CHAPTER 1

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

An Investigation of Faculty Reward Policies at Engaged Campuses

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ABSTRACT

Through an examination of the 2006 applications for the Elective Classification for Community Engagement from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, this study explores the ways in which promotion and tenure policies reward community-engaged scholarship. Evidence from the applications and from campus documents reveals examples of significant shifts in policy that reflect cultural changes. At the same time, there is evidence of persistent and deep-seated resistance to change that values and

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legitimizes community-engaged scholarship. Campuses that have revised their promotion and tenure guidelines to incorporate community engagement across the faculty roles seem to have institutional identities defined by commitments to the stewardship of local communities.

INTRODUCTION

The last 20 years mark a period of pressures from multiple sources to change promotion and tenure systems in higher education. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, tenure was attacked by the popular press, state legislators, and trustees for being biased against women and minorities, protecting unproductive faculty, and overly valuing faculty research, while woefully neglecting undergraduate education and outreach (O'Meara & Rice, 2005; O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008).

Promotion and tenure remains one of the foremost ways an institution articulates its values; it is how institutions and their leaders value the individuals who work there and what they do (O'Meara, 2002). As such, it is a pivotal lever for change and the area in which we are likely to see the deepest struggles over legitimate forms of research and how research should be assessed and rewarded. Faculty unions argued the case for the advantages of tenure in terms of recruiting and retaining talented faculty, ensuring quality and rigor, and protecting academic freedom, but even so, the tenure system changed by the end of the 1990s in three primary ways: First, fiscal realities sped up replacement of tenure lines with nontenure track, full-time and part-time appointments, making the tenure system still the most coveted positions but available to fewer and fewer entrants to the academy (Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006). Second, several workplace reforms were instituted—among them posttenure review to increase accountability for faculty—and stop-the-clock and parental-leave policies for academics who are parents. Third, scholarship was redefined and reassessed in promotion and tenure processes (Boyer, 1990; Glassick, Huber, & Maeroff, 1994; O'Meara, et al., 2008).

Hundreds of campuses have attempted to revise their promotion and tenure guidelines to acknowledge a broader definition of scholarship, and particularly to define the scholarship of teaching and the scholarship of community engagement as legitimate scholarly work and then reward it accordingly (Braxton, Luckey, & Helland, 2002; O'Meara & Rice, 2005). Among campuses that are potentially inclined to reward community-engaged scholarship are 76 institutions that received the 2006 Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement. These campuses completed a campus assessment that included items evaluating institutional reward policies. As Rhoades (2009) points out, the community engagement clas-

sification represents an effort on the part of the Carnegie Foundation "to inscribe in academic structures and in the consciousness of faculty" an emphasis on "the value of the local" (p. 12). The value of the local is associated closely with an epistemological struggle over the value of community-based practitioner knowledge: What is "legitimate" knowledge in higher education, and is there a place for forms of scholarship that value community-based knowledge?

In this chapter, we describe the application process for the Elective Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement. We then discuss the conceptual framework for the study and our research questions. Our review of the literature is constructed around an "integrated model" for understanding faculty engagement developed by Sandmann, Saltmarsh, and O'Meara (2008) as part of larger research team,[1] that contextualizes why and how promotion and tenure is key in moving campuses toward institutionalization of community engagement. The integrated model helped us to bring together evidence and understandings from the work done around the institutionalization of engagement (Holland, 2001; Holland & Gelmon, 1998; Hollander, Saltmarsh, & Zlotkowski, 2001) and research on change in institutional culture (Eckel, Hill, & Green, 1998; Guskin, 1996; Hearn, 1996; Kezar & Eckel, 2002a, 2002b). Finally, the findings reported here are part of a larger study of faulty rewards at community engaged campuses (Giles, Saltmarsh, Ward, & Buglione, 2008; Saltmarsh, Giles, Ward, & Buglione, in press) and draws implications from findings on the current state of promotion and tenure in the most engaged of institutions as well as overall efforts to reform faculty roles and rewards.

The Elective Carnegie Community Engagement Classification

The 2006 Elective Community Engagement Classification offered by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching defines community engagement as the collaboration between higher education institutions and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity. The foundation provided campuses with a framework for documenting community engagement activity. This framework has four sections: (1) institutional commitment, (2) institutional identity and culture, (3) curricular engagement, and (4) outreach and partnerships. The first two sections constitute what the foundation describes as "foundational indicators." The application process is such that campuses must be able to document all of the founda-

tional indicators, and only after doing so are they able to complete the application process by addressing the "curricular engagement indicators," the "outreach and partnership indicators," or both (Driscoll, 2008). For the purpose of this study, campuses provided documentation related to institutional reward policies within these foundational indicators of institutional commitment, identity, and culture.

Within the foundational indicators, the framework contains an "optional questions" subsection. Here, documentation can be provided about institutional reward policies. The optional questions, not to be confused with our research questions, include a primary question and two subquestions:

- Question: Do the institutional policies for promotion and tenure reward the scholarship of community engagement?
- Subquestion A: If yes, how does the institution categorize the community engagement scholarship? (Service, Scholarship of Application, other)
- Subquestion B: If no, is there work in progress to revise the promotion and tenure guidelines to reward the scholarship of community engagement?

The application questions are aimed at three aspects of rewarding community-engaged scholarship: (1) current policy, (2) faculty roles rewarded for community engagement, and (3) potential or existing initiatives to revise the current guidelines, assuming that changes in promotion and tenure guidelines to reward community-engaged scholarship have not been implemented.

Conceptual Framework

The foundational indicators that comprise the first section of the Foundation's community engagement framework focus on institutional identity, culture, and commitment. These indicators also reflect an understanding that community engagement is an element of transformative institutional change and that institutional transformation is characterized by changes in institutional culture. Campuses that receive the Carnegie Community Engagement classification demonstrate that they have implemented changes in the core work of the institution.

