

Mandatory Service Learning in the K-12 System:  
Exploring Effects and Implications of Required Service

by

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## Preface

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## Abstract

This paper examines the impact of mandatory service-learning on K-12 students. An examination of the history of service-learning in K-12 schools shows that required service continues to gain popular support without substantial supportive research. A critical review of the literature shows distinct patterns: the pedagogy remains statistically unreliable and the success of mandatory program implementation depends on qualitative factors. Conclusions from the studies reviewed were inconsistent, but generally supported the understanding that a positive level of student voice positively affected academic and social skill development within mandatory service-learning programs. Suggestions for future research are provided to enhance future studies of the impact of requiring mandatory service-learning as a high school graduation requirement.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### Introduction

Mandating service-learning as a high school graduation requirement has grown more common in recent years. Though research shows varied outcomes of service-learning on participatory citizenship, academic achievement, and community vitalization, the research is not yet conclusive. The question of how service-learning experience leads to desired educational outcomes continues to prompt debate. Despite ongoing debates, many states mandate service-learning as requisite for high school completion. This review of the literature explicates current service-learning research in relationship to the question of whether service-learning ought to be a requirement for high school completion.

### Rationale

Developing a position on the incorporation of service-learning in high schools grows increasingly important to informed participation in ongoing debates around social studies curriculum reform. Administrators in Washington and other states are implementing new curriculum based assessments (CBA's), which formulate the structure and content of social studies curriculum in local high schools. As CBA structures solidify, the question of when and how to implement service-learning programs requires consideration. In an age where youth are increasingly obtaining high school diplomas via online, alternative, running-start and advanced-placement programs, questions about how and why to require service-learning programs grow increasingly more complex. Current reform proposals in Washington State suggest creating more personalized schooling to meet diverse learner needs, while federal emphasis on No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

accountability threatens programs that do not create high-scoring test takers. The impact of current decisions regarding social studies curriculum at local, state, and national levels will affect students, teachers, school funding, and school community relationships for years to come.

There are many stakeholders in conversations about mandatory implementation of service-learning, each with a different perspective on potentialities linked to implementing service-learning as a requirement for high school graduation. Students, families, teachers, community groups, labor interests, and politicians hold positions affected by the relationship of service-learning to high school graduation. In order to understand the relationship between mandatory service-learning and various interests, it is necessary to consider the arguments for and against service-learning in K-12 education.

### Scope and Focus

Establishing a definition of terms is integral to understanding the arguments for and against service-learning. Proponents describe service-learning as something more than pedagogy: they describe it as community-based service relating to course and curricular content. They see service-learning as a means to empower students and educational institutions, and to make students and institutions more responsive to the communities in which they are embedded (McKnight Casey, Springer, Billig, and Davidson, 2005). Definitions of service-learning generally distinguish service-learning from community service or from volunteer programs conducted without links to academic study. Researchers frequently define service-learning further to include only those programs incorporating reflection, student voice, extended length of service, and other elements, all ensuring program quality. Discussions about implementation of

service-learning rest on research conducted on a range of programs, including community service, extracurricular service, volunteer programs, and private-school service programs. The research field defines itself in K-16 terms; much of the research focuses on adult programs, or does not limit results to a particular age range. Quality research focused on K-12 service-learning programs remains rare; thus, this review of the literature considers research on other forms of service in contrast to service-learning as defined by field experts. The question of mandatory service-learning implementation requires consideration of programs already in place serving similar purposes.

The research on pure service-learning remains limited and inconclusive; therefore, this review of the literature focuses on similarities and contrasts between service-learning and more general school-supported youth community service and volunteer programs. By comparing research studies on various forms of service, it becomes possible to understand the relative strengths and weaknesses inherent in various definitions of service-learning.

This review of the research attends to a variety of definitions for service-learning in order to glimpse how various forms of service in K-12 schooling contribute to desired outcomes. However, as a general principle, service-learning

might best be understood as an educational experience: a. under which students learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service experiences that meet actual community needs and that are coordinated in collaboration with school and community; b. that is integrated into the students' academic curriculum or provides structured time for a student to think, talk, or write about what the student did and saw during the actual service activity; c.

that provides students with opportunities to use newly acquired skills and knowledge in real-life situations in their own communities; and d. that enhances what is taught in school by extending student learning beyond the classroom and into the community and helps to foster the development of a sense of caring for others. (National and Community Service Act of 1990 as cited by Root, 2005 pp 42-72)

At root, service-learning implementation in K-12 public education requires administrators and other stakeholders to re-evaluate the purpose of schooling and to engage complex dilemmas involved in school reform. Assessing the relative value of service-learning against other pedagogical strategies requires establishment of criteria for meaningful education. Criteria for meaningful systems of education change over time and across cultures (Rogoff, 2003; Dewey, 1938/2003). Successful education should prepare students for dialogue across difference and care for the “Other” as defined by Levinas (as cited in Todd, 2003). Caring for the alterity of the Other as Other essentially requires embodying an ethos of respect, compassion, and responsibility for those who hold inherent alterity to the self. “Alterity” is a term used by Levinas to express the concept that a thing that is not like the self, a thing separate from the self, is of inherent worth precisely because it is *not* the self. When used in this context, the alterity of the Other provides a valuable difference that leads to learning when communication across the divide occurs; thus, dissimilarities between individuals support the capacity for individuals to become their fullest selves. As the United States continues to face growth in immigration and to face increasing levels of language diversity, the need to prepare

students for meaningful engagement across difference grows increasingly more vital to the health of the nation.

Considering the need for American citizens to know how to engage in dialogue across difference and to negotiate multiple communities, a meaningful education can best be defined as a means by which students “grapple, in every part of their learning, with multiplicity, ambiguity, and irreducible differences as defining conditions in the contemporary world” (Eaton, Macgregor, and Schoem, 2003, p. 71). This criterion for meaningful educative experience links to Loewen’s (1996) description of the necessity and irreducibility of a diversity of truths in post-modern America and reinforces the call for constructivist forms of education put forth by Brooks and Brooks (1999). Many proponents of service-learning at both college and high school levels suggest that service-learning prepares students for dialogue across difference more effectively than other forms of education. Kashmaninan, Oates, and Gaitther (2001) suggested that service-learning programs push students to reconsider the multiple origins of the knowledge base, to examine how knowledge is disseminated, and to critically think about which perspectives are included or excluded in school systems.

Proponents of service-learning argue that integrated service experiences prepare students more effectively for dialogue across difference and to care for the Other after high school graduation than do less integrated means of teaching and learning. Noblit and Dempsey (1996) argued that schools do and can shape moral thinking; this matters because they asserted that connecting schools to community will renew dialogue and communities will benefit.

Considering what constitutes meaningful education also requires consideration of the change in methods required by implementation of service-learning. In traditional education, skills are passed down through a process whereby teachers act as authorities, and learners receive the information passively, then practice skills in simulated environs as a means of preparation for later application. Constructivist educators urge schools to shift from traditional classroom teaching strategies into experience-based learning. Costantino, Decker, Elliott, Kuckkahn, and Lee (2001) described service-learning as promoting situated learning where “[...] the dual vision; the practice of dual thinking: figure and ground, forest and trees, particular and general, concrete and abstract, local and universal, are considered at the same time” (p. 91). They argued that service-learning provides opportunities to practice this dual vision of what it means to be a good citizen in a particular place in time.

When considering the importance of reforming education, it is particularly important to consider historical failures of diversity efforts in American education and to strive to promote institutions that might help youth resist what West (1993) called the “disease of nihilism.” West suggested the best means of fighting nihilism comes in the form of vital institutions supporting an ethic of love. He argued that these institutions remain integral to a healthy American democracy. Noddings (as cited in Rhoads, 2000) offered a suggestion pertinent to how this love ethic could function through an ethic of care: “We see the other’s reality as a possibility for us, we must act to eliminate the intolerable, to reduce the pain, to fill the need, to actualize the dream. When I am in this sort of relationship with another, when the other’s reality becomes a real possibility for me, I care” (p. 40). Giroux (as cited in Rhoads, 2000) argued that concern for democratic

ethics ought to be at the center of pedagogy: “[E]thics becomes a practice that connotes one’s personal and social sense of responsibility to the Other. Thus ethics is taken up as a struggle against inequality and as a discourse for expanding basic human rights” (p. 40). Summed up, service-learning may help students come to understand the Other and develop an intrinsic motivation to care about maintaining a healthy democracy.

One factor contributing to service-learning as a means of relating to the Other is the benefit that can be gained by proximity: “Personalized interactions allow students worlds to intersect with worlds of others; allow students to explore “otherness” which is vital to a self rooted in a concern for others, while reflection offers an opportunity to think about and conceptualize the experience” (Rhoads, 2000 p. 43). As our society grows more diverse, we need citizens who embrace otherness as part of a caring and concerned sense of self, because the caring self offers opposition to xenophobia.

Rhoads (2000) posited that how individuals construct knowledge and use their knowledge is closely tied to their sense of self, when “caring becomes central to how we educate our students, identities rooted in caring and a concern for others are more likely to emerge” (p. 41). He argued that community service expands and challenges ideas of what it means to be a successful person. For many participating students, service-learning does help shape a sense of self: “volunteer work is one of the things I’ve made time for as part of my own struggle to figure out what’s important to me, it helps me figure out what kind of person I am going to be” (unattributed student as quoted in Rhoads, 2000).

Rhoads extrapolated further by suggesting that situating all parties as equals, as potential givers and receivers, is necessary for successful service-learning program

implementation. Mutuality in service experiences, where both the doers and the done-to give and receive, is an important benefit to service-learning participants.

Bi-directional impact of young peoples' shaping of society through civic engagement, and the shaping of young people by that society, is indispensable criterion for youth to be considered thriving and not merely developing adequately (Scales and Benson, 2005). Proponents of service-learning suggest that participatory forms of service-learning create opportunities for students to complete the cycle of experience defined by Kolb (1984). Service-learning is seen by many as a means by which students may participate in shaping their education and engage in community action. Kohl (1994) suggested that learning must be relevant and directed toward an agreeable goal, and that responsibility to others increases students' motivation. Brain-based learning theorists (Zull, 2002; Jenson, 2005) support the validity of educators' calls for relevance, choice, and emotional impact in schooling. In this sense, service-learning is promoted as a means to support students' social and emotional development.

Arguments for school restructuring and authentic pedagogy support the idea of bringing real-world connections into classrooms because the incorporation of an audience beyond the school affects student performance. Newman and Wehlage (1995) described another benefit of experiential learning when they stated that selecting knowledge is difficult in a democratic society and that people have a right to help decide the issue. They proposed that we need "authentic standards to promote intellectual quality [,] otherwise mindless coverage of isolated bits of knowledge will remain the norm" (p. 19). However, they argued that specific innovations in particular situations are better than

all-encompassing reform. In the movement toward successful school restructuring, they suggest a question that links well to our guiding criteria: “How is the new structural tool or practice likely to improve our schools’ human and social resources to increase student learning?” (p.19). Essentially, the question of mandatory service-learning returns to the fundamental question of how a particular pedagogy ultimately increases student learning.

Wade (1997) described service-learning proponents as arguing from two primary perspectives. One perspective focuses on service-learning as a means of supporting the moral development of youth, while the other focuses on school reform in pursuit of increased use of experiential learning. In both cases, proponents tend to emphasize the need for localized implementation. Large-scale service-learning programs structured without concern for the particularities of place are not as popular among service-learning proponents. Opponents of required service-learning cite implementation problems linked to this and other concerns as a reason not to require service in the schools.

If one takes the arguments for service-learning at face value, it would seem that service-learning as an educative strategy involves no downside; yet a broader look at the implications of mandatory service and associated complications contributes to contextualized understanding of mandatory service-learning impacts. Research shows that service-learning does not necessarily work for all stakeholders in all circumstances.

Further research shows uneven outcomes, unexpected impacts, and potential side-effects of mandatory service programs, with or without the elements of quality described by service-learning proponents. Despite significant gains for some students in some circumstances, not all service-learning programs serve all students equally. Community service, extracurricular service, and volunteer service programs lead to

similar outcomes as service-learning programs do. This leads to some researchers questioning the need for mandated service-learning. Opponents of mandatory service-learning ask if a mandate is necessary if outcomes are already being reached by extracurricular and community service programs. Other opponents focus on the problem of finding funding, institutional support, and long-term support for service-learning programs.

Arguments for and against mandatory service-learning in United States high schools are embedded in broader discussions about the proper function of schooling within a democratic society; thus, there are many layers to each pro and con. When considering the implications of requiring service-learning, a number of questions surface, including questions about the following issues: the interplay between the labor market and schools, the potential for reinforcing class-based stereotypes through philanthropic giving versus reciprocity in service-learning, citizenship preparation and partisanship, and the potential for efficacy in creating lasting social change. In each of these sub questions to the larger question of mandatory service-learning, nuanced arguments for and against service-learning require attention.

In recent years, the movement to make room for students to return to learning in the community has gained momentum. As a combination of learning within and outside of schools, service-learning consists of a compromise between the position that school should serve strictly academic ends and the idea that learning occurs best in the community. The question of service-learning incorporation in K-12 schools returns educational debates to the dilemma of what role schools should have in shaping children.

One potential answer to that challenge can be seen in the article by Scales and Benson (2005), where service-learning was defined as “a chance for young people to engage in responsible challenging action that meets genuine needs with opportunity for planning and decision-making affecting others” (p. 339). They went on, stating that service-learning is an important means for youth to develop their identity, not only as a form of self-enclosed individual achievement but more importantly through providing a means for social identification that transcends a given moment in time.

Natural alliances sometimes exist between service-learning and complimentary programs, such as school-to-work, drug education, and drop-out prevention, but these programs may also compete with service-learning for funding and institutionalization in schools. Arguments for and against the presence of these kinds of programs in schools are similar. The integration of programs reaching beyond school grounds involves a certain amount of buffer reduction between schools and the community. However, it may prove difficult for educators to negotiate this buffer reduction. In some cases, the cost of training and direction for students, the potential for problematic site-to-school relationships, and the liabilities involved in transportation between schools and service sites all cause substantial reticence to program implementation.

Advocates extol the virtues of service-learning. Pearson (2002) described service-learning as “compatible with 28 different educational reforms in American youth policy” (p. 268). Much of service-learning research focuses on developmental assets, resiliency research, and dropout prevention. Service-learning is known for building character and leadership skills and for providing a change-agent-structure for communities to begin to address community needs. From the advocates’ perspective,

service-learning raises hard questions and invites a new paradigm to learning, where youth act as a civic resource by using authentic reciprocity. Schneider (as cited in Wade, 1995) stated that service-learning makes learning vivid, while classroom learning brings an awareness of the bigger picture and helps students understand the conceptual framework for learning. Opponents ask three central questions: if service-learning might better be accomplished outside of the schools, if the cost benefit ratios are reasonable, and if differing participants receive unequal gains from service-learning programs.

#### Statement of Purpose

This paper examines the research literature concerning mandatory service-learning programs as a requirement for high school graduation. Participation in service-learning projects shows positive impacts on students, but the research remains marginal as to whether those impacts are significant or causal, rather than correlative. The need to ascertain whether service-learning ought to be institutionalized grows as states create mandates for this not-yet-fully-proven pedagogy. Therefore, this paper examines research supporting positions for and against mandatory service-learning in K-12 public schools.

#### Summary

Overall, the arguments about implementing service-learning focus on whether it adds or detracts from academic performance, whether service-learning weakens the border between schools and communities, and whether service-learning fits the mission of public schooling. In this review of the literature, Chapter Two traces a current history of service-learning, Chapter Three reviews the literature, and Chapter Four summarizes findings and implications for classroom practice.

Proponents of service-learning seek major changes in teacher and school practices. The question of service-learning is at root a question of significant school reform. Student participation in service-learning reinforces a need for school community relationships to grow less bounded. The history of service-learning reveals complex dilemmas for all stakeholders involved. An overview of service-learning history reveals the complexity of those dilemmas. Chapter Two traces important questions in United States service-learning history from the late 1800's to present.

Tracing the rise and fall of popular interest in, and varied forms of, service-learning in the United States maps the ways in which service-learning provides for student success and the ways in which service-learning may not serve all stakeholders equally. Chapter Two concludes with a summary of service-learning implementation patterns. Subsequently, Chapter Three follows with a critical review of current research findings.

## CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Schooling for pecuniary gain versus schooling for advancement of a people, service-learning returns the educational debate to a familiar dilemma. What shared vision does education advance and what form of schooling best fits that vision? In Chapter One, a number of issues were raised about the usefulness of, the best form of, who benefits from, and what complications may rise from implementation of service-learning. These questions are not new; the idea of service as a means of learning by doing under the supervision of a more experienced supervisor is an old one. A powerful expression of that idea, and the complications surrounding it, gains precision when the contradictory visions of schooling proposed by W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington frame the complex dialogue engaged in by educators; the question of mandatory service-learning today, draws out contradictions embedded in the concept of schooling as a means of social mobility and schooling as a means of improved financial stability.

In recent years, protestations against mandatory service in the schools entered the courts as a question of involuntary servitude; the courts found in favor of schools (Smolla, 1999) because schools argued that required service was conducted primarily as a learning experience and because public schooling is one educational option among many for American youth. Nevertheless, the challenge to mandatory service remains a question of personal freedom and of remuneration: What value does service-learning provide and to whom? This dilemma provides a base continuum against which various views of academic and community service-learning may be compared.

