less reliance on students to be the bearers of information. They desired more information up front about service-learning courses and intended student learning outcomes.

The second key challenge that emerged from the study was related to the broader theme of short-term service learning. Community partners questioned whether the amount of time they invested in service learning (training, supervision, etc.) yielded an equal return on their investment. Further, they found that short-term service learning had limitations when it came to addressing more complex projects and challenges. Like other studies, community partners in Stoecker and Tryon's (2009) study reported frustrations over the misalignment between the campus and community calendar.

Recommendations that emerged from Stoecker and Tryon's (2009) study included giving attention to issues related to communication: making communication more regular and efficient; sending an outline of course and/or project expectations to community partners in advance of service learning; and increasing faculty contact with partners. Stoecker and Tryon recommended new models of service learning including CBR and project-based service learning. They also recommended using a community development model – that engages the community in defining issues, commits time to researching and understanding context, and involves long-term commitments – to inform community engagement practice.

Stoecker and Tryon's (2009) work has made important contributions to field of service learning and community engagement in higher education. Specifically, it has catalyzed more attention to and more research on community outcomes. However, their research had its limitations. First, Stoecker and Tryon (2009) used a very broad definition of

service learning when selecting community partners for their study. Thus, community partners were being asked to reflect on their experience with service learners but, in reality, they were reflecting on their experience of working with students that were involved through community service, internships, practicums, etc. This problematizes the findings, especially given the sweeping and harsh criticism they applied to service learning in their publication on the study. Secondly, although Stoecker and Tryon claim to have focused on community impact which they define as "impacting inequality at the community level in ways that empower community members and build capacity in community organizations" (p. 4), their methodology focused on community perceptions of the experience of working with faculty and students. Thus, their methods and findings related to the dynamics of the partnership but not the impact of the collaboration on social change. While their findings are still quite insightful and important to the advancement of service learning, the researchers missed the opportunity to model a study that moved beyond a community perception survey to a more sophisticated look at community impact.

Community-Based Participatory Research Outcomes

Many community engagement practitioners are turning to community-based participatory research (CBPR) as a best model for achieving beneficial community outcomes because CBPR projects are often more clearly defined than service learning and they are oriented toward a defined problem (Stoecker et al., 2009). Further, CBPR projects are often supported by grant funding which promotes accountability. CBPR is a collaborative enterprise between academic researchers (faculty, staff, and students) and community members that validates multiple sources of knowledge, promotes multiple methods of

discovery and dissemination of the knowledge produced, and embraces social action and social change as outcomes (Strand et al., 2003). CBPR is based on a value-laden premise that 1) collaborative research produces an improved understanding of the social conditions and the approaches to improve them, and 2) social change to improve quality of life is the intended outcome (Marullo et al., 2003).

CBPR has a long history, particularly in the field of public health. One of the leading organizations in the broader field of community engagement in higher education, Community Campus Partnerships for Health, is focused on the health professions and has been a leader in defining high quality community engagement practice, leading change in higher education around promotion and tenure, and creating guidelines and outlets for community-engaged scholarship. Even within the CBPR literature, however, much of the research focuses on community perception and outputs rather than outcomes and impact. For example, in their study on the impact of CBPR on community health outcomes commissioned by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, Viswanathan et al. (2004) found that few CBPR studies provided evidence of the impact of a completed intervention. Among the studies that did focus on an ongoing or completed intervention, only a small subset included an evaluation of that intervention and even fewer discussed the impact of the intervention on ongoing practice or policy change. Viswanathan et al. also found that community partner involvement in CBPR varied widely from project to project; partners were more likely to be involved in project design than analysis of results.

Sandoval et al. (2012) conducted a systematic review of literature on CBPR to identify quantitative instruments and measures used to evaluate the effectiveness of

partnerships. Building on the CBPR model developed by Wallerstein et al. (2008) that identifies key characteristics within four dimensions of CBPR practice – context, group dynamics, community centeredness, and outcomes – that predict outcomes, Sandoval et al. identified 258 articles between the years 2002 and 2008 that focused on CBPR; within those articles, they identified 46 quantitative instruments and 224 individual measures of CBPR model characteristics. They also looked for reliability and validity information on the instruments and measures and found that only 64 of the 224 had such information. Overall, they found that the majority of measures were focused on group dynamics and few measures were focused on outcomes: "reliable and valid measures available for CBPR are disproportionately focused on group dynamics and relationship process issues with relatively few reliable and valid instruments that measure context or immediate system and capacity change outcomes" (p. 686). While these systematic reviews of the literature point to a shortage of studies that examine community impact, new research is emerging that points to potential of CBPR to lead to positive community benefits. This will be discussed in the upcoming section on promising practices.

Factors that Inhibit Community Impact

Saltmarsh et al. (2009) argue that the primary barrier to democratic community engagement is an epistemology that privileges expert knowledge and the one-way movement of information from within the academy to outside of the academy. This epistemology does not recognize or value community knowledge assets and manifests in culture, policy and structures within higher education that often impede community engagement (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008). Two powerful examples of how this dominant epistemology impacts

community engagement practice is (a) the prevalence of community engagement practice based on student development models as opposed to community development and/or social change models and (b) the prevalence of faculty incentives in promotion and tenure policies and cultures that do not value community engagement as part of research or teaching (an epistemological orientation), but as a service activity (a professional responsibility or altruistic orientation).

Inadequate Theories and Models

Stoecker (2016) argues that at the root of why so little evidence of community impact exists in academic community engagement, particularly service learning, is the fact that it is predominately informed by theories of student learning and development as opposed to theories of community development and social change. In brief, student learning and development theories start with and focus on student outcomes. They prioritize how students learn, and how they develop morally and socially. Community development theories, which pre-date service learning, start with the community, value collective over individual work, and focus on empowerment and capacity building (Checkoway, 1994; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1993; Stoecker, 2016; Tan, 2009). The prioritization of student learning over community impact is evidenced and enacted by the common practice of designing engagements around the academic calendar whereby university interest in the community ends when the semester ends (Enos & Morton, 2003) and the predominance of service activities that focus more on charity than change (Mitchell, 2008; Stoecker, 2016). Cruz and Giles (2000) attributed the predominant focus on student development to two political factors: (a) the need for early research to demonstrate that service learning was an

academically rigorous pedagogy that had measurable impact on student learning; and (b) the fact that grant funding and other resources in higher education are often directly tied to student outcomes.

In order to address the dearth of evidence that community engagement practice benefits communities, scholars argue that new theories are needed to inform the development and practice of community engagement. Stoecker (2016) suggests community organizing as a community development framework to inform service-learning practice. He argues that "institutionalized service learning's focus on social change is usually stated as something like 'solving community problems' and is proclaimed absent of any theoretical foundations" (p. 78). In contrast, Stoecker defines social change as "building up the capacity of as many people as possible to be able to systematically produce knowledge, not simply receive its translation into mere information" (p. 103). Community organizing "brings together grassroots people in a local area to identify issues and then organize themselves for self-help to create change around those issues. Ideally, the process also organizes those people into a self-sustaining organization that can take on other issues" (p. 105). A community organizing framework, according to Stoecker, could shift higher education community engagement practice from a model where academics drive community work based on their research interests or goals for student learning to a model where academics and students are part of community-led efforts.

In a review of the literature on service-learning practice, Mitchell (2008) identified two camps: traditional and critical. Traditional service-learning, according to Mitchell, does not acknowledge systems of inequality, whereas critical service learning is "unapologetic in

its aim to dismantle structures of injustice" (p. 50). The three elements that distinguish critical from traditional service learning are (a) a focus on working to redistribute power; (b) effort to develop authentic relationships with community partners; and (c) operating from a social change perspective. With these three elements in mind, Mitchell argues that critical service learning or service learning for social change may require practitioners to rethink the types of service activities they engage students in and the skills they need to develop within their students to prepare them for engagement with the community. Critical service learning, which has garnered the attention of community engagement practitioners, represents a shift away from a student development model and toward a community development model, striking a balance between student learning and community impact.

The power of using a critical approach to service-learning is demonstrated through d'Alarch et al.'s (2009) study of the outcomes of a service-learning course that was designed with the community and grounded in Freire's (1970) theory of social consciousness. In Freire's theory of consciousness (1970), social justice is achieved through honest and open dialogue, between the oppressed and the oppressors, that leads to a level of consciousness about social injustice that inspires action on the part of all. The stated purpose of the service-learning course in d'Alarch et al. was to "empower community members to be on equal ground with their university counterparts" (p.6). University students studying Spanish served as conversation partners with adult learners in an English language learning course. In addition to practicing language skills – with the university students helping adult learners with English and the adult learners helping the university students with Spanish – the conversation partners also engaged in discussion on current issues such as immigration and

other issues that highlighted the social and power differences between the university students and adult learners.

d'Alarch et al. conducted interviews with nine community participants to gain their perspective on the experience. Each participant was interviewed two times (with ~4 months separating the interviews) and questions focused on the community participants' perception of the service-learning experience and university student engagement, proposed solutions for social challenges like immigration, and how they may have changed through the experience. Findings from the study indicated that community members demonstrated gains in confidence and trust and increased empowerment as evidenced by taking small and larger actions connected with social change (for example, talking with family members about social issues, registering to vote, signing up for a community leadership position). They also communicated shifts in their behaviors and viewpoints; for example, stereotypes were reduced. These outcomes reflect Freire's theory of consciousness and demonstrate how intentionally grounding service learning in a theory of change can lead to positive outcomes, such as empowerment, for community members and university students.

Applying Freire's theory of consciousness to community engagement broadly and the above example specifically, the university is often in the position of the oppressor because the university most often holds the power in the relationship. The university views itself, and may be viewed by the community, as the expert, as the holder of knowledge that it is seeking to fix the community's problems. Community knowledge goes unrecognized or undervalued. d'Alarch, in their design of the service-learning experience, was attentive to the dynamic of power. Rather than situate the students as tutors to English Language

Learners, d'Alarch centered community knowledge thorough dialogue pairs in which students and community members each contributed knowledge to a particular topic. Similarly, Shah (2020) demonstrates the power of framing as a tool to address power dynamics in the design and implementation of service-learning experiences. To demonstrate the power of framing, Shaw draws on the example of a community literacy partnership in which a K-12 teacher frames the relationship between their students and university mentors as one in which the middle school students are serving the university students by helping them feel a sense of belonging in a community that is not their home. On the first day of the program, the middle school students prepare a brunch for the university mentors, highlighting food that represent their culture(s) and then provide an assets-focused orientation to the school. This framing and design centers community knowledge and brings power more into balance in the partnership. Attention to power dynamics is critical to understanding how community impact is defined and achieved.

Faculty Incentives

Promotion and tenure policies in higher education play a major role in shaping – even defining – faculty teaching, scholarship, and engagement (O'Meara et al., 2015). However, community-engaged scholars argue that promotion and tenure guidelines often privilege certain kinds of traditional scholarship – such as the scholarship of discovery and scholarship published in top tier disciplinary journals – and exclude others, such as community-engaged scholarship, multidisciplinary scholarship, and collaborative scholarship, particularly if the collaborators are outside of the academy. This privileging of traditional scholarship impedes change and even compromises the mission of colleges and universities to serve the public

good by not valuing the type of scholarship that facilitates that mission (O'Meara at al., 2015; Sandmann et al., 2008).

Scholars draw upon the work of the late Ernest Boyer to develop the case for recognizing community engagement as scholarship (Rice, 2002). In 1990, Ernest Boyer, then President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, authored a seminal publication – *Scholarship Reconsidered*. Through this publication, Boyer and his colleagues at the Carnegie Foundation were responding to the intense debate within higher education about how faculty should be spending their time along with the increasing concern over the disconnect between higher education scholarship and society (Boyer, 2016; Rice, 2002). The purpose of *Scholarship Reconsidered*, was to expand the meaning and understanding of scholarship and to "define the work of faculty in ways that enrich, rather than restrict, the quality of campus life (Boyer, 2016, location 1884). At the time – and unfortunately the case remains the same today – the dominant viewpoint was that "to be a scholar is to be a researcher and publication is the primary yardstick by which scholarly productivity is to be measured" (Boyer, 2016, loc. 1905). Surveys of faculty conducted by the Carnegie Foundation indicated that in the 20-year span between 1969 and 1989 the percentage of faculty strongly agreeing that it was difficult to achieve tenure without publishing in journals doubled (Boyer, 2016). Through *Scholarship Reconsidered*, Boyer put out a plea and challenge to the higher education community to recognize and respond to the great challenges of American society; he posed the questions:

Can America's colleges and universities, with all the riches of their resources, be at

greater service to the nation and the world? Can we define scholarship in ways that respond more adequately to the urgent realities both within the academy and beyond (Boyer, 2016, loc. 1921)?

To meet the great challenges of society, Boyer (2016) proposed expanding the notion of scholarship beyond basic research, which he termed "scholarship of discovery" (loc. 2293) to also include the scholarship of teaching, scholarship of integration, and scholarship of application. Through the work of Boyer and numerous other scholars, the *scholarship of application* later became known as the *scholarship of engagement* (Boyer, 1996; Rice, 2002). In expanding on the concept of application to arrive at the concept of engagement, Boyer (1996) said that scholarship should not only be applied but "directed toward larger, more humane ends… and more vigorously engaged with the issues of our day" (p. 28). Rice (2002) explains the need for this shift further:

> Although honoring what can be learned from practice, the scholarship of application assumes that the established epistemology – where knowledge is generated by faculty members in the university and applied in external contexts – remains undisturbed and unchallenged. The scholarship of engagement requires going beyond the 'expert' model that informs and gets in the way of constructive university-community collaboration (p. 13).

This expanded notion of scholarship that Boyer (2016) presented also blurred what had become the traditional understanding of the three primary activities upon which faculty are evaluated in the modern research university – teaching, research, and service. Within Boyer's framework, it was possible for both teaching and service to be scholarly activities.

As such, Boyer called for greater value and weight to be placed upon teaching and service when indeed they met the criteria for scholarly activity:

> All too frequently, service means not doing scholarship but doing good. To be considered *scholarship* service activities must be tied directly to one's special field of knowledge and relate to, and flow directly out of, this professional activity. Such service is serious, demanding work, requiting the rigor – and the accountability – traditionally associated with research activities (Boyer, 2016, loc. 2423).

The Impact of Scholarship Reconsidered. *Scholarship Reconsidered* is among the most widely distributed publications of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Rice, 2002). According to Eugene Rice (2002), a close colleague of Boyer's, a key factor in the wide distribution and impact of *Scholarship Reconsidered* was the fact that many disciplinary associations took note of the publication and used it to catalyze conversations on how scholarship is defined within their respective disciplines. Today, support for and participation in community-engaged scholarship are growing. An increasing number of journals are dedicated to community-engaged scholarship, numerous national and international conferences exist for community-engaged scholars, and thousands of universities have pledged their support to community engagement, broadly speaking[1]. However, amidst this broadening participation in and support for community-engaged scholarship, there remains a persistent challenge in the form of promotion and tenure policies on campus, at the institutional, college or school, or departmental levels, that have not

[1] See https://librarybestbets.fairfield.edu/CESpublishing; International Association for Research on Service Learning and Community Engagement: http://www.researchslce.org/; Imagining America: http://imaginingamerica.org/; and Campus Compact: https://compact.org/.

changed to reflect the expanded notion of scholarship that Boyer envisioned (Sandmann et al., 2008; O'Meara, 2016).

Kerry Ann O'Meara (2016), a scholar who has worked closely with Rice and who has dedicated much of her career to studying promotion and tenure reform efforts, argues that while *Scholarship Reconsidered* clearly expanded the conversation about and understanding of scholarship, it fell short with regard to actually changing the views on what scholarship is most highly valued. According to O'Meara, the *scholarship of discovery* is still perceived as the most highly valued form of scholarly work and success is still measured by the number of publications in traditional disciplinary journals (O'Meara, 2011a, 2016). O'Meara (2011a, 2016) attributes the slow change in what forms of scholarship are most highly valued to the long history of socialization in the academy. Numerous studies reference the negative impact that such policies have on faculty involvement and success with community engagement (O'Meara, 2003; Viswanathan et al., 2004; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008). Lack of recognition for community engagement limits faculty commitment and long-term involvement, both of which are essential to achieving community impact. Saltmarsh et al. (2009) argue that while much of the focus within the field of community engagement is on the development of structures and the refinement of practice, these efforts will not achieve the goals of the engaged institution without deep institutional change that reflects a new epistemology and recognizes that the well-being of higher education is intertwined with the well-being of communities.

An Epistemological Challenge.

Donald Schön (1995), a colleague of Boyer's, argued that these new forms of scholarship required a new epistemology to be sustained. Epistemology determines "what

counts as legitimate knowledge" and the dominant epistemology in higher education is what Schön referred to as "technical rationality" (p. 26). Technical rationality, according to Schön, assumes that "practice is instrumental, consisting in adjusting technical means to ends that are clear, fixed, and internally consistent, and that instrumental practice becomes professional when it is based on the science or systematic knowledge produced by the school of higher learning" (p. 29). However, Schön goes on to argue that "we should think about practice as a setting not only for the application of knowledge but for its generation" (p. 30). The new epistemology that Schön calls for is an "epistemology of practice" (p. 30) that values the knowledge that emerges from the messiness of action and practice (which, in the context of higher education, includes teaching, research, and service).

The characteristics of this epistemology of practice resonate with Rice's (2002) description of engaged pedagogy which he describes as "a radically different approach to teaching and learning" that requires faculty to "rethink their relationship to students and many of their fundamental assumptions about teaching" (p. 14). Further, it resonates with his description of community-based research which, through the engagement of peers outside of the university as experts, "calls for the realignment of local and cosmopolitan knowledge…shared expertise and challenges established academic criteria" (p. 15).

Twenty years later, this epistemological challenge continues to persist as a key challenge to community engagement practice and to the achievement of community impact. The current higher education system is framed by "an epistemological architecture that [has] fragmented knowledge into increasingly narrow specialization… that privileges interests of disciplinary knowledge over knowledge to serve the public good" (Saltmarsh & Hartley,

2016, p. 2). Although some campuses have succeeded in changing their promotion and tenure guidelines to reflect new ways of knowing and diverse types of scholarship (Syracuse University, n.d.; UNC-CH, 2011), in large part, promotion and tenure policies continue to privilege the expert model by placing higher value on traditional scholarship that is narrowly focused on building knowledge within the discipline. Within these policies, community engagement is often recognized only as service and not as scholarship. The absence of these policies impedes community engagement practice that prioritizes the co-construction of knowledge which research shows is critical to community impact.

Promising Practices for Community Impact

There are new and emerging theories, frameworks, and models of community engagement that may prove successful in addressing the epistemological challenge, as well as challenges inherent in the practice of community engagement that limit the achievement of positive community impact. Knowledge democracy (Hall et al., 2015), introduced and discussed in this section, is an emerging framework that may give rise to new epistemologies that value the co-construction of knowledge and serve as alternatives to the dominant expert model within Western higher education. Two models of community engagement discussed below – Community Engaged Departments and Place-Based Community Engagement – reflect Hall et al.'s (2015) call for more attention to the institutionalization of knowledge democracy. Although neither explicitly use the term knowledge democracy, the emphasis on collaboration and co-construction of knowledge is present to varying degrees and each model addresses elements of Hall et al.'s framework for institutionalizing knowledge democracy – policy, infrastructure, curriculum integration, and access. The third practice explored –

community-based participatory research – includes the most promising advances in the study and understanding of community impact.

Knowledge Democracy

Knowledge democracy, defined as a context in which "civil society or communities [are recognized] as a source of knowledge about complex issues" (Maistry & Lortan, 2017, p. 6), is a framework for creating and discovering alternative epistemologies that are more conducive to high quality community engagement practice and the achievement of community impact. Hall et al. (2015) propose knowledge democracy as a framework for a transformative practice of CBPR and identify six principles of knowledge democracy:

1) Recognition of a multiplicity of epistemologies or knowledge systems
2) Knowledge systems are as diverse as the biodiversity of the natural world
3) Knowledge is both produced and represented in a dazzling array of methods that go well beyond text and statistics to include ceremony, drama, video, poetry, spirituality
4) Knowledge is produced in social movements, community organizations, business, local government, Indigenous political organizations and thousands of placed in addition to institutions of higher education
5) Locally created and owned knowledge is a powerful tool of community and social movement organizing
6) Knowledge generated in communities or as a result of community-university research partnerships must be made available free of charge and in an open access format (p. 9).

Knowledge democracy reflects the community-centeredness of the community development model and builds on it by emphasizing the collaborative construction of knowledge. Its focus on constructing knowledge assets, the core academic mission of higher education, makes it a powerful framework for shifting the focus of higher education community engagement toward community impact. Hall et al. argue that the application of knowledge democracy principles to the practice of CBPR can transform the expert model and dominant epistemology in higher education as new ways of knowledge production are formed and embraced.

Hall et al. (2015) emphasize the importance of moving beyond grassroots application of knowledge democracy principles and toward its institutionalization within higher education by offering a framework for what knowledge democracy should look like within the university. The framework includes four dimensions:

- Policy: for example, national policies that mandate co-generation of knowledge and promotion and tenure policies that value co-generation of knowledge;
- Infrastructure: for example, community engagement centers and other supports for faculty involvement;
- Mainstreaming in teaching and research: for example, inclusion of community engagement in the academic curriculum; and
- Accessibility: are knowledge resources – existing and co-generated – made freely accessible to the community and public.

Through their research, Hall et al. (2015) identify promising practices of institutionalization within each of the four dimensions. Some practices are transferable across global contexts while others are specific to a particular context.

While there are numerous frameworks and rubrics for institutionalizing community engagement in higher education (Furco, 1999; Holland, 1997), Hall et al.'s knowledge democracy framework places more emphasis on the co-generation of knowledge and the need to recognize new epistemologies that emerge from indigenous and other communities as alternatives to the predominant expert model. When applied to community engagement practice, knowledge democracy can empower and lift the voices of those who have been marginalized and uncover indigenous knowledges that can contribute to problem solving thereby promoting epistemic justice. Overall, this practice can "challenge and transform how universities produce knowledge" (Hall et al., 2015, p. 8).

Community-Engaged Departments

The Engaged Department, a national model that emerged in the late 1990's, enlists faculty, staff, and administrators in thinking about how their discipline can contribute to the common good through the integration of community engagement principles and practices into the policies, curriculum, research, and teaching at the level of the academic department (Battistoni et al., 2003). This model may build capacity within higher education to develop sustainable campus-community partnerships because it promotes the involvement of community partners in the decision-making and moves beyond reliance on the commitment of individual faculty to that of the entire department. Further, it may build capacity to ask more complex questions and employ diverse research methods in examining community impact as more faculty become involved. Ellison and Eatman (2008) argue that departments are "where tensions arise about publicly engaged scholarship at the point of promotion and tenure. They are where all the work of promotion gets done and where the potential for real

change is greatest" (p. v.). Further, Holland (2009) points out that, in a large research university, it might be easier to start change with a small unit, like a school/college. Therefore, the Community Engaged Department model may present an opportunity to create change that reflects knowledge democracy that starts with the academic department and then ripples across the university.

The Engaged Department model has helped departments within colleges and universities across the United States to integrate community engagement more strategically within their curriculums. In 2007, the Campus Compacts of Northern New England conducted an Engaged Department Initiative with 19 departments from 13 campuses in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont (Campus Compact, 2011). All 19 departments created action plans for integrating community engagement, over 100 faculty were trained in the use of community engagement pedagogies, and 94 community engagement courses were developed. Additionally, five campuses developed action plans to change faculty reward systems to recognize and value community engagement.

Similarly, the Portland State University Center for Academic Excellence developed and implemented an Engaged Department Initiative to encourage and support departments (and equivalent units) across campus to further integrate community engagement into the curriculum and research of their units. Outcomes included new community engagement courses and cross-departmental discussion series on community engagement and one department decided to integrate a community-identified concern into a department-wide teaching and research agenda. However, while departments were encouraged to include a community representative on their team, of the seven departments selected to participate,

none chose to include one. Thinking back to Hall et al.'s (2015) framework for institutionalizing knowledge democracy, this lack of community partner engagement points to the need for change in all four dimensions of Hall et al.'s framework to support knowledge democracy. In this case, curriculum integration without a policy to require co-generation of knowledge with community partners fell short.

The Engaged Department Model is designed to include community partners in the design and implementation of community engagement work and the Self-Assessment Rubric for the Institutionalization of Community Engagement in Academic Departments developed by Kecskes (2013) includes benchmarks for the engagement of community voice and participation. However, research on Engaged Department initiatives indicate that departments are falling short on this goal and practice. Further, language that reflects an openness to new epistemologies, such as knowledge democracy, and the co-construction of knowledge is absent from discussions of the model. Development of the Engaged Department Model draws upon cultural, organizational change, and institutional theories (Kecskes, 2013) but may benefit from the infusion of knowledge democracy as a framework as well. Further, although the Engaged Department Model addresses elements critical to high quality community engagement practice and community impact, such as infrastructure, policy, and curricular integration, there is a void of research examining the linkage between the model and community impact.

Place-Based Community Engagement

Another emerging model in the field of higher education community engagement is the place-based model. This model is informed by successful community-based social

change models and initiatives such as the Harlem Children's Zone and Promise Neighborhoods.[2] Some scholars believe that a more local, place-based approach will be crucial to sustaining community engagement in higher education because it can demonstrate for stakeholders the relevance of disciplinary knowledge to communities (Kecskes, 2006; Saltmarsh et al., 2009; White, 2016). Like the Engaged Department model, place-based community engagement involves the commitment of an academic unit or, in the best examples, the entire college or university. Yamamura and Koth (2018) identify five key tenets of place-based community engagement:

1) Geographic focus
2) Equal emphasis on campus and community impact
3) Long-term vision and commitment
4) University-wide engagement that animates the mission and develops the institution
5) Draw upon the concept of collective impact

Collective impact is a model for addressing complex community issues that organizes stakeholders to identify a common agenda, emphasizes shared outcome measures and continual assessment, values clear and consistent communication, and builds a strong base of support (Kania & Kramer, 2011). While research on the outcomes and impact of the placed-based model are largely unexplored, these tenets relate directly to the challenges identified in current research on community impact.

[2] For more on the Harlem Children's Zone see https://hcz.org/ and for Promise Neighborhoods see https://innovation.ed.gov/what-we-do/parental-options/promise-neighborhoods-pn/

The University-Assisted Community Schools model developed by University of Pennsylvania (Penn) is an early form of place-based community engagement. This model is grounded in the theory of John Dewey and based on the premise that "the neighborhood school can function as the core neighborhood institution that provides comprehensive services, galvanizes other community institutions and groups, and helps solve the myriad of problems schools and communities confront in a rapidly changing world (p. 525). In their promotion of the University-Assisted Schools model, Harkavy, Hartley, Axelroth-Hodges, and Weeks (2013) make the "radical proposition [that] all colleges and universities should make solving the problem of the American schooling system a very high institutional priority" (p. 528). They base this in the theory of Dewey and others that education and democracy are integrally connected and, thus, without a healthy educational system, democracy will not thrive.