In their 1998 study of transformational change in higher education, Eckel, Hill, and Green defined transformational change as that which "(1) alters the culture of the institution by changing select underlying assumptions and institutional behaviors, processes, and products; (2) is

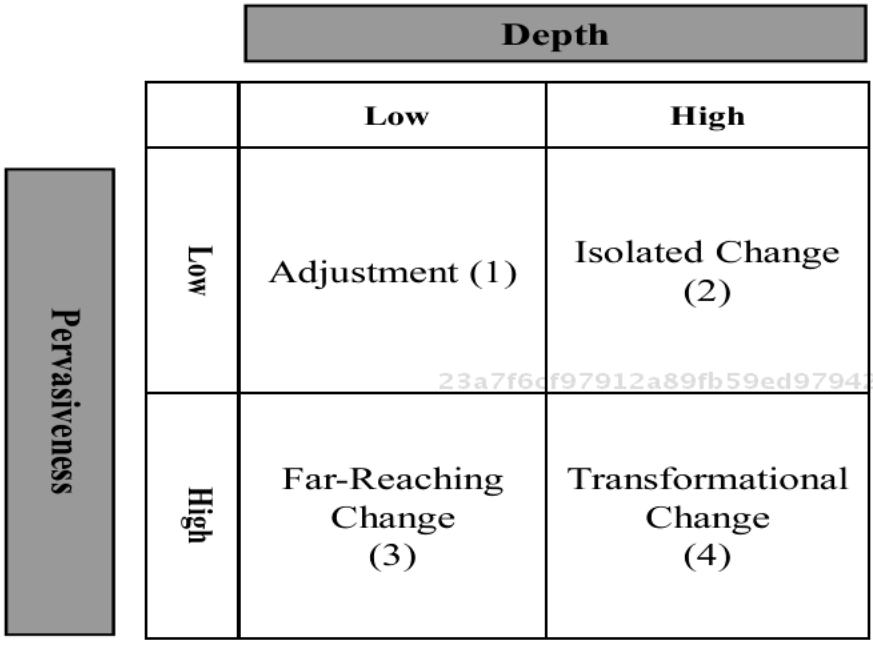
deep and pervasive, affecting the whole institution; (3) is intentional; and (4) occurs over time" (p. 3). Changes that "alter the culture of the institution" (p. 3) require "major shifts in an institution's culture—the common set of beliefs and values that creates a shared interpretation and understanding of events and actions" (p. 3). Attention to deep and pervasive change focuses on "institution-wide patterns of perceiving, thinking, and feeling; shared understandings; collective assumptions; and common interpretive frameworks"—the "ingredients of this 'invisible glue' called institutional culture" (p. 3). It is precisely these elements of institutional culture that constitute the foundational indicators of the community engagement framework.

Transformational change occurs when shifts in the institution's culture have developed to the point where they are both pervasive across the institution and deeply embedded in practices throughout the institution (see Exhibit 1.1). Eckel et al. (1998) describe adjustment (Quadrant 1) as

> a change or series of changes that are modifications to an area. One might call this "tinkering."… changes of this nature are revising or revitalizing, and they occur when current designs or procedures are improved or extended. An adjustment may improve the process or quality of the service, or it might be something new; nevertheless, it does not drastically alter much. (p. 5)

The change has little depth and is not pervasive across the institution. Isolated change (Quadrant 2) is "deep but limited to one unit or a particular area: it is not pervasive." Campuses in the third quadrant achieved far-reaching change that "is pervasive but does not affect the organization very deeply." Quadrant four represents deep and pervasive change that transforms the institutional culture. Eckel et al. call this change in "the innermost core of a culture … our underlying assumptions; these deeply ingrained beliefs" that "are rarely questioned and are usually taken for granted." Transformational change, they write, "involves altering the underlying assumptions so that they are congruent with the desired changes" (1998, p. 3-5). Examining the Carnegie Foundation's Framework for the Community Engagement Classification in light of Eckel et al.'s work suggests that campuses that achieve the classification have undergone shifts in institutional culture that have led to change such that community engagement is both deep and pervasive.

A proposition that emerges from this conceptual framework, and from the literature on both community engagement in higher education and institutional change, is that campuses that received the Elective Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement provided sufficient evidence to be located in the fourth quadrant, demonstrating transformational



Source: Adapted from Eckel et al. (1980).

Exhibit 1.1. Two dimensions of transformational change.

change reflected in institutional reward policies that are artifacts of an academic culture that values community engagement.

Research Questions

The central research question for this study is: To what extent have engaged colleges and universities reshaped institutional reward policies to provide incentives for faculty to undertake community-engaged scholarship? Secondary questions include: How do institutional policies for promotion and tenure reward the scholarship of community engagement? What area(s) of the faculty role (i.e., scholarship, teaching, and/or service) do institutional promotion and tenure guidelines define as the area of faculty work in which engagement is rewarded? Is the revision of promotion and tenure guidelines part of the response associated with establishing an institutional identity of community engagement?

Literature Review

In "An Integrated Model for Advancing the Scholarship of Engagement: Creating Academic Homes for the Engaged Scholar," Sandmann et al. (2008) observed that the creation of a supportive environment for faculty engagement includes changes in the institutional culture of colleges and universities and is associated with the qualities and characteristics of change located in the fourth quadrant of the Eckel et al.'s (1998) model for institutional change. From this perspective, efforts to redefine scholarship must be reflected in academic norms and institutional reward policies that shape the cultures of the academy. Engagement needs to be seamlessly woven into what Schön calls "the formal and informal rules and norms that govern such processes as the screening of candidates for promotion and tenure" (1995, p. 32). Sandmann et al. argue that in order to gain a deeper understanding of the institutionalization of faculty engagement, researchers must ask a key question: What institutional factors contribute to a supportive environment for faculty to practice community engagement?