After the Civil War, debates raged over the value of educating former slaves. The purpose of educating former slaves was debated primarily in the context of what the

purpose should be for their education. Du Bois saw education as a means by which to prepare youth for leadership, while Washington argued that education should prepare youth for work (Spring, 2008; Takaki, 1993). Parallel arguments about the best form of civic education continue: proponents of personal responsibility echo Washington's encouragement to work hard and achieve on an individual level. Washington argued that education for leadership and social mobility increased perceived wants and needs without providing for the means to obtain those wants and needs. He also argued that education for leadership and mobility disrupted youth respect for the occupations of their elders and caused a loss of work skill and work ethic in youth educated in the traditional way (as cited in Takaki, 1993). Du Bois argued the need for education to prepare future leaders of the black community (2003/1903). Some current civics educators argue in a parallel way that education for personal responsibility does not achieve the ends necessary for social justice.

Civic education may require more than a dedication to social service; service-learning programs that do not directly emphasize the need to create system level change fail to achieve goals described by Du Bois (2003/1903). This can result in loss of leadership in terms of attempts to fight for equity between classes, such as unionization efforts or revolutionary organizing (Spring, 2008). Though this dyadic presentation oversimplifies the debate, the central question of what role education ought to play in preparing youth for entry into the adult world remains essentialized within its frame.

Washington's urgings for education to increase black financial stability received support from multiple sources. As a partial result, schooling as preparation for the labor market took hold. The repercussions of schooling as a means to prepare laborers for

industrial occupations were powerful and varied. Rather than advancing the hopes for black leadership described by Du Bois (2003/1903), schools reinforced the status of blacks as laborers. Leadership education in Washington's schooling promoted personal responsibility with the hope that it would lead to system level change, while the hope held by Du Bois for increased social justice focus in leadership education found fewer supports (Spring, 2008; Takaki, 1993).

The danger of allowing vocational education to take hold in the K-12 system has remained a question hotly debated; when education fosters large hopes and dreams while removing youth from community in order to prepare youth for leadership, the danger of students exiting school systems without necessary work skills and ethics is present. Whereas, education with the purpose of fostering work readiness and skills reinforces social stratification and decreases hopes for student mobility and equity on the larger scale.

The problem of tracking students into college or work preparation is akin to the problem described by Mills (1997) in *The Racial Contract*. A problem that sometimes occurs is one where people tracked into service may come to see their status as voluntary and consensual even though it may not be. The track of service carries with it the danger of colonizing the minds of the service class and the danger of creating a sense that those that are served need to be served by others rather than helping themselves. The power of a mandate may exist in the potential for all students to experience the same expectations, while non-required service leaves more room for localized control and elements of quality in localized programs.

Current research shows that large- and small-scale implementation of

service-learning programs can influence program outcomes differently. In current debates about service-learning, questions about long-term outcomes remain.

Spring (2008) described the shift in the early 1900's in schooling as one toward increased social service. Schools began to function as a social service hub where needs of all kinds were met and community was created. Spring (2008) cited Dewey saying education should provide the "means for bringing people, and their ideas, and beliefs together, in such ways as will lessen friction and instability, and introduce deeper sympathy and wider understanding" (p. 207). Spring described this encouragement by Dewey as a vehicle for solving the problem of alienation in urban industrial society. This is the same alienation Gatto (2001) described as a problematic requisite to the function of American schools. Spring described Dewey as hoping that American schools would solve the problem of alienation; Gatto described Dewey as a student of the Prussian school system where student alienation was enhanced in order to create a more docile public. In either case, social services grew into a common aspect of secondary school education, but not without considerable tensions regarding the proper function of schools within varied perceptions of social service as a widespread need.

Schools as social centers grew in popularity during the 1890's. Spring (2008) cited Ward, saying that schools as social centers could and should be used as a vital means of increasing political cooperation and nurturing a healthy democracy. The role of schools as social centers moved into the role of schools as tools of enculturation. Schooling worked to educate not just the children but also the adults; by Americanizing immigrant families and working to change parenting habits, schools cultivated social norms that were often oppressive (Spring, 2008; Takaki, 1993). In extreme cases, schools

employed forced labor as a means of cultural annihilation, as was the case in the use of boarding schools with Native American children. Promoting service-learning as a means by which to nurture a healthy democracy is a multi-sided argument.

Modern echoes of this call for schooling to increase civic and political participation in creating healthier communities and politically active citizens reverberate in the question of when and where to mandate service-learning programs. Though service-learning has the potential for creating positive change, it also has the potential for increasing negative stereotypes and reinforcing class divisions if conducted without awareness of the potential dangers.

Wade (2000) described Arthur Dunn as a central shaper in the development of service-learning as a school mission. In 1916, the social studies civics subcommittee headed by Dunn, described the good citizen as a person who conducted himself with regard for the communities to which he belonged. In high schools, community civics was offered throughout the grades. Wade discussed how committee members highlighted the need for students to live their civics both in school and in the community.

The history of secondary level education, a key intersection between youth about to emerge into the labor market and the needs and desires of that labor market, particularly resonates with the tensions between economic forces and academic goals mentioned by Spring (2008), and apparent in the debate between Washington and Du Bois. Funding for schools continues to respond to calls for education to enhance economic wealth in the larger society (Spring, 2008). The role of preparing youth for the workforce and for adult social roles places the question of service-learning in an economic frame.

One danger of tracking students into service is the withdrawal of aid for and access to higher education for tracked students (Spring, 2008). If service-learning is implemented in the wrong way, it may lead to fewer students receiving aid and entering higher education. As the American economy industrialized, pressure to prepare youth for entry into the job market came from students, families, and local industries; this pressure influenced the formation of high school pedagogical structures (Spring, 2008).

In 1894, the Committee of Ten asked if preparation for life should be different than preparation for college; committee members struggled to create a balanced approach in high school curriculums; the attempt to sustain that balance continues to rest in the hands of school officials. In 2008, the Washington State Board of Education is recommending three options for students: one for students seeking work preparation, one for college preparation, and one that combines both tracks (Washington State Board of Education, 2008). Creating individualized education can put individuals in charge of their education, but it can also lock those individuals into a class status determined by the social and cultural status conferred by various forms of education (Spring, 2008; Mills, 1997). Public education is a complex system to create and sustain. Creating equitable and available education for all youth requires conscious appraisal of the balance achieved between individual and social goods.

As industrialization took hold, social education took on a greater role in public schooling because it helped prepare youth for work in large corporations and industries. Throughout this time, social aspects of a high school education involved multiple forms of programs meant to create a sense of unity and cooperation in the student body. Cooperation, specialization, and equality of opportunity were key ideas in the social

efficiency model of education. School officials brought several community initiated activities into the purview of the schools as a means of harnessing student energy and maintaining some control over student behavior (Spring, 2008).

In the early 1900's, the desire to compete with industrialized nations compelled educators in the U.S. to create vocational education programs in American schools. This movement followed the introduction of vocational work, in the form of manual labor in the 1880's. It prepared students for all manner of activities, not just bookwork. During the same time period, the Smith-Hughes act created a dual system of education where vocational training and individual differentiation came into play; meanwhile academic pursuits and common school policies focusing on preparing all students in the same academic manner fell out of favor.

As tracking programs grew in popularity, vocational counseling and individualized schooling began starting as early as junior high. Eventually, junior high provided a place where students could explore occupations, leaving high schools to offer more consequential vocational training (Spring, 2008).

Curtis argued that American schools' use of vocational education was a means of inculcating students with respect for the law and that it was a way to keep radical unionizing out of the minds of the working class (as cited in Spring, 2008). He suggested that teachers should work against the wealthy business owners and administrators to ensure that students receive an education for leadership. The role of social control in the development of schools as vocational sites was considerable. Those who believed in social control saw schools as places of moral development during a time when family, church and other forces were waning in power. The scientific organization of schools,

through testing and placement of students within appropriate tracking, was seen as the way to go. Wrigley (as cited in Spring, 2008) suggested that business and the interests of power sought cheap schooling to create workers, while the working class fought to increase schooling in order to increase social mobility.

It was during the early twentieth century, from 1910 to the 1920's, that history and allied subjects took on a new moniker: The Social Studies. In 1921, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) came into being. With it came tension between social studies as an integrated curriculum, designed for common educative purposes, and social studies as a form of preparation for discipline specific social sciences (Thornton, 2005). In the perpetual debate over which method of social-studies curriculum prepares students adequately for life beyond high school, Harold Rugg and Edgar Dawson were early players (Thornton, 2005). Thornton described this debate as one between social scientists and social educators: Social scientists argued that social educators offer watered-down disorganized curriculum without adherence to important guiding principles, whereas social educators stress the need to make social studies relevant by integrating them in a cross-disciplinary fashion and linking them to lived realities and contemporary needs.

The social education model never took as strong a hold in secondary level education as it did in elementary level education. Current reflections of this debate in service-learning exist in the question of whether service-learning pedagogy can serve competing purposes in a single program. Researchers ask if varying forms of civic education may be accomplished through service-learning, or if the goals are mutually

exclusive because they contain internal conflicts. Teachers using service-learning pedagogy express a continuing need for increased clarity in goals and desired outcomes.

The lack of lasting impact for the social education model may link to the Red Scare and to the ensuing censorship to which Harold Rugg fell victim during the late 1920's and early 1930's, when anti-communist free-market enthusiasts marked Rugg's social studies textbooks as anti-American propaganda (Spring, 2008). Rugg's texts focused on cooperative participatory citizenship and critical consumption, but due to anti-communist fervor, many of the books in his social studies series were banned or burned. Collaborative education, in the form of social service and service-learning programs, weathered conservative attacks during multiple cycles of educational and political reform.

Lack of general fervor for social education in secondary level schooling may also be attributed to Depression Era New Deal programs and the tensions between the educationists and the federal government. In the early 1930's, the government launched the National Youth Administration (NYA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). These programs provided incentives for youth to return to school and participate in government sponsored training programs (Wade, 2000; Spring, 2008). Though these programs were some of the first large-scale service programs implemented in the country, educators criticized the programs because they were run by non-educators and because they were seen as more expensive than public school programs. Social efficiency proponents of the post WWI period were not happy to see extra-school agencies step into the business of education. Despite the criticism of New Deal programs levied by

professional educators, the programs persisted until WWII events changed the political and economic scene (Krug as cited in Spring, 2008).

Spring (2008) described Richard Welling as a primary mover in the social curriculum of high schools during the 1940's. Welling's part in the history of American schooling emerged in the call for applied civics within the schools through programs like student government. The emphasis of teaching civics through participation in activities on campus remains a challenge for modern educators, because it suggests the need for schools to give students experiences that will prepare them for democratic citizenship. The difference between service-learning programs and most student government programs in high schools comes in the form of authentic power; with service-learning the chance for efficacy can be highly dependent on the program, but because it is based in real community needs, service-learning is likely to provide more authentic power than many student government programs do.

During the 1950's and 1960's, two major waves moved through the American school system. The first came in the form of criticism from critics seeking to make teachers focus on academics and keep up with America's Cold War enemies; this push culminated in the formation of the National Defense of Education Act (the NDEA) and an all-encompassing push for traditional subjects and teaching methods in American classrooms (Spring, 2008). In the 1960's, the War on Poverty pressured schools to eliminate poverty by educating poor people and providing skills necessary for emergence from poverty. One service-learning program provided by President Johnson and the EOA, Job Corps, was modeled on the C.C.C. programs of the 1930's. Job Corps functioned as paid vocational training for low-income youth (Spring, 2008). One

criticism of War on Poverty expectations around increased educational opportunities was that the rhetoric led to a “blame the victim” mentality rather than acknowledging the inherent system-level flaws that led to the problems of poverty.

Government sponsorship for various forms of service-learning programs surfaced in numerous incarnations through the years. A few key programs were FDR’s Civilian Conservation Corps, John F. Kennedy’s Peace Corps, Lyndon Johnson’s VISTA, George H. Bush’s Commission on National and Community Service, and Bill Clinton’s Corporation for National Service (Wade, 2000). In the 1980’s, corporate sponsorship emerged in the form of the Campus Outreach Opportunity League, the Campus Compact, the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps, and Youth Service America. Federal funding promoted by Bush and Clinton moved service-learning into the public school curriculum (Wade, 2000).

Public high schools are undergoing a new wave of interest in service-learning programs. Many are mandating service-learning as a requirement for graduation. The benefits of service-learning are seen as manifold: providing skills, experience, relevance, and a wider social network to youth entering the workforce or college. The drawbacks are less obvious, but certainly present. What if service-learning takes the place of more important curriculum, or what if service-learning is better suited to extracurricular activity? Service-learning critics see service programs as problematic open pathways to youth abuse by parties seeking to profit from low- to no-cost youth labor. The question of value, of who benefits from service-learning, returns the focus to the various systems served by a given pedagogy. Service-learning functions as an economic system and as an educative system; students arguably gain from expanded social capital in some forms of

service-learning, while in other forms their gain is minimal due to lack of challenging placement or lack of meaningful expansion of skills or networks. Current research shows differences in outcomes based on the kinds of service rendered.

The relevance of service-learning, as a form of support for social capital acquisition in the schools, confronts the possibility described by Gatto (2001) of schooling as an inherently alienating process. Valenzuela (1999) also described the problem with her analysis of the forces contributing to subtractive schooling and the forces contributing to additive schooling, where subtractive schooling strips students of community ties, traditions, and other forms of support. Her analysis described the effects of schooling in Texas on first-, second-, and third-generation Mexican Americans and called for increased schooling and teaching responsiveness to community needs; Valenzuela called for schooling where authentic caring trumps bureaucratic processes leading to alienation through subtractive processes. Lew (2006) and West (1993) also described schools as potentially alienating systems. In response to the perceived failures of public schooling, service-learning proponents claim that their pedagogy creates and supports authentic caring in schools. Eyler and Giles (1999) described service-learning as a pedagogy providing three important elements: deeper learning via engagement and curiosity, enhanced memory through context based support, and learning rooted in personal relationships. Other advocates for service-learning elaborate on additional core elements of quality service-learning programs.

Field experts assess service-learning programs based on essential elements of service-learning. Though researchers do not agree, about which elements are most important, calls for continued exploration of the fundamental strands in service-learning

prove integral to understanding and implementing quality service-learning and civic education. In 2005, Billig, Root, and Jesse described eleven core service-learning elements:

1. Clear educational goals that require the application of concepts, content, and skills from the academic disciplines and involve students in the construction of their own knowledge.
  2. Student engagement in tasks that challenge and stretch them cognitively and developmentally.
  3. Assessment used as a way to enhance student learning as well as to document and evaluate how well students have met content and skill standards.
  4. Student participation in service tasks that have clear goals, meet genuine needs in the school or community and have significant consequences for themselves and others.
  5. Formative and summative evaluations employed in a systematic evaluation of the service effort and its outcome.
  6. Student voice in selecting, designing, implementing and evaluating the service project.
  7. Value of diversity as demonstrated by its participants, its practice and its outcomes.
  8. Direct communication and interaction with the community.
  9. Students prepared for all aspects of their service work including a clear understanding of task and role, the skills and information required by the task, awareness of safety precautions, and knowledge about and sensitivity to the people with whom they will work.
  10. Student reflection before during, and after service, using multiple methods that encourage critical thinking, and serving as a central force in the design and fulfillment of curricular objectives.
  11. Multiple methods designed to acknowledge, celebrate, and validate students' service work.
- School restructuring may be necessary for implementation of quality

service-learning programs. In Washington State, a number of students are choosing to complete high school graduation requirements via online learning and other alternative paths to graduation. School board members are in the process of suggesting changes in the path through high school. In recent Core 24 proposal discussions, suggested changes involved the potential for students to test out of a limited number of required classes in order to create room for more student-directed learning options (Washington State Board of Education, 2008). Another potential change might be the implementation of learning centers in high schools as an alternative to class attendance. If service-learning centers were implemented in the schools, service-learning implementation school-wide might gain greater support and serve all stakeholders more effectively.

At the federal level, service-learning received funding and support in 1990 and in 1993; the funding coincided with the current wave of interest in service-learning implementation. Current research on best practices in service-learning provides support for a review of contemporary research literature. Shumer's (2006) analysis of recent seminal works in service-learning research described 25 years of research from 1980 to 2005. In one recent work, Shumer referenced the influences of several noted research publications while providing an overview of current service-learning history entitled the "Wisdom of Delphi" (2006). Shumer's work provides an overview of current knowledge and needs in the field. Citing Conrad and Hedin (1980), Conrad and Hedin (1989-1991), Billig (2000), Melchior and Bailis (1993-1998), Eyster and Giles (1999), Newmann and Rutter (1985-86), the collected Michigan Journal of Community Service-Learning, the Advances in Service-Learning Research series, and standards from the Alliance for Service-Learning in Educational Reform from the Close-Up Foundation in 1995, Shumer

sketched a portrait of the strengths and weaknesses of current service-learning research emphasizing the need for a shift from research focused on numbers of programs to a focus on program quality. Shumer (2006) encouraged researchers to shift from studying the impacts of service-learning to studying the implementation of service-learning programs and researching how quality implementation might be achieved. Shumer's findings—that research shows program quality relates to positive outcomes and that the manner of implementation and support matters as much as the program itself—support this review of the literature. The need now is for research focused on quality program implementation in order to answer important questions about the ultimate sustainability of and best uses of service-learning in K-12 settings.