After 20 years of implementing the University-Assisted Schools model at Penn, 160 courses that connect university resources to schools and community organizations have been developed (Harkavy et al., 2013). Many of these courses are clustered around community-identified needs. For example, the community identified poor nutrition as a challenge which led to a group of Penn faculty collaborating with local teachers and students to better understand nutritional practices and to develop projects to encourage better nutrition. Several Penn departments now work with 20 Philadelphia public schools through the Agatston Urban Nutrition Initiative.

Studies of the impact of the Penn University-Assisted Community School model on the community of West Philadelphia show evidence of positive community outcomes,

particularly with regard to the academic achievement and high school graduation rates of K-12 students in participating schools (Harkavy et al., 2013). The research also points to familiar factors critical to success such as university-based infrastructure to support community engagement; the involvement of a strong and committed community partner; and a broad base of support within the community. There are also familiar challenges that impede the success of this model, namely faculty reward systems that do not recognize and value community engagement. Harkavy et al. further posit that while these local efforts are important, national policies that "help forge democratic civic partnerships between colleges and universities and their surrounding communities and schools" and associated funding will be critical to the long-term success of the university-assisted schools model. This resonates with Hall et al.'s (2015) knowledge democracy framework, particularly the policy dimension.

Community-Based Participatory Research

Community based participatory research (CBPR) is a collaborative enterprise between academic researchers (faculty, staff, and students) and community members that validates multiple sources of knowledge, promotes multiple methods of discovery and dissemination of the knowledge produced, and embraces social action and social change as outcomes (Strand et al., 2003). The emphasis in CBPR is on the approach to research rather than a set of methods. Most important are the purpose of the research and how methods are employed.

Similar to other community engagement practices, there are a variety of terms used to describe CBPR which are, in part, informed by various disciplinary perspectives and research methods: action research, participatory action research, community-based research, etc. CBPR emerged first in public health research and emphasized three interconnected goals:

research, action, and education (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). Frabutt and Graves (2016), locate CBPR under the larger umbrella of applied and engaged scholarship, and make sense of the many terms related to CBPR by identifying root descriptors (community, collaborative/participatory), grouping them by field/discipline (Participatory Feminist Research, Assets Based Community Development, Action Science Research, etc.), and locating them along a continuum of social action. Frabutt and Graves (2016) identify the poles of the social action continuum as the CBPR of the Northern tradition and CBPR of the Southern tradition.

CBPR of the Northern tradition is informed by the work of Kurt Lewin who challenged the gap between theory and practice: "[Lewin] rejected the positivist belief that researchers study an objective world separate from the meanings understood by participants as they act in their world" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008, p. 27). CBPR of the Northern Tradition is collaborative, pragmatic, and focused on system improvement; however, the action does not include a political agenda. In contrast, CBPR of the Southern tradition is "openly emancipatory research [that] challenges the historical colonizing practices of research and political domination of knowledge by elites" (p. 27). CBPR of the Southern Tradition arose in the Global South – India, Tanzania, and Latin America – in response to underdevelopment and colonization and is influenced by liberation theology and the work of Paulo Freire. Freire is credited with "influenc[ing] the transformation of the research relationship from one in which communities were *objects of study* to one in which community members were *participating in the inquiry"* (p. 28). Like Lewin, Freire insisted that "reality is not an objective truth or facts to be discovered but includes the ways in which

the people involved with facts perceive them…the concrete reality is the connection between subjectivity and objectivity, never objectivity isolated from subjectivity" (as cited in Wallerstein & Duran, 2008, p. 28). Wallerstein and Duran (2008) suggest that effective CBPR includes elements of both the Northern and Southern tradition. However, it is clear in the literature on promising practices that CBPR strives to embody the values and practices of the Southern tradition in its quest for social justice.

CBPR has historically drawn upon critical social theory "which views knowledge as historically and socially constructed" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008, p. 33). Examples include poststructuralist, post colonist, and feminist theories as well as Freire's (1970) theory of praxis and conscientization. These theories inform the methods employed in CBPR which include analyzing lived experiences in relation to social structures, focusing on strengths and assets rather than problems and weaknesses, listening to those directly impacted for generative themes, creating opportunities for dialogue, and analyzing the context in which the CBPR is located and allowing it to factor into the research design.

While there is still much ground to be covered to understand the impact of CBPR on communities, of all practices, CBPR studies are the most likely to focus on community impacts. Wallerstein et al. (2008) conducted a systematic literature review to explore the predictors of and pathways to community outcomes within the practice of CBPR. Building on previous research, they identified characteristics of CBPR under each of four dimensions critical to effective CBPR practice: group dynamics, context/environment, structural dynamics of the partnership and participatory process, and community outcomes. They tested the meaningfulness of these characteristics with CBPR practitioners using an online

survey to which they received 96 responses. Within the dimension of group dynamics, they found that "the importance of group dynamics in creating effective CBPR practices leading to outcomes" (p. 378) was ranked highest among practitioners. A key finding within the dimension of context/environment was that context has a high level of influence on outcomes making it difficult to develop transferable methodologies and instruments for assessment that account for contextual nuances. Among outcomes, system and capacity changes were the most often cited whereas mentions of health outcomes (this study was focused on CBPR in public health) were minimal. Health outcomes are likely within the category of long-term outcome or even impact which previous research has shown there is very little evidence, likely due to the long timeframe involved.

Most CBPR studies are case studies that are descriptive in nature and perhaps this makes sense given the critical importance of context and process over a standard set of methods. The edited volume, *Community-Based Participatory Research for Health: From Process to Outcomes* (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008) includes an extensive set of case studies that examine the links between CBPR practices and outcomes. One of the included case studies focused on reproductive justice for girls in the Cambodian community of Long Beach, California (Cheathan-Rojas & Shen, 2008). This project did not involve university-based researchers; rather, the researchers were based in the community as staff and consultants with the community organization, Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice. The research team included staff trained in community organizing, popular education, and academic research. The research was carefully grounded in organizing theory and popular education, both of which fall under the umbrella of community development. The team

began by working with the youth to identify key values for the research, engaged the youth in identifying the problem, and trained the youth in CBPR. Organizing theory "stresses that framing and reframing ideas is a main goal of the organizing and CBPR process" (p. 130). This action-reflection model enabled the team to track the progress of their work and to reframe where necessary. Further, the deep engagement of the youth enabled the team to identify the roots of the problem and to develop culturally appropriate recommendations that had greater chance for success. The youth designed and implemented a survey within their school community and presented the findings, including policy recommendations, at a school wide assembly. Outcomes included the school adopting the recommendations and the creation of district wide trainings on sexual harassment for teachers and as part of the tenth-grade health curriculum.

This case study highlights several elements that are important to the achievement of community impact. First, the project was not bound by the limits of the academic calendar, one of the primary barriers to sustained community engagement (Bushouse, 2005; Tryon & Stoecker, 2008; Worrall, 2007). Cheathan-Rojas and Shen (2008) note that the two-year CBPR process did take a toll on the research team; challenges included the attrition of participating youth and fatigue. However, the use of popular education and organizing theory helped to build a strong base of support and leadership in the community to sustain activity. In fact, one of the impacts of this initiative was the development of a separate non-profit organization led by members of the Cambodian community. While the study identified outputs – report and school assembly – and outcomes – new policies and curricular changes –

it did not address impacts (other than mention of the new spin-off organization), such as changes in policy that did or did not lead to a reduction in incidents of sexual harassment.

Groups of case studies examining CBPR projects across the United States, as well as the globe, including Canada, South Africa, India, and countries in Latin America, have led to the identification of key elements that contribute to the effectiveness of the partnerships and participatory process in achieving outcomes (Hall et al., 2015; Minkler et al., 2008; Tremblay & Hall, 2014). Common selection criteria for cases studies included demonstrated commitment to CBPR values, diversity (geographic, topic, and methods), and perceived impact on outcomes (organization, economic, and policy). Cross-cutting factors that contributed to effective research processes and outcomes were

- The existence of a strong, autonomous community partner
- High levels of mutual trust and respect
- Shared decision-making and participatory process
- Appreciation by all for the need for scientific data
- Commitment to learning and research
- Knowledge of the policy process
- Openness among researchers, particularly academic researchers, to CBPR principles and processes.

Cross-cutting challenges included,

- Differences in expectations for the research timetable between university
- Different perspectives on the purpose of the CBPR
- Funding constraints

- Lack of confidence in ability to navigate the policy-making process
- Difficulty measuring long-term impact of policy changes

Outcomes of the case studies included building organizational capacity, improved services, policy and legislation, the development of formal networks and councils, and the leveraging of additional funding. However, few, if any, of the case studies documented the impact of these outcomes on changes in behavior or sustained benefit for community members (as noted in the list of challenges above). One of the cases in Tremblay and Hall's (2014) study referenced that they were witnessing the lived impact of policy changes as they observed changes in behaviors among organizational professional and community members affected by the CBPR.

Sensitizing Concepts: Elements of a Conceptual Framework

Sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1954) are broad notions that lack definitive characteristics. They are drawn from disciplinary perspectives, prior literature and research, and practical experience and serve as starting points that "give researchers initial but tentative ideas to pursue and questions to raise about their topics" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 30). Sensitizing concepts can be larger units of analysis that help contextualize research, inform and shape research questions, and analyze data (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz, 2014). Researchers use sensitizing concepts to help frame studies but must be disciplined in not holding on to them too tightly: "sensitizing concepts can provide a place to start inquiry, not to end it" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 31). In a grounded theory study of community-based antipoverty projects, Bowen (2006) developed a conceptual framework based on three sensitizing concepts – community/citizen participation, social capital, and empowerment – that emerged

from a review of the literature on social funds as a poverty reduction tool. While these concepts were effective starting points for refining research questions and early data analysis, they did not all hold in the final grounded theory. Social capital was dropped, and empowerment was superseded by enablement. Community participation had staying power and was integral in the grounded theory that emerged from the data.

Based on the review of the literature on community impact, the sensitizing concepts that informed this dissertation were, campus-community partnership structures and processes; epistemology; and power. These broad concepts are relevant to the practice of community engagement and are inferred, from the literature and my experience as a scholar-practitioner, to be important to the question of community impact.

Campus-Community Partnership Structures and Processes

Extensive research has shaped and informed a set of promising practices related to campus-community partnerships (CCPH, 1998; Jacoby, 2003; Ramaley, 2000; Torres & Schaffer, 2000) that include shared vision among partners, mutual benefit, trusting relationships, clear organization and leadership, shared process for decision-making, a focus on assets and strengths of all partners as well as needs, and a practice of evaluation and assessment. Further research identifies partnership theories and typologies that distinguish between technocratic partnerships focused on exchange of goods and transformative, democratic partnerships characterized by shared power and institutional change (Enos & Morton, 2003; Jameson et al., 2011). A democratic orientation and transformative processes represent the ideal in higher education community engagement as inferred from the widely used definition put forth by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

(2015) which defines community engagement as "collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities… for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (p. 2). Future research that examines the interaction between partnership characteristics, the primacy of different characteristics, and the correlation between practices, orientation, and community impact will be important contributions to the field and may offer additional theories to guide practice.

Epistemology

Saltmarsh and Hartley (2011) argue that fine tuning campus-community partnership practices will not lead to better outcomes – whether those outcomes be democratic engagement or community impact – without a change in epistemology that values equally the knowledge contributions of academics and community alike. Higher education community engagement as defined by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2015) does not fit within the expert paradigm of technical rationality that dominates higher education (Schön, 1995), because it accounts for knowledge produced through practice and collaboration among diverse knowledge contributors, including those outside of the academy. Thus, improving practice will not lead to better outcomes unless there is also a change in epistemology and, along with that, the structures, policies, and cultures that reflect that epistemology.

The dominance of the expert paradigm leads to epistemic injustice defined by Catala (2015) as "a type of injustice that an individual suffers specifically in her capacity as a knower, as a result of her unequal social position" (p. 426). Catala identifies two categories of epistemic injustice: testimonial injustice, in which prejudice against the social group of a

speaker delegitimizes their contributions and hermeneutical injustice in which the social experience of a speaker is misinterpreted because their social group has not had equal opportunity to contribute to or produce collective understanding. In the context of higher education community engagement, epistemic injustice leads to the oppression of community knowledge, which is not recognized or valued in the expert paradigm, as well as the knowledge of community-engaged scholars who generate scholarship in ways and forms not valued within the expert paradigm. To achieve epistemic justice, epistemic trust must first be established through the recognition of the expertise that oppressed populations hold by virtue of their direct experience of oppression and willingness to be accountable by challenging the status quo. The establishment of epistemic trust creates the conditions for just deliberation amongst the oppressed and the oppressors, enabling the sharing of their respective social experiences and co-creation of knowledge and meaning.

In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Smith (2012) examines the problematic history of research focused on Indigenous people and identifies research as “a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the Other” (p. 2). She suggests a decolonizing framework that involves “a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices” (p.21). “Reclaiming a voice in this context has also been about reclaiming, reconnecting and reordering those ways of knowing which were submerged, hidden or driven underground” (p.72). Smith proposes an Indigenous research agenda that places self-determination at the center and makes the case for community research that focuses on process and relationship and that privileges the expertise of the indigenous community.

Although Smith's work focuses specifically on research with Indigenous populations, it can inform community-engaged teaching and research with a variety of communities. For example, many urban communities feel exploited by higher education and researchers. Further, similar to the ways that Indigenous communities have been "made through deliberate policies aimed at putting people on reserves, out of sight, on the margins" (p.128), many communities within the Unites States have also been formed through oppressive and marginalizing policies such as those related to racial segregation.

Power

Being attentive to power dynamics and ensuring that power is shared between higher education and community stakeholders in partnerships is critical to democratic community engagement. Simpson identifies different ways that power factors into community-campus partnerships including the social, economic, and political contexts that shape and impact communities where engagement is happening; the ways in which organizational structures, policies, and culture contribute to both justice and injustice; and the historical and current relationships between campuses and communities and between community-based organizations and the communities. Simpson argues that

> change efforts that do not explicitly attend to unjust systems will generally align with a liberal focus on attitudes and beliefs and will serve to recenter and privilege those already in power… efforts directed towards change that overlook power may offer surface-level alterations to a specific issue but will fail to bring about lasting transformation" (p. 73).

Educators need to be attentive to how power factors into service-learning course design and framing – for example, are university students positioned as helpers whose goal is to fix problems in the community or are they collaborators who are going to learn from- and work with- community partners to advance their mission? Power factors into how students are prepared for the experience and how the goals of community engagement experiences are contextualized. For example, students engaged in tutoring youth in a school characterized as underperforming who do not understand how inequities in funding and other structural injustices inhibit student learning will fail to understand how to impact change, or worse, may learn to place blame on individuals rather than understand how systemic injustice operates. On a broader level, ignoring contexts where universities have historically exploited communities for academic research may prevent community engagement partners from building the trust necessary to sustain relationships and achieve positive outcomes.

Ignoring the role and impact of power in community engagement has contributed to what Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) characterize as a stalled movement. The higher education community engagement movement has grown to include more activity, more programs, more presence on college campuses, and so forth; however, the prevailing structures, policies, and cultures that stem from the dominant epistemology of university as expert have not been transformed. Thus, the increased activity does not necessarily translate to greater commitment on the part of colleges and universities to community impact and change; it does not translate to more support for community engagement through, for example, changes in tenure and promotion policies that recognize and reward community

engagement; it does not translate to a valuing of community knowledge or roles for community members in decision making and goal setting.

Newer and emerging models of community engagement, such as Place-Based Community Engagement, attend to issues of power by centering community voice and leadership and explicitly stating community impact as a goal on par with student learning. Alternative ways of knowing, such as knowledge democracy (Hall et al., 2015), also attend to the importance of equity in roles associated with power, such as decision-making. In my study, being attentive to understanding the role of power and how shared power is enacted in partnerships may shed light on the correlation between power and community impact.

Conclusion

There is a palpable sense of urgency around the need to demonstrate the benefits of higher education community engagement as evidenced by conversations at national and international conferences and increased emphasis within the breadth of community engagement journals on research that focuses on community. Still, most research on community impact within the literature on higher education community engagement remains limited. Much of the existing research has focused on community perceptions and short-term outputs rather than long term outcomes. Case studies are often utilized to describe partnership development and activities but lack more sophisticated analysis of dynamics and outcomes. Emerging practices that prioritize community impact afford new opportunities for study. Scholars have pointed to the need for new and better theories to guide the design and study of community engagement that is intentionally geared toward community impact and the need for new epistemologies that include community voice and ways of constructing knowledge.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Study Purpose and Research Questions

Most research on community impact has focused on community perceptions and short-term outputs rather than long term outcomes. Case studies are often used to describe partnership development and activities but lack more sophisticated analysis of dynamics and outcomes. Further, scholars and practitioners assert that the field of community engagement lacks adequate theories to inform the design of community engagement practice and research aimed toward achieving measurable community impact (Cruz & Giles, 2000; Stoecker, 2016). Although there is extensive literature on promising practices in campus-community partnership development, the challenge of measuring community impact persists.

The purpose of this grounded theory study was to explore how campus-community partnership stakeholders (university faculty and staff and community partners) defined, measured, and understood community impact in a diverse set of campus-community partnership initiatives at two U.S. Jesuit Universities that have earned the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification. This was a study of how impact was determined; it was not an assessment of whether identified outcomes were achieved. It was important to include both academic and community stakeholders in order to examine and make sense of

the alignment (or misalignment) between their respective perspectives and understandings. Impact was defined as the ways that higher education community engagement produces mid- and long-term results that benefit the people and organizations within partnering communities. The aim was to give voice to community partners, specifically non-profit and community-based organization staff, ensuring their knowledge contributed toward the development of a theoretical framework that would help bridge the gap between community engagement practice and measurable impacts that benefit communities. The guiding research questions included,

1. How do campus-community partnership stakeholders define impact and what types/forms of impact do they value?
    a. In community-campus partnerships, who has voice in defining impact?
    b. Who is accountable for ensuring that community impact is achieved?
    c. What elements of community-campus partnerships contribute to impact?
    d. How do contextual factors such as historical relations, racial and socio-economic differences, and organizational supports and policies influence or inform how stakeholders understand and experience impact?
    e. What negative impacts have emanated from community-campus partnerships and what were the implications?
2. In what ways do the similarities and differences between how campus and community partners define, measure, and understand impact contribute to our theoretical understanding of how campus-community partnerships can be designed to achieve positive community benefit?

Understanding how community partners define and value impact and how they are able to enact power in partnerships will lead to enhanced community engagement practice including, better alignment between practices and intended outcomes, improved relationships characterized by trust and sustainability and, ultimately, an increase in the knowledge assets to apply to positive benefits for communities and student learning.

Grounded Theory: Methodological Foundations

Grounded theory, founded in the field of Sociology in 1967 by Glaser and Strauss is, in simplest terms, "the discovery of theory from data" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.1). Glaser and Strauss combined Columbia University positivism (Glaser) and Chicago School pragmatism (Strauss), two traditions within Sociological research that contrasted in their approaches and assumptions. Glaser's positivist background aimed to develop a rigorous set of qualitative research methods that made clear the research process. Strauss brought a human dimension to the research, accounting for human agency in social phenomenon. At the time of its discovery, grounded theory's focus on the systematic discovery of theory, grounded in data, diverged sharply from common methodologies, mostly quantitative, that focused on the verification or testing of theory using data. In grounded theory design, the focus is on processes, actions, and interactions among individuals involved with the phenomenon of interest: "Strauss viewed human beings as active agents in their lives and in their worlds rather than as passive recipient of larger social forces. He assumed that process, not structure, was fundamental to human existence, indeed, human beings created structures through engaging in processes" (Charmaz, 2014, p.8). New theory emerges from analysis of data collected, primarily through interviews, from individuals involved with the phenomenon

of interest. Although Glaser and Strauss diverged in their renderings of grounded theory, with Strauss adopting a more flexible, constructivist approach and Glaser sticking to a more positivist approach, as a methodology it became known for its rigor and widely used by both qualitative and quantitative researchers (Charmaz, 2014).

Over time, researchers have built on the origins of grounded theory to develop methodological and philosophical variations, all rooted in several foundational concepts and methods. With these variations in approaches to grounded theory, and the often-cited misappropriation of the methodology, it is important for researchers to be specific about their theoretical stance and the ways in which they employ the core methods (Tan, 2010; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Corbin and Strauss (1990) name several key characteristics of grounded theory and against which it should be evaluated: (a) data collection and analysis happen simultaneously and inform one another; (b) concepts are the basic unit of analysis, as opposed to persons or events; (c) concepts develop into categories as their dimensions become more robust and dynamic; (d) theoretical sampling -- a process through which researchers sample for incidents of the phenomenon as opposed to a representative set of individuals; (e) a constant comparative process where incidents are compared and contrasted to one another and through which the dimensions of categories are developed; (f) accounts of pattern within the data; (g) the theory reflects the processes and dynamics of the phenomenon of interest and how different interactions or conditions impact the phenomenon; (h) memo writing throughout the data collection and analysis; and (i) an accounting for how the broader political, social, economic, etc. context impacts the phenomenon of interest. Theory emerges from this iterative process of data collection and analysis. Coding, at various levels,

beginning with open coding leading to the development of categories with properties and dimensions that account for context and behavioral responses to varied conditions and ultimately the development of a core or central category that leads to theory.

Although grounded theory served as an alternative in a field dominated by quantitative methodologies at the time of its discovery, with its focus on rigorous, systematic methods, it was not an alternative to positivist-oriented methodologies (Charmaz, 2014). Constructivist grounded theory was introduced by Charmaz (2014) as a challenge to the positivist assumptions of grounded theory and to address what she considered to be a "false sense of confidence" that can come with following grounded theory methodology too rigidly. A more positivistic approach to grounded theory, according to Charmaz, assumes that the theory is inherent in the data and waiting to be discovered. However, Charmaz asserted that the theory is not inherent in the data but rather emerges from researchers' interactions with the individuals and data; thus, the research and theory are constructed making grounded theory both a method and a product of inquiry. Constructivist grounded theory accounts for the role of the researcher in constructing theory, drawing on their involvement in the data collection, analysis and interpretation as well as their prior experience with the phenomenon of interest:

> Neither data nor theories are discovered as given in the data or the analysis. Rather, we are part of the world we study, the data we collect, and the analyses we produce. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvement and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices (Charmaz, 2014, p. 17).

Although the epistemological assumptions of constructivist grounded theory differ from positivist approaches, the foundational criteria for grounded theory remain consistent.

Rationale for Grounded Theory

Community-campus partnerships involve dynamic interactions among diverse stakeholders – community members, non-profit professionals, university faculty, staff, and students, to name a few. These relationships are deeply influenced and informed by the unique contexts in which they operate, which are shaped by historical relationships between colleges and universities and their surrounding communities, often rooted in racial and social inequity and even violence and exploitation that persist over time. Community-campus partnerships are rooted in processes and relationships that require the development of trust along with the undoing and unlearning of past practices and orientations. This complex, time-intensive, relational interaction is what makes community impact such a difficult phenomenon to understand and measure and is likely why so many studies to date have focused on detailed descriptions of partnership processes and interactions as a way of understanding impact.

Constructivist grounded theory was chosen as the approach for this study, because it accounts for the varied contexts in which campus-community partnerships are often situated and focuses on the experiences, perspectives, and viewpoints of participants which fit with the goal of centering community voices in the research and generation of a new theoretical framework for understanding how community impact can be achieved through community engagement. Further, researchers operating with a constructivist worldview, according to Creswell (2013), seek to understand the world in which they live and work; search for complexity in views and

perspectives; and focus on the historical and cultural context in which participants are situated. Constructivist grounded theory recognizes the researcher and research participants as co-constructing the theory together as opposed to the researcher alone discovering the theory (Charmaz, 2014). The use of sensitizing concepts – partnership processes and practices, epistemology, and power – in this study reflects the constructivist approach advocated by Charmaz, as they account for the knowledge that exists within the field of community engagement and the experience that I bring as a Community Engagement Professional.

Through the study, I sought to understand how community engagement stakeholders – community partners and higher education faculty and staff – defined and prioritized community impact in order to contribute to my own practice as a community engagement professional and to contribute more broadly to the field of higher education community engagement. The intent of grounded theory to "move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory" (Creswell, 2013, p.83) along with its focus on individuals, processes, interactions, and relationships made it an ideal approach for studying the dynamic phenomenon of community engagement.

Data Collection and Analysis

Corbin and Strauss (1990) assert that concepts are the basic units of analysis in grounded theory studies: "theories can't be built with actual incidents or activities as observed or reported… [they] are taken as, analyzed as, potential indicators of phenomena, which are given conceptual labels" (p. 420). In grounded theory, data collection and analysis are inter-related processes that happens simultaneously. Incidents documented in the data may reflect an abstract concept, as determined by the researcher. As incidents are compared

and determined to reflect similar concepts, these abstract concepts become themes/categories, the building blocks of theory and the units of analysis. Consistent with grounded theory, data collection methods in this study included document analysis, a brief survey, semi-structured interviews, and observation. Data analysis was conducted simultaneously with data collection. Initial sampling was based on criteria (described in the next section) that reflected where the phenomenon of interest was most likely to be observed and decisions for follow-up interviews were driven by the emerging concepts and themes.

Site and Participant Selection

Purposeful criterion sampling – going to the place where there is optimal opportunity for discovery – is important in grounded theory methodology. According to Bryant and Charmaz (2007), “grounded theory sampling must not only explicate the dimensional *scope* of the phenomena of interest, but also enable comprehensive description of the *trajectory* of the phenomena over time” (p. 230.) Ideal participants in grounded theory studies are those who are “experts in the experience” and “representative of the experience” (p. 230). These characteristics of grounded theory informed the selection of sites and interview participants.

Study participants were individuals involved with campus-community partnerships active at two, four-year, Jesuit universities in the United States. Participants included those with active decision-making and supervisory roles within higher education and the community relevant to partnership activities. The purpose of focusing on Jesuit colleges and universities was multi-fold. Jesuit colleges and universities share a common mission of academic excellence and the formation of “men and women for and with others.” This shared emphasis on service and social justice makes Jesuit campuses a natural home to

community engagement. All 27 campuses, referred to collectively as the American Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU), have service-learning programs that vary widely with regard to development, resources, and institutional support, and more than half hold the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification, an elective classification that recognizes colleges and universities that demonstrate a commitment to community engagement.