As an approach for investigating this question and others, the authors proposed an integrated model that incorporates the following four elements: (1) preparing future faculty, (2) the scholarship of engagement, (3) promising practices of institutional engagement, and (4) institutional change models in higher education. These four elements are aligned along two axes, the horizontal axis representing faculty socialization, and the vertical axis representing institutionalization. This framework is designed to address the complexity of institutional change , the need for transformational change to address significant cultural shifts in faculty work, and the kind of transformational change necessary for engaged scholarship to become a core value of higher education. The aim of transformation "assumes that college and university administrators and faculty will alter the way in which they think about and perform their basic functions of teaching, research, and service, but they will do so in ways that allow them to remain true to the values and historic aims of the academy" (Eckel et al., 1998, p. 3). The model suggests that it is at the intersections of faculty socialization and institutional change that deep, pervasive, sustained transformation that fosters the scholarship of engagement will occur (see Exhibit 1.2).

Exhibit 1.2 depicts four main "homes" for engaged scholarship, each of which is located at the intersection of the socialization and institutionalization axis. The bottom right quadrant marks institutions as the intersection of faculty practice of the scholarship of engagement and the kind of institutional structures, administration, and culture necessary to sup-

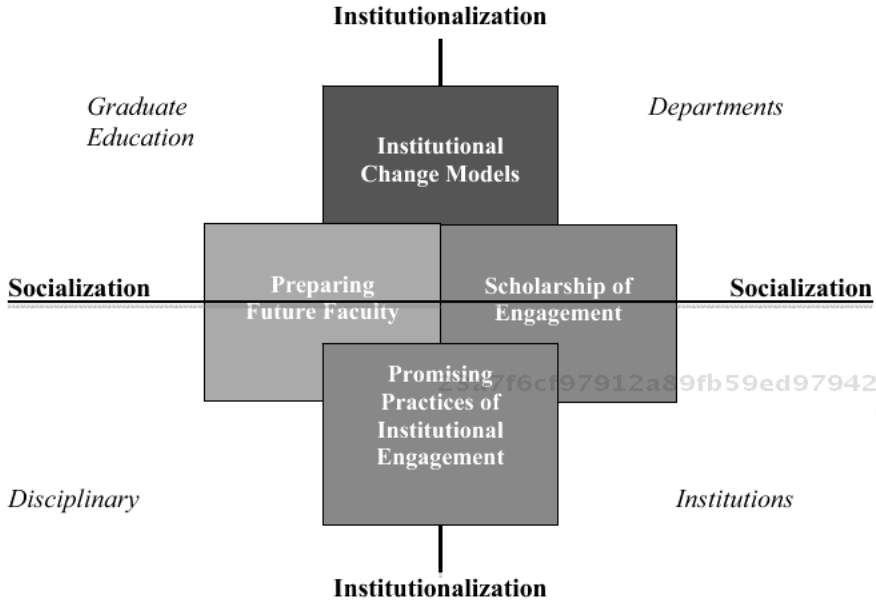


Exhibit 1.2. An integrated model.

port and sustain faculty engagement. The model reflects assessments conducted by researchers on the importance of institutional attention to promotion and tenure processes for valuing and legitimizing engagement as a core function of the institution (Driscoll & Lynton, 1999; Driscoll & Sandmann, 2001; Rice, 1996). The institutionalization axis is grounded in an approach to institutional transformation through which systemic change is implemented effectively when multiple components of an institution are addressed simultaneously and change processes are guided by an intentional change strategy. Though we will consider of all the quadrants of the model in the discussion section at the end of this chapter, the focus of this study is on the bottom right quadrant, which represents the institutional home for engagement.

The foundation of creating an institutional culture supportive of community engagement and community engaged scholarship is the process of reciprocal relationships with community partners. The 2006 Elective Community Engagement Classification interprets community engagement through the lens of reciprocity: "the *collaboration* between higher education institutions and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the *mutually beneficial exchange* of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and *reciprocity*" (emphasis added).

The framework establishes a core value of reciprocity that contrasts community engagement that is done "to" or "in" the community with engagement that is collaborative, mutually beneficial, and multidirectional. Reciprocity specifically signals a shift in campus-community partnerships toward relationships that are defined by a multidirectional flow of knowledge and expertise in collaborative efforts to address community-based issues. Reciprocity in community relationships has an explicit and intentional democratic dimension framed as inclusive, collaborative, and problem-oriented work, in which academics share knowledge-generating tasks with the public and involve community partners as participants in public problem solving.

Reciprocity is grounded in sharing what were once perceived as exclusively academic tasks with non-academics and encouraging the participation of non-academics in ways that enhance scholarly inquiry. The term further implies scholarly work that is conducted with shared authority and power with those in the community at all stages of the research process, from defining the research problem, choosing theoretical and methodological approaches, conducting the research, developing the final products, and participating in peer evaluation. Reciprocity operates to facilitate the involvement of individuals in the community not just as consumers of knowledge and services but also as participants in the larger public culture of democracy (Dzur, 2008).

One characteristic of the scholarship of engagement, according to Boyer (1996), is that it "means creating a special climate in which the academic and civic cultures communicate more continuously and more creatively with each other … enriching the quality of life for us all" (p. 20). That special climate is explicitly and intentionally reciprocal. The scholarship of engagement O'Meara and Rice (2005) note, is based on reciprocity and "calls on faculty to move beyond 'outreach,'… What it emphasizes is genuine *collaboration*: that the learning and teaching be multidirectional and the expertise shared. It represents a basic reconceptualization of faculty involvement in community-based work" (p. 28). The framework that the Carnegie Foundation provides for community engagement is shaped by this reconceptualization and views community engagement as grounded in faculty teaching, research, and service that are defined by reciprocity.