A brief overview of Shumer's (2006) analysis follows. During the 80's and 90's the importance of program implementation, the nature of task relationship to differing outcomes, the intensity and duration of the service, and the need for reflective processing of experience were highlighted by Conrad and Hedin, while Billig focused on the role of student autonomy and choice, and on the need for experimental design in the research. Billig asserted that teacher quality and the manner of student reflection influences outcomes in service-learning research. Billig's research showed a need for direct and sustained contact between students and those they serve, and that longevity in programs increased positive outcomes. Research from Melchior and Bailis showed that challenging, emotionally engaging curriculum created positive outcomes; they emphasized the link between academic programs and service activities. Their work supported the work of Conrad and Hedin and Billig. Eyler and Giles found similar outcomes in college-level service-learning programs. Eyler and Giles supported the

importance of presenting students with dilemmas, then providing connection, continuity, context, challenge, and coaching. Then Newmann and Rutter showed the problems that occurred as service-learning implementation expanded. Research series like the Michigan Journal of Community Service-Learning emphasized the importance of teacher education programs and support networks. These findings constitute important frameworks in current service-learning research. Though they may be flawed, these publications influenced the service-learning research field, but perhaps not enough. The research reviewed in Chapter Three does not show significant advances from Shumer's (2006) overview; the need for a shift in research focus remains necessary. Given this overview of current research history, it is possible to contextualize contemporary research with current trends in the field.

The discipline of service-learning remains in development and is currently defining itself in terms of K-16 education rather than as K-12. Much of the better research focuses on undergraduate and adult learners, and this is helpful because it shows how service-learning develops in college and beyond, but it leaves unanswered questions about developmental and context-appropriate applications of service-learning. This review of the literature is limited, in large part, by the lack of conclusive and available studies. Secure funding and pedagogical standing for service-learning projects requires outcome driven analyses. Researchers generally focus on academic and civic education outcomes. Secondary concerns such as students' sense of motivation, self-efficacy, and other by-products of service-learning projects in the schools support implementation of service-learning programs but they do not make up the key elements on which large-scale implementation of mandatory service-learning hinges. Researchers continue to find

correlations between service-learning programs and academic achievement, but cause and effect remain unclear. Researchers focusing on civic education and citizenship outcomes find strong correlations, but the forms of citizenship and civic participation outcomes continue to prompt debate about which political agendas get served by widespread service-learning implementation.

#### Summary: A Summary of Service-Learning Implementation Patterns

A dichotomy between the aims of schooling and the results of schooling can be understood when schooling is seen as a response to tensions inherent in democracy. Spring (2008) described the American school system as an institution built on continuous tension in conflicts over culture and religion, idea distribution within society, racial divides, economic goals, and the relationship between schooling and the global economy. Social studies curriculum and service-learning programs in secondary-level education reflect these tensions.

Current research on the efficacy of service-learning, the outcomes of service-learning, and the validity of mandated service-learning is varied. The research is incomplete, but mandatory participation in service-learning programs in high schools is growing. A review of the literature will be useful for educators seeking answers about the role service-learning ought to play in secondary school educative practice.

## CHAPTER THREE: CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### Introduction

Service-learning remains an unproven pedagogy, though the research does suggest the potential for significant impacts on a number of factors. This review of the research leads to a question of how mandatory service-learning fits into standard K-12 curricula. Within an academic model crowded with competing curriculum and claims to priority, how does service-learning pedagogy find room in a tightly scheduled and liability-conscious public school system? In recent years, increasing public support and funding have prompted limited implementation of service-learning in the schools with mixed results.

Researchers focus on how service-learning ought to be implemented and whether the pedagogy creates significant impacts, but they don't often consider student time-constraints, teacher needs, or the downside of adding another requirement to high school graduation. Well designed and supported service-learning courses integrated into academic learning engage students via real world context and authentic learning; on the downside, programs lacking strong support create educational conundrums for teachers, students, administrators, parents, and community organizations.

### Limitations

Chapter Three opens with a sampling of research focused on academic and civic outcomes. The following section focuses on research dedicated to elements of service-learning programs that create quality programs. A review of current research about implementation of service-learning programs for various purposes and serving target populations follows, with particular attention given to the various perspectives

involved in implementing service-learning programs. This review of the literature leads up to the central question of whether to mandate service-learning as a high school graduation requirement or not. The final section of Chapter Three focuses on research related specifically to this question with prior sections providing context for the debate. Chapter Four provides further discussion and suggestions for further research.

#### Outcomes: Academic and Civic Goals for Service-Learning

##### *Academic Outcomes*

Scales, Roehlkepartain, Neal, Kielsmeier, and Benson (2006) reported smaller achievement gaps between higher- and lower-order-income students when students engaged in service-learning. Using a quantitative approach, the researchers postulated that principals in low socioeconomic status schools respond positively to service-learning because they see generally higher achievement from students enrolled in service-learning. The study focused on the effects of experiential education on low-SES students. Researchers based the study on what they call a developmental attentiveness approach. A total of 2,002 schools were selected and 91% of school principals responded. Forty-five percent of the respondents were from elementary schools, 26% were from middle schools, and 28% were from high schools. Researchers found principals' positive judgments of service-learning programs heightened in majority non-white, high poverty, and urban area schools. They used an aggregate sample of 217,000 U.S. sixth through twelfth grade middle and high school students, organized by community service and service-learning experiences, academic success, and socioeconomic status. This group of students took the Profiles of Student Life: Attitudes and Behavior survey (the PSL-AB). A smaller group of racially and economically diverse middle and high school students

(5,136) took both the PSL-AB survey and the Search Institute's Youth Supplement Survey. A series of ANOVAS were run with Tukey post-hoc tests performed when the overall F tests were significant at  $p \leq .05$ . The correlations in the study were predictable, but causation was not established. The researchers admit to this limitation, acknowledging that students with higher levels of intrinsic motivation may be more likely to participate in service-learning as opposed to service-learning contributing to academic motivation. The data in this study came from self-reports, thus common method variance may have inflated the relationships reported. Also, frequencies of service-learning programs were subject to research but elements of quality were not. Researchers suggested a need for further longitudinal and qualitative studies to explain the outcomes found.

In order to show the relationship between experiential education techniques and academic gains, Ives and Obenchain (2006) tested six twelfth grade American government classrooms using two control groups of 42 and 26 students, and one experimental classroom of 34 students. Only 36 students of the overall participant number were used for pre- and post-test analyses of results. Using a combined quantitative and qualitative approach, Ives and Obenchain showed students gaining in higher order thinking skills without dropping achievement in lower order skill acquisition. Their findings show academic gains in higher order thinking skills through experiential education techniques, but the reason for the gains remain unexplained. They used a combination of instruments to collect data: a higher order thinking assessment instrument (HOTS), a lower order thinking assessment instrument (LOTS), in-class observation, and anecdotal written evidence. Unreliable findings emerge from flaws in

the application of this study. Though the experimental group scored higher than the control groups, all of the groups scored lower on the post-tests than they did on the pre-tests. The experimental teacher expressed a desire to return to her regular lesson plans. The test distributors chose which classes to study based on feasibility. Males, Hispanics, and English language learners were found in higher proportions in the control groups, while females made up a high percentage of the test group. The differences in classroom demographics were significant enough to skew results. The weaknesses in this study disappoint educators seeking to prove the efficacy of experiential education on higher order thinking skills. The attempt to show that experiential education creates gains in higher order thinking without causing losses to lower order thinking skills was partially successful in this study, but not successful enough to be significant. More reliable results need to be proven in future studies. These two studies portrayed a sampling of educator perceptions of service-learning in low SES schools.

In 1996 and 1997, Waldstein and Reiher (2001) studied 801 ninth grade students from six public high schools in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. They investigated a range of questions about the effects of service-learning by gathering demographic, student attitude, and personal characteristic data in order to support ongoing research efforts in the service-learning field. The survey instrument they chose consisted of 73 items organized into four sections. By modifying a version of the Search Institute survey instrument, they surveyed two different groups of students during two subsequent years. They separated student responses into volunteer, school-based service with reflection, and school-based service without reflection. They measured student's personal characteristics via use of subscales using a five point Likert scale to determine student

attitudes about life, importance, and the future. Internal consistency reliability checks were conducted using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. From the entire population of ninth grade students each year, site managers chose which students to survey based on feasibility concerns. In year one N=446 of a possible 786, in year two N=355 of a possible 800 total students. Researchers divided service categories into five mutually exclusive parts: (a) students who had none of the three service experiences; (b) students who had self-initiated volunteer service only; (c) students who had only service without reflection; (d) students who had only service with reflection; and (e) students who had reported all three types of service experience.

Researchers found personal development and civic involvement ratings were significantly higher for students who engaged in all three types of service measured: volunteerism, service without reflection, and service with reflection. Additional findings showed no statistical difference in self-worth ratings and a lack of difference observed in attitudes of students who had participated in service with reflection as compared to those who engaged in service without reflection. These additional findings comprise exceptions to general trends in service-learning research. Multiple weaknesses exist in this study. Outcomes are survey based, self-reported, and singular in time (there were no follow up questions). Of particular concern is the fact that the site managers chose feasible classrooms to survey. Basing participation on feasibility may have lead to exclusionary focus on the more functional and generally higher performing classrooms in the six public high schools.

Despite problems in study design, the findings in the Waldstein and Reiher (2001) study indicate that students engaging in multiple forms of service scored higher on personal development and civic involvement ratings; scored significantly higher on self-worth ratings; and (in contrast to other findings) the inclusion of reflection in service-learning did not have a significant effect.

Magarrey and Francis (2005) reported that students increased their mean GPA across six years of collected data when enrolled in service-learning programs as opposed to students who were not involved in service-learning programs. Based on their review of over 200 websites (found through the Hotbot search engine) they collected data on 137 schools. From 27 schools contacted, 24 schools participated with approximately 3,000 students representing 15 states. Researchers used student grade point averages to establish findings through a single analysis variance (ANOVA). Eight schools comprised the control group because they offered no service-learning component, while eight schools provided service-learning with no academic component; the remaining eight provided data for service-learning programs incorporating an academic element. They further divided findings into the top 10% of grade point averages (GPA), the middle 10%, and the lowest 10%. For those students earning GPA scores in the top 10%, there were no significant differences in academic outcomes; however, those students participating in an academic service-learning-model showed significant GPA gains each year. The overall mean gain for the group went from 2.5 GPA in grade six to 2.75 GPA in twelfth grade. Students in the lowest 10% showed change from grade point averages of 1.35 in sixth grade to 2.10 in twelfth grade. Comparable students, not participating in academic service-learning, did not show significant change in their mean GPA after seventh grade.

Magarrey & Francis (2005) postulated that middle and lower level academic achievers improve academically when engaged in academically integrated service-learning programs. This study was limited because it focused on changes in GPA without examining demographic information about the students involved. The study looked at one element of quality service-learning programs (whether it was academically integrated) but not at the role of teachers and schools involved in the programs.

Taken as a group, these four studies (Scales, Roehlkepartain, Neal, Kielsmeier, & Benson, 2006; Obenchain & Ives, 2006; Waldstein & Reiher, 2001; Margarrey & Francis, 2005) suggested that lower level achievers improved academically when academic learning was tied to real life activities, but the studies do not show agreement about what elements of service-learning lead to those academic gains. These studies did not adequately account for SES, race, and other factors that could impact the validity of their work. The role of reflection in service-learning programs was questioned and the role of student sense of self-efficacy showed mixed results.

#### *Civic and Citizenship Outcomes*

Service-learning pedagogy remains closely tied to social studies curriculum and civic education. The bulk of service-learning research focuses on the relationship between student civic participation outcomes and the role of service in shaping those outcomes. Many studies include data on service ranging from one-time community service experiences to ongoing long-term volunteer positions. Research in this field also tends to rely on surveys and self-reports within feasibility models. Despite calls for careful definition of service type and quality, the research remains broad, self-reporting is

common, and populations surveyed often do not include at-risk, diverse, and low income students for whom service-learning may provide the most impact.

Service-learning proponents describe links between service-learning implementation and increases in civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, behavior, and social capital. Proponents also describe service-learning as impacting civic identity formation, student sense of efficacy, and increased social responsibility. Despite these potential benefits, service-learning remains a controversial pedagogy for numerous reasons. Arguments against implementation of service-learning frequently cite the internal paradox of required volunteering. Other researchers ask what kind of citizenship service-learning increases and about the political implications of service-learning. This section focuses on current research for and against service-learning as a required vehicle for desired civic and citizenship outcomes.

Billig, Root, and Jesse (2005) stated that declines in civic engagement during the nineties ran parallel to increases in youth participation in volunteer activities. With the hope that this increase in volunteerism may lead to increased health in broader society, their work focused on how educators use service-learning pedagogy as a means by which to improve youth democratic practices. Using both a quantitative and qualitative approach, researchers used a mixed multivariate pre-test/post-test and service-learning versus comparison model. When Billig et al. (2005) studied the impact of participation in service-learning programs on high school student civic engagement, they compared more than a 1,000 participating students to nonparticipating students in order to estimate the effects of service-learning on civic knowledge, behaviors, and dispositions. Only students who completed both a pre-test and a post-test were included in the analysis, in which

N=1,052 of those 645 were service-learning participants, while 407 were comparison group members. Nearly 60% of participating students were female. About the same percentage were seniors. A little over 60% of participants spoke English at home. After MANOVA tests yielded significant findings, researchers conducted ANOVA follow-up analyses. For statistically significant results, researchers ran multivariate regression analyses followed by two kinds of correlative analyses. Significant outcomes revealed that outcomes improved when service-learning programs lasted longer, that teacher characteristics related to outcomes, and that the type of service program used related to outcomes.

Only a few essential elements of service-learning related to positive student outcomes. Student choice in the topic of study showed a positive relationship to academic outcomes; those choices related to varying performance on social, civic, and environmental service-learning projects. Unlike other studies of service-learning and civic engagement outcomes, this study noted that service-learning pedagogy implementation compared to other active curricular teaching methods showed only small benefits.

Billig et al. (2005) noted the degree to which academic performance and civic outcomes related to active teaching strategies, with service-learning pedagogy only adding statistically insignificant gains. Other studies tend to assume that comparison of service-learning pedagogy competes against traditional, less-active teaching methods. Qualitative data collection methods included teacher survey taking, administrator interviews, classroom observation, and focus groups. The methods used in this study were strong because researchers matched the classrooms for demographic similarities,

teacher experience, and other key elements. Weaknesses of the study included reliance on survey data and choice of outgoing high school seniors as study participants. Researchers pointed to outgoing seniors' low ratings of school satisfaction as a potential reason for unexpected outcomes. Further limitations of the study included self-report based results, and uneven quality between study sites.

Billig et al. (2005) reported a number of notable findings. Service experiences that lasted longer created significant impacts. Student choice increased the success of service-learning programs; teacher characteristics were important to success of programs and the type of service impacted the kinds of impacts service-learning programs achieved. The comparison of service-learning against other active teaching methods showed a lack of significance.

Smith (1999) focused on how the presence of social capital during youth supported individual civic and political behavior of adults. Findings suggested that familial and religious involvement impact civic education outcomes. Researchers used the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS:88) as a means by which to trace the impact of social capital on youth over time through structural equations modeling. This method traced observed variables/indicators from the base year against three follow-up years. Using nine latent variables, researchers attempted to control for measurement error while assessing changes and effects in students over time. Control variables included academic proficiency, family socioeconomic status, race, and postsecondary education. Tracing the presence of social capital from students in eighth grade into adulthood, study findings showed correlations between higher levels of civic and political engagement in

adulthood and the presence of social capital in youth. The study did not establish cause and effect relationships. The lack of cause and effect in the study weakened the results.

Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins (2007) used the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS:88) to show similar results to those found by Smith (1999). They reported that voluntary- and school-required community service in high school predicted adult voting and volunteering. Their work showed extracurricular involvement predicting volunteer involvement, while civic knowledge related primarily to voting but not to enhanced levels of volunteering. The study examined the links between civic participation in young adulthood and high school experiences involving civic knowledge, community service, and extracurricular participation. The study asked specifically whether required and mandatory service in young adulthood have equivalent effects on civic participation in adulthood. The study pulled data from a random sample of 24 students in randomly selected schools from each state. Students with limited English proficiency, social, emotional, and intellectual handicaps were excluded; researchers did not make clear the method by which this determination was made. Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Islanders were added into the study in order to augment for diversity considerations. Sample size started at 25,000 but due to attrition, only about 12,000 samples were available in the collection from the year 2000. Participant attrition affected the amount of data on low SES students. Researchers measured data by using four logistical regressions using AM software. They made an attempt to control for demographics and civic attitudes. Sample weights were used to compensate for oversampling of subsamples. Almost all continuous predictor variables were mean centered.