The AJCU is a highly communicative and collaborative consortium. For example, AJCU Service Learning directors convene regularly, in person and virtually, to share research and best practices. As an active participate in the AJCU service-learning network for over fifteen years, I have established strong relationships with fellow Community Engagement Professionals (CEPs) and center directors; the trust associated with these relationships was key to me gaining access to sites and study participants. Center directors, rightfully, expressed concern about how much time would be asked of community partners and what the benefit to them would be (discussed later in this section). Their willingness to trust my approach and process made it possible for me to access community partner participants with deep knowledge and history of community engagement. Further, I benefited from the trust established between the respective center staff and their community partners; partners were highly responsive to my outreach, generous with their participation, and genuinely interested in the outcomes of the study because of their investment in the relationships with their higher education partners and their belief in the power of community-campus engagement.

To select from among the 27 U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities, several criteria were applied. Campuses were sorted based on their general Carnegie Classification, their

Elective Carnegie Community Engagement Classification (CCEC), community engagement center size, and evidence of an intentional focus on community impact. The CCEC, an elective classification that recognizes colleges and universities that demonstrate a commitment to community engagement through evidence-based documentation of important aspects of institutional mission, identity and commitments, was the first criterion used to narrow the list of prospective sites. The documentation is reviewed by a national review panel to determine whether the institution qualifies for recognition as a community-engaged institution. The initial list of 27 schools was narrowed to 13 by selecting only those schools that earned the CCEC in 2010 or the Reclassification in 2015. Campuses that successfully applied for Reclassification in 2015 would have initially received the Classification in either 2006 or 2008, indicating a long history of community engagement practice. The CCEC applications themselves – accessed directly from the campuses – were a valuable source of initial data. It should be noted that one of the campus participants selected did achieve CCEC Reclassification in 2020. However, this information was not available at the time of sampling. Prior to 2020, community partners were not involved in the evaluation of campus engagement through the CCEC. Thus, prior to 2020, the CCEC could be viewed as academic-centered, although evidence of democratic values and practices and community-partner decision-making roles was required. Generally, structures through which community partners evaluate campus engagement are limited. One example is the Bronx Community Research Review Board, through which Bronx residents have a voice in shaping and determining research in their community.

A second criterion applied was the size and structure of campus community engagement centers. Community engagement centers and coordinators play an important role in facilitating community engagement work on campuses and I relied on them to identify and make introductions to initial community and academic participants. The presence of centers and/or coordinators is often correlated with greater community partner satisfaction with communication (Sandy & Holland, 2006) and co-defined outcomes that account for the context and specific skills of student participants (Dorado et al., 2009). As a community engagement center director, I have first-hand understanding of the time and human resources required to develop, sustain, and manage effective partnerships and community engagement that strives to integrate evidence-based, promising practices. Relationships and trust are the foundation of community engagement and the work requires significant time and attention; thus, I worked on the assumption that centers with a larger staff would have more flexibility to engage in the research process and inferred that they also have more resources to dedicate to promising practices. Centers with three or more staff were prioritized based on the assumption that they would likely have more human resources to dedicate to community engagement and campus-community partnership development (and the study). This narrowed the pool to nine institutions.

Another characteristic of community engagement in Jesuit higher education is the growing presence of Place-Based Community Engagement (PBCE) models. PBCE is defined as "a long-term university-wide commitment to partner with local residents, organizations, and other leaders to focus equally on campus and community impact within a clearly defined geographic area" (Yamamura & Koth, 2018). Schools implementing PBCE

make an intentional and intensive commitment to community impact, thus stakeholders involved with community engagement in this context would likely have rich experiences with campus-community partnership development and, because PBCE is a relatively new implementation model, some stakeholders might have experiences that span a time frame pre- and post- PBCE implementation enabling them to reflect on change over time. Such participants would be able to offer insight on experiences that reflect both scope and trajectory of campus-community partnerships in relation to community impact. This narrowed the pool to seven institutions.

Finally, the seven remaining universities were narrowed to four by removing universities categorized by the Carnegie Foundation as higher or highest research because the literature indicates that the emphasis on research in these universities can be a barrier to the prioritization of community engagement. Of the four remaining universities, one of them was my employer and was thus removed. Three schools remained, and two were selected with the idea that the third would be a back-up if either of the first two chose to not participate. In this study, the names of the two institutions will be substituted with Kolvenbach University (KU) and Ellacuria University (EU), after two prominent Jesuits who have influenced contemporary understandings and manifestations of the social justice mission of Jesuit higher education.

KU is a mid-size, predominantly White urban Jesuit, Catholic university with the Carnegie classification of master's larger program. KU earned the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification in 2010 and Reclassification in 2020 (as noted above, the achievement of Reclassification took place after the site selection process). The center that

manages community engagement at KU is over 25 years old and has more than 10 staff members that manage community partnerships; community-engaged learning (CEL) and scholarship; a robust student leadership program that includes community-based internships, work study, community service, immersion experiences, and advocacy initiatives; and a well-developed place-based community engagement (PBCE) initiative.

KU's PBCE initiative focuses on a geographic area adjacent to the university and four themes: 1.) building civic capacity, 2.) economic development, 3.) youth development, and 4.) food security. The community in which KU is located has a long history of racial and economic segregation. To prepare for working in this context, KU's community engagement center has dedicated considerable resources and time to listening to community residents, learning community assets and needs, and reexamining its approach to community engagement. This has involved focusing less on charity models and more on transformational models; learning about the historical context of the community and the university's relationship; and building faculty, staff and student capacity to engage with the community and advance anti-racism. The mission statement of KU's community engagement center reflects the values of PBCE, with a clear and stated emphasis on community impact, accountability, and racial justice that transcend all programs of the center, even those outside of the PBCE initiative.

EU is a mid-size, urban, Jesuit, Catholic university with the Carnegie classification of doctoral, moderate research and earned the Carnegie Community Engagement Reclassification in 2015. The center that manages EU's community engagement has a staff of more than 10 that manages CEL, campus-community partnerships, credit-bearing

internships, community-based research, social justice leadership initiatives, and a well-developed PBCE initiative. CEL is a requirement for undergraduate students at EU.

EU's PBCE initiative focuses on a geographic area adjacent to the university and several themes, including education, health, career development, and housing. EU, like KU, has dedicated considerable time and resources to learning about the history of the community and the University's relationship to it. The center educates students and faculty about the history through an assets-based lens, lifting the narratives of local community leaders. Through the PBCE` initiative and recent changes to the CEL program, the center has promoted a more critical approach to community engagement that centers social justice, equity, and community voice. Both KU and EU had well-established CEL partnerships prior to commencing their respective PBCE initiatives and both have maintained those partnerships which operate outside of the geographic boundaries of their respective PBCE initiatives creating some overlap between CEL and PBCE and some distinction.

Document Analysis

The first phase of data collection focused on document analysis which enabled me to gain insight into the context in which community engagement and campus-community partnerships operated at each site. Artifacts included the CCEC applications (KU's 2010 Classification application and EU's 2015 Reclassification application); websites and mission statements (university, community engagement center, and community partner organizations); documents that described partnership activities; community engagement center annual reports; and university promotion and tenure policies. I reviewed documents

prior to each site visit and referred back to them several times during data analysis to help deepen my understanding of the contexts in which community-campus partnerships operated.

Participant Recruitment

Study participants included the individual participants in campus-community partnerships, specifically staff of community-based organizations and university faculty and staff. Their respective insights about how impact is defined and measured and who has the power to define and measure contributed to the construction of meaning and theory. Community and academic participants were co-constructors of the emerging theory, along with the researcher, thus integrating diverse knowledges and challenging the normative, expert epistemology dominant in higher education.

Purposeful criterion sampling, going to the place where there is optimal opportunity for discovery, guided participant selection. Study participants (all 18 years of age or older) were selected from active community-campus partnerships that had been in place for a minimum of two years and involved either KU or EU. Of the 25 participants, 23 were involved with community-campus partnerships involving either KU or EU for 5 or more years. Participants included KU and EU faculty and staff and community partner representatives which, in all cases, were community-based organization staff. All participants had direct involvement in community-campus partnerships that included decision-making, supervisory, and/or management roles. Since both research sites also had PBCE initiatives, participant involvement spanned both traditional service-learning partnerships as well as those included in the PBCE initiatives. Consistent with grounded theory, experience rather than demographic representation drove sampling. Community engagement center staff used my

criteria to identify initial interview participants. Center directors informed participants about the purpose of the study and introduced them to me via email. Once introductions were made, I contacted participants directly to review the study purpose and confirm their participation (see Appendix A for Sample Email Communication and Appendix B for Study Overview and Informed Consent). Participant recruitment at KU began in early February 2019 and the initial site visit and interviews took place over the course of four days spanning March 11-14, 2019. Participant recruitment at EU began in mid-March 2019 and the initial site visit took place April 29 to May 3, 2019. A second visit to EU was also conducted in December 2019, allowing for further observation and follow up interviews.

All participants were offered modest incentives to participate, and these were reviewed and described as part of the informed consent process. Community partners were offered reimbursement for any travel costs incurred and a $25 gift card to a local business. University faculty and staff participants were offered reimbursement for any travel costs incurred and a $10 gift card to a local business. The work of community partners in higher education community engagement often goes uncompensated. Center staff at both sites emphasized their desire that community partners be offered an incentive and they did not feel faculty and staff required the same level of incentive. In nearly all cases, I met interview participants at their place of work. At EU, the location of my residence while there allowed me to walk to nearly each appointment. This enabled me to immerse myself in the community and added some richness to my observations while there.

Theoretical Sampling

After the first round of interviews, I did follow up interviews with two community partners and held a small group conversation with three faculty and staff, all at EU. The purpose of these follow-up conversations was to explore themes that had emerged from the data up to that point and facilitated member-checking. I leveraged an opportunity I had to travel to EU for a conference to schedule these follow up interviews and engage further observation and opportunities to learn about the context in with community engagement operates (See Table 1 for study participants).

Table 1

Study Participants

University	Affiliation	Title	Length of partnership	Years of experience
EU	Community Partner	Community Engagement Manager	>5	>5
EU	Community Partner	Executive Director	>5	>5
EU	Community Partner	Executive Director	>5	>5
EU	Community Partner	Director	>5	1
EU	Community Partner	Executive Director	>5	>5
EU	Community Partner	Program Manager	2-4	1
EU	Community Partner	Co-Director	>5	>5
EU	Faculty	Lecturer	>5	2-4
EU	Faculty	Professor	2-4	>5
EU	Faculty	Associate Professor	>5	>5
EU	Faculty	Associate Professor	>5	>5
EU	Faculty	Associate Professor	>5	>5
EU	Staff	Director	>5	>5
KU	Community Partner	Coordinator	>5	2-4
KU	Community Partner	Director	>5	>5
KU	Community Partner	Career Connections	>5	>5
KU	Community Partner	Director	>5	>5
KU	Community Partner	Engagement Coordinator	>5	2-4
KU	Community Partner	Program Manager	>5	>5
KU	Faculty	Lecturer	>5	>5
KU	Faculty	Associate Professor	>5	>5
KU	Faculty	Professor	>5	2-4
KU	Staff	Assistant Director	>5	>5
KU	Staff	Director	>5	>5
KU	Staff	Assistant Director	>5	>5

Surveys

Prior to each interview, participants completed a brief, online survey intended to give insight into the context of the partnership and ensure that participants met the inclusion criteria. Eleven faculty and staff completed the survey, five at KU and six at EU. One KU staff person did not complete the survey because they were recruited to be interviewed during the actual site visit. Twelve community partners completed the survey, six from each site. One EU community partner partially completed the survey and did not submit it indicating they preferred to speak in person. For those two participants that did not complete the survey, I ensured they met the inclusion criteria by asking relevant questions during the interview. See Appendix C for the Community Partner Survey and Appendix D for the Faculty/Staff Survey).

Survey responses helped inform my approach to the semi-structured interviews and prompted ideas for areas of inquiry to focus on. They also provided insight into the community-campus partnership practices being employed and how participants perceived the benefits of partnership. Several open-ended questions related to the goals, successes, challenges, and outcomes of the partnership generated data that was uploaded to NVivo and included in the qualitative analysis, contributing to themes that emerged from the data. Survey results will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

Site Visits and Observations

A total of three site visits were made: two to EU and one to KU. The visit to KU took place over the course of four days spanning March 11-14, 2019. While at KU, I had the opportunity to observe a staff meeting during which the center team was reviewing one of

their program rubrics through a racial justice lens as part of their overall goal to ensure their programs were inclusive and reflective of anti-racism principles. The initial visit to EU took place April 29 to May 3, 2019. During this first visit I had the opportunity to observe a community-university book club discussion. Many of the book club participants were faculty, staff, and community partners that I had interviewed (participants were notified in advance of my desire to attend and the purpose of my study and all were asked to give permission for my presence). The purpose of the book club was to build community and to engage in conversations on topics of mutual interest. A second visit to EU was made in December 2019, allowing for further observation and follow up interviews. During the second visit, I had the opportunity to participate in a walking tour of the community where EU's PBCE initiative is focused and to learn from several community leaders about the history and current context of the community.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the primary source of data. Interview questions focused on the partnership processes, roles and responsibilities, sense of power, and how participants defined, understood, and valued impact. I held semi-structured interviews (~ 1 hour each) with each participant (see Appendix E for the Community Partner Interview Protocol and Appendix F for the Faculty/Staff Interview Protocol). I made one visit to KU in March 2019 and conducted 10 in-person interviews – 3 individual interviews with community partners, 3 individual interviews with faculty, and 1 interview with a team of three center staff. I made two visits to EU. I made two visits to EU. During the first visit in April 2019, I interviewed 9 participants in person. Three interviews were conducted by

phone soon after the site visit, for varied scheduling reasons. During the second visit in December 2019, I held follow up interviews with 6 participants – 2 individual interviews with community partners and one group interview with 4 campus partners. One of the community partner interviews was conducted in person and the other over the phone. The purpose of the follow up interviews was to explore emerging themes with study participants, to gain feedback on how the themes resonated with participants, and to expand on them through further conversation.

Interviewees were asked to select the location of the interviews and most chose their places of work. It was important to me that interviewees felt comfortable and that I was conscious of the time they were sharing with me. I used Zoom to audio record all but two first-round interviews. For those not audio-recorded, I took detailed hand-written notes. I did not audio-record the six follow up interviews but rather took detailed notes. Prior to beginning each audio-recorded interview, I reviewed and obtained consent to record the interviews (see Appendix G – Consent to Audio-taping). During the respective site visits, I drafted memos at the end of each day, to make note of concepts that were emerging from the conversations and to reflect on my approach to the interviews, making note of changes and improvements I wanted to make the next day. As concepts emerged, I incorporated them into next interviews to explore them further.

Coding

Data from interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed on an ongoing basis from March 2019 to April 2020. Memo writing throughout the process helped me to document themes and continue to add dimension to them as they further developed from the data. As

mentioned, I used Zoom for the audio-recordings and the software also created transcripts of each interview. I reviewed each transcript while listening to the audio-recording to correct any errors. The process of listening and transcribing helped me become very familiar with the data.

NVivo qualitative data analysis software was used to code and analyze data, including interview transcripts, handwritten interview notes and memos, and open-ended survey responses. I employed an iterative coding process. I close-coded (line-by-line) the first eight interviews which led to 170 initial codes. At this point, I exported the code book and began to organize and look for themes among the codes. I merged codes that fit together, often under new codes that better captured the essence of the concept or phenomenon, and I dropped codes that did not hold up (meaning there were no threads or themes to connect them or expand on them). I went through this process multiple times, each time, forcing myself to define or refine the codes that I was maintaining, adding detail to their dimensions and specificity to their importance. Ultimately, this iterative process led to the identification of 30 codes and from these codes, nine themes emerged as particularly salient and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Consideration of Ethical Issues

Approval from the University of Massachusetts (UMass) Boston Institutional Review Board (IRB) was attained for this study. The participating universities both agreed to accept the UMass Boston IRB approval.

Risk and Benefits

The project posed minimal risk to participants, and personal information remained confidential. I was conscious and intentional in efforts to build trust with each of my

participants. Community partners were given the option of having a colleague or fellow community member join them in the interview. As part of the informed consent process, I invited participants to indicate how they wanted to be referred to in the write up of findings in an effort to maintain confidentiality while also allowing participants to determine how their contributions would be reflected. They had the option of using their name, selecting a pseudonym of their choice, or delegating the selection of pseudonym to me. Participants were also informed that they could withdraw from the study and/or interview at any point.

A hope that I communicated to the participants, and that I maintain, is that this research would benefit them by contributing to an understanding of how community impact can be enhanced. Participants expressed interest and excitement about contributing to the research as they too perceived the topic to be important and highly relevant to them. Several expressed that the process of reflecting on and talking about it through the research process sparked ideas about how communication, for example, could be improved to focus more on impact. I sent follow up communications to participants as a thank you immediately following interviews and then again in September/October 2019 to update them on my progress and maintain a connection.

Trustworthiness.

There are four criteria widely used to evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Shenton, 2004).

Credibility and Dependability. Credibility refers to practices that ensure the study measures what it is intended to measure (Shenton, 2004). These practices include utilizing recognized research methods, developing relationships with study participants to facilitate

trust-building between researcher and participant, thick description of the research process and data, and member checking. According to Shenton (2004) the dependability of a study is closely tied to its credibility. Thus, paying close attention to practices that enhance credibility contribute to its dependability.

Knowing that an important goal was to elevate the voices of community partners in and through the research, I piloted both the survey and interview protocol with one of my local community partners and used their feedback to make revisions. To further establish credibility, I was attentive to grounded theory research methods, constantly checking my processes and decision against criteria for quality practice in grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Tan, 2010) and I documented the research process through consistent memo writing and the description of research methods in this paper. After each interview, I noted and wrote about key ideas and themes that I saw emerging, and I brought these into subsequent interviews as a way of testing and developing them further. Follow up interviews with 6 participants facilitated further member-checking of emergent themes. In the presentation of findings, I wrote thick descriptions of my observations, as you will see in chapter 4, and drew on direct quotes from research participants to explain each element of the framework that I developed from the research findings, as will be described in chapter (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz, 1996).

I leveraged trusting relationships with my community engagement professional peers at the participating universities to recruit research participants. To help participants feel more comfortable, I was transparent about the purpose of my research which was to understand how impact is defined and was not intended to evaluate the impact of specific

partnerships or activities. I tried to frame the study such that participants saw themselves as contributing to an enhanced understanding that would help advance the field broadly and be useful to them on a local level. My hope was that being clear and transparent with my goals would contribute toward participant feelings of trust toward me, opening up space for them to feel as though they could share both positive and negative experiences of partnership. Although some partners did share critiques of or negative experiences partnering with universities, most did not. The reality of the power differential between higher education and communities may have caused community partners to feel that sharing negative experiences would put the relationship with their higher education partner at risk. For those that rely on higher education partnerships for their day-to-day operations, the risk is greater. As a White community engagement professional within higher education engaging in research with community partners working in predominately lower-income communities of color, I represented and carried power that likely limited the level of trust I was able to develop in the short period of time that I engaged with participants. A question that came up repeatedly in my interviews with community partners was, will you be sharing your findings with me/us? This question indicated to me that community partners had likely been asked to participate in research with colleges and universities in the past but did not learn about the findings or have the opportunity to benefit from the research. I intend to follow through on my commitment to share the findings with research participants to facilitate ongoing knowledge sharing and development and to contribute toward trustworthiness in community-engaged research more broadly (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

Transferability. Transferability refers to the extent to which a study's findings can be applied to other situations (Shenton, 2004). This is difficult to achieve in qualitative research which tends to have small sample sizes and is highly contextual. This study, for example, included two Jesuit universities with many commonalities (size, demographics, location, and community engagement practices). However, the research problem itself is a common one within the field of higher education community engagement and the values and practices employed by the research sites and participants are common across the field. To address transferability, I have provided a thick description of the research context and methods and demonstrated how I theorized from the findings by drawing threads between the key elements of my findings' framework and direct quotes from interview participants.

Confirmability and Reflexivity. According to Shenton (2004),

> The concept of confirmability is the qualitative investigator's comparable [to the positivist's] concern for objectivity. Here steps must be taken to help ensure, as far as possible, that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher (p. 72).

An audit trail, or clear documentation of the research process and analysis of findings, is a key tactic for addressing confirmability as is the use of multiple sources of data. Although interviews were the primary source of data in this study, I also employed a survey, document analysis, and observations. Document analysis, observations, and the survey familiarized me with partnership contexts and the sequence of employing the survey prior to interviews allowed me to follow up on and confirm information collected through the survey during the

interview. As mentioned, I clearly documented the research process and used thick description to convey findings.

Another important consideration related to confirmability are the biases of the researcher. As a Community Engagement Professional (CEP) who has been studying and practicing community engagement within Jesuit higher education for over fifteen years, I brought to this research my own values, habits, and ideas about best practice in campus-community partnership development. My experiences, values and aspirations shaped the design of my study and influenced the ways in which I interacted with the study participants and data collected. Throughout these years, I have learned a lot from literature and research in the field and through the trial and error of application. For example, I have learned about the implications of trying to partner when coming from outside of the community and operating from a "helper," "fixer" perspective and focusing on the "damage" instead of the hope and "desire." These experiences have sensitized me to the perspective and positions of community partners and to the power dynamics. I am still evolving and learning as I go and reflexivity as a practitioner, scholar requires constant attention and intention. Recognizing the biases inherent in my position and experience, I made it a habit to regularly reflect on how they influenced and informed my role in constructing the data (Charmaz, 2014). The format of the framework that I introduce in chapter five is designed to clearly demonstrate how my theorizing is linked to the data, particularly the voices of the community partner participants.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the research findings, drawing on document analysis, participant surveys, and interviews with higher education and community partners, focused on the research questions:

1. How do community-campus partnership stakeholders define impact and what types/forms of impact do they value?
    a. In community-campus partnerships, who has voice in defining impact?
    b. Who is accountable for ensuring that community impact is achieved?
    c. What elements of community-campus partnerships contribute to impact?
    d. How do contextual factors such as historical relations, racial and socio-economic differences, and organizational supports and policies influence or inform how stakeholders define impact?
    e. What negative impacts have emanated from community-campus partnerships and what were the implications?
2. In what ways do the similarities and differences between how campus and community partners define, measure, and understand impact contribute to our theoretical

understanding of how campus-community partnerships can be designed to achieve positive community benefit?

Initial Findings

Document analysis helped inform the context in which partnerships existed and operated. Artifacts included the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification (CCED) partnership grid; websites and mission statements (university, community engagement center, and community partner organizations); partnership descriptions; community engagement center annual reports; and university promotion and tenure policies.

Partnership Contexts

Both campuses, KU and EU, have well-established centers responsible for facilitating academic community engagement, including community-engaged learning (also known as service learning), community-engaged research, and community-campus partnerships. The centers also have staff dedicated to various aspects of community engagement, including community-campus partnership development. Both campuses, having received the Carnegie Foundation Elective Re-Classification for Community Engagement, have been recognized by peers within higher education for the institutionalization of their academic community engagement work.

In recent years both campuses, through the leadership of their community engagement centers, have embarked on Place-based Community Engagement (PBCE) initiatives and are members of the Place-Based Justice Network (PBJN). PBCE focuses community-campus engagement efforts within a specific geographic area, places equal importance on campus and community impact, is driven by community-identified needs, and

seeks to engage the entire campus, beyond just the community-engagement center (Yamamura & Koth, 2018). The PBJN professes a particular commitment to "transforming higher education and our communities by deconstructing systems of oppression through place-based community engagement" (Place-Based Justice Network, n.d.). Documents describing the mission and goals of the PBCE initiatives at both KU and EU signaled that both campuses are engaging in community engagement practices – such as acknowledging historical relations and valuing community voice – that push beyond the boundaries of traditional community engagement practice that can sometimes limit community impact. Interviews with community partners further signaled their recognition and valuing of this boundary pushing.

The mission statements of KU and EU's respective PBCE initiatives signal the values of PBCE broadly and the PBJN specifically. EU's PBCE initiative is described as "an intentional, systematic, and transformative university-community initiative that will achieve community-identified outcomes supporting children, youth, and families in the [community] through student learning, research and teaching consistent with [EU's] Mission and Vision." The mission of KU's PBCE initiative is to "collaborate with neighbors and partners to produce positive change for all residents in the community that improves the area education and youth development, builds civic capacity and strengthens the [Community's] commercial corridor."

Community partners of both KU and EU acknowledged how their relationships with their campus partners have shifted through the PBCE approach. They commented specifically on how university presence in the community has become more consistent and how higher education partners have prioritized community voice and community-identified

needs through PBCE. A long-time community partner of KU said, “I've come to see [KU’s] commitment to this immediate community right here, and that really means a lot and they're always available. If I have an idea, I feel like they would help me make it happen.” E’Rika, who served in an advisory capacity to EU’s PBCE initiative, reflected on the changes she observed in the relationship between the campus and community as a result of PBCE,

> A couple of years ago, [EU] really gave space for community members to talk about what they felt the needs were. [Community members] were tired of surveys, and they were tired of reports coming out every five years but never addressing their concerns. So, really looking at how do we partner in meaningful ways so that we actually address some of the concerns that the community is saying is a priority.

KU and EU, like many colleges and universities, operate in community contexts where the historical relationships are tenuous – campuses are perceived as exclusive and prior initiatives involving the community may have done harm, leaving the community feeling exploited for academic purposes requiring efforts to repair and rebuild relationships and trust. Documents describing the mission and goals of the PBCE initiatives at both KU and EU signaled that both campuses are engaging in practices – such as acknowledging historical relations and valuing community voice – that push beyond the boundaries of traditional community engagement practice. Interviews with community partners further signaled their recognition and valuing of this boundary pushing.

While both KU and EU are on the growing edge of community engagement practice with their respective PBCE initiatives and related practices, neither university has promotion and tenure policies that explicitly recognize academic community engagement. Rather, as

will be discussed further late in this chapter, the rationale is that promotion and tenure policies are intentionally broad to leave room for scholars to make the case for their work.

Partnership Practices

Prior to visiting each campus, a survey was distributed and completed by each interviewee. The purpose of the survey was to ensure that participants met the inclusion criteria and to gain insight into how basic best practices in community-campus partnership work were, or were not being, employed. Questions focused on campus and community partner perceptions of communication, goal setting, student preparedness for engagement, and shared responsibility and power in decision-making and assessment. A series of 17 questions asked respondents to rate partnership characteristics using a Likert scale (poor, satisfactory, good, very good, not applicable). Open ended questions invited participants to identify and describe beneficial outcomes of community-campus partnerships. Community partner participants were asked to answer these questions based on their experience partnering with either EU or KU. Campus partners (faculty/staff) were asked to answer the questions based on their experience with a single community partner that they were engaged with during their employment at either EU or KU. Most campus respondents focused on a single, long-standing partnership. A few, primarily Center staff who, by the nature of their job, worked with many partners responded more generally, based on their experience with and approach to community-campus partnership practice broadly.