Reciprocity also implies that community-engaged scholarship is assessed differently than more traditional forms of scholarship. Glassick et al. (1997) in *Scholarship Assessed*, observe that new forms of scholarship are "not always a peer-reviewed article or book" (p. 38). Community-engaged scholarship redefines what constitutes a "publication" and redefines who is a "peer" in the peer review process. For example, community-engaged work that leads to a report to a school committee—

theoretically-based, systematically studied and analyzed, thoughtfully communicated and shared, and critically reflected upon—may not look the same as a journal article in a top-tier research journal and may be best evaluated by a member of the school committee. Engaged scholarship as legitimate academic knowledge generation and dissemination has to be evaluated through a process that accounts for the unique nature of the research.

Understanding the extent to which engaged colleges and universities have reshaped institutional policies to reward community engaged scholarship requires an examination of the artifacts of institutional culture (is it articulated in the promotion and tenure guidelines?) to explore the espoused values the culture expresses for community engaged scholarship (is it in the criteria for evaluating engaged scholarly work?) as well as to understand the underlying assumptions about the relationship of academic knowledge to community-based knowledge (is reciprocity expressed through the criteria?).

METHOD

Of the 76 campuses awarded the Carnegie Foundation's Community Engagement Classification in 2006, five received the classification for Curricular Engagement only, nine received the classification for Outreach and Partnerships only, and 62 received the classification for both Curricular Engagement and Outreach and Partnerships. For the purposes of this study, the authors focused on these latter 62 campuses, which emerged as the most engaged. These are the campuses that have institutionalized engagement through the curriculum and through community outreach. We surmised that these campuses would be more likely to have community engagement articulated in the institutional reward policies. The questions related to institutional reward policies appear in a section of the framework that included five optional questions; campuses were instructed that they were to answer two of these five questions. Campuses could respond to the questions with "yes" followed by documentation, "no" followed by an explanation, or could choose not to address a particular question.

We were unable to gain permission to use the application for five campuses for this study. Of the 57 campuses we studied, 33 elected to answer yes to the question on institutional reward policies and provided documentation to support their answer.[2] None of the campuses answered no. Twenty-four campuses chose not to address the question. Instead, they answered two of the other optional questions that did not focus on faculty

roles and rewards. Our assumption is that a campus that chose not to answer the question on promotion and tenure policies did not have such policies in place, nor were they in the process of revising them.

Before analyzing the applications, we disaggregated the data to examine the context of the campuses that chose to answer the question on institutional reward policies and those that did not. We considered, for instance, whether the campus was public or private, 4-year or 2-year, its size and setting, and its Basic Carnegie Classification. This analysis yielded rich information for understanding the institutional context (Lee, 1999; Maxwell, 2005).

Using a qualitative approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), our analyses consisted of a textual analysis of the applications followed by an analysis of the official promotion and tenure guidelines from the applicants' campuses.[3] Using both the application documentation and the official policy documents, we used a process of concept mapping to code the documents and identify emergent concepts, themes, and patterns (Creswell, 1997; Trochim, 1989). Finally, after coding the applications using the four themes that emerged, we used a modified axial coding process (Creswell, 1997) that mined each campus's data for evidence (or lack thereof) supporting the themes we had identified in the application. This allowed us to contextualize the occurrence of the themes and to more readily identify incongruities between application narratives and available promotion and tenure guidelines.

One limitation of our approach is that we used the promotion and tenure guidelines at the institutional level even though on many of the campuses, promotion and tenure criteria are defined at the college or departmental level. Additionally, while the promotion and tenure guidelines were often contained in one document such as a faculty handbook, in some cases references to faculty community engagement activity appeared in multiple places. One campus, for instance, noted in its application, "Community engagement scholarship is categorized differently in different documents." Further, the sample size for this study is small. Only 76 campuses received the classification for both curricular engagement and outreach and partnerships, and less than half of those campuses chose to answer the question of promotion and tenure guidelines that include community engaged scholarship. Further study can build upon the current research to include the 125 campuses that received the classification in 2008. Additionally, for the 2008 applications, the questions related to rewarding community engaged scholarship are no longer optional, thus more campuses have provided data on promotion and tenure policies.

RESULTS

Of the campuses that answered the application questions regarding promotion and tenure policies, 18 were 4-year public institutions, 13 were private colleges or universities, and one was a 2-year public college. Additionally, six of those campuses were land-grant institutions, 19 were research institutions, and 18 were residential campuses. In coding the data for strong and consistent patterns, four key findings emerged. These findings did not correspond in any meaningful way with the disaggregated institutional demographic data (i.e., public or private, 4-year or 2-year, size and setting, and Basic Carnegie Classification).

In 2006, 107 campuses began the application process, and 89 of those campuses submitted a completed application. While there is no evidence why 18 campuses did not ultimately submit their applications, the conceptual model suggests that campuses that are in quadrant one and quadrant two of the model—adjustment or isolated change—could not provide the documentation for the Foundational Indicators and, thus, could not complete the process. Arguably, community engagement work had not yet been institutionalized on those campuses. The model also suggests that the 89 campuses that did submit their applications had achieved some level of institutionalization such that community engagement was associated with far-reaching or transformational change on campus. The evaluation by the Carnegie Foundation of the applications from 13 of the 89 campuses (those that applied but did not receive the classification) indicates that the depth and pervasiveness of campus change did not warrant a claim of institutionalization of community engagement or, therefore, classification from the Carnegie Foundation. Thus, of the original 107 campuses, 76 received the classification.

Finding 1: Campuses are broadening categories of research in ways that provide legitimacy for community-engaged scholarship.