Positing that community service shapes identity, the researchers in this study found high school community service predicted adult voting and volunteering but the magnitude of the effect was small. An important aspect of the study showed that required community service predicted subsequent civic engagement. Using a multiple regression analysis model Hart et al. (2007) found that high school attainment of civics knowledge relates to voting while community service relates to volunteering. However, community service does not necessarily affect voting. Limitations to this study included the lack of control over neighborhood and personality; both were elements shown to impact results in other studies. Potential changes in youth attitudes toward volunteering may also impact the outcomes reported in this study, where volunteering was considered as contributing to civic welfare, it may now be considered a prerequisite for college. If student and cultural attitudes toward volunteering change, then research may begin to reflect that shift rather than portraying a genuine causal relationship.

Significant findings from the Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins (2007) study included the finding that different high school activities lead to different outcomes and that high school service-learning (in the broader definition inclusive of community service and volunteering) does not cause subsequent changes in voting.

Ten years prior to the previous study, Yates and Youniss (1997) wrote a qualitative study. Using case study reports from participants during program participation, and again ten years later, researchers showed a relationship between service experience and identity formation. Specifically focusing on the means by which service fosters a sense of agency and responsibility. The case study provided three, five, and ten year outcomes. Researchers viewed the structure of individual relationships to society as

benefiting from historical awareness. Citing growing research on the ways in which defining memories shape identity, Yates and Youniss (1997) described how an eleventh grade religion class shaped student moral development through soup kitchen work. This qualitative case study excerpted and compared several years of journal entries. They showed relationships between service experiences and developing worldview. Though flawed, the study provided compelling evidence of student reflection. A review of this study is most useful for researchers seeking to create additional research supporting the use of journal writing in service-learning pedagogy.

Using a three-tiered level of reflection analysis, journal entries were rated for various elements including emotion and systems-level thinking. They were ordered by perceived growth over time. Despite establishing correlating patterns in journal reflections and service experiences, researchers did not establish causal relationships between journal reflections and service experience. The study did not provide a control group or explain how participants became part of or stayed in the study. Researchers did not explain the process they used to form the writing prompts or describe environmental factors influencing the writers. The journal entries show intriguing patterns, but this study does not provide adequate analysis of impact variables.

Typical flaws in studies of civic education's long-term impacts include lack of random sample set, lack of causal relationship establishment, lack of classroom opportunity descriptors, lack of demographic, lack of family and community descriptors, lack of controls for prior civic commitments, and lack of description about relevant academic characteristics. The Yates and Youniss (1997) longitudinal case study focused on comparative journal entries over time but left many of these elements of strong study

structures unaccounted for. Additionally, their study fell into the problem of retrospective accounts not establishing control for previously held attitudes toward community service. Their work relied on the concept that significant memories shape identity, but they do not account for the circumstance of memory retroactively shaping the meaning of an experience. Memory and self-reporting both impact study purity while allowing for richer understanding of results; reflective writing and journal writing may support strong qualitative case-based arguments for service-learning. However, when other elements of qualitative strength are not present, the use of reflective writing as an argument for long-term service-learning impact weakens.

Jahne and Spate (2004) published different results than those found in many of the other studies reviewed. They studied 52 Chicago high schools involving 4,057 students in order to examine and compare impacts of varied curricular and extracurricular activities on students' stated commitment to civic participation. The choice to focus on stated commitments follows from research supporting the link between stated commitments and propensity for future action. The study investigated whether school-based curricular practices provided meaningful support for the development of adolescent civic commitments. As a sub-hypothesis for this investigation, researchers asked how classroom-based curricular activities compare with other factors and potential strategies in promoting students' commitment to civic participation. The consortium on Chicago School Research surveyed students every two years. They selected high school junior respondents from 2005 and 2003 to participate. The surveys used single and multiple measurements using Rasch modeling.

Based in the Chicago public schools, the study focused on students of color and low SES (socioeconomic status) students. Low-income students made up 79% of the study subjects while students of color (African American and Latina/o) made up 78% of the study subjects. Results showed little relation of socioeconomic status and demographic characteristics linking to civic participation. Results also showed that students discussing current events with parents did show significant impact even when controls for prior levels of commitment to service were in place.

Surprisingly, teacher levels of care were not significant predictors of civic commitment, while student sense of peer support and belonging at school were significant predictors. Parental focus on academic achievement showed a negative impact on civic engagement. Effect size of extracurricular participation showed as less than classroom opportunity.

Strengths of this study included the use of controlling factors and careful analysis methods. Researchers considered family and neighborhood influences, demographic factors, and academic test scores. They also controlled for pre-existing civic commitments.

The Jahne and Spate (2004) study revealed significant findings; living in civically responsive neighborhoods, engaging in extracurricular activities (other than sports), and discussing civic and political issues with parents all impact student propensity for civic commitment. Findings suggest that teacher influence was less important than parent, peer, and neighborhood influence on student levels of civic engagement. Parents who spoke with youth about civics had the greatest impact on student commitment to civic participation, voting, and service. In-class activities were of greater importance than

extracurricular activities, and a sense of belonging and peer acceptance influenced outcomes. Each of these elements might be considered in relationship to outcomes studied in differing communities with differing SES levels. Arguments suggesting service-learning as a form of school-based support for meaningful civic participation will benefit from further studies incorporating design elements like those provided here. The relationships of these findings to other studies on student civic education suggest opportunities for future study.

#### Questions of Quality: Considering Elements of Service-Learning Programs

Turning from outcomes-based research to research focused on more qualitative questions offers an opportunity to consider important structural elements of service-learning. In the previous section, the focus on academic achievement and civic outcomes tended to gloss over who the participants were, how the programs were structured, and what essential qualities supported program success or failure. This section focuses on elements that contribute to program quality. Considerations of quality influence the likelihood of mandatory service-learning success or failure. If service-learning programs are required for high school graduation, what elements of quality are necessary for program success?

The first two studies in this section show research on middle-school aged youth. The first study suggested that hours of service were less important than levels of student engagement in service. The second study revealed service-learning practices leading to increased levels of empathy, empowerment, and belonging within their community.

McGuire and Gamble (2006) studied the relative contribution of psychological engagement in service activities where teens acted as leaders in sexuality programs

mentoring younger youth. The study showed how the number of hours youth spent in an activity were not as significant as the level of psychological engagement students experienced. Participants (N=68) fourteen- to eighteen-year-old rural adolescents completed pre-and post-test surveys measuring their degree of engagement with their community service activities. The study controlled for gender, prior program participation, and sexual behavior history. Psychological engagement with service activity and number of hours spent were used to predict changes in social responsibility and community belonging. Data for this study derived from a larger evaluation study of sexuality education programs delivered by adolescents to fifth through eighth grade youth. Students received eight hours of training, participated in four hours of supervisory meetings, and volunteered for an average of ten hours. Researchers gathered results for the study through a multiple choice format survey given before training during fall semester of the year and again at the end of the school year. The post-test survey added items measuring degree of engagement with the community service activity. Analysis of variance were conducted to compare groups on time spent, psychological engagement pre-test community belonging and pre-test social responsibility by ethnicity, gender, pre-test sexual behavior, and change in sexual behavior over time.

Females reported higher levels of engagement and social responsibility but there were no significant gender based differences in levels of community belonging. Of the participants, 66% were female, 43% reported being Hispanic, 23% reported being Native American, 28% reported being Caucasian, and the final 6% reported being Asian, African American, or other. Linguistically 15% reported speaking a language other than English (50% of these spoke Spanish, and another 30% spoke a Native American language).

Ninety percent of the participants were born in the United States of America, 61% lived with both parents, 15% lived with one parent and a step-parent, and the remaining 24% lived with a single parent or other relative.

Limitations of the study emanated from the relatively small sample size. Despite the small sample size, researchers in this study claimed that inferential statistics remain possible. This study showed that the youth, who valued the service activity and cared about the cause they served, reported relatively greater benefits from the activity regarding improvements in community belonging and social responsibility. In relation to the question of student choice versus mandatory service-learning, this study supports service opportunities deemed important by participating students.

Key components of service-learning programs continue to receive attention by researchers. Citing recent trends in service-learning research showing how the quality of the program elements impact outcomes, Lakin and Mahoney (2006) focused on designing and evaluating a study focused on elements of youth empowerment and belonging. They researched key process variables theoretically linked to positive intervention efforts by identifying key components of a youth community service program and then provided data on participant outcomes. Results showed students experiencing increased empathy, empowerment, and belonging within their community.

Researchers used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods to arrive at their findings. They located the project in a multi-racial, high poverty, urban elementary school where three sixth-grade classes participated in the study, one of which acted as the control group. Researchers assigned participation status randomly. Program design fostered enhancement of personal goals and development of strong interpersonal

relationships. Study designers based their goals on the description Erickson provided of adolescence as a time when youth simultaneously seek autonomy and belonging.

Participating classes enacted the program in three steps (planning, research, and implementation). The programs were required as part of the curriculum, but researchers described teachers as supporting student autonomy by allowing students to maintain ownership over their projects through use of guiding questions and other teaching strategies. The project used a democratic decision making process, discussions about leadership and followership, and use of committee decision-making techniques to enhance the sense of community in the classrooms. The students engaged in written reflection throughout the project. Researchers limited survey data by parental consent; 70% of the program students received consent from their parents (n=29) in the treatment group and (n=14) in the control group.

A modified version of the Learner Empowerment Measure provided quantitative results. Student self reports in thirty-minute classroom discussions and pre-and post-intervention surveys provided qualitative results. Study limitations included the use of primarily self-reported outcomes without other forms of measurement. Claims that students felt ownership over their work may be skewed by the mandatory nature of the project as a part of regular school curriculum. Student's opting out due to lack of parental permission may have also skewed results.

Melchior's studies influenced current trends in service-learning research (Shumer, 2006). In 1998, Melchior provided an analysis of long- and short-term impacts of service-learning in high quality programs in place for at least a year or longer. This comprehensive study, conducted on middle and high school programs during the

1995–1996 school years, was published in 1998; it grew out of a 1993 National and Community Service Trust Act legislation following in the footsteps of the Serve America Program. Researchers conducted the study twice and then analyzed results comparatively. In their research, they asked four central questions: (a) What is the impact of program participation on program participants? (b) What are the institutional impacts on participating schools and community organizations? (c) What impacts do Learn and Serve programs have on communities? and (d) What is the return (in dollar terms) of the Learn and Serve investment?

Melchior's study surveyed seventeen sites using a combination of quantitative and qualitative measures. Both a short-term statistically significant impact and a longer-term impact was found. Program sites were chosen based on strength, longevity, design, and quality. Melchior's researchers combined data from on-site interviews and analysis of school records with surveys given to participants at pre- and post-stage. Of the school sites eight were urban, five were suburban, and four were rural. They included ten high school sites and seven middle school sites. Ten programs integrated academic materials, seven were structured stand-alone, and nine were part of school wide service-learning strategies. Four of the programs were integrated into at-risk programs. Three took place in alternative high school settings. Ranging in size from 21 to 400 students, direct service hours ranged from 3 hours to 196 per participant with an average of 77 hours. Twenty percent were middle school, 71% were in high school, 60% were female, and 40% were male. Ethnically 58% were white, 17% African American, 19% Hispanic and 6% other. Linguistically 95% came from English speaking homes. In terms of SES 38% were economically disadvantaged, 30% were educationally disadvantaged, and 29%

self-reported delinquent behaviors; 45% of the participants had participated in service-learning classes before.

In the initial participant impact survey (the first of multiple rounds of study) researchers questioned the impact of service-learning on participants' civic development, the impact on educational development and academic performance, and the impact of service-learning on students' personal and social development. Follow-up surveys were conducted during spring of the following year. Though there were statistically significant post-program impacts on measures of civic attitudes and behavior, there were no consistent impacts on measures of personal and social development. Post-program impacts were shared relatively equally by a wide range of participating youth. Minority students showed relatively strong impacts on grades. The post-program impacts baseline came from 1,052 students: 608 were participants and 444 were comparison group members. Researchers conducted analyses of impacts through an ANCOVA and a difference/in-difference approach.

Acceptance of cultural diversity, service leadership, and combined measures of civic attitudes were three measurements showing significant impacts. The study looked at whether any subgroup was more or less likely to benefit from service-learning. Overall, none showed more benefits than others did. Despite lack of full spectrum differences, minority (non-white) students showed improved academic performance. Young women showed improved math, GPA, and college aspirations. At-risk youth showed stronger impacts on civic and social attitudes. However, findings on the programs as a whole show that service-learning does not promote substantial changes in school performance. Service-learning did significantly decrease arrests for middle school youth and

marginally decreased teenage pregnancy. High school students showed significant reduction in course failures. Middle school youth showed statistically significant increases in academic achievement. High school students showed strongly significant impacts on school engagement and math grades.

In the second round of surveys in the Melchior study (1998) participants totaled 1,052 students with 608 program participants and 444 participants in the comparison group. Of these, 733 were high school aged and 319 were middle school aged. Surveys were given in person and via the mail. Seventy-two percent of the surveys were returned. Most of the impacts at the end of the program had disappeared by the time of the follow up. Marginally significant positive impacts on science, service leadership, and school engagement remained. Follow up data showed significant decline in English grades.

The lack of impact a year after program completion for non-returning participants prompted researchers to suggest the need for further research into whether a threshold dosage of service-learning may be necessary to guarantee long-term impact. For students who remained in service-learning programs for the long-term, the impact was significantly stronger than for those students who chose not to return. This round of the study showed little evidence supporting service-learning programs in the schools.

When considering strengths and weaknesses in the Melchior study, important aspects emerge from the choice of programs included. Because they limited their research to well designed programs that had been in place for longer than a year, the argument that improved implementation or longevity of the program negatively impacted prior research results is weakened. The research does match a larger pattern of short-term interventions

creating short-term effects, thus researchers asked if longer-term interventions bring about different results and called for increased focus on longitudinal studies.

Student participants self-reported (95% of them) that they were satisfied with their community service experience and that the service they performed was helpful to the community and the individuals they served. Eighty-seven percent believed they learned a skill that will be used in the future, and 75% said they learned more than they did in a typical class. Seventy-five percent also said they developed a really good personal relationship through their service experience. Over 90% felt that students should be encouraged to participate in community service, while only 36% felt that it should be required. Forty percent reported that service experience helped them to learn about future employment.

In the qualitative results, community service organizations reported that Learn and Serve participants helped them improve services, and 68% percent said that Learn and Serve participants increased agency capacity for new projects. Of the 15% of agencies complaining about problems with collaboration, most referred to the burden of training participants as the most significant difficulty of working with schools. Eighty-two percent of the agencies reported that they developed increased positive attitudes toward youth. Sixty-six percent reported they came away from the experience more interested in working with the public schools.

Community agencies involved in the Melchior study reported that they valued the work of students at about \$8.70 an hour. The researchers found that the overall impact of each dollar spent on program implementation developed approximately four dollars of service in the community. Despite participant hopes for growth within the schools, the

funding given to Learn and Serve programs did not lead to large scale expansion of the Learn and Serve programs in participating schools; those programs that did grow were more likely to grow from school-wide efforts than from single program efforts.

Teacher perspectives on the program showed that 75% were volunteers themselves. Ninety-four percent believed students should be encouraged to engage in service-learning but only 50% believed it ought to be required. The survey also showed teachers increasing their integration of service-learning into academic teaching rather than service as a consistently separate activity. Melchior researchers viewed these trends and suggested increased support and professional development for teachers.

The Melchior study, while contributing to the entire range of service-learning literature, fits particularly well within the discussion of quality elements in a number of ways. The most significant finding was that long-term high quality programs did not support statistically significant impacts for all students. Short-term impacts occurred, but long-term impacts were not statistically significant. The findings may be unreliable due to flaws in project classification, i.e. programs that were considered stable and high quality may not actually use important elements of quality service. Or, and more likely, the findings may reveal important elements of service-learning implementation and the need for programs tailored to specific goals for specific groups.

Melchior study findings suggested that service-learning may not serve all students equally (1998). If quality of service-learning programs does not create uniform results, then a review of the literature focused on various perspectives, program participants, and implementation of tactics constitutes a logical next step. The following section considers teacher, student, and other views on service-learning with a significant focus on

implementation strategies. These preliminary pieces of the review of the literature related to stakeholder views on implementation leads to the final section of Chapter Three which highlights research on mandatory and nonmandatory forms of service-learning in K-12 education.

#### Implementation: Perspectives and Purposes Served for Various Target Groups

Problems of large-scale implementation described by Newman and Rutter (1986/2002) open this section on service-learning implementation because experts in the service-learning field (Shumer, 2006) considered their study central. During the mid 1980s, Newman and Rutter found a vexing complexity in mandatory service-learning programs, they found that schools allowing for elective participation in service-learning reported more diverse enrollment populations with fewer problems than did schools requiring participant enrollment in service-learning programs.

Their study was conducted partially in response to the 1983 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching proposal where 120 hours of community service was pushed as a high school graduation requirement. In 1984, approximately 900,000 students were enrolled in community service programs; at that time about 27% of all American schools offered community service programs. Catholic and private schools were more likely to offer programs than public schools. Thirty-six percent of community service programs had no African American participants and 53% percent had no Hispanic participants. General percentages of the diversity of program participants were approximated at 60% female, 82% white, 16% African American, and 13% Hispanic. In order to understand the impact of required service, Newman and Rutter surveyed schools through a High School and Beyond Community Service Questionnaire.

Of 239 schools 227 returned the questionnaires, 23 reported that they had no service program leaving (n=204) for the total sample of schools. Researchers' use of a weighted analysis left standard errors for proportions and means. Though some schools offered more than one type of community service program, researchers collected information for only one type due to feasibility issues.