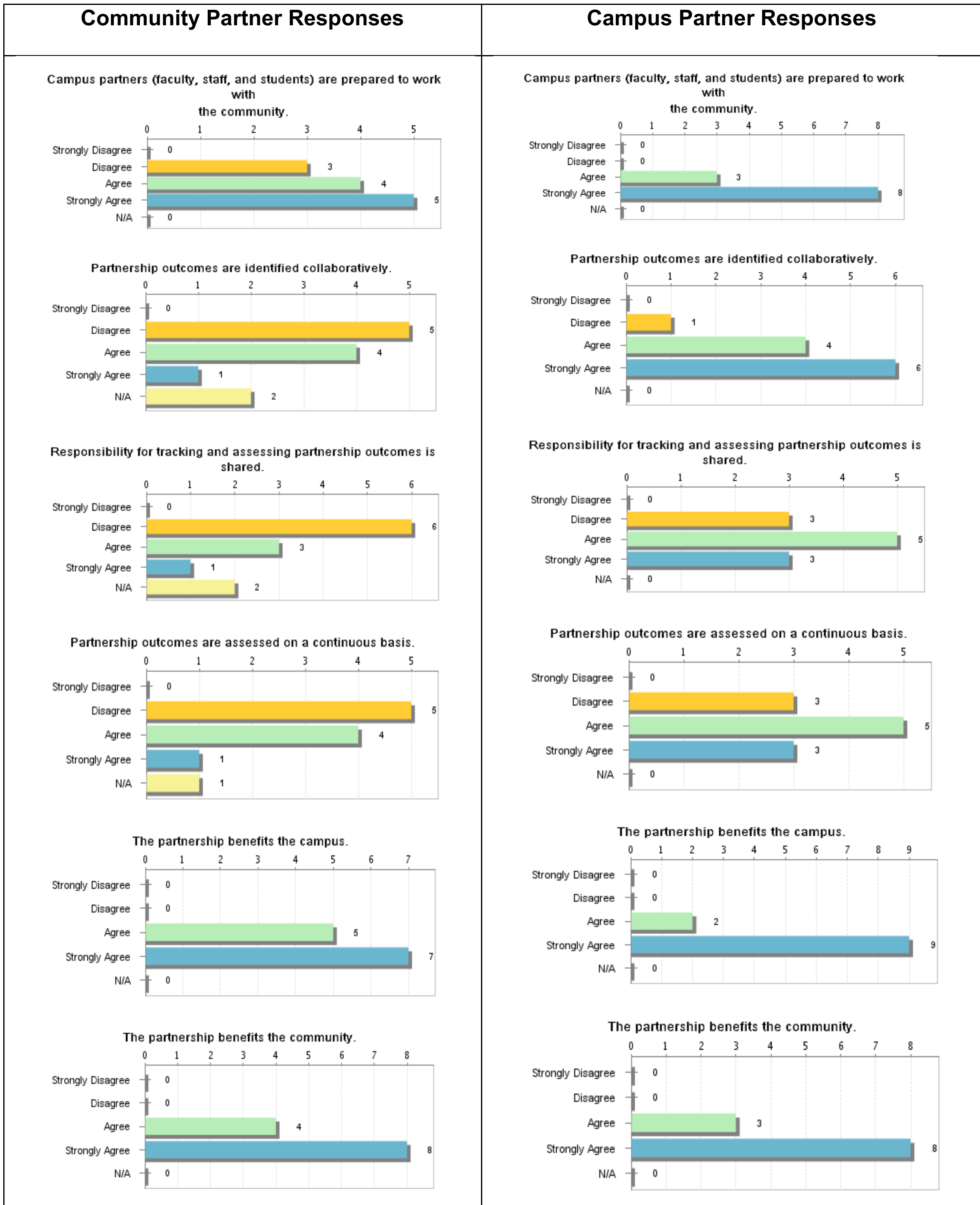
- According to respondents, over 90% of the partnerships that community and campus respondents reported on were in place for more than five years.

- More than 70% of faculty/staff respondents and 65% of community partner respondents reported five or more years of involvement in community-campus partnership work; another 18% of faculty/staff and 17% of community partners reported two to four years of experience. The remainder reported less than one year of experience.

Campus and community respondents demonstrated general agreement on responses to survey questions related to clarity of goals; roles and expectations; clarity and consistency of communication; and perceptions of the collaborative process of planning logistics and fit between university assets and community goals and needs (see Figure 1). Campus and community perceptions about partnership activities diverged, however, on questions related to preparation, outcomes, and impact. For example, nearly 75% of campus partners strongly agreed (another 25% agreed) that faculty, staff, and students were prepared to work with the community, whereas only 40% of community partners strongly agreed and 25% disagreed. On questions related to partnership outcomes, over 90% of campus partners agreed or strongly agreed that outcomes were identified collaboratively in contrast to less than half of community partners agreeing or strongly agreeing and over 40% disagreeing. Results were similar for questions related to tracking and assessing partnership outcomes (see Figure 1). Despite the contrasting perceptions on questions related to outcomes and impact, interestingly, a resounding 100% of campus and community respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the community-campus partnership(s) they were reflecting on benefited the campus and the community. This leads to the question: how could respondents be so confident about benefits in the absence of data to support the claim?

Figure 1

Perceptions of Outcomes, Assessment, and Benefit



In *Rewriting Partnerships: Community Perspectives on Community-Based Learning*, Shah (2020) writes: “In much service-learning scholarship, community impact is glossed over with the assumption that communities are appreciative of students’ efforts” (p. 15). Shah refers to “classic truisms” such as “‘Service, when combined with learning, adds value to each and transforms both’” (Honnet & Poulsen, 1989, as cited in Shah, 2020, p.15) as contributors to this phenomenon. The survey results piqued my interest in understanding whether the positive impact that both higher education and community partners perceived was a false assumption, reflective of classic truisms, or was it possible that, despite the divergences reported, community-campus partnerships generally did lead to positive benefits to both campus and community? If so, what were the requisite conditions? These are questions I explored through the interviews.

The survey included several open-ended questions. The first asked respondents to describe the purpose and goals of the community-campus partnership upon which they were reflecting. Of the 11 faculty/staff respondents, three framed goals in terms of student learning only. The goals were vague, simply describing partnership activities and broad purposes such as applying or contextualizing learning: “Contextualizing the theories that they learn in the classroom is essential to becoming a fully-developed student.” One faculty/staff respondents framed partnership goals in terms of community impact only. This respondent described outcomes of collaborative projects with several organizations within a specific community over time: “overall, the project moved from traditional service-learning to a seven-year engaged scholarship project that led to a 47% employment rate for workshop attendees.” Most faculty/staff respondents framed goals in terms of both community and

student learning impact. Some were more specific than others, and these responses tended to describe the importance of contextualizing student learning for the purpose of understanding the systemic issues that contribute to community challenges and they emphasized the importance of community knowledge:

> To provide community engagement opportunities for our students to deeply learn the reasons why certain societal, environmental, and physical problems exist, and to develop and implement solutions alongside the community members.

> To promote reading engagement in K-8 students in [community], an historically underserved community, in response to a community-identified need to address reading achievement in K-8 students. To prepare candidates for the master's degree in teaching reading to work in under-served communities by partnering with community organizations.

The latter quote reflects several principles of community engagement practice: benefit for both the community and student learning; recognition of the importance of community-identified need; and the articulation of goals measurable over time (short-term outputs and longer-term impact).

Among the twelve community respondents, only one framed partnership goals in terms of impact on students only and three framed goals in terms of community impact only. Most community respondents framed goals in terms of both student and community impact. Community partner respondents described community impacts such as advancing specific programmatic goals, increasing human resource capacity (more hands to do the work), and in

terms of increased access to the university, for example, by creating opportunities to expose community youth to college. Community respondents also framed goals in terms of mutual learning and development and relationships. For example, one partner wrote, "The impact of our… partnership reaches far beyond our office. Both students and clients go home, sharing their positive stores and interactions with their friends and families. We literally bridge the race/class divide, right here in our little office." Like the higher education partner, the community partner identifies positive impacts for both the community and student and places value on community voice; however, the goals here are less quantifiable.

Like faculty/staff respondents, community partners discussed the importance of student learning outcomes, such as contextualized learning, understanding the systemic causes of social injustices, and preparing students for long-term involvement in and commitment to social change. In contrast to higher education respondents, community respondents described student outcomes such as job readiness and, more interestingly, students' feelings of connectedness to the community.

A second open-ended question asked respondents to describe one or more successes of the partnership. Most respondents, higher education representatives and community partners alike, framed success as community impact. Respondents described community impact in terms of tangible outputs, relationships, and long-term impacts. Tangible outputs included access to volunteers essential to the organization's work (tutoring, food distribution, etc.) and practical resources such as nutrition guides, fundraising materials, and research reports. E'Rika (2019), a community partner, described the cumulative impact of their organization's partnership with EU: "We have grown the home libraries of our youth and

provided them with over 25,000 books, backpacks, and supplies. We increased student motivation towards reading [and] increased interest in going to college."

Relationships were discussed, by higher education representatives and community partners alike, as essential facilitators of both community and student outcomes. Relationality emerged as significant and nuanced theme throughout the study. Community partners valued how relationships contributed to student learning and perspective shifting and expressed the importance of students gaining a more critical understanding of the systemic issues that contributed to the individual challenges community members faced. D'Anne (2019), a community partner wrote,

> I really enjoy the 'back and forth' of the communication and understanding between the students and clients… The students begin to understand how lack of education, poor health and other socio-economic factors affect clients' ability to support themselves and to pay their bills, keep a roof over their heads or feed their children.

Here, the relationships that developed between university students and community members led to greater understanding and increased knowledge assets for both. Community knowledge was present and powerful as students gained deeper understanding through listening to the life experiences of their community partners. Several community partners described success as students maintaining their commitment to the community, beyond the limits of the service-learning course, for example. This is consistent with literature that documents the value community partners place on training the next generation of non-profit professionals (Stoecker, Tryon, & Hilgendorf, 2009) and reflects the sense of connectedness to the community that several community partners described as a desirable goal.

Community partners and higher education faculty/staff referenced how relationships, particularly those in place for longer periods of time, were critical to facilitating longer-term impact and change:

> Since 2010, hundreds of community residents and hundreds of [KU] students, faculty, and staff have worked together to build relationship, incubate interventions to address neighborhood food access…, convene city agencies and non-profit and for-profit partners in long-term planning for schools, affordable housing, and meet timely community-identified needs.

The Director of KU's community engagement center described a multi-year listening project that preceded their current place-based initiative. During this listening period, no new service-learning or other community engagement initiatives were developed, as that was not the goal, and few faculty and students were involved. The goal was to build relationships and create a space and dynamic where community voices would drive the planning. It was also a time to model for the university what it means and what it looks like to prioritize community need rather than focus only on student learning and faculty research goals. Throughout interviews with KU faculty, staff, and community partners, the importance of this listening period and the sustained community presence that characterized the place-based initiative was apparent.

A third open-ended question asked respondents to identify one or more challenges experienced in the partnership. A few themes that emerged across all responses included: student reliability, staffing turnover or changes in responsibilities, the time and effort required to manage the relationship and activities, and policies – either university or

community organization – that created barriers to partnership activities and goals. Several community partners also referenced the academic calendar as a challenge that led to inconsistencies in university involvement and availability in partnership activities. One community partner referenced a consistent experience of not being received well during visits to campus. This was explored further during the interviews and emerged as a challenge for other community partners, rooted in campus climate issues; social, racial, and ethnic differences between campus and community; and historical relationships that contributed to community members lacking trust in university intentions. All will be discussed further in the next section.

Defining Impact

The survey results piqued my interest in exploring a few observations through in-person interviews, including the divergences in perceptions of how adequately prepared students are for community engagement and the collaborative nature of defining outcomes along with the assumption, on the part of campus and community, that positive impact is achieved through community-campus partnerships even in the absence of evidence. I also wanted to understand more about the dynamics of the community-campus relationship, specifically, how communication occurred, responsibilities were assigned, and roles were enacted. Most importantly, I wanted to gain insight into how community partners defined impact, what evidence was important to them, and what challenges they experienced relative to achieving positive community impact.

I relied on Community Engagement Professionals at KU and EU to make introductions to their respective community partners. I then followed up with information on

myself, the study, and statement of confidentiality. Once there was confirmed agreement to participate, I scheduled a time to meet with participants, at the location of their choice, during week-long visits to each site that took place about one-month apart (a visit to KU in March and to EU in April 2019) with a follow up visit to EU about seven months later (December 2019). Meeting with community partners at their workplaces and other community locations allowed me to immerse myself in the community context, and I walked from campus to meet locations as often as possible. I conducted two to four interviews each day of the respective visits and, in the evenings, I checked recordings, skimmed auto-transcripts (a function in Zoom), wrote memos on themes and made adjustments (for example, new questions to pursue themes and changes to improve interview technique) for future interviews.

Coding of interviews took place over nearly a twelve-month period from March 2019 to February 2020. After close coding eight interviews, I had identified 170 codes. At this stage, I exported the code book and began to reorganize codes based on similarities and themes. I merged codes that fit together, often under new codes that better captured the essence of the phenomenon and dropped codes that did not hold up. I cycled through this iterative process a few times as I continued coding until I had identified approximately 30 codes or categories. As I spent more time with the data, among the 30 codes, nine emerged as particularly salient and became the important themes: 1) lack of mutual accountability; 2) risk and resilience; 3) relationship as a facilitator of impact; 4) repairing and rebuilding trust; 5) access and inclusion; 6) power dynamics; 7) relationship as impact; 8) challenges defining and measuring impact; 9) engaging community knowledge. Together, these themes created a core story line of subversion – specifically, that a primary goal of community-campus

partnerships is to subvert the socio-historical relationship between campus and communities by disrupting the dominant narrative, one characterized by power, distrust, and exclusion, and constructing a new one characterized by mutual respect, valuing community knowledge, trusting relationships, and marshalling power for change. Community and campus participants in partnerships described impact in terms of broad purposes rather than specific outcomes, and they placed emphasis on narrative, context, and process as opposed to quantifiable measures.

Lack of Mutual Accountability: Plug-and-Play

During interviews, participants described a mutually exclusive approach to identifying and tracking outcomes of partnership activities. In other words, desired outcomes for partnership activities existed but, rather than being mutual, they were often mutually exclusive, with some focused on student learning and others on community. Community partners understood their goals but had no knowledge of student learning goals and, vice versa, faculty were aware of student learning goals but not community goals. At the end of the project period, there was often no follow up communication where partners discussed progress toward their respective goals. In response to a question about shared responsibility for collecting data relative to community outcomes, Kamal, the director of a youth leadership program said,

> We never really talked about that. I mean, it would be, I think, helpful, but they also have their own outcomes. Coming up with specific like joint or collaborative outcomes is one thing that I think is, you know, listen, we have outcomes for our programs. We want to bring in people and get them exposure and match them up with

> mentors and then they have theirs. I'm sure they want their young students to get community service and to better understand the community and build those relationships, but coming up with those things together, I think, is something that we could probably do a better job at.

This mutually-exclusive approach to partnership is what I refer to as a Plug-and-Play model of community engagement where the community partner organization has a program model in place and is seeking capable volunteers that meet basic skill and logistical criteria. In this model, conversation about outcomes is minimal or entirely absent; rather, the conversation stays focused on logistics. It is assumed that the community partner is focused on and accountable for their intended outcomes and the higher education partner for theirs. It is presumed that the transaction will lead to positive impact without much examination or effort. The commitment is low risk for both the community and higher education partner as it does not require significant investment of time or intellectual input from either and higher education partners take comfort in the stability of a program in which they can "plug" students. This Plug-and-Play approach is described by Greg, a community partner:

> You know, what we are looking for out in this partnership is English tutors and, as long as you can give us that, as long as you can get them in the door with us, the program that we have developed, and I'm not saying that it can't not work, yeah, but, um, it can't not work. As long as they're sitting together and speaking English, our students are getting something out of it… and that's something we can control, at least to a certain extent.

Several partners mentioned the challenge of isolating the impact of community-campus partnership activities on their program outcomes. For example, Greg who oversaw a tutoring program for English Language Learners said they did not have processes in place to understand how any individual or group of volunteers contributed to improved English language capacity for community participants. Further, they did not feel that this type of tracking would be beneficial, given the time it would take and the fact that they were focused more on program-level outcomes than individual ones. Thus, community partners tend to focus on assessing relationship characteristics and criteria, such as consistency and reliability, as an indicator of success:

> What we have been focused on is creating a program in which literally anybody with a few hours of training can walk in off the street and be successful. So, it's not so much looking at the volunteers on an individual basis, it's been looking at, you know, system-wide partnerships we can make that will get us a lot of volunteers in the door, because, like I said, once we can get them in the door, we can train them. The only thing we really need to do is make sure they're coming every term because the program that we've developed is going to be successful as long as everybody is showing up.

So, if the community partner can trust that students will show up consistently, participate in training, and engage with community members in a respectful manner, then positive impact will follow. This sentiment was conveyed by several community partners and may explain survey results that reflected an assumption of positive impact even in the absence of communication, tracking, or evidence.

As mentioned previously, both higher education and community partners reported that their communication focused primarily on partnership logistics – which days were best, how many hours, numbers of students, tasks to be completed, etc. While critical to ensuring positive outcomes, the ends goals were often left out of the conversation. Further, people that would be critical to those conversations, such as faculty, were often not directly engaged, as noted by D'Anne:

> There's a little bit of communication. I think, because we've been in existence for so long, it kind of runs like a top. So, we have some basic communication at the beginning of the semester with the student coordinator and with the staff person that's assigned to as her or his mentor. Then, most of the communication with the faculty is through [The Center]. I also communicate a little bit with the teachers, because they will verify that the kids are working their hours, that kind of thing.

This narrow focus on logistics at the planning level translates to how students engage at the level of implementation. Sam, a non-profit director who also has 25 years of experience working as a higher education administrator, summed it up as

> Often there is a mismatch between academic mission and life in community. There is a product in mind, but students are not at that place. Their expectation is that if they take the steps required by the course, then it is done. They are not focused on the outcome or what is achieved.

Julie, a communication director of a youth support program, further gave voice to the negative impact that can occur when goals, expectations, and accountability -- beyond logistics -- are left out of the conversation:

> One thing we always talk with professors about is like, whose job is it to teach students to be professional in their communication. No one wants to take ownership of that. They're in college, they should be good, but then they're interacting with their community and they're not there, they're not good. So, how do we tell educators to open them up to new ideas. We had students that were really close-minded about working with undocumented students. Well, it's not on my students to educate them on how to not be that way. It's on me to do that, and it's on the professors to do it. So again, like open communication.

These examples should lead community engagement practitioners to question if and how student learning could be enhanced further if community outcomes were integrated as student learning outcomes.

While conversations about outcomes are largely absent in the Plug-and-Play model, community partners did express a sense of responsibility for student learning and formation. D'Anne reflected on how she perceived her role in relation to student learning:

> I think my primary role is to ensure that the students have a good service experience. I feel responsible for getting them busy and building their skills and showing them a different experience than they may have faced in the past… I kind of feel responsible for getting them ready to go into the job market as well… I really feel very responsible for them, to provide them a safe, workspace that they can come and learn and enjoy. I really want them to enjoy it.

Sam, offered a different perspective on how they came to focus more on student learning that community outcomes:

> I walked back from community impact to focus on how students understand social justice. You won't see an immediate impact but hope for the best in the long term. I have seen students develop compassion. For example, a business student who says profit is not the priority. There is great need but low expectation.

Sam, in a follow up conversation, expanded on how they hope this investment in student learning and formation will lead to positive social change in the long-term through the formation of compassionate people who make different choices – for example, different political choices or investment choices – throughout their lifetimes.

I asked several community partners if their higher education collaborators shared data on student learning with them and whether they would find this valuable. Most partners indicated that student learning data, outside of general feedback on student or faculty satisfaction with the experience and outcomes, was not shared with them. Some indicated that it would be a helpful datapoint for them to have. For example, some mentioned how it would be meaningful to share this data with funders to demonstrate their contributions to civic engagement or youth development beyond just their primary audience. Sam, who leads a program that creates immersion experiences for students and others, discussed how such data would help their organization understand the effectiveness of their programs and inform improvements. Looking at the full circle of the Plug-and-Play model, a general characteristic is that there is little to no conversation about specific outcomes – shared or individual – at the start of the experience and little to no conversation about observed outcomes at the close of the experience.

Risk and Resilience

Risk and resilience were additional, related themes that emerged. Evident in interview data, particular community partner perspectives, was a correlation between levels of trust, risk and impact. Where there is more trust, stakeholders are willing to take greater risks – meaning invest more time, collaborate on more important projects, share more power, etc. Collaborations that are riskier in this sense, are likely to have more meaningful impact. Sustaining higher risk collaborations requires resilience – the ability to deal with uncertainty, remain flexible, share control, and learn from failure in order to move beyond.

Minimizing Risk: Do no Harm. The concept of risk relates to the Plug-and-Play model because this model is recognized as low risk to both community and higher education partners. Whatever program students are plugged into is tried and tested and, with minimal supervision, there is a high level of confidence that positive outcomes will be achieved. While lower-risk activities may limit the impact higher education community engagement can generate, they can be important starting points. The principle of "do no harm" is an important one, as Angela, a Community-Engagement Professional described:

> One of the things that I find we first have to get across is, at minimum, do no harm. That seems like a low bar, but, in fact, you know, if we're sending students who are ill prepared, or who are reticent, that is harmful, because the community partner has to manage that… So that's where I start, because I find that often a lot of faculty don't even think about that. They think that just by virtue of students being present in community spaces there's value added… helping them understand that they should be inviting community members to articulate what they want as an outcome, what they

> want as an impact, what they are ultimately trying to accomplish, and that that's the starting point for the conversation about hours even.

Community and higher education partners alike described hesitation over engaging in what they characterized as higher risk partnership activities, even while recognizing they would likely be more impactful than the activities they normally collaborated on. From the perspective community partners, it was an issue of time and trust. Julie, while recognizing the higher impact potential of project-based service learning that matches student skills with defined projects that are valuable to community partners said,

> I don't often give students full autonomy over anything important… Yeah, it's a trust issue and it's a student bandwidth issue and my bandwidth to be able to facilitate all the time. So, if it's not going to be a successful unless it's done on my timeline, and not when your teacher says that you should have your project done by, yeah, I will tend to veer away from those.

The challenge of time came up consistently during interviews with community partners and was multifaceted. Faculty were sympathetic to the time commitment made by community partners and were also cognizant of the tendency to settle for low-risk academic community engagement experiences. One faculty member, while identifying the need and desire to set a higher bar for student learning and community outcomes, expressed concern about not wanting to risk community project failure for the benefit of student growth:

> I think it's because we have a really low bar for what the outcomes are, okay. Like I said, when I've taught, the outcomes from the community side have always, literally been, we need a warm body to perform this function which your students, who may

> be good or terrible, can all perform. So, I think that is a really low bar, but I also get it. Here's this overworked person at this nonprofit, who is now supervising a bunch of people that aren't going to be there and maybe don't want to be there. So, I feel like, even at its best, that could be the only outcome that happens. I think it also becomes a larger question of how does, for example, a community organization measure their impact in their community anyway, right. I don't think that's the thing that that people are necessarily doing.

The final point raised here, reflecting on the question of how community partners measure their impact is an important one and, as mentioned previously, was rarely reported as being raised during planning processes. Further, as several community partners shared during interviews, many organizations struggle with how to best measure their impact or are dissatisfied with their current measures because they do not tell the full story. There is opportunity here for higher education and community partners to focus in on these questions and generate new and more impactful ways of partnering. Understanding the impacts that community partners are aiming for can and should inform how academic learning experiences are designed and how students are prepared. These conversations could also lead to research-based activities that leverage faculty skills, enhance student learning, and generate valuable outcomes for community partners by helping them to better understand and convey their impact.

Resilience: Working Through Challenge. From my conversations with community and higher education partners alike, resilience emerged as an important ingredient to achieving impact, yet was often in limited supply. Evident in many faculty interviews were

accounts of short-term engagements with community partners and of projects and relationships fizzling or even being abandoned when new interests or job responsibilities emerge. Those with experience in community-campus partnerships understand that there is a certain amount of trial and error inherent in the work. Working through these challenges and adjusting arrangements and activities to address them takes time and persistence. However, higher education practices and structures are not conducive to long-term commitments (take, for example, the academic calendar during which most of the campus disappears three to four months out of the year) nor the risk involved in overcoming challenges. For example, Ian, a faculty member at KU, described a failed community-engagement project in which he, his students, and community partners had invested significant time and resources. Ian shared an article he had written about the project in which he described some of the higher education structures, policies, and practices that serve as barriers to resilient engagement:

> As a new, pre-tenure faculty member, I was concerned that this misstep might ruin my relationship with community members, reflect poorly on me as a teacher, and stifle my scholarly output. These negative outcomes would have jeopardized my value in the neoliberal, return-on-investment labor model that dominates today's academy. I also worried about how I could discuss the [project] at conferences and in publications.

Academic community engagement that goes sour can lead to student frustration which can lead to poor teaching evaluations; it can also slow the progress of research and scholarly output which the promotion and tenure timeline is most often not flexible enough to absorb. Interestingly, Ian described having been drawn to KU because of its Jesuit mission and commitment to community engagement. He felt his work was valued in his department

and said he was hired to expand academic community engagement. However, KU's promotion and tenure guidelines do not explicitly recognize community engagement. So, while Ian's department may have valued and understood academic community engagement, the university-wide promotion and tenure policies did not clearly include it as teaching, research, or scholarship that was recognized and rewarded. While it is not unusual for tenure and promotion policies to have broad language to make room for a range of scholarship, because of the historical marginalization and lack of knowledge around community-engaged scholarship, the absence of explicit language recognizing it is often a deterrent to faculty as is evident in the comments of Rigorberto, another KU faculty member,

> I actually came here tenured. So, I haven't really had to test it that way. Although we do annual reviews here, and I do write about [community engagement], it's hard to tell what they are basing evaluations on… I think there are a lot of colleagues who don't know what it is frankly, and there's occasionally jokes about, 'oh, it's kind of soft' or whatever it might be, but I think there's a critical mass, and it continues to build here… On the other hand, that I'm not that clear suggests that it isn't necessarily something that might, you know, help someone get over a hump at a promotional our tenure level.

While risk-taking and resilience were in short order, data from interviews indicated a positive association between stronger community-campus relationships and willingness to take greater risks with the potential of leading to greater impact. Rodney, the executive director of a community center and life-long resident of the community in which EU is located, reflected on the changing relationship between EU and the community: "I'll speak for myself, I think, for sure, because there's a conversation now; it is a collaboration now; it's

something that wasn't here 10 years ago. We are not as skeptical as we were 10 years ago." Similarly, E'Rika, a director of another community center, reflected on how the relationship between EU and the community had changed since the start of EU's place-based initiative and how this change impacted a reading program that was part of the partnership:

> Through [the place-based partnership initiative] we actually got a literacy grant for the next three years to really look at not just stopping at that five weeks [in summer], but how do we build during the school year and continue that partnership… So, we're moving into our first summer doing that… we'll be sharing a database, so we can see who's worked with the student last and we'll be able to record the progress that's being made. A lot of times it was just, they were writing what they did on the sheet, but nobody ever gave it to us. So, it was all these silos happening and we weren't sharing the information. I think it's more streamlined now. So, just seeing that literacy program strengthened and improved is really going to help our young people start to read at grade level.