Sixteen of the 33 campuses that responded that they had community-engaged scholarship either (1) had revised their policies to incorporate community-engaged scholarship, (2) had revised their guidelines to incorporate broader notions of scholarship using Boyer's categories, opening the possibility of rewarding community-engaged scholarship, or (3) were in the process of revising their policies in ways that made room for community-engaged scholarship. There were almost three times as many campuses in the process of revising promotion and tenure guidelines that specifically incorporated community engagement as a form of research than campuses that had reached the point in the revision process of implementing new policies for community-engaged scholarship. Of the

Exhibit 1.3. Applications and Institutional Reward Policies

Campus Applications	*Number of Campuses* *N = 62 (Applicants that received the classification for both curricular engagement and outreach and partnerships)* *N = 57 (Applications available)*
Campuses that responded to the question in the application on promotion and tenure guidelines	33
Campuses that are revising or have revised their guidelines to include community-engaged scholarship	16
Campuses that have Boyerized guidelines	9
Campuses that have guidelines that specifically include community-engaged scholarship (research)	7

17 campuses that did not indicate involvement in revision, those applications either did not address community-engaged scholarship or research as part of their application or specifically identified community engagement as part of the service role of faculty (see Exhibit 1.3).

Of the 16 campuses involved with policy revisions, nine had addressed revision of guidelines through a process of broadening notions of scholarship by adopting Boyer's categories (1990). Only seven of the 16 campuses, which included four of the campuses with Boyerized guidelines, had explicit criteria articulating the legitimacy of engaged scholarship—that is, community engagement defined a legitimate form of research.

Four of the 16 campuses that expressed involvement in a process of revising faculty rewards issued responses similar to the following:

> All departments have been asked to review tenure and promotion guidelines to ensure that engagement of students with community is part of the expectation for faculty … we are currently moving to revise the faculty handbook tenure and promotion guidelines to reflect the importance of community engagement as scholarly activity.

What is not known from this statement is how long the process has been going on or if it will result in revised policies. In the case of one of these four campuses, the application identified revisions proposed by an advisory committee (the "publication of research … connected with … public service should be considered creative work insofar as they present new ideas or incorporate the candidate's scholarly research") but the adopted

guidelines that appear in the faculty handbook do not reflect the suggested changes.

Nine of the 16 campuses have made changes to faculty roles and rewards through Boyer's broadened notion of scholarship, with six campuses noting that "community engagement scholarship fits logically as scholarship of integration, application or teaching." Yet this broadening of the definition of scholarship did not, for the most part, specifically recognize and reward community engagement as faculty scholarship. These six campuses employ Boyer's categories in ways that include a broader view of scholarly activity that is inclusive of community engagement, but maintain a traditional evaluation process through academic peer-reviewed publications, as in the following example:

> Scholarship of Application: This involves applying disciplinary expertise to the exploration or solution of individual, social, or institutional problems; it involves activities that are tied directly to one's special field of knowledge and it demands the same level of rigor and accountability as is traditionally associated with research activities.

This conception of research not only fails to make a distinction between application and engagement, but it also does not broaden notions of what counts as publication and who is considered a peer in the peer-review process. Further, while a campus application claims that community engagement can be rewarded under the scholarship of application, it was not unusual to find policy statements that did not specifically articulate community engagement as an element of "application." For instance, one Boyerized set of guidelines states,

> Application involves asking how state-of-the-art knowledge can be responsibly applied to significant problems. Application primarily concerns assessing the efficacy of knowledge or creative activities within a particular context, refining its implications, assessing its generalizability, and using it to implement changes.

Of the nine campuses that adopted Boyer's categories, three of them specifically articulated a shift in terminology from application to engagement. As one Boyerized policy document articulated, scholarship of engagement entails "community-based research, technical assistance, demonstration projects, impact assessment, and policy analysis," as well as "scholarly work relating to the study or promotion of public engagement."

Finding 2: Promotion and tenure material revealed a persistent struggle over language, definition, and discourse.

Exhibit 1.4. Frequency of Terminology Used: Number of Applications Mentioning Each Term

Terminology Reflected in Applications	*Frequency of Use*
Service to the community/public	10
Service-learning	8
Community engagement	7
Application—from Boyer	6
Outreach/engagement (extension)	5
Engaged scholarship	2
Civic engagement	2
Scholarship of community engagement	2
Scholarship related to public engagement mission	2
Community-Based research	1
Scholarly civic engagement	1
Service-related publications	1
Scholarship which enhances public good	1
Civic engagement scholarship	1
Public scholarship	1

One of the most striking observations about this data set is the variation in discourse both in terms of terminology and definitions used. This is not surprising in general since new or emerging phenomena go through a period of definition and coalescence of meanings. In fact, the Carnegie optional questions use both the terms "scholarship of community engagement" and "community engagement scholarship" interchangeably. Exhibit 1.4 provides a list of 15 terms mentioned in either the application or the campus promotion and tenure materials.

Exhibit 1.4 illustrates that community engagement is most frequently categorized as service provided by the faculty member, often with the emphasis on the faculty member's expertise, or what Ernest Lynton originally called "faculty professional service" (Lynton, 1995). This formulation of the faculty's service role is exemplified in the following application response: "community service consists of activities that require the faculty member's expertise, either the specialized expertise in the faculty member's field or the general skills possessed by all members of the faculty, and that contribute to the public welfare outside the institution."

Service-learning was the second most frequently used term in describing community engagement for faculty. In three of the applications and their associated campus policies, an engaged form of teaching was linked to faculty scholarship. For example, one campus's faculty handbook states, "one should recognize that research, teaching, and community out-

reach often overlap." Thus the two most frequently cited uses of the term "engagement" were in reference to the faculty's teaching or service roles, not to scholarship or research.