In their 1985–86 findings, Newmann and Rutter urged caution in requiring community service as an academic requirement because elective courses reported no problem in student interest, while those programs requiring student service as mandatory for graduation showed lack of interest as a major concern. Their study showed elective courses enrolling students from a more diverse spectrum of learners and involving students in a greater number of class hours spent engaged in community service.

As a weakness, Newmann and Rutter's (1985–86) studies may have been influenced by the fact that their numbers showed a greater number of alternative schools offering credit for community service and requiring it as a prerequisite for graduation than public schools. This flaw leaves the possibility that their study results may be skewed by a nontypical population or application of required service with youth already deemed at risk.

Soslau and Yost (2007) described a teacher conducted action research project where two fifth-grade urban classrooms with 33 students each engaged in a study exploring the role of service-learning program design on students' desire to learn. One classroom acted as the designated control group. The study focused on academic achievement by asking if student motivation and desire to learn increased if exposed to service-learning. They also asked if exposure impacted student achievement as measured

by district-wide benchmark assessments based on core curriculum. Citing the current requirements of No Child Left Behind—that schools make adequate yearly progress toward the goal of 100% proficiency in reading math and science—Soslau and Yost (2007) posited the need for action research conducted by classroom teachers to investigate educative practices to reach those goals. Each class had equal female to male ratios and similar ethnic backgrounds. The same pair of teachers taught both classes, but time of day and other schedule details were not included in the research write-up. Teachers gave students in the service-learning group the opportunity to explore and then choose a group topic. The students chose to focus on the issue of disease; then they narrowed the topic further to wheelchair use. The class successfully advocated for and assisted in the design of a new ramp at a nearby public park. Teacher researchers gathered and analyzed journal responses, test scores, attendance and suspension records. Teachers used these documents to ascertain quantitative and qualitative results.

Researchers used student journals in order to arrive at qualitative results. Teachers assessed journal responses based-on whether or not students made real-world connections to academic content in their responses. In order to create an unbiased data set between the two groups, teachers gave students vague writing prompts and refused to give further writing instructions.

Response records show significant differences between the control group and project participants. Outcome analysis for journal prompts might be stronger if gauged by a blind external audience. However, the process used in this writing study provides a worthwhile contrast to the longitudinal study reviewed earlier in Chapter Three featuring ten years of journal responses on the impact of soup kitchen service. A combination of

these two study designs might provide significantly more dependable results in future studies.

While the control group made real world connections in their journal writing about 48% of the time, the experimental group made them about 64% of the time; that means the control group made real world connections 15% less than the service-learning group. In academic outcomes, the control group performed better. However, the service-learning group made greater academic gains on math and on reading. The two groups tested on the same day on the same benchmark tests; researchers obtained test results through district records. Attendance records showed a small difference and the service-learning group had six fewer students involved in suspensions than the other group, though baseline for behavior patterns makes changes in behavior between groups less significant.

Despite unreliable data, quality service-learning implementation appears strong in the Soslau and Yost study (2007). The significance of change in writing linked to real world connections shows an important qualitative element for teachers of English and Language Arts. Considering the difference between this finding and other findings where student-writing scores dropped, the research appears inconclusive but worthy of further investigation.

Some service-learning proponents describe the pedagogy as one where diverse student populations benefit, while opponents and critics describe service-learning as a problematic form of curriculum serving white middle class and high SES students more effectively than students of color from lower SES environments.

Grassi, Hanley, and Liston (2004) wrote a research report focusing on the implementation of service-learning in Colorado. Study findings showed interesting patterns in English Language Learner (ELL) programs using service-learning pedagogy. Researchers there studied a range of service-learning programs by conducting a year-long qualitative and quantitative study focusing on participation of ELL students in service-learning curriculum. The study focused on programs serving learners in Colorado.

Researchers sent surveys to programs funded by the Colorado Department of Education. Researchers did not randomize the study; instead, participating programs chose sample populations to participate. Twenty-nine programs turned in data: 53% from school based programs, 57% percent from community-based programs. From these programs, 672 youth, 51 adults, and 59 parents responded to the surveys. In terms of gender, 318 male and 354 female youth respondents replied. Of the respondents, 70% were white, 15% were Hispanic, 9% were mixed race, 3% were African American, 15% were Asian American, and 1% were Native American. Ninety-two percent of the respondents spoke only English; the remaining 8% were ELL.

Study methods involved surveys, interviews, and observations. Researchers provided evaluation documents in English and Spanish. Program site directors administered the surveys. Researchers conducted interviews and observations at eight sites chosen to represent diverse contexts (rural, urban, affluent, ethnically diverse, ethnically homogeneous, and low SES). Though the surveys showed 80% of the programs consistently encouraging student voice in design and selection of the projects, only 31% percent of youth participants reported that they designed and selected site

projects. Sixty-one of the youth participants reported writing as an improved academic area; however, the report did not include comparison data. This finding contradicts other studies showing dips in writing outcomes while supporting those that claim a positive impact on writing.

This study supported the common finding that service-learning does not negatively impact student academic outcomes. Ninety-three percent of the participating programs reported encouraging participation by ethnic minorities, 71% reported regularly discussing diversity issues, and 86% reported that communication with non-white individuals was consistently encouraged. Site visits corroborated these reports, but two of five schools visited addressed diversity involvement as serving ethnic minority youth rather than as involving them in performing service.

This study repeated a common failure in service-learning programs by serving students without making reciprocal service and mutuality key parts of the program, denying those served the benefits inherent in providing service to others. Researchers reflected on the differences between programs serving from a stance of noblesse oblige and those that provide service from a stance of reciprocal giving. In this study, researchers described the value of giving as innately beneficial; when service-learning programs use a noblesse oblige approach to service they exclude participants on the receiving end from the benefits of engaging in mutual giving. Service-learning, when conducted without concern for the needs of the served, runs the risk of reinforcing class and racial divides rather than working to alleviate those divides.

Cahill, Tannenbaum, and Brown-Welty (2006) explored the possibilities of embedding service-learning into an after-school program. Researchers compared two

groups of students from four elementary schools. Schools were described as one small urban school, one small rural school, and two impoverished urban schools. After-school program personnel selected representative demographic cross-sections from their students. The high transience rates of students diminished study consistency.

Non-random participant selection and small sample design caused further limitations to the study. Study participants showed greater improvement in their grade-point-averages and conduct grades, and less likelihood of suspension. Authors compared data on the academic and social performance of students who did and did not participate in the embedded service-learning components of the study. Study participants showed 56% GPA improvement rates (chi-square=7.01, p=.03) compared to the control group who showed improvement rates of 32%. Conduct grades increased for 41% of the service-learning students, while control students' conduct grades increased 11%.

The value of service-learning as an extracurricular activity is one that interests anti-mandatory service-learning advocates. Though the studies do not surface often in service-learning research, opponents to required service-learning cite research supporting the value of extracurricular and community-based service. Thus, though the previous research did not show reliable data, it contributed to the literature supporting service as an extra school activity.

It is important to remember just how many students participate in service-learning programs in order to obtain a view of the larger picture. Spring, Dietz, and Grimm (2006) conducted a youth volunteering and civic engagement survey that used a randomized selection function to interview 3,000 teens ranging in age from 12 to 18. After sending an advanced letter, researchers called youth and interviewers achieved a 44% response rate.

Researchers examined CPS demographic characteristics to assure that callers refusing interviews did not shift the statistical attributes of the survey. Researchers collected information on teen volunteering habits, service-learning experiences, and civic engagement among middle and high school aged youth. They found that 77% of service courses take place as part of a program containing one or more high quality elements. The study showed that 38% of American youth participate in some form of service-learning, of those about 10% of American youth participate in programs with all three elements of quality service-learning, 26% percent in programs with two of the elements, and 41% with one element of quality service-learning. Elements of quality include: students taking part in planning their own projects, reflective writing incorporated into programs and program service lasting a semester or longer.

Service-learning programs were more prevalent in high schools than in middle schools and in private and religious schools more than in public high schools. Forty-three percent of students enrolled in service-learning programs earned average grades of B+ or higher, as opposed to those 35% earning grades of B or lower. Those students earning grades of C or lower typically enrolled in service-learning programs with fewer quality elements. Family and sibling involvement in service-learning was highly associated with student involvement. Income influenced levels of student participation and types of program outcomes; lower-income participants showed positive relationships to civic attitudes and behaviors.

Study findings revealed that current or past participation in school-based service had a relationship with volunteering beyond required service, heightened likelihood of future voting, interest in politics, belief in personal efficacy, and interest in current

events. Further, engagement in service-learning had a positive relationship to teen attitudes toward devoting a year to national and community service. Most impacts described in this survey are correlative. Statistical analyses leading to claims were not apparent in the report. Findings in this study generally support findings throughout the field, though the finding that low-income students generally show positive civic engagement brings forth a question about what is qualitatively different in those programs that create the civic effects. A partial answer to that question may occur via the exploration of the following study.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) won the American Educational Research Association Outstanding Paper of 2003 for “What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Education for Democracy.” Their study used qualitative and quantitative measures to analyze varying forms of civic education by focusing on how differing political agendas create differing foci in service-learning implementation.

Westheimer and Kahne contrasted three forms of citizenship education: education for the responsible citizen, for the participatory citizen, and for the justice-oriented citizen. The researchers described these various forms of citizenship styles through a helpful analogy; the responsible citizen takes personal responsibility and contributes to food drives, the participatory citizen organizes food drives, the justice-oriented citizen explores why people are hungry then acts to solve the root cause of hunger (2004). Furthering this analogy, the researchers described how one end of the service spectrum tends to take personal responsibility and engages in action, while the other sees system level needs but frequently spends a great deal of time involved in consideration rather than engaged in direct action.

Following this three-way divide in perspectives on service, Westheimer and Kahne questioned whether teachers could align all three types of citizenship education in the same curriculum; they hypothesized that the purposes of each form of service may in fact cancel the others out. In order to investigate their hypothesis these researchers focused their study on two very different programs in two very different communities with two very different visions.

The first program in the study enrolled primarily European American middle-income youth (the Madison program); the second program (The Bayside program) enrolled low-income mixed-ethnicity youth. Youth opted into the program in both programs, but teachers in each program held differing visions of desired program outcomes. The researchers gathered qualitative documentation by analyzing eight aspects of citizenship: civic efficacy, vision, leadership efficacy, desire to volunteer, knowledge, social capital for community development, media awareness, views on government responsibility, and views on employer responsibility for employees. The goal of the researchers was to show how each of the two programs observed achieved different ends.

Mixing two- to three-day observations, critical incident interviewing techniques, a constant comparative method, and quantitative analysis of pre- and post-survey data, the researchers created initial findings and then shared their findings with participating teachers in order to invite criticism from multiple perspectives and include all voices in the final document.

The Madison County Youth program was located in a suburban/rural east coast community. Over a period of four years, two classes participated in the Madison

program, (n=61). Teachers characterized enrolled students as slightly better than average academic achievers. Students in this program showed significant change through service-learning with p equaling between .01 and .05 levels of confidence, while the control group at the school showed no significant change. Researchers used t tests to examine whether gains noted were different than those apparent in the control group they found (p at less than .05). Researchers found that the Madison program promoted participatory citizenship. They criticized the program on the degree to which the teachers did not focus on changes in student interest in politics, their lack of perspective on structural roots of social problems, and on their lack of commitment to social justice.

Bayside Students for Justice was a curriculum developed as part of a 12<sup>th</sup> grade social studies course for low-achieving students in an urban high school on the West Coast. Bayside students (n=23) showed less robust results with p equaling between .02 and .05. Forty percent of the Bayside students lived in public housing and teacher aims in the schools were tied to creating social justice oriented activists focused on structural change. According to the researchers, Bayside participants appeared to emphasize social critique significantly more than their Madison peers did, they were more inclined toward collective action, and less inclined to increased expressions of personal responsibility for helping others.

Overall, researchers posited that the rates of impact were different between the schools due to the differing visions and processes by which service-learning programs were offered. Researchers claimed their bias (toward social justice curriculum) and explicated their process throughout the paper; their study offered a strong model for mixed qualitative and quantitative design. The researchers admitted their perspective and

took action within the paper to address opposing views. They argued that educating for democratic participation is implicitly political. Their work begins the task of looking at politics involved in various service-learning program formats.

The form of service-learning promoted in upper-middle-income schools may differ significantly from the type of service programs offered in low SES schools. The previous correlation between low-income students and positive attitudes toward civic engagement are worth further consideration in light of differing service-learning program emphasis in differing locations. Teacher attitudes toward service-learning, including their goals and their dilemmas, impact service-learning outcomes. Many current research studies conclude with an encouragement to provide stronger supports for teachers and to research the forms of support needed. The next study focused on needs expressed by teachers.

Seitsinger (2005) examined opportunity-to-learn conditions and practices over one year by conducting a study involving 2,164 teachers (N=2,164) in 271 middle schools implementing school-improvement reform initiatives. Researchers used teacher reports to determine attitudes and beliefs toward service-learning, the extent to which teachers implement service-learning, and the relationship between teacher attitudes and beliefs about service-learning and standards-based instructional practices. One primary finding of this quantitative study revealed that although teachers believe service-learning to be valuable, they use it infrequently.

Of the participants, 1/7 of the teachers studied had taught less than three years, while 1/3 had taught for over 20 years. Eighty percent majored in education and 95%

were fully certified. A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) revealed that teachers who implemented service-learning curriculum regularly used standards-based instructional teaching strategies. Those teachers used active learning and other recommended teaching strategies (critical thinking, authentic instruction, and cross-disciplinary) more often than did their colleagues, who were more prone to basic skill and traditional teaching practices. Measurement occurred via use of a classroom instructional management scale (CIPS) with 16 subscales, a standards-based instruction scale, a community-based learning opportunities scale, and the attitudes toward educational practices scale (ATEPS) with 13 subscales. Specific differences between levels of service-learning implementation and dependent variables were examined via Tamhane's T2 post hoc test.

Three questions emerging from this study were 1) what factors influence teacher choice in pedagogy?, 2) what factors make a desirable pedagogy a rarely used tool?, and 3) if teachers enacting service-learning already use active teaching methods, does their choice of service-learning make a significant difference to students who might otherwise gain the same outcomes from other active teaching techniques? Recall the study that showed little difference between service-learning and active teaching techniques.

Moving from Seitsinger's outcomes to a related inquiry: why do teachers choose not to use service-learning if they believe it to be a strong pedagogy? The next study investigated what really happens when teachers engage in training for service-learning. In 1999, Boyle-Baise and Kilbane conducted qualitative research that offered a few potential reasons for teacher non-use of service-learning. The Seitsinger study was a qualitative, interpretive case study using ethnographic techniques to discover what

actually happens when preservice teachers engage in service-learning. The value of this study in reference to the topic of this paper is primarily in the nuanced representation of what it is like to participate in service-learning program from a participants' point of view.

Boyle-Baise and Kilbane (1999) described service-learning from the view of student-teachers; their qualitative analysis offers an in-between lens on the reality of service-learning. The subjects of this study were adult students (N=24) preparing to become teachers. These preservice teachers chose their own service sites and then engaged in bi-weekly in-class reflective writing and discussion. They documented a group sense of "playing it safe" at service-learning sites. The study documented participant views of service-learning by taking a primarily qualitative approach.

Researchers described the dynamics of participation in service-learning sites as complex. In terms of their response to others, many participants reported that they were reticent about initiating interaction; as a group, they reported feeling that they projected outward compliance at their service sites, compliance that frequently masked internal struggles. Preservice teachers described the desire for more direction from site supervisors. This desire for direction correlated with studies of youth participants in service-learning; youth reports of successful experiences frequently coincide with strong preparation. Teacher participants discussed the sense of being trapped in their roles and they discussed how long it took to develop relationships based on companionship and equality. Teacher participants expressed a desire for longer commitments that resonated with other studies, which found stronger impacts from longer commitments. The

common view of self as helper held by many of the teachers revealed a strong undercurrent of deficit model thinking about those served.

Other views held commonly by participating teachers were more practical and focused on how participation in service would help them be successful teachers in their own future classrooms. Some preservice teachers found it easier to make on-site connections than other participants did. Extroverts and participants with characteristics unique to their setting, documented feeling that their efforts received more welcome from their service communities than more reserved participants did.

The attempt to prepare future teachers to engage in service-learning curricula in this manner reveals interesting predicaments in the manner by which implementation functions and how teachers might best be trained to use the pedagogy. In the next study, researchers gathered qualitative information relating to implementation of service-learning in public schools. They discussed a number of dilemmas.

Kapustka (2002) described how service-learning implementation occurs. The description highlighted dilemmas of service-learning via a qualitative case study. The study asked how teachers manage the dilemma of service-learning using a definition of dilemmas in education as a key framework for what it means to negotiate dilemmas as teachers. Dilemmas being a form of problem with no easy solution, most teachers engage in the art of negotiating dilemmas frequently. Kapusta cited Cuban's definition of dilemma as conflict filled situations that require choices because competing, highly prized values cannot be fully satisfied. Framing the study in the language of dilemmas Kapusta grouped findings in a set of primary themes.