E'Rika reflected on how the partnership, through resilience and greater risk-taking, had begun to overcome some of the more persistent challenges documented in higher education community engagement. The partnership addressed the limitations of the academic calendar by extending engagement to be year-round; and addressed the challenge of accountability by developing a shared, transparent data management system which also helped facilitate ongoing communication. Extending engagement and investing in shared systems required more time and resources (i.e. greater risk) but the higher likelihood of positive benefit made it worthwhile, particularly from the perspective of community partners.

Relationships as Facilitators of Impact: Creating an Environment for Knowledge Exchange

Relationship was an important theme that showed up in two main ways – as a facilitator of impact and as an impact in and of itself. The interaction between relationship and other themes brought nuance to how it emerged as important. Many discussed the importance of relationship as a foundation and facilitator of impact. In other words, without a strong, trusting relationship, positive impact was not possible or, put another way, when there was a trusting relationship in place, positive impact was inevitable.

Repairing and Rebuilding Trust. When talking with community partners about how they defined impact, many talked about the importance of presence, being together, and developing relationships characterized by trust. For example, during interviews with community partners of KU, many mentioned the importance of KU's consistent presence within the community. Members of KU's community engagement center staff have offices embedded in the community and their physical presence makes them accessible to community members in formal and informal ways. Renee, a non-profit staff member whose relationship with KU preceded the university's place-based initiative said:

> They're always available, if I have an idea, I feel like they would help me make it happen… they're always doing activities in the neighborhood and trying to coordinate with the neighborhood leaders, a lot of cultivating relationships with community organizations and other places… it's just really impressive. I really feel like they're putting their money where their mouth is.

KU has, in fact, dedicated significant time and resources to relationship building as part of the development of their place-based initiative, which started with a multi-year listening

project. During the listening period, the development of academic community engagement projects was not part of the conversation, to not distract from the main priorities which were to be present, to listen, and to ensure that community voice was driving the process. This was also the first step in what KU's community engagement center director describes as a culture shift at the university, a reorienting toward prioritizing community impact rather than putting academic and student needs above all else. Shah (2020) refers to this relational aspect of community engagement as "building a stronger relational environment for knowledge exchange" (p. 58). The relationship is the first step, and building a strong relationship creates an openness for knowledge exchange in a context where all voices are heard and feel empowered.

Attention to relationship building is essential to overcoming distrust that has developed between campuses and their communities over the years. As Rodney, a life-long member of the community share by EU and the community center he currently directs said, "I think it takes time and, you know…, there's trust that needs to be rebuilt. Sometimes you can't just jump all in, right, until those things happen." This rebuilding of trust may be particularly important in place-based initiatives where the relationship is intensely focused in and with a geographically defined community and where there is a commitment to examining the history of the relationship, and the context in which it has formed. Greg, a community partner, described an experience that one of his campus partners at an institution not included in this study had shared with him:

> Through service learning and a tighter relationship between the university and community, [the university] is starting to repair a serious breach of trust. [The

university] has done some awful things in the community over the years, and it's been really interesting to see over a few years, the way [the community engagement center] has gotten more and more students involved and how it has started to impact college policies. So, like a good example, when [the community engagement director] first started, [the University] hosted an orientation day for students that included the head of security basically going onstage and giving a speech, putting up a map of the campus and City and saying, 'you are safe in this area, do not cross this street, this street, blah, blah, blah.' And [the community engagement director] is like 'this is completely antithetical to what I'm trying to tell you, just to get out into the community.' So, now they do a much different orientation to [the City] and have a long term [City] resident running the orientation… Instead of saying 'you're going to get murdered here,' they say 'I live in this neighborhood. I don't go out here past ten.' And they do walking tours of [the City] and a kind of walking through history tour of the [City] and [University] relationship. So that has been really interesting and has really helped me to not just see what service learning could like do for community organizations or for a certain class, but for, you know, like the sum of all of this could be greater than just the parts.

There is a lot packed into this account and, although Greg was talking about a university not included in this study, most universities could be substituted into this story. Greg's story illuminates a few important ideas. First, it describes how the normative language and perspective that positions the university as safe and separate from the dangers of the community undermines the trust and relationship-building work that is essential to successful

community-campus partnerships. Second, the story demonstrates how Community Engagement Professionals step in to disrupt the deficit-based framing of community life in order to rebuild trust and create conditions for knowledge exchange. Lastly, it points to how relationship-building is about more than just individual partnerships but rather is a key component in a broader effort toward social change.

Access and Inclusion. The value that community partners placed on having access to the university was present in nearly all interviews with community partners. They were interested in professional development for themselves, but many more talked about the importance of exposing young people in the community to campus life. Community partners talked about access and inclusion in ways that demonstrated their attunement to role of politics and power in the relationship between campus and community. They referenced tensions between how campuses and communities understand collaboration, access, and inclusion, and identified the need for cultural and structural change within higher education to achieve justice-oriented collaboration.

During the early stages of developing EU's place-based initiative, higher education partners experienced community members calling the institution to account for being *in* the community but not being *a part of* the community. Rodney reflected back on the origins of EU's place-based initiative:

> I think a lot of people were skeptical of EU. Again, the long history of being in the community, but not having collaborated. And I remember this skepticism at the first

> meeting. It was like, the proof is in the pudding. You say you want to collaborate with us, but we haven't seen it before. We don't have people from within our community attending EU.

Simpson (2014), in a critical look at how academic community engagement does and does not give attention to the role of power and commitments to advancing justice writes,

> I am particularly aware that education that fosters a willingness and ability to address competing interests and move toward justice will require far more than the desire to include, which can be interpreted to mean 'inclusion' based on the dominant group's norms and terms (p. 93).

Rodney's story reflected a moment where the community named a divergence and tension between how the university defined collaboration and how the community perceived it. From the perspective of the community, inclusion was defined as more than being invited to the table or the periodic mingling of university students with community members. A key indicator for inclusion from the perspective of the community was the enrollment of community youth in the university and achieving this vision of inclusion would require changes in institutional culture and structures.

The importance of access and inclusion as a reflection of the university being *a part of* the community came up in numerous conversations and was clearly recognized by both community and higher education partners. From the perspective of community partners, as noted in the above quote, for a university to be a part of the community means being accessible and being involved in the issues that are important to the community. The issue of access was particularly important to community partners, of both EU and KU, who worked

with youth. For them, the opportunity for their young people to see and experience a college campus and to develop relationships with college students was critical. Reflecting on the weekly campus visits that are central to his organization's partnership with KU, Kamal said,

> I think the most important thing young people get out of it is just being on a college campus… that can do wonders for young people, for them believing in themselves, and what the opportunities are."

Similarly, Julie who worked with youth in EU's community framed it as mutual accessibility:

> It would benefit our students so much to be able to be on campus for field trips and that isn't something I've necessarily had the bandwidth to do. But I think it would be a really wonderful way to, you know, we're giving their students access to the community and I want to make sure they're giving access to our community as well.

Again, here Julie is challenging the university's definition of collaboration and naming the investment that community partners make toward university student learning and development. Partners, like Julie, invest time and effort toward ensuring a meaningful learning experience for university students who engage with their organizations and community members. In Julie's experience, access has been a one-way street, as defined by the university. Gaining reciprocal access to university assets falls on the shoulders of these community partners to seek out, placing further strain on their resources. In Julie's definition of collaboration, universities should make a reciprocal investment in making community access to campus possible.

The importance of access to college campuses for community youth cannot be overstated, based on my conversations with community partners. E'Rika highlighted how

campus partners played a critical role in the social capital network for young people living in communities impacted by poverty, under-funded schools, and an opportunity gap:

> You know when you look at middle income kids, all their lives, whatever college their parents went to, they're wearing the hats and shirts. So, they're already having that exposure. A lot of our kids, their parents haven't gone to college, they haven't graduated. So, they don't get exposure until much later. They don't see themselves as college students. So, we're really looking at how do we expose earlier on, and really intentionally work with [EU] to make these opportunities happen, because there are kids who are sitting right below the line, but no one sees them, and with a little push, or a little exposure, they may be able to, you know, walk into opportunity.

E'Rika's question, "what about the middle students?" spoke to the political nature of college admissions criteria, specifically the selectivity of many colleges and universities which is a measure of prestige that perpetuates inequality. E'Rika and Rodney both shared ways that EU was beginning to create opportunities for local youth to gain access to the university. However, the criteria for access were defined by the university and limited by traditional measures that facilitate exclusion of large numbers of marginalized youth.

While the importance and value that community partners placed on access came up time and time again, it was not without reference to challenges. A few partners described incidents where their youth and staff were either ignored or, in some instances, questioned because they appeared as if they did not belong:

> We're on campus quite a bit for work with different professors or a specific event or

> workshop. There's been times where students are, you know, not necessarily being followed, but people are like, what are you doing here? Are you supposed to be on campus? They don't feel welcome... There's a Community Engagement Council at the university and I'm on that…They did a survey; I think the President did the survey or something. A lot of the employees felt the same as what our kids were saying. So, when they shared that out in the group, I was just like, okay, it makes sense. There's some disconnect somewhere, and we have to figure out how to fix that for our young people.

In the above quote, E'Rika recognized that increasing access and sense of belonging for the young people she worked with would require institutional change at the university. She described experiencing and witnessing racism and hearing university faculty and staff describe similar experiences. Embedded in this was the recognition and identification of ways that injustice is rooted in and perpetuated by institutions, in this case, higher education. Thus, efforts to achieve positive impact through community engagement is not and cannot be treated as detached from efforts to address racial justice, diversity, equity, and inclusion within higher education.

Power Dynamics. As discussed in the previous section, community partners considered relationships with campuses critical to creating positive impact for their communities. They also recognized the limitation of these relationships, as they operate within a context of competing priorities, structural injustice, and power imbalances. Community partners saw service learning as an entry point to community-campus relationships that they hoped would grow into something more substantial. Partners

expressed willingness to commit time and energy to developing experiences they knew would disproportionately benefit students over their goals, because they considered it an investment in what they hoped would be a broader, deeper relationship with the institution and co-commitment to change. Sam, in response to a question about why they chose to continue partnering with universities even though the benefit weighed more toward student learning stated, "the goal of non-profits engaged in social justice work is to marshal power for change." Sam believed that if colleges and universities recognized and applied their resources and power to helping solve community problems, working alongside community members, change could occur. Sam went on to share a profound reflection on the power dynamics between campuses and communities:

> An element of privilege that does not get analyzed is the privilege to come and go. To be in a long-term relationship with the community, the university needs to care that people are dying on the streets in a paramount way. To truly invest in the community is to care and to be present and active.

Sam was reflecting on a time when a faculty member, from local university that was not a part of this study, had been invited to serve on a local drug prevention task. The faculty member turned down the invitation and Sam viewed this perceived choice as a privilege, one that the impacted community does not have. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the fact that communities operate on time frames that transcend university calendars and the limited scope of short-term community engagement, such as service learning, are common topics within the field of higher education community engagement. These differences are often discussed as logistical hurdles that serve as barriers to achieving impact. However, Sam's

comment reflects something much deeper than a logistical hurdle. In their framing of the choice to engage as a privilege with life and death implications, Sam identifies an ontological divergence in the ways that communities and universities understand their sense of belong and responsibility to one another.

Simpson (2014) terms the perceived choice by higher education to not engage, an "economy of privilege" or "the taken-for-granted ability to pick… issues at will, largely outside of enduring relational contexts" (p. 74). Talking about how higher education perceives and frames societal challenges, Simpson goes on the write,

> We are not talking about issues that will occur 50 years in the future, or issues concerning which we can afford a kind of comfortable patience. Significant societal challenges are bearing on lives now. When a body of scholarship repeatedly refers to the concepts of democracy and to the desirability of justice, yet seems to simultaneously render invisible the lived experience of that injustice, what does this scholarship seek to change? To whom does it speak? Particularly if one assigns any sense of urgency to the day-to-day violence oppressed groups experience, what is there to reassure these communities that civic engagement scholarship has an awareness of, let alone a concern with such violence (p. 93)?

Relationship as Impact.

In addition to being an important stepping-stone and facilitator of positive impact, relationships were seen by many participants, higher education and community partners alike, as the impact they were ultimately seeking through their engagement. Community partners saw relationship as an important impact of their programming, as Greg indicates,

> We're trying to help people learn English but also a big goal of the program is creating a community around learning English. We're trying to make sure that there's a place people can come and practice without judgement or nervousness or fear or trepidation.

For community and higher ed partners, a sustained, trusting relationship was a desirable impact of their partnership. Liz, a community partner of KU, said, "relationships are kind of like a big part of where I see us making our impact." Likewise, E'Rika said, "I believe in highlighting relationships over reforms. Whenever I sit with partners at EU, that is where I start. Kids are central. We need to make sure that the boxes are checked, but relationships are most important."

Participants described characteristics of impactful relationships such as resilience, trust, and respect, as Rodney notes, "if the relationship persists and you have ups and downs and it still goes; then I think that's a sign of a successful relationship that must have had an impact."

The Challenge of Measuring Relationships. One of the questions I asked community partners was, how do you measure impact? Some said they did not have measures in place. Others indicated that they were working on developing methods for assessing impact. Others responded, with little enthusiasm, that they performed basic

tracking of outputs such as services provided (number of meals served or youth tutored). Interestingly, it was almost always assumed that measuring impact meant tracking quantitative data. Several partners confessed they reluctantly collect and report these numbers because their parent agencies or funders require it. However, they do so knowing it does not really tell the story of what is happening, evolving, and changing as a result of their work with the community. Renee said,

> I have to tell our funders, all the time, have to answer that question, you know, what is the impact, what are your outcomes? And I'm always hearing, well, just the number of people you gave food is not an outcome. That's not an impact. I can't change someone's life by giving them a bag of food. I'm sorry, you know, but you have to come up with something that you've done. That's always a hard one, and we do, I mean we struggle around that.

Many community partners described the challenges they faced defining and measuring impact, as Renee does above, as well as their desire to tell a fuller, richer story about their work that honors and respects the evolution of their community. E'Rika said,

> I'm not so concerned with outcomes, that are not important to community… my first set of young people, I'm working with their kids, and so I can see just the development of them. Some people were able to just grow and develop on target; others are sometimes 10 and 15 years behind, but when I look at when we first started with them to now there's been small steps. And, so for me, that's success, right. So, understanding that when there's layers of trauma that you can't get caught up in just

> the quantitative. I like to have quality, and I think that looking at the changing narrative that helps to give you that quality.

Renee conveyed concern over how quantitative data was used to regulate services (for example, prevent duplication), which she felt was harmful and voided the value of recognizing the human dignity of community members:

> So, several years back, maybe six or seven years ago, a bunch of local funders got together and, somehow, I got to go to the meeting, and they were talking about an idea that really raised a red flag to me, because it seemed like they were trying not to duplicate services within their mind. So, they were like, if we all know who's gotten what through your pantry, I won't give them food. I didn't like that.

In this case, funders were planning to use data to prevent individuals from going to more than one food pantry in the community. However, from Renee's perspective, if a person was hungry, you fed them.

Generally, the importance of storytelling had resonance with community partners, but they lacked the capacity to do it and to convey its importance. There was recognition on the part of both higher education and community partners that measures often used or sought to convey impact were not the most meaningful ones. Interestingly, community partners expressed doubt that their higher education partners valued qualitative outcomes while higher education partners recognized the limitations of often-sought quantitative measures. As, Irene, an EU faculty member said,

> I feel like we on the higher education side, we push for those things like test scores or whatever, because we feel this pressure that we need to show something for what

> we've done, and I think we don't do a good job of hearing what the community partners are saying. For them, the impact is 'well, our teachers trust you now.'

Both higher education and community partners recognized where the pressures for quantitative measures came from, yet independently expressed desire to focus on and tell the more complex, human story behind their shared work. E'Rika reflected,

> You can't measure trust but, as a community partner, I see that trust is most important. We have funders and quantitative is necessary, but the narrative is important. There are things that can't be quantified. It is not a test. I see that faculty see both sides. There are outcomes they need to meet, and I get that. We need a middle, common ground and consensus.

Likewise, Angela, a higher education partner at EU reflected,

> A neoliberal assessment model isn't necessarily fitting the way we understand partnership… [community partnerships] are just so specific to context and to people… I would hope they [community partners] would say, you know, one of the impacts is that they feel really valued as co-educators, that it affirms them in their work and helps them feel like they have a significant role in shaping change and social change…how do you measure trust right or mutual respect.

Engaging Community Knowledge to Change the Narrative. During my initial interview with E'Rika and my follow up, she used the phrase, "changing the narrative" several times when I asked her about how she defined impact:

> Yeah, so I think for me it looks very different than probably how the university does it. I think for me it's around the changing narrative and success is going to look different

> for each community member, it's going to look different for each partner. So, I think understanding that and trying not to put unrealistic measures on the work is important.

For E'Rika, changing the narrative encompassed changing the relationship between higher education and the community, changing the ways in which we perceive the community, and changing what we define as important. While mainstream society celebrates the young person who, despite the odds, achieves top scores and academic success, E'Rika recognized progress where others saw failure, because she understood the context and the impact of layered trauma. This perspective was shared by other community partners who yearned to see the young people they worked with as students at their partner universities; and who wanted university students to recognize the cultural assets of the communities and the complicated contexts in which community youth survive. Julie reflected on her first introduction to the partnership between EU and her organization:

> I sat in on the final presentations of my predecessor's last service learners and hearing like, "kids are annoying" and whatever. And I was like, okay, that's not what I want people getting from our programs. Yes, they're loud and annoying, if you're not used around little kids. But I wanted them seeing like the deeper issues and really understanding what gentrification or displacement or hunger or these issues that our kids are being affected by, like, how that feeds into their classroom behavior. Understanding like the [Community] for all of the strengths and to do a strengths-based report on our mission instead of like 'it's scary there' or 'they have good burritos there.' How can we really get them to understand and appreciate their chance to be a part of our community?

Changing the narrative, for community partners, also meant gaining the investment of the whole university, not just the community engagement center, as Julie conveyed in her statement, "I want to continue to develop EU as a university investing in their community partners, not just the [Center.]"

Higher education partners also expressed interest in a new narrative, one in which the university recognized the importance of the work and put resources behind it; one where faculty were more involved in the life of the community and not confined by academic work and schedules; and one where the full university invested in community engagement, not just centers. Community and higher education partners alike, talked about marshalling their collective power for change – change in the community and change in higher education – as reflect in Angela's comments:

> When I think about the possibility of impact, like how our community relationships and our trust as co-educators can translate into strengthening our capacity to change our institutions to be more community accountable to be more permeable to community, whether that's, you know, allowing our community partners to be in our master's programs or bringing local youth to our campus for tours, so they develop an understanding of what college is like. I know some folks have suggested that community-engaged scholarship or community-engaged learning is a movement versus a field, and I'm really attracted to that idea of it as a movement that can change our institutions. So, yes, I hope that we're having positive impact in the community, and I'm also very aware that we're limited in the extent to which we can have that because of a number of reasons. One thing that we can do is bring faculty and

community partners together to envision and act toward creating change in our higher education institutions and ultimately that will have an impact.

It was clear from perspectives of both community and higher education partners that changing the narrative requires an examination of and direct engagement with power dynamics within higher education as well as between universities and communities. During my observation of a community-campus book club conversation, an EU Community Engagement Professional commented on how the "the university structure is antithetical to democratic engagement and so each step is an act of resistance." Throughout my interviews, particularly with campus partners, I recognized a range of examples of how university structures are antithetical to democratic community engagement as well as a variety of acts of resistance employed by faculty and staff to maneuver and breakdown institutional barriers. Maya, a faculty member who described community engagement as central to their scholarly identity, particularly as a faculty of color, reflected on how they engaged in acts of resistance by advocating for themselves and others:

> My advocacy is driven by the fact that I think [community engagement] is critical; I think universities are not just, you know, ivory towers up on the hill. I think they have a responsibility... and I think Jesuit founded universities have even more of a responsibility and that's frankly why I came to a Jesuit university… but I don't necessarily think mission and values, really, in actuality, are in alignment and that's of concern to me.

Faculty interviewed also talked about the important role of community engagement centers in shifting campus culture relative to community engaged scholarship (CES). For

example, KU had created a faculty fellowship program and awards to support, recognize and celebrate CES. KU's center had also influenced the development of a faculty committee on CES. Other acts of resistance enacted by centers included KU's multi-year listening project in which community engagement projects and university objectives were put on hold to create space for community voice to drive the process. Although this appears to be a simple act, when you serve in a function that is evaluated based on outputs, such as the development of new projects, courses, experiences, etc. an act of resistance that prioritizes community over these measures is significant. More subtle actions higher education faculty and staff identified as "acts of resistance" included circumventing institutional procedures to book meeting rooms for community partners, so they do not get charged as an external user fee; getting a community partner hired as an adjunct to provide compensation for their role as a co-educator; and engaging in research to do something community partners need. One faculty member acknowledged the work of women in the field of community engagement and their level of willingness to find and engage in "work-arounds" as regular acts of resistance.

Conclusion

Throughout the interviews, community and higher education partners alike spoke to the importance of relationships – both as facilitators of impact and as impacts in and of themselves. The ideal impact described by many community partners was a transformed relationship between higher education and the community, such that colleges and universities recognize their place, roles, and responsibilities as *part of* the community rather than apart from it. In this transformed relationship, the community has access to the resources of the university and the university is invested in issues of importance to the community in ways

commensurate with their urgency and impact. Community and higher education partners acknowledged that achieving this transformed relationship will require changes in institutional structures, policies, and culture within both higher education and community organizations. This change work is not detached from community engagement but rather becomes part of the work of community engagement as evidenced by instances of faculty, staff, and community partners disrupting dominant norms and practices to begin co-creating a new narrative by shifting power toward the community, engaging community knowledge, and building support for justice-centered engagement.

CHAPTER 5

A FRAMEWORK FOR JUSTICE-CENTERING RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

The purpose of this grounded theory study was to contribute to an understanding of community impact in higher education community engagement, placing an emphasis on the perspective of community partners and how they define impact and the types of impact they place importance on. The themes that emerged from the data, particularly community partner voices, led me to develop the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework. Using the sensitizing concepts discussed in chapter two – partnership characteristics and practices, power, and epistemology – to organize and analyze the data, I identified two distinct paradigms for understanding community impact in higher education community engagement – Plug-and-Play and Justice-Centering Relationships – that are bridged by a process I refer to as *Reframing*.

A critical difference between the framework's paradigms is the relationship between campus and community. In the Plug-and-Play paradigm, campus-community partnerships function as individual units/phenomena. Impact is focused on, defined as, and limited by individual behaviors and commitments and short-term, quantifiable outputs. Within this paradigm, the university is seen as separate from the community and its investment in- and

commitment to- the community is minimal. In the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm, campus-community partnerships are understood as part of a broader institutional commitment and collective effort. Impacts are longer-term and defined as ever evolving and deepening relationships that contribute to institutional and social change. Within this paradigm, the university recognizes its position as part of the community and the well-being of the community is tied directly to the well-being of the university and vice-versa. These paradigms are bridged by a process I refer to as *reframing*, through which institutions begin to change and create the conditions for justice-centering relationships that transcend individual partnerships. Through reframing, the identity of the university shifts from one that is *separate from* the community to one that is *a part of* the community.

Literature Informing the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework

The *Democratic Engagement White Paper* (Saltmarsh et al., 2009) argues that to advance and fully realize the public purpose of higher education, institutional change that includes shifts in epistemology, culture, policies, and structures to support democratic community engagement is required. For too long, efforts to advance the impact of community engagement – on student learning, community impact, and institutional changes – has focused on program development and improvement. However, these programs are limited by the systems in which they operate. These systems are by-in-large based on a dominant epistemology that privileges the expertise of the university and marginalizes community knowledge and politics that center power related to decision-making, resource distribution, and priority setting with the university. Thus, to achieve the change necessary to transform community engagement to achieve positive community impact requires efforts

that reach beyond a focus on creating new programs or enhancing their efficiency and effectiveness (Saltmarsh, et al., 2009; Sturm et al., 2011). Transformative change requires attention to the system – the culture, epistemologies, politics, values, etc. – in which community engagement initiatives operate.

Simpson (2014) argues that "change efforts that do not explicitly attend to unjust systems will generally align with a liberal focus on attitudes and beliefs and will serve to recenter and privilege those already in power" (p. 73). Attending to unjust systems requires reckoning with power and, in the case campus-community relations, a redistributing and recentering of power with the community. Simpson goes to say that "efforts directed towards change that overlook power may offer surface-level alterations to a specific issue but will fail to bring about lasting transformation (p. 73).

Sturm et al. (2011) build on the arguments of the Democratic White Paper (Saltmarsh et al., 2009) by recommending an architecture to integrate synergistic efforts to advance diversity and public engagement in higher education based on the premise that,

> Higher education institutions are rooted in and accountable to multiple communities—both to those who live, work, and matriculate within higher education and those who physically or practically occupy physical or project spaces connected to higher education institutions. Campuses advancing full participation are engaged campuses that are both *in* and *of* the community, participating in reciprocal, mutually beneficial partnerships between campus and community (p. 4).

The authors argue that full participation involves aligning and integrating efforts to advance diversity, equity, and inclusion in the academy with efforts to meet higher education's

responsibility to the public good in order to create the conditions "so that people of all races, genders, religions, sexual orientation, abilities, and backgrounds can realize their capabilities as they understand them and participate fully in the life of the institutions that matter to their wellbeing" (Sturm, 2011 as cited in Sturm et al., 2011, p. 4). The theses of both papers are echoed in the voice of one community partner, E'Rika, who passionately expressed her belief in the idea that the knowledge needed to advance social change was embedded in the community and could be surfaced through a transformed relationship in which the university saw itself as part of the community and through which community youth were given the opportunity to achieve their full potential. She further recognized that creating diverse, inclusive campus environments was essential to achieving this transformed relationship and co-constructed narrative.

The Plug-and-Play paradigm of the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework represents efforts that only address program efficiency and effectiveness. In this paradigm, individual community-campus partnerships are transactional in so far as there is an exchange of resources to meet immediate needs within the limits and boundaries of existing systems (Enos & Morton, 2003). The lack of attention to the locus of power and dominant epistemology that shape the environment in which partnerships operate eliminates the possibility for the transformational change needed to achieve positive community impact. As Simpson (2014) argues, "individuals in an organization or institution can rely on principles of reciprocity, partnership, and problem solving to ensure a wide range of outcomes, including those that might be unjust" (p. 81).