In Exhibit 1.4, there is a total of eight of all terms combined that use the word "scholarship" or "scholarly," illustrating the diversity of terms applied in this emerging shift of how scholarship is viewed. The lack of consistency and clarity associated with community engagement is reminiscent of a 2002 report from the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, which points out that while engagement has become

> Shorthand for describing a new era of two-way partnerships between America's colleges and universities and the publics they serve … it also presents the risk that the term can say everything and nothing at the same time.… The lack of clear definition can leave some campuses and their leaders with the impression that they are "doing engagement," when in fact they are not. (p. 8)

We did find a few examples where campuses were trying to clarify and reconcile varying or conflicting terminology or definitions. The quote below, excerpted from an application, is exemplary in that it acknowledges widespread disparities that few campuses seemed to be addressing:

> It is interesting to note that during the past year the campus homepage made a change from "civic engagement" to "community engagement" on the front page. External affairs and marketing recognizes that community engagement is a broader category and is likely to be better understood from an external perspective. Civic engagement activities are listed under this community engagement link on the Web site. CSL is currently distinguishing between (a) community engagement, which is defined solely by the location of the activity (e.g., teaching, research, and service in the community), and (b) civic engagement, which is defined as teaching, research, and service that is both in and *with* the community.

As this example illustrates, there is great variation in the discourse within campuses as well as among them in the terms used to define community engagement. Where there is lack of clarity around what community engagement means, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to establish criteria for evaluating it.

Finding 3: While promotion and tenure policies emphasize community engagement as a faculty service role, community engagement also is associated in some cases with an integrated faculty role across teaching, research, and service.

Exhibit 1.5. How the Applications Rewarded Community Engagement: Number of Applications Mentioning Each Category

Teaching Only	*Research Only*	*Service Only*	*Teaching and Research*	*Teaching and Service*	*Research and Service*	*Teaching, Research, & Service*	*NA**
1	0	11	0	2	4	8	7

Note: *For example, guidelines that claimed to value public scholarship but did not specify criteria for how it would be evaluated.

Overall, there is variable evidence that community-engaged scholarship is part of clearly articulated and accepted criteria for promotion and tenure. There is great variation in the policy documents (typically the campus faculty handbook) in how community engagement is "counted"—that is, as teaching, research, or service. Exhibit 1.5 indicates both the variation and the tendency to include community engagement as a faculty service activity.

Analysis of the applications and campus policies indicates that faculty engagement with community, regardless of its relationship to teaching or scholarship, is placed in the traditional category of service. Yet the applications also reveal examples of community engagement across the faculty roles, especially when there is conceptual clarity and when community engagement is clearly defined and delineated as scholarly work. One campus's policies state that

> the university's strong commitment to public engagement may be reflected in any or all of these categories [teaching, research, and service]. Public engagement is defined as discipline-related collaborations between faculty members and communities, agencies, organizations, businesses, governments, or the general public that contribute significantly to the external constituency by sharing the University's intellectual and cultural assets.

The way community engagement is defined determines its place in the work of faculty.

There seems to be some evidence that community engagement shapes policy formation toward integration. For one campus, the promotion and tenure guidelines state that

> one should recognize that research, teaching, and community outreach often overlap. For example, a service-learning project may reflect both teaching and community outreach. Some research projects may involve both research and community outreach. Pedagogical research may involve both research and teaching.

At another campus

> a faculty member's community engagement activities may be defined and recognized by [the] college's faculty committee … in any of the three categories of expected and assessed performance for tenure-track and tenured faculty: (1) research/scholarship, (2) teaching, and/or (3) service. The committee … is likely to recognize a faculty member's community engagement work as scholarship when it is part of his/her record of research and publication, as teaching when it involves [theory-practice] courses or community engagement or is part of a partnership or community project that enhances the college's service profile.

These examples convey not only the seamlessness and integration across faculty roles but also a clear articulation of how community engagement is explicitly rewarded across all areas of faculty work.

Finding 4: Promotion and tenure materials revealed little evidence that reciprocity is valued, assessed, or even authentically understood.

Of the 33 campuses that answered the questions related to promotion and tenure policies, only seven articulated a framework of reciprocity in their relationship with community partners. The discourse indicative of non-reciprocal relationship uses terminology such as "service to" or "application to" the community. For example, a number of applications defined service as "service to the community" and scholarship that includes "the application of knowledge in responsible ways to … the larger community." The discourse around community engagement that is done "to" or "in" the community is contrasted with applications that expressed collaborative, multidirectional relationships that indicate reciprocity. For example, one campus defined community-engaged scholarship as "the partnership of university knowledge and resources with those of the public and private sectors." For another campus, reciprocity is found in policy documents specifying that "accomplishments in extension and engagement represent *an ongoing two-way interchange of knowledge, information, understanding, and services* between the university and the state, nation, and world" (emphasis in application).

Most of the campuses that employ Boyer's categories to revise policies are doing so in ways that express application and not engagement, as in the following example: "The Scholarship of Application—seeking and gaining success in the application and implementation of knowledge." Only two applications made an explicit distinction between the scholarship of application and the scholarship of engagement—along with a distinction between partnership and reciprocity. One campus's promotion and tenure policy states that

> Engaged scholarship now subsumes the scholarship of application. It adds to existing knowledge in the process of applying intellectual expertise to collaborative problem-solving with urban, regional, state, national and/or global communities and results in a written work shared with others in the discipline or field of study. Engaged scholarship conceptualizes "community groups" as all those outside of academe and requires shared authority at all stages of the research process from defining the research problem, choosing theoretical and methodological approaches, conducting the research, developing the final product(s), to participating in peer evaluation.

This conceptualization of engagement and reciprocity also implies that community-engaged scholarship is assessed differently than traditional scholarship, reinforcing the point that new forms of scholarship are "not always a peer-reviewed article or book" (Glassick et al., 1997, p. 38). In one application, criteria for publications include "reports, including technical reports, reports prepared for a community partner or to be submitted by a community partner." In another, evidence of high quality scholarship could be demonstrated through "letters from external colleagues, external agencies, or organizations attesting to the quality and value of the work."