Focusing on three key dilemmas service-learning teachers face, and how they manage the dilemmas they encounter, Kapusta analyzed interviews and observation data gathered over a five-month period in one urban middle school. The three themes were needs of the server versus the needs of the served, traditional versus experiential education, and teacher control versus student independence. Four teachers participated in the study. Four forty-five minute interviews with each of the four teachers, occurring approximately one each month, were conducted. In addition to the interviews, researchers observed the teachers for eight to twelve hours and then took field notes. School documents were also reviewed.

In their reports, study researchers questioned whether all students ought to be required to participate in service programs, whether service-learning helps or hinders academic achievement on tests, and if other considerations are equally important. Findings from this study focused researcher attention on the central problem of scheduling a 90 minute block of time. Kapusta asked if the 90 minute block structure common in middle schools could support authentic service-learning efforts. Additionally, researchers expressed concern about students who find their primary success in service-learning environments. They asked if students that struggled with academics while succeeding in service tasks ought to be limited to academic pursuits excluding their primary area of success.

Participant teachers cited a number of dilemmas central to implementation of service-learning in their classrooms. First, teachers find it difficult to meet a genuine need of the community and provide an educative experience for their students. Those served are often ambivalent about the service they receive. Service sites and schools may hold

contradictory views. Teachers are hesitant to discuss concerns because they feel acceptance of the projects by all involved may be precarious; discussion could jeopardize tentative balances currently in place. Second, teachers see the value of service-learning but struggle to achieve balance between standard curricula and experiential learning pedagogy. Service-learning may lead to outcomes not easily assessed; this lack of easy assessment criteria makes it more difficult to defend when faced with opposition from various stakeholders. Third, teachers know freedom of student choice is an important element of quality service-learning; however, student choices frequently disappoint teachers hoping for different outcomes. Teachers see the need for adult intervention; they feel that age-specific challenges need to be addressed, especially for middle school aged children. Teachers also worry about students' rebellion against imposed service and the long-term cost of turning youth off by requiring participation.

Kapusta (2002) wondered if service-learning pedagogy could meet the expectations of all of the involved stakeholders. This study described several dilemmas related to service-learning. The described dilemmas ranged from problems involving undefined goals and expectations from administrators, to problems associated with meeting the needs of youth in age-appropriate ways. Additional complications surfaced for participants encountering varying service-site levels of welcome and of supervision. Concerns about quality surfaced with issues stemming from lack of time in teacher schedules confronting the extensive time required for implementation. Kapusta wondered if social, civic, or academic development strands in service-learning could be addressed in a single program, and suggested that all three strands could not be adequately addressed in a single program at the same time. Describing the problem of funding as one

of unreliable support, Kapusta found implementation problems stemming from issues of initial grant depletion without funding renewal and lack of professional development opportunities for participant teachers.

Overall findings in Kapusta's work suggested the need for creation of accountability devices to measure success beyond the scope of current standardized measurement tools.

#### Mandatory Service-learning: To Require or Not to Require

To require service-learning as a condition of high school completion involves the reconciliation of opposing views about the role of school in society. In this section the research investigates the value of required participation in service-learning. Students engaged in service-learning must allocate time in school schedules and negotiate the needs of those served. School administrators need to consider the boundaries of school and community, and arrange for safe transportation to and from service sites. Community participants place trust in students and take on the burden of serving school needs in return for the help they receive.

Service-learning implementation in proportion to other school reforms requires large-scale changes in school systems. Required service-learning necessitates answers regarding whether curricula meet the goal of advancing student learning. If service-learning is offered, does it serve students better to require participation or to offer it as one curricular option among many?

Planty, Bozick, and Regnier (2006) studied whether patterns of engagement in community service change from youth to young adulthood and if the motive to

participate in community service during high school (whether required or voluntary) has any bearing on community service work in young adulthood.

Using data restricted to about 10,000 students responding to surveys in 1988, 1990, 1992, and 2000 from the NELS:88, researchers gathered longitudinal data on student volunteering patterns and changes in volunteering over time. The survey used estimation measures to adjust for standard errors and to account for the clustered and stratified sampling design of NELS:88. They used probability weights to generalize estimates to a 10<sup>th</sup> grade population, and then added in dummy and control variables as additional precautions against over generalizing to indicate the motive for service participation. Findings showed that participation in volunteering drops during the first two years after high school then climbs again when young adults reach their mid-twenties.

In general, Planty, Bozick, and Regnier (2006) found community service participation in high school was related to volunteering both two and eight years after high school. One important condition to this finding was that those who were required to volunteer were only able to sustain involvement if they reported that their participation was voluntary. This is a key aspect of the study because it implied that those students who felt a loss of power or control did not experience the same positive results as students that considered themselves agent participants. Other significant factors in sustained volunteering included involvement in community and religious organizations.

Using the NELS:88 allowed researchers to work with a large nationally representative sample of a recent cohort of youth. The sample size was larger than most other studies, but like other studies citing the NELS:88, findings were primarily

correlative rather than causative. Citing research showing late adolescence as a crucial point for youth formation of civic attitudes, the researchers used a multi-variant statistical method to control for factors that may select students into service activities while in high school, as well as role transitions that might preclude/enable volunteering in young adulthood. They considered factors like employment and presence of pre-school age children. These researchers rationalized the purpose of studying this transition based on research showing late adolescence and early adulthood as the most malleable point for formation of civic attitudes.

Affluence levels and levels of high extracurricular involvement showed as predictors of volunteering at age 26. Those who continued volunteering after high school were 19% more likely to volunteer at age 26 than those who did not. Those that both wanted to and had to volunteer in high school were 38% percent more likely to sustain volunteer involvement than those who did not volunteer in high school. For those who had to volunteer in high school but did not report wanting to, required volunteering did not increase the likelihood of volunteering at the age of 26. In the last two years of high school, 43% of youth participated in community service. Eight years after graduation, only 30% were participating.

High school volunteer service had a short-term but positive impact on volunteer work during young adulthood. Where all service declined post-graduation, low SES persons remained at relatively stable rates while African American involvement increased. The multivariate models in this study showed that youth who participated in community service are more likely to participate in early adulthood volunteering than those who did not. Those who completed required service during the last two years of

high school were more likely to volunteer at age 20 than at age 26 while those who volunteered because it was required and because they wanted to were more likely to volunteer at both age 20 and age 26.

Study limitations included the fact that NELS:88 lacks information on quality and intensity of high school service participation. In this data source, volunteer work is not consistently measured. Different questions were used to measure volunteer work at all three different times during the study. The assignment of students to service was not random. Despite study weaknesses, the strength of longitudinal information allowed for greater understanding of causal ordering than most research. An additional strength of the researchers' work includes their clear analysis of embedded strengths and weaknesses in the methods used. Future studies using randomized service and more attention to program quality are needed. The Planty, Bozick, and Regnier (2006) study showed that requirements themselves do not create sustained student interest; their research suggested that personal accountability and selflessness must emerge from student choice.

Chapin (1998) described further arguments against the requirement of service-learning. Countering proponents of mandatory service-learning, Chapin cited the strengths of current extracurricular community service systems by describing community service as an already in place, flexible, and manageable alternative to service-learning which creates undue burdens on teacher time, school resources, and school schedules. Chapin used a combination of case study observational data and data from NELS:88 to suggest that community service offers more choice to students and works more effectively with teacher and high school needs than does service-learning pedagogy.

In support of the anti-requirement position, Chapin cited current high numbers of participants in community service programs without the need for any explicit requirement by stating that 44% of students were enrolled in some form of community service without being required by their schools to participate. Observational findings from the case study included that few service-learning coordinators are available in high schools, that high school schedules are inflexible, and that communications between various organizations are difficult to maintain. Chapin suggested that restructuring high schools may be necessary for implementation of service-learning. Chapin also used case study observations to support an argument that the reflective writing involved in high quality service-learning projects might not be as effective as oral reports given in class, and that oral reports are frequently more manageable for teachers to facilitate. This researcher claimed that service-learning can be less flexible and cause undue time obligations on students that work. The case study observations were not clearly documented and did not meet qualitative minimums for significance; nonetheless, Chapin's observations concisely mirror other research stating similar opposition to mandatory service-learning in high schools.

Chapin's use of the NELS:88 provided an alternative view of the data on service-learning. Basic data on community service mined from the NELS:88 reported that 44% of seniors surveyed in 1992 participated in some form of community work. Women, Asian Americans, and Caucasians participated more than Hispanic and African Americans. Private school students participated more than public school students did. Higher-levels of SES, parental education, test proficiency, college prep enrollment, placement in the highest quarter of class GPA standing, and not being in a school with

high levels of low SES all showed relationship to higher levels of participation in community service.

NELS:88 data also suggested that high school participation closely parallels adult patterns of participation, except with urban schools. Suburban schools do not have a higher participation rate, while 17% of respondents indicate their schools required community service. Consistent with adult Americans, youth involvement through churches was high. In 1996, a Gallup poll showed churches provide 60% of volunteers, while political groups had the lowest levels of student participation. Men volunteered more in youth group activities but women were higher in all other activities. Black women participated in political groups more than any other group. Hispanic men were the least likely to volunteer in church groups, white men participated highly in hospital groups, and white women participated highly in environmental groups.

The most significant finding in Chapin's interpretation of NELS:88 data showed that students favor diversity in their choice of community service and that social action is not their typical first choice. Though Chapin's suggestions regarding the value of community service are provocative, Chapin's research was weak. Opinion and data were not separately reported in the case study portion of the report, and NELS:88 data did not connect to the case studies mentioned by the researcher. Additionally, this researcher did not address key faults of the NELS:88. Further considerations of Chapin's arguments require separate studies for validation.

Metz and Youniss (1997) conducted a longitudinal study where they examined students required to complete 40 hours of service as a graduation requirement during the first year of implementation and compared these students with students from prior years.

They gathered data between 1998 and 2002. They used the quasi-experimental study to investigate whether required service students' rates of continued/further volunteering changed or whether intention to volunteer changed as a result of the required 40 hours.

They studied three grade 11–12 cohorts. Half of the students were Catholic, one quarter was Protestant, and the remainder claimed other faiths. Seventy-eight percent were white. Ninety-three percent of the graduates went on to college. Three hundred and twelve students participated in required service; 172 participated in non-required service. A large portion of the students showed prior inclination to serve. By cohort: in 2000 (n=114 more inclined to serve and n=58 less inclined to serve); in 2001/2 (n=164 more inclined to serve, n=71 less inclined to serve). Student participant demographic profiles fit established norms: high SES, networks of resources, parents who volunteered, higher levels of religious/church active network access, participation in extracurricular school organizations, and generally high GPA standing. Students less inclined to serve generally did not fit these established norms; many of the less inclined study participants were male.

Using Vera, Schloxman, and Brady's 1995 inquiry framework for why not to get involved, researchers looked at the presence of resources, engagement and efficacy levels, and recruitment or invitation to participate. The power of invitation through required service showed in students finishing twelfth grade having completed their 40 hours of service. For students with low levels of inclination to serve, the experience of service changed their commitment to service in future. In 2001/2, students' intentions to serve were higher than those expressed by comparable peers from the year 2000: (p less than .01). Results were confirmed through regression analysis.

Comparing two cohorts of disinclined students, researchers found an impact of required service on intention to serve. There was no indication in this study that required service turned students away from service by examining intra-individual patterns of volunteering. The limits of this study were primarily in the nature of the limited population and the potential nontransferability of findings. Finding generalizations are limited, in part due to the nature of the student sample chosen. The two schools studied are private religious institutions. Demographic profiles in the schools are not representative of national averages. Similar studies conducted on larger sample sets with increased randomization in participant selection would strengthen the reliability of results suggested by these findings.

This next study offers a nuanced response to the either/or question of requirement and the worth of service-learning. McLellan and Youniss (2003) argued that both required and nonrequired service provided desired outcomes but that they are best understood as separate systems operating from different regimens. They argued that voluntary and required service function as distinct systems serving separate needs.

Studying two schools both requiring service—one integrated into (religious) curricula, the other not integrated—found that integrated curricula involved cognitive and emotional reflection on politics and morals. Some students did more nonrequired service. This study showed that those students choosing to do more also participated in networks, families and friendships that provided support for ideological commitment to service activities.

In this study, the researchers speak to non-comparability of service across domains and describe how inconsistencies in studies can readily be attributed to

uncontrolled variability in definitions, key factors, and dependent measures. They described volunteer service as the standard against which required service is judged and suggested that other directed/externally motivated service may preclude autonomous expression. Further, they asserted that much of what passes for mandatory service ends up as uninteresting, make-work that does not inspire civic fervor.

McLellan and Youniss (2003) conducted observations in two private upper SES Washington D.C. suburban schools. Two cohorts of students received questionnaires twice a year. They gathered data between 1994 and 1997, and between 1995 and 1998; 556 students participated in school A, 257 in school B. Fifty-two percent of the sample were female; 60% came from families where the mothers earned a bachelors degree or higher; 20% were non-white; and 81% were Catholic. In one school, the religion curriculum integrated with service-learning, while the other school approached service with a noblesse oblige perspective. Both groups required the same quantity of service hours.

Two graduate students observed in each program to confirm program differences. The types of service performed by students in each school were coded into four categories: social, cause related, teaching/coaching, or functionary. Using a chi squared test of independence, the researchers discovered a significant difference between the kinds of service chosen by students in each school. School A showed more students choosing to engage in service-learning projects in the teaching/coaching and social categories, while students in school B engaged in service-learning of a more functionary type. Both schools showed students were two times as likely to do functionary service for

requirement-based projects. There was no difference between schools in the kind of chosen volunteer nonrequired services.

Researchers then conducted a logistic regression analysis. The type of required service was not a significant predictor of type of volunteer service done. Students with no friends doing voluntary work chose to engage in functionary service more often than their peers. Parental service forms showed strong parallels to student choices in service activities. Choosing functionary work is in essence choosing less cognitive, emotional, physical investment. This choice makes sense if students are viewed as needing to prioritize their efforts or as simply in it for the required number of hours.

McLellan and Youniss (2003) suggested that if schools want lasting impact, service-learning needs the same attention and support as other pedagogies; this may involve revising current academic priorities and time allocations to support desired citizenship outcomes. Researchers in this study suggested that service is not an individual, spontaneous act. They argued that required and voluntary service function as distinct systems involving separate factors and that each ought to be viewed on its own terms. Their findings emerged from the complex non-reducible irregularities of volunteer patterns in and out of school, as well as from required service where students did some required service for one reason and voluntary service for another. The way schools organize services determines the nature of services completed by those students. Networks and other factors influence voluntary service behaviors. McLellan and Youniss suggested conceiving of service as action following from available resources, networks, and organizational affiliations.

## Summary

Chapter Three reviewed current research literature related to whether service-learning curriculum ought to be required for high school graduation. Research was presented in three primary sections: academic and civic outcomes, elements of quality in service-learning programs, and mandatory service-learning studies. Research suggested that service-learning programs, though valuable, might not fit into current K-12 structures easily. Though academic outcomes were not impacted negatively, research was not conclusive regarding positive outcomes. Citizenship research was similarly inconclusive. Elements of quality in service-learning programs showed significant impacts. Research on the feasibility of requiring service-learning suggested that student networks, voice, and choice matter. Requiring service-learning as a high school graduation requirement may not function effectively in the current American K-12 public school system. Chapter Four relates a summary of findings from Chapter Three and then explicates implications for classroom practice and future research in the field.

## CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

### Introduction

This review of the literature investigated the implementation of service-learning in schools as a required component of K-12 curriculum by focusing on whether service-learning ought to be a requirement for high school completion. Developing a position on the incorporation of service-learning in high schools grows increasingly important to informed participation in ongoing debates about reforming social studies curricula. Considering service-learning pedagogy in comparison to other forms of community service, this review discussed a set of embedded systems linked to the functionality of service-learning programs. The literature compared various stakeholder positions on the mandatory implementation of service-learning and discussed how mandated service may not serve all stakeholders equally. Proponents described service-learning as something more than pedagogy; they described it as community-based service relating to course and curricular content (McKnight Casey, Springer, Billig, and Davidson, 2005). Opponents to mandatory service described concerns about time allocation, school structures, and liability issues. Quality research focused on K-12 service-learning programs remains rare; thus, this review of the literature considered research on other forms of service in contrast to service-learning as defined by field experts. Questioning the impact of mandatory service-learning implementation required consideration of programs already in place serving similar purposes.

At root, service-learning implementation in K-12 public education prompts administrators and other stakeholders to re-evaluate the purpose of schooling and to engage complex dilemmas involved in school reform. Assessing the relative value of

service-learning against other pedagogical strategies requires establishment of criteria for meaningful education. The criteria used in this review of the literature stressed the importance of caring for the “Other” and engaging in dialogue across significant difference.

A meaningful education was defined as a means by which students “grapple, in every part of their learning, with multiplicity, ambiguity, and irreducible differences as defining conditions in the contemporary world” (Eaton, Macgregor, and Schoem, 2003, p. 71). Proponents of service-learning argued that integrated service experiences prepare students more effectively for dialogue across difference and to care for the “Other” after high school graduation than do less integrated means of teaching and learning.

Costantino, Decker, Elliott, Kuckkahn, and Lee (2001) argued that service-learning provides opportunities to practice a kind of dual vision regarding what it means to be a good citizen in a particular place and time. Proponents of service-learning suggested that participatory forms of service-learning created opportunities for students to complete the cycle of experience defined by Kolb (1984). Service-learning is seen by many as a means by which students may participate in shaping their education and engage in community action, and it is frequently promoted as a means to support students’ social and emotional development.