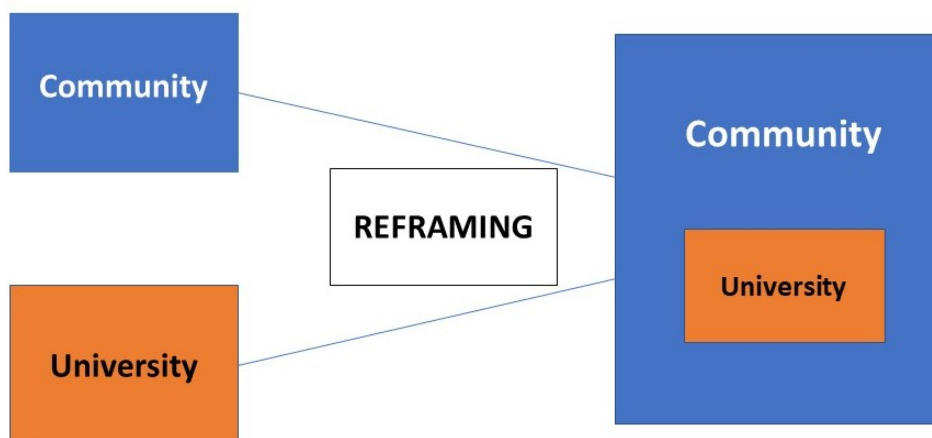
Thus, what emerged in the data were acts of subversion on the part of community-engagement stakeholders or, what one interviewee termed, “acts of resistance,” that are enacted to chip away at and begin to dismantle the parts of the institution that serve as barriers to justice-centering relationships and meaningful community impact. These acts of resistance were directed at redistributing power and resources with the community. Tuck (2018) captures what I imagine was on the minds of stakeholders who enacted these resistance behaviors in her passage that says,

> I want theories of change that are not deferments—of time, of place, of responsibility and power. I want us to figure out which parts of the university can be made useful for communities, and to figure out how to dismantle the parts that are not” (p. 165)

These acts of resistance comprise the Reframing process of the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework. Through Reframing, as depicted in Figure 2, the identity of the university shifts from one that is *separate from* the community to one that is *a part of* the community.

Figure 2

Reframing



The process of reframing is a move toward justice-centering relationships and involves deep listening, recognition of community assets, engagement of community voice, a shifting of power from the university to the community, and broader institutional engagement. The emphasis on relationship-building helps created the conditions for knowledge exchange (Shah, 2020) and reflects the values of Knowledge Democracy (Maistry & Lortan, 2017) where communities are a source of knowledge about critical issues, and Democratic Engagement (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2011) where universities are *part of* an ecosystem of knowledge as opposed to being *the* ecosystem of knowledge (Cruz, 2017).

In the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm, campus-community partnerships are understood as part of a broader institutional commitment. Within this paradigm, the university recognizes its position as part of the community, and the well-being of the community is tied directly to the well-being of the university and vice-versa. As such, there is no choice for the university to opt-out of partnership with the community. Impacts are longer-term and defined as an ever-evolving relationship between the community and university that contributes to institutional and social change. In this paradigm, institutional changes that create the conditions for justice-centering relationship are community impacts from the perspective of community partners.

The Justice-Centering Relationships Framework depicted in Table 2 includes two paradigms for understanding community impact in higher education community engagement – The Plug-and-Play paradigm in the column on the left-side of the table and the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm in the column on the right-side of the table. The center column represents the Reframing process through which the identity of the university shifts

from one that is separate from the community to one that is a part of the community. The table's rows are based on the sensitizing concepts and serve to organize and analyze my findings through the lenses of partnership characteristics and practices, power, and epistemology. Readers can see, for example, how power shifts from the university to the community by reading across the framework from the Plug-and-Play to the Justice-Centering paradigm. Throughout this chapter, as each element of the framework is discussed in further detail, evidence from the data will demonstrate the framework's elements in action.

Table 2

Justice-Centering Relationship Framework

		Plug-and-Play	Reframing	Justice-Centering Relationships
Sensitizing concepts	Partnership Characteristics & Practices	• Service • Emphasis on activity, place, & logistics • Based on unexamined assumptions • Engagement facilitated by Center • Transactional • Do no harm	• Accompaniment • Consistent university presence in community • Mutuality shapes relationships • Deep listening • Examine assumptions	• Solidarity • Intentionality • Emphasis on process & purpose • Full university engagement (institutionalization) • Equality and respect shape relationships • Community-building • Small scale experiments in creating the ideal
	Power	• Opt-in/Opt-out • Relationship defined more by exclusion than inclusion • Limited by university calendar • Directed toward separate ends • Un-acknowledged	• De-center the university • Increased community voice • Repairing and rebuilding trust • Acknowledging power leads to questions of inclusion and exclusion	• Opt-in • Access & inclusion • Centering power with community shapes a focus on equity and justice • Marshalling power for change
	Epistemology	• Likely damage-centered, deficit-orientated • University as expert	• Community knowledge valued • Asset orientation • Democratic	• Desire-centered • Equity and justice orientation • Democratic

	Plug-and-Play	Reframing	Justice-Centering Relationships
Impacts	• Quantifiable • Outputs as outcomes • Separate, not shared • Often articulated as changes in student behaviors	• Relationship as facilitator • Supporting resident capacity & technical assistance • Increased access & inclusion • Trust • Outcomes-oriented • Outcomes difficult to measure	• Relationship as impact • Institutional change • Shared/common impacts • Co-constructed narrative of university-community relationship

Plug-and-Play Paradigm

As mentioned, an important distinction between the Plug-and-Play paradigm and the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm is the broader relationship between campus and community. In the Plug-and-Play paradigm, campus-community partnerships function as individual units/phenomena and are not necessarily recognized or analyzed as part of a broader relationship between the university and community. Thus, impact is focused on, defined as, and limited by individual behaviors and commitments and short-term, quantifiable outputs.

Community engagement in the Plug-and-Play paradigm does not ignore research-based practices in community-campus partnership development but often only scratches the surface and is not necessarily practiced with intentionality or social justice outcomes in mind. Impacts in this paradigm vary according to the intentionality of practice and attention given to sharing power and valuing community assets. Higher education and community partners may apply principles, like reciprocity and problem solving, but only at a surface level, ignoring important context or power dynamics which may lead to unjust outcomes. On the other end

of the spectrum, it is possible to develop shared impacts and be attentive to power dynamics at the level of individual partnerships, leading more beneficial, justice-oriented outcomes.

Table 3

Plug & Play Paradigm

	Plug-and-Play	Examples from Findings
Partnership Characteristics & Practices	• Service • Emphasis on activity, place, & logistics • Based on unexamined assumptions • Engagement facilitated by Center • Transactional • Do no harm	• "I think because we've been in existence for so long, it kind of runs like a top. So, we have some basic communication at the beginning of the semesters with the student coordinator and with the staff person that's assigned as his or her mentor. Most of the communication with the faculty is through [the Center]. I also communicate a little bit with the teachers because they will verify that the students are working their hours, that kind of thing. But it's very manageable and limited." • "One of the things to that I find, we first have to get across is like at minimum, do no harm right … and that that's the starting point for the conversation about hours even."
Power	• Opt-in/Opt-out • Relationship defined more by exclusion than inclusion • Limited by university calendar • Directed toward separate ends • Un-acknowledged	• "An element of privilege that does not get analyzed is the privilege to come and go. To be in long-term relationship with the community, the University needs to care that people are dying on the streets in a paramount way. To truly invest in the community is to care and to be present and active." • "Colleges and universities are often located near urban centers. Kids should not have to go to the other side of the country to go to a different school. [EU] was never an option for our youth. Even when we began taking students on tours, they would look around and say, 'I don't fit in here.'" • Our students love it. They're more apt to do their homework when they know their mentor is coming that day. So, it's wonderful, but that's up when their 30 hours are over and we wait a couple months for them to get back in January and so it's a really big help in our classrooms, but it's usually on a short-term basis.
Epistemology	• Likely to be damage-centered • Deficit orientation • University as expert	• "I sat in on the final presentations… and hearing, 'kids are annoying' and whatever. And I was like, okay, that's not what I want people getting from our programs… I wanted them seeing the deeper issues and really understanding what gentrification or displacement or hunger or these issues that our kids are being affected by, how that feeds into their behavior… understanding the community for all of the strengths… and really get them to understand and appreciate their chance to be a part of our community."

	Plug-and-Play	Examples from Findings
Impacts	• Quantifiable • Outputs as outcomes • Separate, not shared • Often articulated as individual outcomes, such as changes in student behavior	• "Coming up with specific like joint or collaborative outcomes is one thing that I think is, you know, listen, we have outcomes for our programs. We want to bring in people and get them exposure and match them up with mentors and then they have theirs. I'm sure they want their young students to get community service and to better understand the community and build those relationships, but coming up with those things together, I think, is something that we could probably do a better job at"

Partnership Characteristics & Practices

As mentioned in chapter four, a common model of community engagement in the Plug-and-Play paradigm is when the community partner organization has a program in place, such as tutoring, and is seeking capable volunteers who are available on the requisite days and times. In this model, communication between partners is focused primarily on logistics – number of students, days, times, hours, location, task, etc. – and this communication is often facilitated by a community engagement center professional rather than directly between a faculty member and community partner. The focus on logistics is mistaken as a focus on impact. In other words, asking the community partner about what days and times they need volunteers and being attentive to those needs is mistaken as, or overshadows, asking the community what their goals are and being attentive to them. As a result, community engagement experiences are designed to meet the logistical needs of partners but miss the opportunity to address the community impact goals the partner may have and to align them with student learning outcomes. Often, these partnerships become routine and, as one partner said, "run like a top."

Likewise, higher education partners rarely communicate their goals, most often related to student learning, to community partners which leads to missed opportunities for

partners to contribute as co-educators or to consider how student learning goals align with community outcomes. Although each partner may understand the outcomes they are respectively seeking, impact is limited by missed opportunities for alignment and galvanizing collective knowledge assets. In some instances, the lack of alignment and intentional communication about goals can lead to negative impacts, such as the reinforcement of stereotypes and perception of community challenges as arising from individual behaviors or deficiencies, as opposed to systemic injustice, as Julie describes in her account of listening to final presentations in a service-learning course:

> I sat in on the final presentations… and hearing, 'kids are annoying' and whatever. And I was like, okay, that's not what I want people getting from our programs… I wanted them seeing the deeper issues and really understanding what gentrification or displacement or hunger or these issues that our kids are being affected by, how that feeds into their behavior… understanding the community for all of the strengths… and really get them to understand and appreciate their chance to be a part of our community.

During my interview with Julie, she also talked about the lack of communication with her higher education partner about accountability – specifically, about who was responsible for preparing the university students for community engagement so that they would enter with greater awareness of structural injustices in relation to the issues they would encounter. She described experiences where university students were unprepared to encounter undocumented immigrants. From her perspective, no one took responsibility for this critical preparation and, by default, it fell on the community youth.

Relationships in the Plug-and-Play paradigm tend to be low maintenance and low risk as they do not require much new investment of time or intellectual input from the community partner and higher education partners often take comfort in the stability of the program in which they can "plug" their students. Although the opportunity and structure are stable, the relationship is replaceable. For example, while community partners conveyed the importance and value of university students to the operations of their organizations and acknowledged the hardship that would result from a ruptured relationship, they acknowledged that the university as a source of human resources was replaceable.

There are opportunities to enhance practice in this paradigm to lead to better impacts. For example, communication about goals and desired impacts, education about context, acknowledgement of and attention to power dynamics, etc., can happen at the level of the partnership and lead to positive impacts for community and higher education. Impacts evidenced in the data include increased capacity on the part of community organizations to provide services to more people and tangible outputs such as fundraising tools or training materials.

Power

In the Plug-and-Play paradigm, power often goes unacknowledged and, by default, centers the needs (such as time limits of the academic calendar) and knowledge (such as, what students have the capacity to contribute) of the university. Simpson (2014) identifies different ways that power factors into community-campus partnership contexts including the social, economic, and political contexts that shape and impact communities where engagement is happening; the ways in which organizational structures, policies, and culture contribute to both justice and injustice; and the historical and current power dynamics

between campuses and communities and between community-based organizations and the communities. Because partnerships in the Plug-and-Play paradigm exist as individual units not part of a broader relationship or agenda for positive change, the implications of context and power dynamics are often ignored or overlooked, limiting the possibility of impacts that benefit the community.

Community Contexts. Both KU and EU are located in communities where economic, social, and racial disparities are visible. Both border areas of persistent, high poverty with histories of intentional and strategic marginalization of Black and Brown residents and neighborhoods. As a result, residents hold deep feelings of mistrust toward government and other institutions. Community partners interviewed acknowledged how this context connected to feelings of mistrust toward the university while also articulating a vision for how the relationship could be different. Rodney, a long-time partner of EU whose experience working with the university pre-dated EU's place-based initiative, reflected on how the partnership with his organization shifted from being an individual phenomenon to one that was part of a broader relationship between the university and community:

> You know, we were looking to collaborate with whoever wanted to work with us in the community… it was all individuals coming to us, but not a concerted effort to build relationships with universities or colleges… Well, now that I am more involved with [EU's place-based initiative], I do have opportunities to see how [EU] is reaching out to the community.

Community engagement that operates within the limitations of the Plug-and-Play paradigm is often not attentive to the broader social and historical context and how it impacts outcomes at

the level of individual partnerships or broader community-campus relations. Plug-and-Play engagements may provide short-term support to community organizations through direct service and projects but do not address the structural and cultural changes necessary for impact.

Organizational Structures, Policies and Cultures that Facilitate Justice and Injustice. When context goes unexamined and unaddressed, as it does in the Plug-and-Play paradigm, institutional structures, policies, and cultures that serve as barriers to community engagement and positive impact persist. Following are a few examples of organizational structures, policies, and cultures evidenced in the data and particularly relevant to the Plug-and-Play paradigm.

The Academic Calendar. Time emerged as a theme that encompassed familiar ways that unacknowledged power privileges the university and limits the relationship between the university and community. Community partners referenced a variety of challenges related to the academic calendar, the most prevalent one being the trade-off between gaining significant human resources from universities and needing to deal with the absence of help during semester breaks that can last weeks to several months. Other challenges stem from students' time commitments being set by instructors with little input from community partners and students' tendency to de-prioritize their responsibilities to partners when other things like, tests, arise. The limits and challenges of time are not unfamiliar topics within the field of community engagement, yet the persistence of this challenge inevitably leads to an enduring imbalance of power that privileges the university.

Opt-in/Opt-out. Another power dynamic that community partners identified was what Sam referred to as the privilege to opt out of working with communities on urgent issues:

> An element of privilege that does not get analyzed is the privilege to come and go. To be in a long-term relationship with the community, the University needs to care that people are dying on the streets in a paramount way. To truly invest in the community is to care and to be present and active.

Sam was referring to an experience when a faculty member (from a university not participating in this study) had been asked to serve on a drug addiction task force and opted not to participate. There may have been important reasons why this person needed to decline the request. However, the example illuminates the existence of a privilege of choice or "economy of privilege" when a university does not see itself as part of the community and thus responsible for addressing its most urgent challenges (Simpson, 2014). In my interviews with higher education and community partners, I heard many accounts of partnerships fizzling. Partnerships are particularly susceptible to fizzling when they operate as individual phenomena, as they do in the Plug-and-Play paradigm, as opposed to being part of a broader university commitment. For example, partnerships that rely on a single faculty member or a single service-learning course, will fizzle when issues arise that prevent that faculty member from being able to participate or that course from being offered.

Institutional policies and cultures that contribute to fizzle include promotion and tenure policies and practices that do not recognize or reward the time commitments required to build trusting and impactful relationships with community partners that can lead to deep and impactful learning and community change. When faculty perceive that their community engagement work is not valued by their peers or institution, they tend to have a low threshold for risk and resilience – risk in the sense of identifying specific and ambitious goals and

resilience in the sense of a willingness to work through challenges that arise. An EU faculty member who identified as a faculty of color talked about how her commitment to community engagement and specifically to community impact was closely connected to her identity. She said, in brief, for community-engaged faculty of color, a focus on impact is necessary. This faculty member also talked about the barriers they experienced within their school and department, such as a prioritization of traditional scholarship and outright rejection of community-engaged learning. These barriers contributed to a feeling of not belonging and to questioning the extent to which community engagement was valued as part of teaching and scholarship, critical measures of faculty work.

Relationship defined more by exclusion than inclusion. Several partners expressed the desire for higher education to open opportunities for them to access campus for themselves – to take classes, use the library or gym, to teach, to serve on committees where they would have decision-making power – and for the community members they served, particularly young people that they wanted to see as students enrolled with their college/university partner. However, when the partnership is not recognized or valued by the broader university, investment in this level of inclusion does not exist. Community partners identified critical barriers to inclusion including campus culture, tuition cost, limited opportunity, and minimal awareness of community partners beyond community engagement centers. Some partners described specific experiences of exclusion, for example, being asked if they belonged on campus when bringing young people from the community for a visit. E'Rika described an 'aha' moment when she was listening to a report out on EU's campus culture survey and realized that faculty, staff, and students of color that work and study at EU

also experience exclusion. She recognized that exclusion resulted from a deeply rooted institutional culture that impacted relationships on campus and beyond.

Inclusion, as Cruz (2017) points out, is about more than simply inviting people to the table. It is about valuing their knowledge and culture, contributing toward a sense of belonging. Inclusion requires intentionality and change on the part of institutions and individuals. E'Rika, in her reflection on the experience of hearing the report said, "there is a disconnect somewhere and we need to figure out how to fix it for our young people." This example elucidates how the advancement of university goals and mission are integrally tied with the advancement of community goals. Making the university a more diverse and inclusive space will benefit the campus, and it will also benefit the community that desires to see its youth on campus.

Epistemology

Community engagement in the Plug-and-Play frame defers to a university-as-expert epistemology in which the assumption is that all the knowledge assets exist within the university and the community is the beneficiary of those assets that are shared with them. Although community partners are consulted on their logistical needs, their deep knowledge and expertise relative to the urgent issues being addressed is often not leveraged. With the limited interaction and infrequent communication between faculty and community partners, there is little opportunity for knowledge exchange. Further, because community partners are often unaware of the intended student learning goals, they do not have the information needed to share their knowledge and experience with students.

The lack of attention to social and historical contexts, power dynamics, and unjust structures that contribute to oppression experienced by communities, along with the centering of university knowledge and marginalization of community knowledge, leads to a deficit orientation to community engagement or what Tuck (2009) refers to as damage-centered engagement. In *Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities,* Tuck (2009) defines damage-centered research as "research that intends to document peoples' pain and brokenness to hold those in power accountable for their oppression." While this approach aims to leverage resources in the service of marginalized communities, it ends up "reinforc[ing] and reinscrib[ing] a one-dimensional notion of people as depleted, ruined, and hopeless" (p. 409). Going back to Julie's account, included at the beginning of this section on the Plug-and-Play paradigm, the effects of a damage-centered approach to community engagement is reflected in students' final service-learning presentations. Absent the investment of time and effort to understand community goals and align student learning with them, the strengths, assets, hopes and visions of the community were overlooked, leaving behind the damage which became centered in the experience. The centering of this damage impacted what student learned from the experience, as Julie so vividly recalled and lamented.

Impacts

In the Plug-and-Play paradigm, impact is often focused on individual rather than collective outcomes. Most often, the individual outcomes are focused on university students. Several community partners, when asked how they defined impact, indicated that they considered students making the decision to either continue their service with the organization or seek longer term positions, as interns or professionals, as a measure of impact. This

impact, while important, privileges the students who gain further access, more social capital, and even compensation. This is not to downplay the value that we know community partners place on educating the next generation of non-profit leaders nor the important contributions community partners make toward student learning, training. and professional development. However, the benefit here weighs toward the student and the mobility is generally not open in the other direction, from community to campus.

As noted earlier, in the Plug-and-Play paradigm, conversations about meeting the logistical needs of partners takes precedent over, or is a substitute for, conversations about specific community goals that community engagement activities contribute to. Likewise, community partners are often not aware of student learning goals. Thus, the documenting and measuring of impact is addressed separately and is primarily focused on immediate outputs rather that longer-term outcomes or impacts. Community partners and higher education partners alike regularly acknowledged that conversations about impact did not come up in the planning process. Therefore, experiences and projects were not designed with impact in mind. As Kamal noted,

> Coming up with specific like joint or collaborative outcomes is one thing that I think is, you know, listen, we have outcomes for our programs. We want to bring in people and get them exposure and match them up with mentors and then they have theirs. I'm sure they want their young students to get community service and to better understand the community and build those relationships, but coming up with those things together, I think, is something that we could probably do a better job at"

Further, the limited attention given to understanding and analyzing social and political contexts in the Plug-and-Play frame may lead to negative impacts, such as those described by Julie in her reflection on final student presentations.

Impacts can be enhanced, at the level of individual partnerships, by improving communication, developing shared goals, increasing awareness about social and historical contexts, and being attentive to power dynamics.

Reframing: Relationship as Facilitator

In the Reframing process of the Justice-Centering Relationship framework, institutions begin to change and create the conditions for justice-centering relationships that transcend individual partnerships. This reframing and reorienting are enacted as a move toward justice-centering relationships and involves deep listening, recognition of community assets and engagement of community voice, a shifting of power from the university to the community, and broader institutional engagement. From my observations and analysis, both EU and KU were in the process of Reframing. The catalysts for reframing stemmed from varied sources. For KU, the drive to reframe stemmed from university leadership and was part of a university strategic planning process that included the launching of a place-based initiative. Responsibility for implementing the reframing lay primarily with the community engagement center. For EU, the reframing process was driven by the community engagement center and the vision of center leadership for what is required of justice-oriented community engagement; their reframing included place-based community engagement and a deepening of justice-oriented community-engaged learning practice.

Shah (2020) writes about the role and usefulness of frames, "defined as mental structures built through language and symbols that categorize our thoughts and experiences" in shaping community engagement partnerships and practices. Deficit-oriented frames, like the damage-centered frame discussed by Tuck (2009), decenter community knowledge and position higher education partners as the fixers, whereas assets-based frames center community voice, hopes, and goals. These frames, in turn, impact how students and faculty approach engagement and impacts for communities. In the Reframing process of the Justice-Centering Relationships framework, we see a shift toward campus-community engagement that centers community voice, knowledge, and goals; further, individual partnerships become woven into the fabric of a broader relationship between the university and community.

Table 4

Reframing Toward a Paradigm of Justice-Centering Relationships

	Reframing	Examples from Findings
Partnership Characteristics & Practices	• Accompaniment • Consistent university presence in community • Mutuality shapes relationships • Deep listening • Examine assumptions	• "I've come to see [KU's] commitment to the community and to this immediate community right here and that really means a lot and they're always available like if we, if I have an idea, I feel like they would help me make it happen… it's just their presence here and the constant… they're always doing activities in the neighborhood and trying to coordinate with neighborhood leaders, they are including the neighborhood leaders."
Power	• De-center the university • Increased community voice • Repairing and rebuilding trust • Acknowledging power leads to questions of inclusion and exclusion	• "I think it takes time and, you know…, there's trust that needs to be rebuilt. Sometimes you can't just jump all in, right, until those things happen" • "now they do a much different orientation to [the City] and have a long term [City] resident running the orientation… Instead of saying 'you're going to get murdered here,' they say 'I live in this neighborhood. I don't go out here past ten.' And they do walking tours of [the City] and a kind of walking through history tour of the [City] and [University] relationship. So that has been really interesting and has really helped me to not just see what service learning could like do for community organizations or for a certain class, but for, you know, like the sum of all of this could be greater than just the parts."

	Reframing	Examples from Findings
Epistemology	• Community knowledge valued • Asset orientation • Democratic	• "Our partnership with [EU] has changed over years because our [university] partners see the value in community knowledge."
Impacts	• Relationship as facilitator • Supporting resident capacity & technical assistance • Increased access & inclusion • Trust • Outcomes oriented • Outcomes difficult to measure	• "You can't measure trust but, as a community partner, I see that trust is the most important. We have funders and quantitative is necessary, but the narrative is important. There are things that can't be quantified. It is not a test." • "Ensuring resident leadership and supporting resident capacity and technical assistance has been a growth area for KU. While historically focused on student and faculty outcomes, the [PBCE initiative] challenged KU staff and administrators to develop new capacities, reorganize and change staffing to meet community aims, and overall, create a new culture for engagement."

Partnership Characteristics & Practices

In Reframing, university attention to relationship-building, centering community voice, sharing and shifting power, and examining structures and policies that perpetuate injustice informs and influences changes in community engagement practices and institutional policies, structures, and culture. Examples from the data include changes in language, such as transitioning from service-learning to community-engaged learning (CEL) at EU, to reflect mutuality and partnership over one-way exchange of resources. This is significant because CEL is a required part of the EU curriculum, so there is potential to impact a shift in culture through a re-orientation and re-education. Further, the impact of the language change was reflected in my conversations with community partners who were using the language of "co-educator" to describe their roles. Other examples of Reframing include, understanding community goals and intentionally aligning them with academic resources and student learning; and taking a posture of listening in order to center community identified needs and voice as KU did leading into its place-based initiative. Shah (2020) refers to these

practices as "building a stronger relational environment for knowledge exchange" (p. 58). A critical outcome of this focus on relationship is a building or rebuilding of trust that may have been compromised by intrusive or abusive past interactions leaving community members feeling exploited. In the case of KU, reframing the relationship translated to the university having a more consistent physical presence in the community, demonstrating commitment, and availing them to opportunities to listen, experience, and bear witness to community experiences and desires.

The importance of being nimble in community engagement practice also came up in my conversations. For example, a community engagement professional shared a story about a community partner who had lost their physical space, leaving them without a location to convene their youth for important programs. The community engagement center at EU responded by sharing their physical space with the community partner and contributing staff time to help with programming. This may seem simple on the surface but when examined more carefully it becomes clear how this action is reflective of the center's commitment to the partnership not limited by traditional constraints. This was not in the job description of any of the center staff nor was it directly connected with an academic course or student learning outcomes; it was, however, what their community partner needed at that time and was important to the relationship and broader shared goals of the partnership.

Power

In Reframing, universities begin to examine the historical and social contexts of the communities to which they belong and where they engage and how those histories inform current relational dynamics. This examination informs and leads to shifts in power,

decentering the university as expert, and interruptions to institutional structures and policies that tend to perpetuate injustice. Understanding context, examining power dynamics, and creating institutional changes are intertwined.