DISCUSSION

The Problem of Reciprocity

One of the most significant shortcomings that emerged from our analysis of the 2006 applications is in the area of establishing reciprocal campus-community relationships. Our findings are consistent with what Driscoll (2008) reported of the classified campuses, that "most institutions could only describe in vague generalities how they had achieved genuine reciprocity with their communities" (p. 41). This is significant because at its core, authentic engagement depends on—and is in fact defined by—reciprocity; without reciprocity in community relationships, there cannot be engagement.

Reciprocity as a core value provides the grounding for changes in institutional practices, which in turn can compel significant changes in institutional culture. The seven campuses with characteristics locating them in the fourth quadrant of the Eckel et al. model also were the campuses that used a discourse consistent with a culture that supports reciprocity in community partnerships along with the implications of reciprocity for a wide range of campus practices. They are the campuses that have undergone change in the innermost core of the academic culture.

Resistance to Change

Considering that only 33 campus applications addressed the question on how community engagement was included in promotion and tenure guidelines, we surmised that nonresponse to the questions indicates resistance to the kind of cultural change involved with authentic reciprocity and implied by a revision of promotion and tenure policies. It may be that the resistance to community engagement has deep roots in the research university culture of higher education and the way research is defined. The dominant culture of higher education defines the faculty role in a hierarchical way, valuing research above teaching and service. It also operates under a research hierarchy in which basic research is valued above other forms of research and in which the dominant epistemology is often identified as technocratic, scientific, or positivist, grounded in an institutional epistemology of expert knowledge housed in the university and applied externally (Stokes, 1997; Sullivan, 2000). Further, in the research culture, positivist ways of knowing—of generating knowledge—are what determine legitimate knowledge in the academy. In this cultural scheme, other forms of knowledge are not valued—including community-based practitioner knowledge.

Fundamentally, the question of knowledge generation is an epistemological question where

> there exists an affinity of positivist understandings of research for "applying" knowledge to the social world on the model of the way engineers "apply" expert understanding to the problems of structures.... This epistemology is firmly entrenched as the operating system of much of the American university. (Sullivan, 2000, p. 29)

Yet, as O'Meara and Rice (2005) point out, "the expert model … often gets in the way of constructive university-community collaboration" because it does not "move beyond 'outreach,'" or "go beyond 'service,'" (p. 28). The process involved in moving beyond application to engagement involves sharing previously academic tasks with nonacademics and encouraging collaboration in the generation of new knowledge. Reciprocity signals an epistemological shift that values not only expert knowledge that is rational, analytic, and positivist but also a different kind of rationality that is more relational, localized, and contextual and favors mutual deference between laypersons and academics. With reciprocity, knowledge generation is a process of cocreation, which involves "the design of problem-solving actions through collaborative knowledge construction with the legitimate stakeholders in the problem" (Greenwood, 2008, p. 327).

The research university culture has a pervasive influence across higher education regardless of institutional type or mission—and a particular epistemology determines the foundations of the dominant research culture:

> All of us who live in research universities are bound up in technical rationality, regardless of our personal attitudes toward it, *because it is built into the institutional arrangements—the formal and informal rules and norms—that govern such processes as the screening of candidates for tenure and promotion.* Even liberal arts colleges, community colleges, and other institutions of higher education appear to be subject to the influence of technical rationality by a kind of echo effect or by imitation. Hence, introducing the new scholarship into institutions of higher education means becoming involved in an epistemological battle. It is a battle of snails, proceeding so slowly that you have to look very carefully in order to see it going on. But it is happening nonetheless. (Schön, 1995, p. 32; emphasis added)

That it is happening is evident in the Carnegie applications and campus policies. The evidence of resistance, however, is also apparent. In a culture that privileges certain forms of research, other forms of research are not valued or rewarded. Research universities largely operate under narrow definitions of basic and applied research and do not regard engaged research as legitimate. In the logic of a prestige hierarchy dominated by research universities, engaged research is neither basic nor applied research and therefore cannot be counted as research at all. According to this logic, engaged scholarship can be counted as service, but not as research. Thus, our findings confirm what Driscoll (2008) observed of the 2006 applicants, that "most institutions continue to place community engagement and its scholarship in the traditional category of service and require other forms of scholarship for promotion and tenure" (p. 41).

The Prestige Culture and Community Engagement

The dominance of the culture of the research university reflects the pervasive culture of striving in higher education, asserting the desire to strive toward becoming a top-tier research university (O'Meara, 2007) to move up the hierarchy, to increase competitive market advantage, and to gain prestige. We suggest that the evidence indicates that the broader culture of striving in higher education and the implications of that culture on institutionalizing community engagement is significant. Over the first two application cycles (2006 and 2008), 215 campuses have received the elective classification for Community Engagement from the Carnegie Foun-

dation for the Advancement of Teaching. That number accounts for just 6% of the more than 3,500 higher education institutions in the United States. As Rhoades, Kiyama, McCormick, and Quiroz (2008) have written, in the dominant culture of striving to become highly ranked research universities,

> national institutions are of a higher quality than local ones, which are defined as "parochial."… To be parochial is to be narrow-minded—constrained by local, particularistic commitments that undermine the pursuit of excellence according to universalistic, meritocratic standards. Quality is defined by and equated with mobility in a national marketplace of and competition for the best, cosmopolitan faculty. (p. 214).

In what they describe as the "nationally oriented system of research universities," a striving toward cosmopolitan norms leads to "devaluing institutions that are oriented and recruit locally.… And they help us understand the distance between research universities and their local communities" (Rhoades et al., p. 211). The culture of striving shaped by nationally oriented research universities serves as a powerful counterweight to local engagement.

Institutional Culture and Community Engagement

In Phase 3 of our study, we are focusing on the seven campuses that have revised promotion and tenure guidelines to specifically value and reward community engagement not only in the service role but in the faculty roles of teaching and research. In examining these campuses, it appears that size, whether they are public or private, or institutional profile does not seem to be a predictor of policy change. The campuses range in size from just over 4,700 to over 44,000. Five are public and two are private institutions. In terms of their Carnegie Basic Classification, one is RU/H: Research Very High, two are RU/H: Research High, two are DRU: Doctoral Research Universities, one is Master's L (larger programs), and one is Master's S (smaller programs).