When considering implementation of service-learning, it is important to ask how service-learning will improve our schools’ human and social resources to increase student learning. Large-scale service-learning programs structured without concern for the particularities of place are less than popular among service-learning proponents. Opponents of required service-learning cite problems linked to large-scale

implementation and other concerns as rationale for not requiring service in the schools. Community service, extracurricular service, and volunteer service programs lead to similar outcomes as service-learning programs do. This leads to some researchers questioning the need for mandated service-learning. Some opponents of mandatory service-learning ask if a mandate is necessary if outcomes are already being reached by extracurricular and community service programs. Other opponents focus on the problem of finding funding, institutional support, and long-term support for service-learning programs.

When considering the implications of requiring service-learning, three important issues surface relating to the interplay between the labor market and schools: the potential for reinforcing class-based stereotypes through philanthropic giving versus reciprocity in service-learning, citizenship preparation and partisanship, and the potential for efficacy in creating lasting social change. Opponents to mandatory service-learning ask three central questions: If service-learning might better be accomplished outside of the schools, if the cost benefit ratios are reasonable, and if differing participants receive unequal gains from service-learning programs.

This paper examined research literature concerning mandatory service-learning programs as a requirement for high school graduation. Participation in service-learning projects showed positive impacts on students, but the research remains marginal as to whether those impacts are significant enough to warrant a mandate. The need to ascertain whether service-learning ought to be institutionalized grows as states create mandates for this not-yet-fully-proven pedagogy. Therefore, this paper examines research that supports positions for and against mandatory service-learning in K-12 public schools.

Chapter Two considered the role of historical forces in service-learning development. The question of mandatory service-learning today, draws out contradictions embedded in the concept of schooling as a means of social mobility and schooling as a means of improved financial stability. Challengers to mandatory service ask questions about the role of personal freedom and of remuneration in educational processes: They ask what value does service-learning provide and to whom? This dilemma provided a base continuum against which various views of academic and community service-learning were compared. The review of service-learning history in Chapter Two focused attention on dangers associated with required service. The track of service carries with it the danger of colonizing the minds of the service class and the danger of creating a sense that those who are served need to be served by others rather than helping themselves.

The power of a mandate may exist in the potential for all students to experience the same expectations, while non-required service leaves room for localized control and elements of quality in local programs. The history of service-learning in schools is closely tied to the linking of social service to education. Service-learning has been used as a tool for acculturation, sometimes to ill effect. Though service-learning has the potential for creating positive change, historical examples reveal that service-learning has the potential for increasing negative stereotypes and reinforcing class divisions if conducted without awareness of potential dangers.

The role of preparing youth for the workforce and for adult social roles places the question of service-learning in an economic frame. As the American economy industrialized, pressure to prepare youth for entry into the job market came from students,

families, and local industries; this pressure influenced the formation of high school pedagogical structures (Spring, 2008). As industrialization took hold, social education took on a greater role in public schooling because it helped prepare youth for work in large corporations and industries. Many activities created initially in the community were brought into the purview of schools as a means of harnessing student energy and maintaining some control over student behavior (Spring, 2008). In the early 1900's, the desire to compete with industrialized nations compelled educators in the U.S. to create vocational education programs in American schools. The role of social control in the development of schools as vocational sites was considerable. Those who believed in social control saw schools as places of moral development during a time when family, church and other forces were waning in power. Wrigley (as cited in Spring, 2008) suggested that business and the interests of power sought cheap schooling to create workers, while the working class fought to increase schooling in order to increase social mobility. Government sponsorship for various forms of service-learning programs surfaced in numerous incarnations through the years. During the 1950's and 1960's, two major waves moved through the American school system. The first came in the form of criticism from critics seeking to make teachers focus on academics and keep up with America's Cold War enemies; this push culminated in the formation of the National Defense of Education Act (the NDEA) and an all-encompassing push for traditional subjects and teaching methods in American classrooms (Spring, 2008). In the 1960's, the War on Poverty pressured schools to eliminate poverty by educating poor people and providing skills necessary for emergence from poverty.

Service-learning continues to function as an economic system and as an educative system. Students arguably gain from expanded social capital in some forms of service-learning, while in other forms their gain is minimal due to lack of challenging placement or lack of meaningful expansion of skills and networks. Current research shows differences in outcomes based on the kinds of service rendered.

In response to the perceived failures of public schooling, service-learning proponents claim that their pedagogy creates and supports authentic caring in schools. Eyler and Giles (1999) described service-learning as a pedagogy providing three important elements: deeper learning via engagement and curiosity, enhanced memory through context-based support, and learning rooted in personal relationships. Other advocates for service-learning elaborate on additional core elements of quality service-learning programs.

A dichotomy between the aims of schooling and the results of schooling can be understood when schooling is seen as a response to tensions inherent in democracy. Spring (2008) described the American school system as an institution built on continuous tension in conflicts over culture and religion, idea distribution within society, racial divides, economic goals, and the relationship between schooling and the global economy. These tensions appear frequently in social studies curricula; service-learning programs in secondary-level education reflect these tensions.

Current research on the efficacy of service-learning, the outcomes of service-learning, and the validity of mandated service-learning is varied; the research is incomplete, but mandatory participation in service-learning programs in high schools is growing.

Service-learning research suggested that student agency and voice appeared to constitute important components of successful service-learning projects. Required service-learning does not appear to be a significant determinant of student success, but the research on the impact of mandatory service remains developmental. Findings show, service-learning does not harm academic achievement; when programs are implemented student grades remain the same or improve. The history of service in schools involves many stakeholders and complex dilemmas for all involved. Service-learning as school reform pushes all involved to return to the question of what it means to be educated.

Chapter Three reviewed outcome-focused research related to academic achievement and civic education, then elements of quality in service-learning programs, followed by studies delineating various perspectives on service-learning implementation. After commenting on these elements, the review turned to research directly related to the question of required versus mandatory service. The results of this review will appear in the summary of findings, followed by implications for classroom practice. The review will close with suggestions for further research.

### Summary of Findings

Service-learning programs appear to increase student outcomes on a number of measures. The research is not yet clear, but further investigation into the value of service-learning is warranted. It is clear that service-learning frequently raises academic achievement levels, though it is not clear what the primary cause is. Civic education outcomes appear positive, yet researchers continue to debate which form of civic education service-learning supports. Questions remain regarding the capacity of service-learning programs to incorporate all of the desired civic outcomes.

The opening section in Chapter Three focused on research relating to academic and civic outcomes of service-learning. The first study by Scales, Roehlkepartain, Neal, Kielsmeier, and Benson (2006) found school principals' positive judgments of service-learning programs heightened in majority non-white, high-poverty and urban area schools. The perceptions held by principals may influence future implementation patterns of service-learning programs. The second study provided support for perceived academic gains linked to service-learning programs. Ives and Obenchain (2006) showed students gaining in higher-order thinking skills without dropping achievement in lower-order skill acquisition, but the reasons for academic gains were not apparent in the study, and researchers reported low levels of significance. The 2001, the Waldstein and Reiher study found that students who engaged in three types of service (volunteerism, service without reflection, and service with reflection) showed significantly higher personal development and civic involvement ratings than did students participating in none or just one of the three types. Their study supports academic gains linked to service. Waldstein and Reiher (2001) offered an unusual finding compared to the wider literature base: students' reflection on service did not necessarily lead to increased self-worth ratings. This finding casts doubt on the argument that reflection on service-learning ought to be considered necessary for program success. The final study reviewed in the academic section of Chapter Three showed significant GPA gains for students participating in service-learning programs, with students in the lowest ten percent of the sample group showing the largest rates of improvement (Magarrey & Francis, 2005). Combined, these studies suggest that academic achievement increases with service-learning program implementation, but the research does not show clear patterns relating to necessary

components of successful service-learning programs, nor does it define which elements of service-learning are most important in supporting academic gains.

The civics section of Chapter Three focused on current research for and against service-learning as a required vehicle for desired civic and citizenship outcomes. It began with a review of Billig, Root, and Jesse's (2005) work. Billig, Root, and Jesse found that longer-lasting service-learning programs and teacher characteristics related to student outcomes, and that the type of service program also related to student outcomes. Their research supports student choice in topic of study as an essential element of service-learning, but their findings also revealed that service-learning pedagogy shows only small benefits when compared with other active teaching methods. Smith (1999) found that familial and religious involvement impact civic education outcomes, while Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins (2007) reported that voluntary and school required community service in high school predicted adult voting and volunteering. Hart et al. found that extracurricular involvement predicted volunteer involvement, and that civic knowledge related primarily to voting but not to enhanced levels of volunteering. Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins cited possible confounding influences on their work by stating that changes in youth attitudes toward service-learning may be linked to the changing role of volunteering as a gate-keeping mechanism to higher education. Their work showed that different high school activities lead to different outcomes, and that high school service-learning does not cause subsequent changes in voting.

In 1997, Yates and Youniss conducted a qualitative study tracing the relationship between student service-learning experiences and subsequent identity formation. Though their work showed promise, the study did not control for important variables like the

retroactive power of memory. Their use of journal writing is compared to other studies using reflective writing here.

In 2004, Jahne and Spate studied 52 Chicago schools. Their results contradicted other findings linking socio-economic status and demographic characteristics to civic participation. A primary finding in their work supported the importance of student/parent conversations. Parents who spoke with their children about civic concerns provided the most impact of the tested factors. In contrast, teacher levels of care were not significant predictors of civic commitment. Peer support and perceived belonging at school did show significance. Parent focus on academic achievement influenced civic engagement in a negative fashion, while effect size of extracurricular participation showed as lesser than sizes shown in classroom opportunities. The Jahne and Spate (2004) study revealed that living in civically responsive neighborhoods, engaging in extracurricular activities (other than sports), and discussing civic and political issues with parents all impact student propensity for civic commitment. Their findings suggest that teacher influence was less important than parent, peer, and neighborhood influence on student levels of civic engagement. Parents who spoke with youth about civics had the greatest impact on student commitment to civic participation, voting, and service. In-class activities were of greater importance than extracurricular activities where a sense of belonging and peer acceptance influenced outcomes. Each of these elements might be considered in relationship to outcomes studied in differing communities with differing SES levels. Arguments suggesting service-learning as a form of school-based support for meaningful civic participation will benefit from further studies incorporating design elements like those provided here.

Generalized findings from the academic and civic portions of Chapter Three revealed several key themes. Essentially, research showed correlations between existing social capital and patterns of civic engagement. Students from white middle- to upper-income homes with families engaged in volunteer, civic, and service activities tend to show higher levels of political engagement as adults. Students with higher GPA's tend to engage in service more often than students with lower GPA's. Women outnumber men in service-learning studies and students anticipating the attainment of a bachelor's degree tend to engage in service-learning more often than others. Students with church-based or other forms of extra-school social capital tend also to engage in service more frequently. Student intention to vote and adult intention to vote tend to follow similar patterns. Religious and private schools require service-learning as a pre-requisite to graduation more often than public schools and urban schools, and they tend to offer more service-learning opportunities than suburban schools.

Use of the NELS:88 study to establish patterns in service-learning occurred in a number of the research reports included in Chapter Three. Common problems with this data source are that NELS:88 does not distinguish differing kinds of service, and it does not show student prior intention to serve. The scale of the study and longitudinal nature of the study appears to fill gaps in the literature, but the findings may be misleading due to lack of important elements of control data.

The elements of quality section of Chapter Three focused on structural elements of service-learning leading to quality program implementation. These studies focused more on participant demographics and structural elements of service-learning than the academic and civic focused studies did. The first two studies in this section suggested

that hours of service were less important than levels of student engagement and that increased levels of empathy, empowerment, and belonging within the community were promoted by quality service-learning programs (McGuire & Gamble, 2006; Lakin & Mahoney, 2006). The first study showed that youth who valued the service activity and cared about the cause they served reported relatively greater benefits from the activity with regard to improvements in community belonging and social responsibility. It supported service opportunities deemed important by participating students, but the study was limited by a small sample size. Lakin and Mahoney (2006) showed students experiencing increased empathy, empowerment, and belonging within their community as a result of participation in service programs. Lack of permission from parents for some student participants may have skewed results. The study was limited by the use of primarily self-reported outcomes and the fact that the project was mandatory; thus if programs are mandatory, extra care should be made to create room for student valuation of the activity.

Both of these studies reveal significant design flaws, yet the findings are noteworthy because they contribute to literature supporting the need for student engagement while questioning the relevance of extended time-commitments. In the second study, the focus on student needs; autonomy and belonging, were analyzed. The analysis contributes to growing research on service-learning programs at the middle school level.

Melchior's studies influenced current trends in service-learning research relating to elements of quality (Shumer, 2006). In 1998, Melchior provided an analysis of

long- and short-term impacts of service-learning in high-quality programs in place for at least a year or longer. This comprehensive study, conducted on middle and high school programs during the 1995-1996 school years, was published in 1998. Researchers conducted the study twice, then analyzed results comparatively. In their research, they asked four central questions: (a) What is the impact of program participation on program participants? (b) What are the institutional impacts on participating schools and community organizations? (c) What impacts do Learn and Serve programs have on communities? and (d) What is the return (in dollar terms) of the Learn and Serve investment?

In the first round of the study, acceptance of cultural diversity, service leadership, and combined measures of civic attitudes were three measurements showing significant impacts. The study looked at whether any subgroup was more or less likely to benefit from service-learning. On the whole, none showed more benefits than others. Despite lack of full spectrum differences, minority (non-white) students showed improved academic performance. Young women showed improved math, GPA, and college aspirations. At-risk youth showed stronger impacts on civic and social attitudes. However, findings on the programs as a whole show that service-learning does not promote substantial changes in school performance. In the second round of surveys in the Melchior study (1998), most of the impacts at the end of the program had disappeared. Marginally significant positive impacts on science, service leadership, and school engagement remained. Follow up data showed significant decline in English grades.

The lack of impact a year after program completion for non-returning participants prompted researchers to suggest the need for further research into whether a threshold

dosage of service-learning may be necessary to guarantee a long-term impact. For students who remained in service-learning programs, long-term impact was significantly stronger than for those students who chose not to return. This round of the study showed little evidence supporting service-learning programs in the schools. In fact, the results on student English grades reinforced questions relating to the role of reflective writing in service-learning and its relationship to academic achievement.

Because they limited their research to well-designed programs that had been in place for longer than a year, the argument that improved implementation or longevity of the program negatively influenced prior research results was weakened. This research matches a larger pattern of short-term interventions creating short-term effects; thus researchers asked if longer-term interventions may bring about different results, and they called for increased focus on longitudinal studies.

Participant views on the value of service-learning showed that student participants self-reported satisfaction with their community service experience, and that the service they performed was helpful to the community and the individuals they served. Eighty-seven percent believed they learned a skill that will be used in the future, and 75% said they learned more than they did in a typical class. Seventy-five percent also said they developed a good personal relationship through their service experience. Over 90% felt that students should be encouraged to participate in community service, while only 36% felt that it should be required. Forty percent reported that service experience helped them to learn about future employment.

In qualitative results, community service organizations reported that Learn and Serve participants helped them improve services, and 68% percent said that Learn and

Serve participants increased agency capacity for new projects. Of the 15% of agencies complaining about problems with collaboration, most referred to the burden of training participants as the most significant difficulty of working with schools. Community agencies involved in the Melchior study reported that they valued the work of students at about \$8.70 an hour. The researchers found that the overall impact of each dollar spent on program implementation developed approximately four dollars of service in the community.

Teacher perspectives on the program showed that 75% were volunteers themselves and that 94% believed students should be encouraged to engage in service-learning, but only 50% believed it ought to be required. The survey also showed teachers increasing their integration of service-learning into academic teaching rather than service as a consistently separate activity. Melchior researchers viewed these trends and suggested increased support and professional development for teachers.

The Melchior study, while contributing to the entire range of service-learning literature, fits particularly well within the discussion of quality elements in a number of ways. The most significant finding was that long-term, high-quality programs did not support statistically significant impacts for all students. Short-term impacts occurred, but long-term impacts were not statistically significant. The findings may be unreliable due to flaws in project classification, i.e. programs that were considered stable and high quality may not actually use important elements of quality service, or more likely, the findings may reveal an important element of service-learning implementation: the need for programs tailored to specific goals for specific groups. Overall, the Melchior study findings suggested that service-learning may not serve all students equally (1998).

The third section in Chapter Three focused on concerns relating to implementation of service-learning by giving consideration to a selection of perspectives on and purposes served for various target groups. Problems of large-scale implementation described by Newman and Rutter (1986/2002) opened this section on service-learning implementation because their study was considered central by experts in the service-learning field (Shumer, 2006). During the mid 1980's, Newman and Rutter found a vexing complexity in mandatory service-learning programs: schools allowing for elective participation in service-learning reported more diverse enrollment populations with fewer problems than did schools requiring participant enrollment in service-learning programs. In their 1985-86 findings, Newmann and Rutter urged caution in requiring community service as an academic requirement because elective courses reported no problem in student interest, while those programs requiring student service as mandatory for graduation showed lack of interest as a major concern. Their study showed elective courses enrolling students from a more diverse spectrum of learners and involving students in a greater number of class hours spent engaged in community service.