Cruz (2017), in response to a question about how to change institutional structures and policies within universities that serve as barriers to community engagement, said that, due to deep-seated and layered power structures, it may not be possible to change higher education paradigms that facilitate injustice, but it is possible to disrupt them. There is evidence in the data the demonstrates how KU and EU have begun to disrupt the institutional structures, policies, and cultures that perpetuate injustice and invest in those that facilitate justice. In the contexts of both EU and KU, higher education partners, led by their respective community engagement centers, had embarked on extensive efforts to learn and raise awareness about the history of the communities in which they were located, and where the majority of their partnerships operated, in order to understand the unjust structures and systems that led to the damage their community partners were working to overcome and to document the stories of resilience, hope and success. Speaking with community partners at EU, several referenced the meaningfulness of a public art (mural) and book project that documented the contributions of African American leaders to the community's history. Another community partner, when reflecting on the most impactful partnership experience, referenced a poetry anthology that students had created:

> The poetry anthology was the first-time students created something that meant something to the university and us. The poetry books were tangible and are in the library. This impact is rare. We don't have these opportunities all the time, where the

engagement is for one full academic year and commitment to a project that took 2 years to complete.

Both examples demonstrate ways that EU centered community voice, focused on and highlighted community assets beyond the organization by lifting up the stories of community members, disrupted the barrier created by the academic calendar by committing to multi-year projects, and shifted power by uplifting and celebrating community knowledge and then sharing that knowledge with the broader public through an art display, biography collection, and poetry anthology. Similar examples existed at KU, where the community engagement center has created a series of mini-lessons on different aspects of the local community, some led by community members; established a physical presence and office space in the community where partnerships are concentrated; committed to ongoing initiatives that operate on the community's timeline; and, at the time of my visit, was in the process of co-creating intentional, specific, long-term goals for the PBCE initiative in collaboration with community leaders.

In the Reframing process there is increased community voice and participation and greater recognition of power dynamics and relationships. During my conversations with community partners at both KU and EU, I heard them using the language of co-education and co-creation of knowledge, mirroring the changing language on the respective campuses and demonstrating their recognition of the power they wielded in the relationship. This shifting of power to the community also represents a deeper understanding of inclusion and belonging that goes beyond inviting people to the table by also recognizing their assets and including their knowledge. Several community partners shared examples of how the

community engagement centers at KU and EU were interrupting structures of exclusion on their respective campuses and creating opportunities for community partners to access resources and decision-making roles. For example, when talking with KU's community partners, many shared examples of how the community engagement center extended invitations to campus events, speakers, professional development, etc. While talking with EU's community partners, I heard similar accounts along with examples of how partners had been invited to serve on committees where they felt they could influence decision-making and a few examples of being compensated for serving as co-instructors. Intertwined in these examples is how a shifting of power is connected to interruptions (and hopefully long-term changes) in university structures and policies that formerly served as barriers to inclusion.

Epistemology

Shifts in practices and power toward relationship- and trust-building and centering community voice in the Reframing process lead to shifts in epistemology, from a deficits-orientation to an assets-orientation and from centering university knowledge and expertise toward centering community knowledge and expertise. During my interviews, I observed higher education and community partners, in the midst of reframing, wrestling with how to define and measure impact. They described a sense of dissonance between how they felt they were expected to measure and communicate impact, versus how they felt impact could be best reflected. Although there was some consensus among higher education and community partners about the most valuable measures of success, there was doubt that those measures would be valued or accepted by the institutions to which they were accountable. This is captured in Irene's comment,

> I feel like we on the higher education side, we push for those things like test scores or whatever, because we feel this pressure that we need to show something for what we've done, and I think we don't do a good job of hearing what the community partners are saying. For them, the impact is 'well, our teachers trust you now.'

The campus and community partners had done the work to shift their understanding of what outcomes are most valuable. The work of reframing, then, needs to include efforts to change structures and policies within institutions that do not recognize or value the outcomes generated by justice-centering community engagement. A key target for change within higher education needs to be promotion and tenure policies that do not explicitly recognize academic community engagement in ways that expand notions of peer review to include community expertise and demonstrate value diverse scholarly products beyond traditional publications.

Impacts

Impacts in the Reframing process are difficult to measure because it is a phase of relationship- and trust- building and, as noted, partners are exploring different ways of knowing and understanding impact. There was evidence, in my interviews with higher education and community partners alike, of wrestling with what the focus of impact should be, what it looks like, what can be claimed, and what do respective partners truly care about. For example, Catherine, a faculty at EU, reflected on an experience where a reading lesson being offered by student-teachers was interrupted by an impromptu ukulele jam session. The faculty member shared how their understanding of impact has evolved based on experiences working with their community partner:

> I would say that the University and community-based organizations operate really

> differently… a community-based organization is very responsive very flexible very in the moment… I think we might have to just think about what is it that we claim or what we want to claim that's true to the work that we're doing. I think the partners are interested in quality-of-life impact. You know the ukulele class, maybe some kids enjoyed it. Maybe they went home really jazzed and told her family. Maybe it turns out they think, oh, I'll choose guitar when I get to seventh grade and we have instruments. I don't know. They're much more concerned about kids having like as wonderful childhood as possible than their reading score going up.

Based on my experience talking with community partners, Catherine was correct, they do care about quality-of-life impact. They also care about reading scores improving and they would like to develop ways of measuring and demonstrating these impacts. E'Rika, for example, expressed excitement over how she and her university partner(s) had developed new mechanisms to track and assess student reading development that also facilitated the sharing of data with teachers who could use it to inform instruction. These developments resulted from the breaking down of former silos where student progress was being tracked but not shared. E'Rika also advocated for qualitative approached to demonstrating change and growth, such as storytelling, which she felt was essential to documenting community practices of hope and resilience that do not come through in numbers.

The intentionality and collaboration required to develop specific goals takes time. At the time of my visit in March 2019, KU was about ten years into their PBCE initiative and still in the process of developing and articulating shared, long-term goals for meaningful community impact. This is not to say there have been no positive outcomes from KU's

PBCE initiative to date. In fact, there were many to point to including the creation of a sustained farmers market, changes in KU's practices and policies with a particular emphasis on promoting racial justice, efforts to leverage university purchasing power to support local businesses, and the development of a physical presence in the community.

Justice-Centering Relationships: Relationship as Impact

In the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm, campus-community partnerships are understood as part of a broader institutional commitment and collective effort resulting from the university recognizing its position as part of the community. The well-being of the community is tied directly to the well-being of the university and vice-versa. Impacts are longer-term, defined as ever evolving and deepening relationships that contribute to institutional and social change. In the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm, institutional changes that create the conditions for just relationship are community impacts from the perspective of community partners, because the impacts that create the conditions for just relationship are shared and benefit the campus, community partners, and the greater public good.

Findings from my study point to a vision for justice-centering community engagement. As mentioned previously, evidence suggested that community engagement in the contexts of both sites that I examined reflected characteristics of the Plug-and-Play paradigm, Reframing Process, and experiments in the ideal, pointing toward what a Justice-Centering paradigm could and should comprise. While there is more concrete evidence for what community engagement looks like in the Plug-and-Play paradigm and Reframing process, the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm reflects the vision that both community and higher education partners hold on to as they persist in their work. The

aspirations and hopes for campus-community relationships articulated by many of the community and higher education partners that participated in this study have informed the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm.

Table 5

Justice-Centering Relationships Paradigm

	Justice-Centering Relationships	Examples from Findings
Partnership Characteristics & Practices	• Solidarity • Intentionality • Emphasis on process & purpose • Full university engagement (institutionalization) • Equality and respect shape relationships • Community-building • Small scale experiments in creating the ideal	• "I want to continue to develop [EU] as a university investing in their community partners, not just the [Community Engagement] Center." • "It should all be understood that it's one… more engagement on the part of the university beyond [Community Engagement] Center." • "Ensuring resident leadership and supporting resident capacity and technical assistance has been a growth area for KU. While historically focused on student and faculty outcomes, the [PBCE Initiative] challenged KU staff and administrators to develop new capacities, reorganize and change staffing to meet community aims, and overall, create a new culture for engagement."
Power	• Opt-in • Access & inclusion • Centering power with community shapes a focus on equity and justice • Marshalling power for change	• "To be in a long-term relationship with the community, the University needs to care that people are dying on the streets in a paramount way. To truly invest in the community is to care and to be present and active" • "The goal of non-profits engaged in social justice work is to marshal power for change. Higher education has power and [organization] is trying to figure out how to engage and marshal that power."
Epistemology	• Desire-centered • Equity and justice orientation • Democratic	• "What about the middle students, the ones that could rise to the top with a little support. I am convinced they are the students that have the answers we need. The paradigm shift we need is in one of their heads." • "Thinking about equity, what if they created projects in other disciplines… for example, business school looking at property rights, get disciplines involved in the question of equity, equip young people with skills, look at equity from multiple disciplines."
Impacts	• Relationship as impact • Institutional change • Shared/common impacts • Co-constructed narrative of university-community relationship	• "When I think about like the possibility of impact, like how can our community partners, how can our relationships and our trust in as co-educators translate into strengthening our capacity to change our institutions to be more community accountable to be more permeable to community."

Partnership Characteristics & Practices

In the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm community engagement is informed and influenced by a broader, whole institution commitment to relationship with the community. The emphasis of community engagement is on process and shared purpose, in contrast to a focus on logistics and activity. Higher education and community partners share common goals that are clearly communicated and widely recognized such that a range of activities can be oriented toward broader, long-term goals, such as creating a pipeline to the university for community youth, a vision shared by several community partners interviewed. Commitment to the relationship with the community becomes the responsibility of the full university, not just the community engagement center; thus, partnerships become institutionalized.

Facilitating this level of organizing and operationalizing for change, may require that community engagement centers function differently than they have traditionally. For example, rather than focusing solely on program development, community engagement centers may need to enact more of a facilitator role, ensuring that the various parts of the university are engaging with the community in a justice-oriented manner and are working toward shared goals. Centers will also need to play a role in identifying institutional barriers to justice-centering community engagement and working to change them. No doubt, achieving the whole-institution commitment described in the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm is far-reaching. However, it may be achieved gradually, over time through what Cruz (2017) refers to as "experiments in the ideal" that generate models that can be expanded and replicated within institutions and across higher education.

Power

In the Justice-Centering Relationship paradigm, power is centered on the promotion of equity and justice. As Sam said, "The goal of nonprofits engaged in social justice work is to marshal power for change. Higher education has power and [organization] is trying to figure out how to engage and marshal that power." Sam went on to emphasize why it is so important to have higher education involved, using the example of how drug use interventions might look different if medical faculty were involved, ensuring that healthcare drove the design of interventions as opposed to law enforcement. The community engagement centers at both KU and EU were making efforts to marshal power for change, by organizing students, faculty, and staff to engage with the community to address specific, targeted issues. In this sense, they were shifting away from what Simpson (2014) refers to as the "economy of privilege," and defines as "the taken-for-granted ability to pick… issues at will, largely outside of enduring relational contexts" (p. 74). Through their place-based engagement initiatives, both centers had committed significant time and resources to understanding the relational contexts and co-developing strategies to address enduring challenges with their community partners. While there remains much work to be done, both were making efforts to marshal and orient other institutional structures and resources toward addressing community priorities.

When the university recognizes its role and obligation as part of community, there is no choice to "opt out." As Sam notes, "to truly invest in the community is to care and to be present and active." Although outside of the scope of my data collection period, I observed this in accounts of the ways KU enacted its commitment to the community of which it is part

during the COVID-19 pandemic. When students left campus, community organizations were short the human resources needed to meet the needs of residents. Through social media, I read accounts, of how Center staff did what they could to fill the void by rolling up their sleeves to deliver food. While focused on immediate needs, it was also a reflection of a deep commitment to the relationship with the community and a sense of responsibility to be in solidarity. They continued to opt-in because the relationship transcended the traditional boundaries, structures, programs, and processes.

Epistemology

Tuck offers an alternative to damage-centered research which she refers to as "research for desire" (p. 416). "Desire, yes, accounts for the loss and despair, but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities" (p. 417). Tuck notes the facility of damage-centered research but is making the case for it being time for an "epistemological shift" (p. 419). During our conversations, E'Rika mentioned several times her belief that the solutions to her community's more pressing challenges were encased in the minds of the community's youth; yet these young people were continuously passed over because they were defined by the damage they incurred from systemic injustice rather than the resilience they wielded in overcoming it. This is why it was so important to her that a pipeline to the university be created for these young people to give them an opportunity to discover and demonstrate their strengths:

> What about the middle students, the ones that could rise to the top with a little support? I am convinced they are the students that have the answers we need. The paradigm shift we need is in one of their heads.

E'Rika, in her advocacy for the creation of a pipeline to the university for these young people, was operating from a desire- and hope-filled epistemology. However, the admissions criteria for most colleges and universities are informed by a damage-centered epistemology as they weed out applicants based on poor test scores and other measures of academic performance, perpetuating inequality. A changed narrative that centers the priorities and needs of community would call this into question. Rather than focusing on individual deficiencies born of systemic inequality, justice-centering admissions criteria would recognize more diverse knowledge assets and be centered on hope and the promotion of equity. Higher education community-campus partnerships that focus on work with community youth are common and a good example of the connection between transformative community impact and the broader system of institutional structures and policies.

Impact: A Transformed Relationship

By the time I had the opportunity to make a second visit to EU, *relationships as impact* had emerged as a strong theme and I continued to explore it with the community and higher education partners that I had the chance to follow up with that week (all had participated in the first round of interviews). I approached these conversations by sharing the themes that had emerged and inviting response and further conversation. Both community and higher education partners affirmed the importance they placed on relationships as critical to community engagement and to impact. Talking about this theme seemed to ignite a sense of freedom in the community partners that I met with – freedom to talk about impact in ways that were meaningful to them and to further envision their ideal relationship with higher education.

Co-Constructing a New Narrative. E'Rika elaborated on what she had referred to as a new narrative, expanding its application beyond the relationship between higher education to the systems that non-profits and other community-based organizations operate within:

> Community organizations are institutions too. That is why I left. As long as I was there, I was just putting band-aids. We need to have conversations, engage in community-building, and address issues around race and class. To think about equity, we need to think about systems. We need a paradigm shift in higher education and in other spaces as well… The powers that be are not going to work against their interests. So, how do we dismantle?

Sam, another community partner that I had the opportunity to follow up with, envisioned a transformed relationship in which community partners had professional and meaningful decision-making roles within higher education such as taking classes, teaching classes, and serve on the Board of Trustees. Sam envisioned a time when the university would make it possible for faculty to live in the community where they teach and engage to facilitate and strengthen their feelings of connectedness and belonging. Sam also imagined opportunities to disrupt the traditional distribution of resource within higher education and between higher education and the community in direct and indirect ways. For example, Sam suggested that a standard portion of grant funds flowing to the university for work that addresses community issues should be invested directly into the community – either by hiring community experts or building community infrastructure. Sam had shared a recent instance where a large sum of money had gone to a local university (not EU or KU) to address the issue of homelessness and the university used the funds to establish a research

center dedicated to the study of homelessness. To Sam's knowledge, no significant portion of the funds went to the community such that those most directly impacted could be part of the solution.

In addition to Sam's suggestion for standardizing the distribution of grant funds to the community, Sam also imagined the possibility of generating change through the creation of a critical mass of alumni donors to community engagement through the creation of impactful, justice-centering community engagement experiences:

> If we truly do co-learning, it will disrupt the power relationships between faculty and student and community and, in the long term, disrupt the cycle of accumulated wealth and power. For example, an alumnus who had a transformative experience with service learning and [community organization], might make a different choice about how his/her donation to the university is used – rather than for a new stadium, maybe they would invest in community engagement.

The new co-constructed narrative described by E'Rika and Sam that characterizes impact in the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm requires a systems approach and reflects what could be possible as the culminating effect of the dismantling of unjust structures and policies and replacing them with justice-oriented ones. To achieve the vision they collectively built in their reflections, academic community engagement cannot continue to operate in a silo *despite* structures, policies, and cultures within higher education that may not align. Rather, community engagement must take on the responsibility of working to change unjust structures and policies that serve as barriers (Simpson, 2014). One critical step is being clear and explicit about the aims of community engagement (Simpson, 2014). For

example, the Place-Based Justice Network names anti-oppression as an aim of its work: "The Place-Based Justice Network (PBJN) is a learning community committed to transforming higher education and our communities by deconstructing systems of oppression through place-based community engagement" (PBJN, n.d.). By naming it, the Network and its members become accountable to that goal and, as a collective, they work to build their capacity to identify, analyze, and disrupt unjust structures within institutions and society.

Implications: Shifting Traditional Roles to Achieve Justice-Centering Relationships. Community and higher education partners acknowledged the important role of the community engagement centers at KU and EU in facilitating relationships, opportunities, and institutional change. From my observations, both centers were leading the march toward Justice-Centering Relationships, even in the case where university leadership was the initial catalyst for change. Although both Centers continued to support and facilitate Plug-and-Play relationships with community partners, they were also working to develop sustained and impactful relationships by engaging in deep listening and transcending the limitations of the academic calendar, changing language to better reflect and reframe community engagement, examining histories and contexts, shifting power to communities, and marshalling university resources to impact positive change with communities.

During my conversations with community engagement professionals (CEPs), I heard accounts of how their work and responsibilities were changing as a result of their drive to center community impact. They were needing to be nimbler, to not hold fast to traditional service-learning models, to be more present in the community, to build understanding and capacity around racial justice, to invest in developing student capacity to engage in direct

advocacy alongside community members, and to organize and lead change on campus to promote more justice-oriented approaches to community engagement and to create structures and policies, such as promotion and tenure, that support it. During KU's listening period leading into their place-based initiative, the administrator overseeing the initiative had to intentionally place a hold on pursuing any activities intended to advance student learning or faculty research in order to create time and space to listen deeply to community concerns and to build trust. This was also the first step in what KU's community engagement center director described as a culture shift at the university, a reorienting toward prioritizing community impact rather than putting academic and student needs above all else.

Just as in the early development of academic community engagement on college campuses, when service-learning was marginalized and CEPs were on the front line fighting for its survival, CEPs now find themselves on the front line, fighting for a new engagement that centers community, justice and equity. In addition to investing in our understanding of how community engagement impacts communities, practitioners will need to invest in understanding how this mission impacts the roles and the functions of centers. What will it mean to lead institutional change, to marshal university resources, and to be more present in the community? Will it be possible to maintain Plug-and-Play partnerships while also leading the march toward a Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm that engages the whole campus?

Conclusion

The Justice-Centering Relationships Framework emerged from data generated by this grounded theory study and served to analyze the data and organize it in a way that generates a broader understanding of how and why community engagement falls short of generating

positive community benefit and where there is possibility for achieving ideal community impacts. The Framework contributes to the field of higher education community engagement by addressing the "how" of integrating change across the varied dimensions of the system that community-campus partnerships operate within to center and achieve positive community impact. Key to this change is acknowledging how dominant epistemologies and arrangements of power center the focus of positive impact on students and university outcomes and inhibit the possibilities of achieving just outcomes for the community or, in some cases, perpetuate injustice. Co-constructing a new narrative will include what Cruz (2017) refers to as "experiments in the ideal" where higher education and community partners aim to create the world they envision together.

CHAPTER 6

CO-CREATING A NEW NARRATIVE

The Justice-Centering Relationships Framework is grounded in the perspectives, knowledge, and direct experiences of community engagement practitioners in the community and higher education. It also draws on and reflects a progression of research within the field of higher education community engagement that has aimed to enhance and deepen practice to reflect the ideals of democratic engagement and transformational community-campus partnerships. As a community engagement professional, my hope for the study was to contribute knowledge to enhance community engagement practice with a particular emphasis on practice that leads to positive impact for communities. In doing this, I also wanted to address an urgent need and desire within the field of higher education community engagement to center community voice and community impact in our practice and research.

The Justice-Centering Relationships framework affirms what many community engagement practitioners and scholars within higher education and the community know from their experience and inquiry – relationships are essential to positive, sustained community impact. Relationships are dynamic and complex, they take time to develop, and the values and commitment required to build and sustain impactful relationships often runs counter to the norms, traditions, cultures, epistemologies, and politics of the academy. The

implications of these counter-cultural, counter-normative relationships is that they require attention to the relational dynamics, epistemological frameworks and arrangements of power at the level of the partnership as well as the institution. The Justice-Centering Relationships framework can help practitioners to recognize, understand, deepen, and develop strategies for enhancing relationships at the level of individual partnerships as well as at the multi-dimensional level of the institution. The framework can also be used to identify opportunities to organize and build capacity to reframe community engagement practice, catalyze institutional change, and move toward more justice-centering relationships between campus and community. The following recommendations are informed by the Framework and are organized by its three main elements – the Plug-and-Play paradigm, the Reframing process, and the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm.

Plug-and-Play: Enhancing Impact through Individual Partnerships

There are opportunities, within the Plug-and-Play paradigm, for movement along a continuum to strive for and achieve the values and attributes of justice-centering relationships at the level of the individual partnerships by improving communication; having positive community impact (rather than logistics alone) drive the planning process; acknowledging and making efforts to share power and even shift power toward the community; and recognizing and striving to name and understand structural injustices and avoid framings that place the responsibility for social problems on the individuals that are impacted by them. The following implications and recommendations apply to enhancing community engagement within the Plug-and-Play paradigm.

Start & End with Impact

Community engagement practitioners (faculty, staff, and community partners) should develop a habit and practice of building in conversations about impact at the start of community engagement and resist the urge to limit these conversations to logistical needs. It was clear through my conversations with community and higher education partners that too often we focus our planning conversations on addressing logistical needs and neglect opportunities to take a step back to discuss and answer the question: "for what?" As a start, training and resources can be integrated into professional development and community-campus partnership design workshops available to staff, faculty, students, and community partners.

Bennett's (2018) ROSOR (relationships, objectives, structure, outcomes, and resulting relationships) framework is a good starting point and practical guide to help faculty, community partners, and students ensure that relationships are being centered and impact is treated distinctly from logistics. Relationships bookend the framework such that a deep and dynamic exploration of the context of the relationship serves as a starting point and a conversation about how the relationship was impacted and implications for the future takes place at the end of the project or engagement. This bookending treats the relationship, at the level of the individual partnership, as both a facilitator of impact and impact in and of itself, as the Justice-Centering Relationships framework does. Objectives (what objectives does each partner hope to accomplish and how are objectives complementary), logistics (what is the specific plan for the interactions), and outcomes (what does success look like for each partner) are each treated separately. This ensures that logistics are treated separately from desired impacts. The Justice-Centering Relationships framework adds to the ROSER model,

by emphasizing the importance of exploration of the historical context of the community (beyond just the historical context of the specific partnership); attention to power and structural injustices that undergird the challenges facing the community and/or being addressed through the project; and the framing of questions and objective s through an assets-based lens.

TRES II (Kniffin, et al., 2020) is another tool that can be helpful in facilitating inquiry and reflection on critical dimensions of partnerships from the perspective of various stakeholders. TRES II includes ten domains to guide inquiry into partnership entities, including: outcomes, goals, decision-making, resources, conflict, identity formation, power, significance, and satisfaction and change for the better. TRES II evolved from an earlier version, TRES I, to focus on the partnership entity as a whole, rather than interpersonal relationships, making it a potentially useful tool to incorporate institutional change as part of the assessment of community-campus partnership impact.

Engaging in conversations with community partners about their goals and how they understand and measure impact will likely lead to new opportunities and ways of working with community partners. For example, many of the community partners that I interviewed identified assessment as an area of weakness, particularly assessment of long-term impact as distinct from tracking outputs. In some cases, partners did not feel their measures accurately captured or conveyed the full story of their impact and others acknowledged they were doing little more than "bean counting." Several mentioned a specific desire to integrate qualitative approaches, such as storytelling, to measure and convey impact. Community partners expressed interest in working with their higher education partners on defining impact,

developing the appropriate methodologies for measuring impact, and expanding the ways in which they communicate and tell the story of their impact. Engaging with partners around these questions can (a) lead to new opportunities and ways of working with partners through research and (b) lead to clearer individual and collective understandings of impact by centering it in the work, and (c) enhance practice through a clearer, shared understanding of impact.

Lastly, while community partners are invested and interested in understanding the impact of partnerships on their organizational goals, they also expressed interest in understanding how community engagement experiences impact student learning and development. Some partners described how they imagined this data could benefit them and how student learning impacts intersected with community impacts. For example, one partner said that student impact data would enable them to demonstrate how they harness and develop volunteers and resources to advance their mission. Others felt that developing engaged citizens was their mission, making the impact on student learning and development directly related to their mission. While this data could benefit them, few community partners indicated that it was shared with them beyond general comments about student satisfaction with the experience or faculty reports that it enhanced student learning.

Language is Important

We spend a lot of time discussing and refining our language in the field of higher education community engagement with the intention of accurately matching terms to meaning and values. From my observations, both EU and KU were attentive to the language used to frame and pursue community engagement. EU's community engagement center had recently led a shift from service-learning to community-engaged learning as the terminology

for their course-based, credit-bearing, community engagement. The rationale for the change was that community-engaged learning more accurately reflects the values of partnership and reciprocity and conveys the importance of the community as a co-educator. Faculty referenced how this shift in language impacted their understanding and practice, and I observed community partners referencing themselves as co-educators and using terms such as mutuality and reciprocity (I attributed this to both the change in language and the fact the EU facilitates a learning community specifically for community partners which several partners referenced). Likewise, near the close of my visit to KU I observed a staff meeting during which the center team was examining the language used in one of their program logic models to frame objectives, activities and outcomes through a diversity, equity and inclusion lens and making edits in real-time to reflect more culturally and racially inclusive language. Community engagement practitioners should continue to sharpen the language used to frame and facilitate community-campus partnerships and engagement experiences to ensure it (a) reflects goals, values, and the importance of relationships and impact; (b) is desire-centered instead of damage-centered; and (c) emphasizes purpose and process over place and activity.

Reframing: Locating and Activating Levers for Change

Reframing, as the bridge between the Plug-and-Play and Justice-Centering Relationships paradigms, has implications for community engagement practice as well as the broader process of developing relationships between the community and university as a whole institution transcending individual partnerships. Across the field of higher education community engagement, there are many conversations and models emerging that are facilitating Reframing – from ongoing conversations about language and terms that reflect

the values of democratic engagement; to practices that decenter the university and focus more on community-identified needs, capacities, and impact; to models that engage the whole of the university, beyond centers and individual faculty or practitioners.

Place-based community engagement (PBCE) is an example of an emerging model that reflects the values and processes of Reframing. PBCE places equal emphasis on community and campus impact, is grounded in long-term vision and commitment, and involves university-wide engagement. KU and EU had both embarked on PBCE initiatives and each had different sources or catalysts for their respective initiatives. For KU, the catalyst was university leadership; at EU the initiative originated with the community engagement center and was inspired by movements within the field of higher education community engagement toward more democratic, community-centered practices. PBCE is also geographically defined and does not necessarily rely heavily on community-engaged learning courses, or academic community engagement broadly speaking, as a driver of engagement. Thus, the centers at KU and EU also maintained partnerships and community-engaged learning that were separate from their PBCE initiatives. In fact, at both KU and EU, the separation of the PBCE from traditional service learning seemed to facilitate opportunities to experiment with counter-normative practices that center community impact and are not bound by limiting factors such as the academic calendar or the centering of student development.