In trying to understand commonalities among these campuses, it is apparent that more than half are members of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU). AASCU campuses are made up of 430 public colleges and universities with institutional identities defined in part by the characteristic of being "stewards of place." These are campuses that "engage faculty, staff and students with the communities and regions we serve—helping to advance public education, economic development and the quality of life for all with whom we live and who support our work" (AASCU Web site). Applying the lens of "stewards of place," we

went back to the data set and found that of the 62 campuses that received the elective classification for curricular engagement and outreach and partnerships, 19 were AASCU campuses.

The evidence suggests that these campuses, with identities defined by stewardship of place, are perhaps countering the culture of striving defined by research universities. The AASCU campuses, and arguably the seven campuses in the third phase of the study as well as others that received the classification, all have seemingly redefined what it is that they are striving to become—an institutional model of excellence that privileges the local. Thus, for an institution to be a "steward of place" means that even as "the demands of the economy and society have forced institutions to be nationally and globally aware, the fact remains that state colleges and universities are inextricably linked with the communities and regions in which they are located" (AASCU, 2002, p. 9). Exercising "stewardship of place" does "not mean limiting the institution's worldview; rather, it means pursuing that worldview in a way that has meaning to the institution's neighbors, who can be its most consistent and reliable advocates" (AASCU, 2002, p. 9).

We consider it highly plausible that this institutional ethos of being a "steward of place" is what links the campuses in our study that have revised their promotion and tenure guidelines. These institutions seem to have counterbalanced the local with the national and international and in the process have redefined their place in the dominant culture of academia's prestige hierarchy typified by major research universities and the striving that defines much of the hierarchy, competitiveness, and meritocracy of higher education. Perhaps there is a different kind of striving being exercised—for a new model of excellence that counterbalances the local with the cosmopolitan and in which teaching, research, and service effectiveness is measured against a standard of stewardship of place.

Community Engagement and Institutional Change

Our proposition—that the campus recipients of the Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement demonstrated transformational change reflected in institutional reward policies that are artifacts of an academic culture that values community engagement—is not supported by the evidence. As we noted above, only seven of the 33 campuses could be identified, based on available data, as having made deep and pervasive changes in their promotion and tenure policies that would place them in the fourth quadrant of the matrix. A revised proposition, grounded in the data, is that campuses that received the Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement provided sufficient evidence to be located in the *third*

or fourth quadrant of the model, with a number of campuses demonstrating movement from the third to the fourth quadrant reflected in institutional reward policies under review as an indication of an academic culture that is changing in ways that could support community engagement.

This revised proposition is consistent with the literature on the strength of faculty culture and values in higher education and the difficulty of implementing meaningful institutional change through a process that requires intentionality over time. It is also consistent with an understanding that change in institutional reward policies that contributes toward creating a supportive environment for engaged faculty is only a part of what is needed for change that affects the scholar's "academic home" at the intersection of change in the disciplines, departments, graduate education, and the institution. While the current study only considered institutional-level policies, it nonetheless suggests that even the most engaged institutions are accommodating community-engaged faculty work to traditional norms of faculty roles. They are still struggling to get engagement into the sacred grove of legitimate scholarship.

While our findings suggest that there cannot be institutional homes for engaged scholars until promotion and tenure policies and processes change to provide a supportive environment for engaged faculty, at the same time, the Integrated Model reinforces the understanding that campuses will struggle to achieve transformational change unless there is complementary support in the other academic homes—graduate programs, disciplines, and departments—all of which are affected by and implicated in the striving and prestige hierarchy of higher education. While a great deal of change is emerging in disciplinary associations and in departmental cultures, doctoral programs predominantly emphasize very traditional forms of research, as do disciplinary associations, journals, and academic presses. Part of what the Integrated Model points to is the need for disciplinary associations, departments, and graduate education to support community-engaged scholarship in the ways that the most supportive campuses have through institutional reward policies. Only with this alignment of the academic homes will campuses be able to fully institutionalize community engagement and a new model of institutional excellence will emerge defined by a commitment to the local and an ethos of stewardship of place.

NOTES

1. The research team consists of the authors as well as R. Eugene Rice, senior scholar at the Association of American Colleges and Universities, and Amy

Driscoll, Senior Scholar at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Sandmann, Saltmarsh, O'Meara and Giles presented the "integrated model" at the 2008 International Research Conference on Service-Learning and Community Engagement as a way to get feedback from researchers and practitioners on the utility of the model and ways to refine it. Each of the authors continue work as part of the research team and are exploring research on different parts of the model as well as opportunities to create programs based on the model.

2. In 2005, the Carnegie Foundation conducted a pilot of the Framework with 14 campuses. Those 14 campuses supplied documentation and then were invited to supply supplemental documentation in 2006. For the purposes of our selection, we included all of the Pilot campuses in the group of campuses that answered "Yes" to the institutional reward policy question regardless of whether we were able to obtain their application. In some cases we were able to obtain their application consisting of either the 2005 documentation or the 2006 application, or both. In the cases where the 2006 application was available and the campus chose not to answer the optional question about promotion and tenure guidelines, we did not count them in the "Yes" group even though they were a Pilot campus. Eight pilot campuses are included in the final sample. It should be noted that of the 33 campuses that answered "Yes" to the question about whether the institution has policies that reward the scholarship of engagement, two of the institutions are non-tenure granting.
3. The process of obtaining official documents related to promotion and tenure guidelines consisted of web-based searches on the campus Web site. For three of the 33 campuses in the sample, no tenure and reward polices were publicly available. It should also be noted that document retrieval took place in early 2008; this means that in some cases the official polices may reflect revisions that took place after the application was submitted on September 1, 2006.

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