The centers at both KU and EU were leading Reframing, illuminating the critical role of centers in showing the way toward the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm and bringing the university along. Centers often have a high level of independence and

autonomy in their work and leadership that enables them to be nimble and innovative making them important levers in influencing and driving institutional change. Further, centers have become established as critical to the facilitation, propagation, institutionalization, and sustainability of higher education community engagement (Welch, 2016). Saltmarsh (2016) argues that centers need to be attentive to the role they play in facilitating change in institutional structures and culture to "reassert the public, democratic purposes of higher education and counter neoliberalism's effects on the university" (p. x). From the examples of KU and EU, following are recommendations focused on how centers can catalyze and lead Reframing. The recommendations are not restricted to centers involved in PBCE but have broad applicability for higher education community engagement.

Develop and Facilitate Listening Projects

Reframing involves decentering the university and centering community voice and knowledge. This requires a posture of listening, which runs counter to what is often the instinct of higher education professionals to analyze, search for and provide answers, devise solutions and strategies, etc. Both KU and EU had engaged in robust, multi-year listening projects with the intentional and specific objectives to gain a deeper understanding of the historical and present context of the community and its relationship with the university; and to learn and understand the priorities of the community. In the case of KU, planning community engagement projects (academic or otherwise) was intentionally excluded from this phase of the PBCE initiative in order to decenter the university and facilitate an epistemological shift that centered community voice and knowledge. This was obviously a significant commitment and effort on the part of KU. Deep listening can take many forms –

it can be as extensive as KU's initiative or it can take simpler forms, such as organizing roundtables focused on issues important to the community and that center community voices as the experts in the presentation and dialogue.

Explore and Learn Community History

Chapter one touched on how the relationship between higher education and communities has been fraught with tension, and how the system of higher education in the United States is rooted in injustice, specifically slavery. My research has focused on understanding how higher education can partner with the community to harness collective assets in the pursuit of justice and equity. To do this, will require a reckoning with the roles higher education has enacted, throughout history, that has run counter to these aims. This reckoning is essential to building trust as well as educating stakeholders about context critical to understanding and developing strategies for addressing injustice. Understanding socio-historical context can facilitate student preparation for community engagement; explain or inform current relationship dynamics between universities and communities; facilitate an understanding of the damage communities have endured while also uncovering and illuminating the hope, desire, strength, and resilience that has enabled them to persist; and can help orient community engagement toward the roots of problems rather than the symptoms. In addition to facilitating more just-oriented community engagement, examining the socio-historical context can lead to projects that facilitate relationship- and trust- building as well as products and outcomes that benefit the community. For example, EU's exploration of local history led to a volume of biographies that serve to document the stories of residents and leaders who contributed to social change. The project created research

opportunities for university students and faculty, facilitated storytelling that centered the knowledge of community members, and resulted in a permanent archive that serves as a resource to the university and community, to facilitate ongoing learning and dialogue.

Examining socio-historical contexts with community partners may also lead to the development of innovative approaches to sharing power and centering community voice in decision-making. The South Bronx Community Review Board (BxCRRB), for example, is a community-based review board whose mission is to "ensur[e] the proper representation of all Bronx residents during any community research projects, regardless of social status or economic standing." This volunteer-driven non-profit started as a community-university partnership that emerged from the acknowledgement that,

> historically, many vulnerable populations and communities of color have fallen victims to a wide range of abuses during the course of academic research. Events such as the Tuskegee syphilis experiments and the Johns Hopkins lead paint study—which both involved systematic misinformation that endangered the lives and well-being of participants—have led Bronx residents to be skeptical of any form of medical research, regardless of how it may help the community.

Replicating the BxCRRB model (and others that are likely in existence) in and with communities that colleges and universities are a part of could be an effective way to shift power to communities and increase accountability and support for positive community impact.

Professional Development as Community Organizing

Leading and facilitating professional development for faculty, staff, students, and community partners involved in community engagement is a common responsibility of community engagement centers. Through professional development, particularly with faculty who are essential to leading change within the academy, the seeds for change can be sowed. As evidenced in my interviews, higher education and community partners valued and relied on the expertise of the community engagement center. Thus, if community engagement centers, through professional development and project support, emphasize the importance of starting with impact in community engagement planning, centering community voice, understanding underlying causes and structural injustices, they can slowly facilitate reframing and epistemological shifts. Faculty at EU, for example, reflected on the change in terminology from service learning to community engagement learning. One faculty member talked about her initial feelings of resistance that gradually shifted to fully embracing the term and underlying values due to the influence of the community engagement center, professional development, and dialogue. Community partners interviewed also referenced the impact of being invited to participate in professional development programming. It was clear it influenced their understanding of their role as experts and co-educators and their power as decision-makers.

Be Nimble

When prioritizing community needs and impact, higher education community engagement practitioners, particularly those working in centers, need to be nimble and resist becoming too confined or restricted by the structures and boundaries that we place on our

work, whether that be the time limits of the semester and academic calendar or the structural boundaries of only facilitating community engagement that can be embedded in academic courses. Sometimes we need to fill in the spaces with traditional volunteers and community service, research, internships, etc. During conversations with community and higher education partners, I heard lively accounts of positive outcomes that occurred when the sometimes-limiting structures of academic community engagement were transcended. For example, when one of EU's community partners lost their space in a tragic fire, the community engagement center hosted one of their youth programs and center staff served as mock interviewers. This engagement did not advance university student learning or faculty research, but it went a long way in sustaining and deepening the partnership.

It is critical that university partners begin to experiment with models and strategies that facilitate community engagement activities that transcend the academic calendar. They should consistently think beyond limits of academic calendar and help all stakeholders understand that relationships are ongoing even if/when faculty and students are involved short-term.

Collectivize the Resistance and Marshall Power for Change

As noted, a key difference between the Plug-and-Play and Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm is the locus of the relationship between campus and community. In the Plug-and-Play paradigm, campus-community partnerships function as individual units/phenomena; impact is focused on, defined as, and limited by individual behaviors and commitments and short-term, quantifiable outputs. Within this paradigm, the university is seen as separate from the community and its investment in- and commitment to- the community is minimal, perpetuating a power imbalance in which university partners (faculty,

staff and students) hold the power to opt-in or opt-out of individual relationships with community partners. Thus, as part of Reframing, it is critical for community engagement centers to expand the base beyond the center. This can be facilitated through the exploration of emerging and developing models, such as PBCE (Yamamura & Koth, 2018), Engaged Departments (Kecskes, 2006) and Schools (Saltmarsh et al., 2019) that increase and spread involvement and expand resources to meet community goals.

Centers may also need to develop their capacities for activism and community organizing. In their article, *Resisting Neoliberalism from within the Academy: Subversion through an Activist Pedagogy*, Preston and Aslett (2014) propose a definition of activist pedagogy informed by their experiences teaching social justice and anti-oppression principals within the neoliberal constraints of higher education:

> A complicating approach to education that exposes, acknowledges and unpacks social injustices, implicates personal and structural histories and currencies, and is founded in a commitment to personal and social change both inside and outside the classroom and the academy. It recognizes the historical material context but avoids reification of such context through fluid explorations of power, subjectivity, and social relations (p. 514).

They go on to say that “an activist pedagogical strategy attempts to do this through building a community of activist learners and educators in the classroom, with tangible and meaningful opportunities to initiate and advocate for change.” During my conversations with higher education and community partners, participants used the language of activism to describe their efforts and strategies for pushing back against and maneuvering the normative systems that constrain democratic engagement. Participants talked about the need for “acts of resistance,”

they named specific acts, they proposed what it might look like to "collectivize the resistance," and the desire to "marshal power for change." Community partners also want to play a role in enacting change on campuses and in the community. As higher education partners seek to build their capacity, they should also include community partners in those efforts.

Justice-Centering Relationships

Community partner voices and perspectives informed the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework. Their perspectives on beneficial community impact – what they value, how they define it, and how they believe it can best be achieved – also reflected and affirmed the arguments of influential literatures on progressive higher education community engagement that seek to advance democratic engagement through institutional change inclusive of shifts in epistemology and changes in culture, structures and policies (Saltmarsh et al., 2009) and the creation of architecture to integrate synergistic efforts to advance diversity and public engagement in higher education (Sturm et al., 2011). The research that I embarked on in this dissertation study led me to people in the midst of leading this change through their work and, in some cases, through subversive acts of resistance against institutional norms that stand in the way of democratic engagement and social change, primarily within higher education but also community-based systems. Their efforts to reframe community-engagement practice and the relationship between higher education and the community point to institutional changes and structures that align with the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm. Examples include:

- Creating real decision-making roles and opportunities for community partners.

- Building community partner capacity through professional development and acknowledging their intellectual contributions through compensation.
- Creating physical presence and architectures in communities.
- Having dedicated staff whose primary responsibilities are to the community, not advancing academic goals.
- Developing awards and fellowship opportunities to recognize, support, and reward community-engaged scholarship.
- Identifying and promoting impact measures and approaches to assessment that provide alternatives to neoliberal assessments.
- Implementing initiatives, such as Place-Based Community Engagement, that encourage and support experiments in the ideal that center community voice and transcend the traditional academic boundaries.
- Focusing efforts on specific, enduring issues.

Implications for Community Engagement Centers

The role of community engagement centers in advancing and institutionalizing community engagement, as discussed throughout this study and the broader literature on higher education community engagement, is significant. If the community engagement movement, up to this point, has, by in large, not addressed the epistemological, cultural, and structural changes required to create and advance the ideals of democratic engagement, what new and different is required of centers to lead the change? Saltmarsh (2016) argues that centers need to think differently about their roles; they need to be less focused on developing new programs and more focused on building capacity and facilitating engagement across the

institution – modeling the functions of a backbone organization in the collective impact model. Following are questions for community engagement center staff to consider as they reflect on their role in this next chapter of the community engagement movement:

- What would it mean/look like for centers to become backbone organizations?
- How can centers build out the base for community engagement, to involve more areas of the university?
- How can centers use their power to influence institutional change, for example, in revising promotion and tenure guidelines to support community-engagement? Or, in advocating for compensation for community partners?
- What models and community engagement could centers begin to champion or experiment with to demonstrate community engagement can transcend the limits of the academic calendar?
- Where are the opportunities to plant seeds – by centering community impact in professional development? Creating resources to educate the campus about community history? Raising conversations on campus about topics such as epistemic justice and knowledge democracy?

Limitations and Future Research

As a Community Engagement Professional, my hope for this research was to advance conceptual and theoretical understandings of community impact in the field of higher education community engagement and to provide practical ideas that could be applied in the immediate context. While the study achieves these goals, it is not without limitations. Most notably, the sample size was small. As a study of two universities, it may not be

generalizable. However, the clear documentation of methodology and rich description of data contribute to its replicability. Although both institutions selected were Jesuit, the need to better understand and address community impact in higher education community engagement is well-known across the field. Further, practices and characteristics of community engagement within Jesuit higher education reflect those in the field more broadly.

Other limitations related to how community knowledge was incorporated in the design and implementation of the study. The criteria for site selection did not incorporate the perspective of community partners (no tools or standards exist to my knowledge). Rather, I used traditional, academic, expert-based formulas for a study that had counter-epistemological aims. Another limitation was that I did not collect data beyond the level of the community partner organization to include those directly impacted by the organization and the partnership.

Lastly, the power inherent in my identity as a White person and higher education professional may have limited the level of comfort community partners felt in sharing negative perspectives or identifying negative impacts about their higher education partnerships. Although I tried to emphasize that I was not aiming to evaluate but rather co-construct understanding, I was still an outsider and a stranger. Further, some partners clearly relied on their relationships with higher education to deliver their programs and achieve their mission. This may not have been something they were willing to risk for the purpose of helping advance my research. I tried to leverage the trust between community members and the higher education partners that introduced me to them. I also shared information about myself and why this topic was important to me as a researcher and practitioner. In that way,

I tried to illuminate our common bond and mission. I gave community partners different opportunities to talk about challenges, through the survey and interviews and emphasized confidentiality. A prolonged engagement with research participants may have contributed to a deeper sense of trust.

Limitations can inform ways to improve research and illuminate opportunities for future research. Following are ways the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework could be expanded on through future research, used to frame future research, and applied to practice:

- Community input into the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework could be expanded to include other stakeholders more directly impacted the issues partnerships aim to address. As discussed in chapter two, communities include the people, associations, and institutions the comprise a shared geography. My research primarily captured the perspective of associations and institutions. Although many interviewees were also residents of the community, they were sharing their perspectives from their positions as community-based organization and higher education professionals.
- Different approaches and models of community engagement could be examined using the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework. Questions that could be asked are, do some get closer to the Justice-Centering Relationships paradigm than others? What do different approaches add to the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework?
- *The Democratic Engagement White Paper* and *Full participation: Building the architecture for diversity and public engagement in higher education* have been

important catalysts for dialogue and change. How does the Justice-Centering Relationship Framework contribute to the "how to" aspect of the key recommendations coming from these papers?

- The Framework could be used to facilitate dialogue among community and higher education partners. Discussion could focus on how the Framework does or does not reflect their experiences and their understanding and desires for community impact? What would they take out? What would they add new? Does it inform how they might do things differently? For Community Engagement Professionals, does the Justice-Centering Relationships Framework impact how they understand their roles and the functions of centers?
- The Justice-Centering Relationships Framework could be used strategic planning and professional development.

Conclusion

The Justice-Centering Relationships Framework contributes to the field of higher education community engagement by addressing the "how" of integrating change across the varied dimensions of the system that community-campus partnerships operate within to center and achieve positive community impact. The research that I embarked on in this dissertation study led me to people in the midst of leading this change through their work and, in some cases, through subversive acts of resistance against institutional norms that stand in the way of democratic engagement and social change, primarily within higher education but also community-based systems. Like other conceptual and theoretical frameworks that exist within the higher education community engagement literature, the

Justice-Centering Relationships Framework can help community engagement stakeholders locate their community-campus partnership work as well as develop strategies and lead institutional changes necessary to achieve the impacts they aspire to. It may also help to diagnose where and what changes need to happen within the system to move community-campus partnership work beyond Plug-and-Play toward a more justice-centering practice. Importantly, it emphasizes that academic community engagement cannot continue to operate in a silo *despite* structures, policies, and cultures within higher education that do not align. Rather, community engagement must work to change unjust structures and policies that serve as barriers to ensure the arc of engagement trends toward justice.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE EMAIL TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPANTS

Thank you again for your willingness to participate in my study on the impact of higher education community engagement. The information you share with me will be kept confidential. Attached is a document with more information on the study for your records.

As promised, I am including here a link to a survey that should take you approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. This will provide me with background on your work before we meet the week of March 11. Please complete this survey by March 8.

To express my appreciation for your participation in the survey and interview, I will provide a $25 gift card. Please respond to this email to let me know which of the following gift cards would be most useful to you:

- [choices removed for the purpose of confidentiality]

Thank you again, and please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions you may have.

APPENDIX B

STUDY OVERVIEW AND INFORMED CONSENT

You are invited to participate in a research study about the impact of campus-community partnerships on communities. The study is being conducted by Melissa Quan, Director of the Center for Faith & Public Life at Fairfield University and doctoral candidate in the Department of Leadership in Higher Education at University of Massachusetts (UMass) Boston under the supervision of John Saltmarsh, Ph.D., Professor of Higher Education at UMass Boston. The study is designed to answer two primary questions related the impact of higher education community engagement. The questions are: 1) How do campus-community partnership stakeholders define impact and what types/forms of impact do they value; and 2) In what ways do the similarities and differences between how campus and community partners define and prioritize impact contribute to our understanding of how campus-community partnerships can be designed to achieve positive community benefit? In brief, this is a study of how impact is determined; it is not an assessment of whether identified outcomes were achieved.

Participation in this study will require about 1 1/2 hours. First, you will be asked to complete an online survey which should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. The second part includes a 60-75-minute interview during which you will be asked additional questions related to your involvement with campus-community partnerships and, specifically, how impact is determined and measured. Following the in-person interview, if you are willing, you may be contacted by phone or email with follow up questions.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may discontinue participation in the study at any time by informing Melissa. There is no known risk or discomfort associated with this research. Indeed, you will be contributing to the practice of how colleges and universities partner with communities to achieve community benefits. Your information will be kept confidential. Notes from the interview will not be shared with anyone. Themes will be derived from across all of the study's interviews and reported on in aggregate. During the interview, you will be invited to select a pseudonym. Any direct quotes used in the write-up of the study will be associated with the pseudonym you select in order to keep your identity confidential.

Should you have any questions concerning the purpose, procedures, and outcomes of this project please contact Melissa Quan at 203-254-4000 or e-mail (mquan@fairfield.edu). If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact a representative of the UMass Boston Institutional Review Board at (617) 287-5374 or at human.subjects@umb.edu.

APPENDIX C

COMMUNITY PARTNER SURVEY

1) Describe briefly your partnership.

   a) Purpose/goal(s)

   b) How long has the partnership been active?

   c) How long have you been involved with the partnership?

   d) Who is involved (check all that apply)

      - ☐ University faculty
      - ☐ university students
      - ☐ fellow staff members
      - ☐ community residents
      - ☐ other: _______________

   e) Please describe one or more successes of the partnership

   f) Please describe one or more challenges of the partnership

2) Following are characteristics of partnerships that have been identified through research with higher education and community partners as important. Please rate each characteristic in relation to your partnership with [University]?

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good	Not Applicable
Clear goals					
Goals are collaboratively developed					
Communication with faculty partners					

Communication with staff partners					
Clear roles and expectations					
Shared leadership					
Collaborative creation of partnership process					
Shared responsibility for partnership process					
Collaborative identification of partnership outcomes					
Shared responsibility for tracking and assessing partnership outcomes					
Access to faculty partners					
Access to staff partners					
Is there fit between the assistance the campus is providing and your organizational needs and goals?					
Campus partners (students, faculty, and staff) are prepared to work with the community					
Benefit to campus					
Benefit to community					
Continuous assessment of process and outcomes					

3) Are there any characteristics, not listed above, that are important to you? Yes/No. If yes, please list.
4) What outcomes of your partnership work with [the university] have been most beneficial or important to goals of your organization/project/community?
5) Please feel free to share any documents or links that you think I should look at to prepare for our conversation on February 4.

6) Is there anything that you would like to know about me before we meet?
7) Is there anyone else from the community (your organization or community member) who you would like to invite to participate with you in the interview? (Yes/No)
    a) If yes, can you provide contact information or make an introduction?

Thank you for your time and contributions.

APPENDIX D

FACULTY/STAFF SURVEY

1) Describe briefly a community-campus partnership with which you have been involved

    a) Purpose/goal(s)

    b) How long has the partnership been active?

    c) How long have you been involved with the partnership?

    d) Who is involved (check all that apply)

        - ☐ University faculty
        - ☐ university students
        - ☐ fellow staff members
        - ☐ community residents
        - ☐ other: _______________

    e) Please describe one or more successes of the partnership

2) Please describe one or more challenges of the partnership

Following are characteristics of partnerships that have been identified through research with higher education and community partners as important. Please rate each characteristic in relation to the community-campus partnership you described above.

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good	Not Applicable
Clear goals					
Goals are collaboratively developed					
Communication with faculty partners					
Communication with staff partners					
Clear roles and expectations					
Shared leadership					

Access to faculty partners					
Access to staff partners					
Collaborative creation of partnership process					
Shared responsibility for partnership process					
Is there a fit between the assistance the campus is providing and your organizational needs and goals?					
Campus partners (students, faculty, and staff) are prepared to work with the community					
Collaborative identification of partnership outcomes					
Shared responsibility for tracking and assessing partnership outcomes					
Benefit to campus					
Benefit to community					
Continuous assessment of process and outcomes					

3) Are there any characteristics, not listed above, that are important to you? If yes, please list.

4) What outcomes of your partnership have been most beneficial or important?

5) Please feel free to share any documents or links that you think I should look at to prepare for our conversation.

6) Is there anything that you would like to know about me before we meet?

7) Is there anyone else from the university, involved with the partnership, who you would like to invite to participate with you in the interview? (Yes/No)

    a) If yes, can you provide contact information or make and introduction?

Thank you for your time and contributions.

APPENDIX E

COMMUNITY PARTNER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Warm-up

1. Introductions
2. Study purpose
3. What pseudonym may I use to refer to you in the write-up of this study?
4. Please tell me a bit about the mission and work of your organization

Context

5. What is the purpose of your partnership work with [XXX] University?
6. How has this purpose evolved over time?
7. How long has the partnership been active?
8. What motivates you to partner with the university?

Communication and Access

6. What does communication with your campus partners look like?
    a. Who initiates?
    b. How often?
    c. In person? Phone? Email? Other?
    d. What do you think facilitates good communication?
    e. What do you think are barriers to good communication?
7. Do you feel that you can easily access faculty/students/staff involved with the partnership?
8. How often do you visit the university?

a. What do you do when you visit?

b. Are their resources at the university that you would like to have access to that would benefit the partnership?

9. Do students participate in the partnership through service-learning courses?

   c. If yes, do you have access to the syllabi in advance of their participation?

   d. Do you have a role in developing course goals?

   e. How are student tasks determined?

10. Do you have access to products that are developing through student/faculty/staff engagement in partnership work?

Roles and power

11. How would you describe your role and responsibilities in partnership activities with [XXX]?

12. When there is an important decision to be made, what does the process of making that decision look like?

    a. Who is involved?

    b. Who is responsible for decision-making?

13. Who is responsible for establishing the goals of the partnership?

14. Who is responsible for ensuring that goals are met?

15. Do you feel the strengths you bring and the contributions that you make are valued? Why/how?

Impact

16. Are you satisfied with the goals that have been identified for your partnership? Why/why not?
    a. If not, what goals would you like to establish?
17. How are the outcomes of the partnership currently assessed?
    b. What metrics are used?
    c. Who determines those metrics?
    d. Are the metrics relevant?
    e. Are their different metrics that you feel would be more relevant?
    f. Who has access to data/results generated?
    g. Who owns the data/results generated?
    h. What happens with the results?
    i. What changes happen as a result of outcomes?
18. How do you define "impact?"
19. Recognizing that impacts can be both positive and negative, what have been the impacts of this partnership on you? Your organization? Community members you serve?
    j. What impacts have you found most meaningful?
    k. What impacts have been least meaningful?
    l. What impacts did you hope for that may not have been achieved or even identified as part of the process?
    m. What artifacts or tangible products matter most to you?

20. If this partnership were to fail, what impact would that have on you? Your organization? Community members you serve?
21. What do you see as the barriers to achieving impact?
22. What are the necessary ingredients to the achievement of impact?
23. Have you ever been asked about benefits to the university?

In Closing

24. Anything else that you would like to add?
25. What questions do you have for/about me? Is there anything you would like to know about this study?
26. May I follow up with you if I have any clarifying questions?
    a. What is the best way to reach you?
27. Who else should I speak with?

APPENDIX F

FACULTY/STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Warm-up

1. Introductions
2. Study purpose
3. What pseudonym may I use to refer to you in the write-up of the study?
4. [Faculty] Please tell me a bit your involvement with community engagement?
5. [Staff] Please tell me a bit the mission and work of your center?

Context

5. What is the purpose of your work with [community partner(s)]?
6. How has this purpose evolved over time?
7. How long has the partnership been active?

Communication and Access

8. What does communication with your community partners look like?
    a. Who initiates?
    b. How often?
    c. In person? Phone? Email? Other?
    d. What do you think facilitates good communication?
    e. What do you think are barriers to good communication?
9. Do you feel that you can easily access community members involved with the partnership activities?

10. How often do you visit community partners in an off-campus setting? What do you do when you visit? Are their resources in the community that you would like to have access to that would benefit partnership activities?

University Support

11. What motivates you to partner with the community as part of your academic teaching and/or research activity?
12. Do you feel supported by the university?
    a. How/why not?
13. Do you feel community engagement is valued at [your university]?
    b. Why/why not?
14. What are barriers to participating in community engagement at [your university]?
15. What would make it possible for you to further your participation in community engagement?

Roles and power

16. How would you describe your role and responsibilities in [xxxx] partnership work?
17. When there is an important decision to be made, what does the process of making that decision look like?
    a. Who is involved?
    b. Who is responsible for decision-making?
18. Who is responsible for establishing the goals of the partnership?
19. Who is responsible for ensuring that goals are met?

20. Do you feel the strengths you bring and the contributions that you make are valued? Why/how?
21. How would you describe the role and contributions of the community partner?

Impact

22. Are you satisfied with the goals that have been identified for this partnership? Why/why not?
    a. If not, what goals would you like to establish?
23. How are the outcomes of the partnership currently assessed?
    b. What metrics are used?
    c. Who determines those metrics?
    d. Are the metrics relevant?
    e. Are their different metrics that you feel would be more relevant?
    f. Who has access to data/results generated?
    g. Who owns the data/results generated?
    h. What happens with the results?
    i. What changes happen as a result of outcomes?
24. How do you define "impact?"
25. Recognizing that impacts can be both positive and negative, what have been the impacts of this partnership on you? On the community?
    j. What impacts have you found most meaningful?
    k. What impacts have been least meaningful?

l. What impacts did you hope for that may not have been achieved or even identified as part of the process?

m. What artifacts or tangible products matter most to you?

26. If this partnership were to fail, what impact would that have on you? Your institution?
27. What do you see as the barriers to achieving impact?
28. What are the necessary ingredients to the achievement of impact?

In Closing

29. Anything else that you would like to add?
30. Do you have any questions for/about me?
31. May I follow up with you if I have any clarifying questions?
    a. If yes, what is the best way to reach you?
32. Who else should I speak with?

APPENDIX G

CONSENT TO AUDIO-TAPING

University of Massachusetts Boston

Department of Leadership in Education

100 Morrissey Boulevard

Boston, MA 02125-3393

CONSENT TO AUDIO-TAPING & TRANSCRIPTION

Minding the Gap: Understanding Community Impact in Higher Education Community Engagement Melissa Quan – Primary Investigator (PI), University of Massachusetts Boston

This study involves the audio taping of your interview with the researcher. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with the audiotape or the transcript. Only the PI (Melissa Quan) will be able to listen to the tapes.

The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher and erased once the transcriptions are checked for accuracy. Transcripts of your interview may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study. Neither your name nor any other identifying information (such as your voice or picture) will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study.

Immediately following the interview, you will be given the opportunity to have the tape erased if you wish to withdraw your consent to taping or participation in this study.

By signing this form, you are consenting to:

- ❑ having your interview audio-taped;
- ❑ to having the tape transcribed;
- ❑ use of the written transcript in presentations and written products.

By checking the box in front of each item, you are consenting to participate in that procedure.

This consent for audio-taping is effective until the following date: May 31, 2020.

On or before that date, the tapes will be destroyed.

Participant's Signature ____

Date___________

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