Newmann and Rutter's (1985-86) studies may have been influenced by the fact that their numbers showed a greater number of alternative schools offering credit for community service and requiring it as a prerequisite for graduation than public schools. This flaw leaves the possibility that their study results may have been skewed by a non-typical population or application of required service with youth already deemed at risk.

Soslau and Yost (2007) described a teacher-conducted action-research project where two fifth-grade urban classrooms engaged in a study exploring the role of

service-learning program design on students' desire to learn. The study focused on academic achievement, asking if students' motivation and desire to learn increased if exposed to service-learning, and if exposure impacted student achievement as measured by district-wide benchmark assessments based on core curriculum. Teachers used student journals as a primary means of collecting student data. Response records show significant differences between the control group and project participants. Outcome analysis for journal prompts might be stronger if gauged by a blind external audience. However, the process used in this writing study provides a worthwhile contrast to the longitudinal study, reviewed earlier in Chapter Three, featuring ten years of journal responses on the impact of soup-kitchen service. A combination of these two study designs might provide significantly more dependable results in future studies. The control group made real world connections 15% less than the service-learning group. In academic outcomes, the control group performed better. However, the service-learning group made greater academic gains on math and on reading. Despite unreliable data, quality service-learning implementation appears strong in the Soslau and Yost study (2007). The significance of change in writing linked to real-world connections shows an important qualitative element for teachers of English and Language Arts. Considering the difference between this finding and other findings where student-writing scores dropped, the research appears inconclusive but worthy of further investigation.

Service-learning proponents describe the pedagogy as one where diverse student populations benefit, while opponents and critics describe service-learning as a problematic form of curriculum serving white middle class and high SES students more effectively than students of color from lower SES environments. Grassi, Hanley, and

Liston (2004) wrote a research report focusing on the implementation of service-learning in Colorado. Study findings showed interesting patterns in English language learner (ELL) programs using service-learning pedagogy. Researchers studied a range of service-learning programs by conducting a yearlong qualitative and quantitative study focusing on participation of ELL students in service-learning curriculum. Study methods involved surveys, interviews, and observations. Though the surveys showed 80% of the programs consistently encouraging student voice in design and selection of the projects, only 31% percent of youth participants reported that they designed and selected site projects. Sixty-one percent of the youth participants reported writing as an improved academic area; however, the report did not include comparison data. This finding contradicts other studies showing dips in writing outcomes, while supporting those that claim a positive impact on writing. This study supported the common finding that service-learning does not negatively impact student academic outcomes. Ninety-three percent of the participating programs reported encouraging participation by ethnic minorities, 71% reported regularly discussing diversity issues, and 86% reported that communication with non-white individuals was consistently encouraged. Site visits corroborated these reports, but two of five schools visited addressed diversity involvement as serving ethnic minority youth rather than as involving them in performing service.

This study repeated a common failure in service-learning programs by serving students without making reciprocal service and mutuality key parts of program design, denying those served the benefits inherent in providing service to others. Researchers in the field reflected on the differences between programs serving from a stance of noblesse

oblige and those that provide service from a stance of reciprocal giving. In this study, researchers described the value of giving as innately beneficial; when service-learning programs use a noblesse oblige approach to service, they exclude participants on the receiving end from the benefits of engaging in mutual giving. When conducted without concern for the needs of the served, service-learning runs the risk of reinforcing class and racial divides rather than working to alleviate them.

Cahill, Tannenbaum, and Brown-Welty (2006) explored the possibilities of embedding service-learning into an after-school program by comparing two groups of students from four elementary schools, thus contributing to the literature supporting service as an extra-school activity. Schools were described as one small urban, one small rural, and two impoverished urban. High transience rates of students diminished study consistency, while non-random participant selection and small sample design caused further limitations to the study. Authors compared data on the academic and social performance of students who did and did not participate in the embedded service-learning components of the study. Study participants showed 56% GPA improvement rates (chi-square = 7.01,  $p = .03$ ) compared to the control group who showed improvement rates of 32%. Conduct grades increased for 41% of the service-learning students, while control students' conduct grades increased 11%. This change in GPA suggests that extracurricular activities may have a strong relationship to academic achievement. Further research on the relationship between learning and extracurricular learning programs is needed.

In order to understand how mandating service-learning will change current service-learning trends, it is useful to turn to the work of Spring, Dietz, and Grimm

(2006). They collected information on existing teen volunteering habits, service-learning experiences, and civic engagement among middle school- and high school- aged youth, and found that 77% of service courses already take place as part of a program containing one or more high quality elements. Though service-learning is not currently mandatory nationwide, the study showed that 38% of American youth participate in some form of service-learning— of those, about 10% of American youth participate in programs with all three elements of quality service-learning, 26% percent in programs with two of the elements, and 41% with one element of quality service-learning. Elements of quality included, students taking part in planning their own projects, reflective writing incorporated into programs, and program service lasting a semester or longer.

Spring, Dietz, and Grimm's work revealed key relationships between student access to socio-cultural capital and elements of quality in current service-learning practice (2006). Service-learning programs were more prevalent in high schools than in middle schools and in private and religious schools more than in public high schools. Forty-three percent of students enrolled in service-learning programs earned average grades of B+ or higher, as opposed to those 35% earning grades of B or lower; those students earning grades of C or lower typically enrolled in service-learning programs with fewer quality elements. Their work leads to a related inquiry: Were students that had lower grades tracked into programs with fewer funds and fewer supports, or are there other reasons for GPA and presence of quality element correlations?

This study described that family and sibling involvement in service-learning was highly associated with student involvement. Family income influenced levels of student

participation and types of program outcomes: lower income participants showed positive relationships to civic attitudes and behaviors. This positive relationship between service-learning and income levels is of particular interest to researchers. Many of the studies included in this paper suggest that at-risk youth benefit in greater proportion from service-learning programs. However, it is in the lower income schools that elements of quality are the least reliable. This research appears to suggest that the presence of elements of quality is of particular importance when programs in low-income schools are implemented.

Spring, Dietz, and Grimm's (2006) findings revealed that current or past participation in school-based service had a relationship with volunteering beyond required service, and it heightened the likelihood of future voting, interest in politics, belief in personal efficacy, and interest in current events. Further, engagement in service-learning had a positive relationship to teen attitudes toward devoting a year to national and community service. Most impacts described in this survey were correlative. Statistical analyses leading to claims were not apparent in the report. Findings in this study generally support findings throughout the field, though the finding that low-income students generally show positive civic engagement brings forth a question about what is qualitatively different in those programs that create the civic effects. That question may find some illumination via a critical read of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) work.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) contrasted three forms of citizenship education: education for the responsible citizen, for the participatory citizen, and for the justice-oriented citizen. They questioned whether teachers could align all three types of citizenship education in the same curriculum, and they hypothesized that the purposes of

each form of service may in fact cancel the others out. In order to investigate their hypothesis, these researchers focused their study on two different programs (The Madison County Youth program and the Bayside Students for Justice program). Teachers in each program held differing visions regarding desired program outcomes. Mixing two-to-three-day observations, critical-incident interviewing techniques, a constant comparative method, and quantitative analysis of pre- and post-survey data, the researchers created initial findings, then shared their findings with participating teachers in order to invite criticism and include all voices in the final document. According to the researchers, Bayside participants appeared to emphasize social critique significantly more than their Madison peers, and they were more inclined toward collective action, and they were less inclined to increased expressions of personal responsibility for helping others. Overall, researchers posited that the rates of impact were different between the schools due to the differing visions and process by which service-learning programs were offered. Researchers claimed their bias (toward social justice curriculum) and explicated their process throughout the paper; their study offered a strong model for mixed qualitative and quantitative design. Researchers argued that educating for democratic participation is implicitly political. Their work begins the task of looking at politics involved in various service-learning program formats.

The form of service-learning promoted in upper-middle SES schools may differ significantly from the type of service programs offered in low SES schools. The previous correlation between low-income students and positive attitudes toward civic engagement are worth further consideration in light of differing service-learning program emphasis in differing locations. Teacher attitudes toward service-learning, their goals, and their

dilemmas impact service-learning outcomes. Many current research studies conclude with an encouragement to provide stronger supports for teachers and to research the forms of support needed.

Critics of personal-responsibility-focused pedagogy criticize it for obscuring the need for collective and public sector initiative and systemic solutions. Visions of obedience and patriotism not inherently about democracy may work against system-level action. Comparing 32% of the eligible eighteen- to twenty-four-year-old voters who voted to the 94% that believe the most important thing they can do as a citizen is to help others, researchers proclaimed that youth are learning that citizenship doesn't require democratic government, politics, or collective endeavors. They criticized proponents of this form of service-learning for not encouraging students to ask questions about corporate responsibility, regulations, government policy change, collective social action and the pursuit of social justice.

Seitsinger (2005) used teacher reports to determine attitudes and beliefs toward service-learning, the extent to which teachers implement service-learning, and the relationship between teacher attitudes and beliefs about service-learning and standards-based instructional practices. One primary finding of this quantitative study revealed that although teachers believe service-learning to be valuable they use it infrequently. A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) revealed that teachers who implemented service-learning curriculum regularly used standards-based instructional teaching strategies. Those teachers used active learning and other recommended teaching strategies (critical thinking, authentic instruction, and

cross-disciplinary) more often than did their colleagues who were more prone to basic skill and traditional teaching practices. Two questions emerged from this study: What factors influence teacher choice in pedagogy? and what factors make a desirable pedagogy a rarely used tool? If teachers enacting service-learning already use active teaching methods, does their choice of service-learning make a significant difference to students who might otherwise gain the same outcomes from other active teaching techniques?— recall the study that showed little difference between service-learning and active teaching techniques.

In 1999, Boyle-Baise and Kilbane conducted qualitative research that offered a few potential reasons for teacher non-use of service-learning. Boyle-Baise and Kilbane described service-learning from the view of student-teachers; their qualitative analysis offers an in-between lens on the reality of service-learning.

Researchers described the dynamics of participation in service-learning sites as complex. In terms of their response to others, many participants reported that they were reticent about initiating interaction; as a group, they reported feeling that they projected outward compliance at their service sites, compliance that frequently masked internal struggles. Pre-service teachers described the desire for more direction from site supervisors. This desire for direction correlated with studies of youth participants in service-learning because youth reports of successful experiences frequently coincide with strong preparation. Teacher participants discussed a sense of feeling trapped in their roles and they discussed how long it took to develop relationships based on companionship and equality. Teacher-expressed desire for longer commitments resonated with other studies that found stronger impacts from longer commitments. The common view of self as

helper held by many of the teachers revealed a strong undercurrent of deficit model thinking about those served. Some pre-service teachers found it easier to make on-site connections than other participants did. Extroverts and participants with characteristics unique to their setting, documented a feeling that their efforts received more welcome from their service communities than more reserved participants did.

Kapustka (2002) described how service-learning implementation occurs. The description highlighted dilemmas of service-learning via a qualitative case study. The study asked how teachers manage the dilemma of service-learning using a definition of dilemmas in education as a key framework for what it means to negotiate dilemmas as teachers. Kapusta analyzed interviews and observation data focusing on three key dilemmas service-learning teachers face and how they manage the dilemmas they encounter; the three themes were needs of the server versus the needs of the served, traditional versus experiential education, and teacher control versus student independence. Findings from this study focused researcher attention on the central problem of scheduling a 90-minute block of time. Kapusta asked if the 90-minute block structure common in middle schools could support authentic service-learning efforts. Additionally, researchers expressed concern about students who find their primary success in service-learning environments. They asked if students that struggled with academics while succeeding in service tasks ought to be limited to academic pursuits excluding their primary area of success.

Participant teachers cited a number of dilemmas central to implementation of service-learning in their classrooms. First, teachers find it difficult to meet a genuine need of the community and provide an educative experience for their students. Those served

are often ambivalent about the service they receive. Service sites and schools may hold contradictory views. Teachers are hesitant to discuss concerns because they feel acceptance of the projects by all involved may be precarious; discussion could jeopardize tentative balances currently in place. Second, teachers see the value of service-learning but struggle to achieve balance between standard curriculum and experiential learning pedagogy. Service-learning may lead to outcomes not easily assessed; this lack of easy assessment criteria makes it more difficult to defend when faced with opposition from various stakeholders. Third, teachers know freedom of student choice is an important element of quality service-learning; however, student choices frequently disappoint teachers hoping for different outcomes. Teachers see the need for adult intervention; they feel that age-specific challenges need to be addressed especially for middle-school-aged children. Teachers also worry about students' rebellion against imposed service and the long-term cost of turning youth off by requiring participation.

Linking dilemmas of service-learning to undefined goals and expectations from administrators, age appropriate needs of youth, service site level of welcome and supervision, time in teacher schedule versus time required for implementation, social, civic, or academic development, Kapusta (2002) wondered if service-learning programs could meet all the goals put forth by multiple stakeholders. Describing the problem of funding as one of unreliable support, Kapusta found implementation problems stemming from issues of initial grant depletion without funding renewal and lack of professional development opportunities for participant teachers. Kapusta's work suggested the need for the creation of accountability devices to measure success beyond the scope of current standardized measurement tools. Educational stakeholders involved in service-learning

programs include parents, teachers, students, administrators, school board officials, community agencies, and service recipients.

In service-learning, the buffers between classroom and community dissolve. Proponents see this as an opportunity to integrate more adult presence into the schools and as a way to create a shift in how community members view youth. The problem of liability insurance, resource allocation, and transportation to and from service sites remains significant in schools where funding is scarce. The experience of participating in service-learning programs creates ongoing dilemmas: one year the experience may be excellent, while during the following year results might be drastically different. This instability of quality in programs leaves participants in a semi-permanent state of indecision about whether to continue the effort. Because service-learning is not a requirement, a test subject, or a grade-maker, parental support for and administrative emphasis on service-learning success is not high.

Teachers also mentioned the repercussions of student rebellion in service situations as significant sources of consternation. Teachers mentioned students rebelling against engaging in service that did not serve what they perceived to be genuine needs, especially in circumstances where site supervisors directed students to engage in tasks that did not match educative or authentic needs. The perspective of participating teachers gained through this study illuminates a number of questions central to the question of implementing service-learning in public schools. Differing interpretations of federal-, state-, or district-level mandates for service-learning programs leave room for varying teacher responses. The benefit of this open interpretation leads to programs emphasizing different gains, but not necessarily achieving all of the stated goals.

The problem of focusing on narrow, measurable, singular results echoes the concerns voiced by researchers, asking if all forms of civic education are equal or able to be served in a single program. The question of whether service-learning fits in the current structure of public schools grows more pressing. Do school structures, specifically time and resource allocations, need to shift to make room for this yet unproven pedagogy? What happens when the pedagogy is required for student graduation without the appropriate level of support; is it better not to have a service-learning program than to have an imperfect one?

The final section in Chapter Three focused on whether service-learning ought to be required; it reviewed the question of whether it serves students better to require participation or to offer it as one curricular option among many. Planty, Bozick, and Regnier (2006) studied whether patterns of engagement in community service changes from youth to young adulthood and if the motive to participate in community service during high school (whether required or voluntary) has any bearing on community service work in young adulthood.

The survey used estimation measures to adjust for standard errors and to account for the clustered and stratified sampling design of NELS:88. They used probability weights so that estimates could be generalized to a 10<sup>th</sup> grade population, then added in dummy and control variables as additional precautions against over generalizing to indicate the motive for service participation. Findings showed that participation in volunteering dropped during the first two years after high school, then climbed again when young adults reach their mid-twenties.

In general, Planty, Bozick, and Regnier (2006) found that community service participation in high school was related to volunteering both two and eight years after high school. One important condition to this finding was that those who were required to volunteer were only able to sustain involvement if they reported that their participation was voluntary. This is a key aspect of the study, because it implied that those students who felt a loss of power or control did not experience the same positive results as students that considered themselves agent participants. Other significant factors in sustained volunteering included involvement in community and religious organizations. Those students who both wanted and had to volunteer in high school were 38% percent more likely to sustain volunteer involvement than those who did not volunteer in high school. For those who had to volunteer in high school but did not report wanting to, required volunteering did not increase the likelihood of volunteering at the age of 26. Where all service declined post-graduation, low SES persons remained at relatively stable rates, while African-American involvement increased. Students who volunteered because it was required and because they wanted to were more likely to volunteer at both age 20 and at age 26. Study limitations included the fact that NELS:88 lacks information on quality and intensity of high school service participation; in this data source, volunteer work is not consistently measured. Different questions were used to measure volunteer work at all three different times during the study. The assignment of students to service was not random. Despite study weaknesses, the strength of longitudinal information allowed for greater understanding of causal ordering than most research. An additional strength of the researchers' work includes their clear analysis of embedded strengths and weaknesses in the methods used. Future studies using randomized service and more

attention to program quality are needed. The Planty, Bozick, and Regnier (2006) study showed that requirements themselves do not create sustained student interest; their research suggested that personal accountability and selflessness must emerge from student choice.

Chapin (1998) cited the strengths of current extracurricular community service systems by describing community service as an already in-place, flexible, and manageable alternative to service-learning, which creates undue burdens on teacher time, school resources, and school schedules. In support of the anti-requirement position, Chapin cited current high numbers of participants in community service programs without the need for any explicit requirement by stating that 44% of students were enrolled in some form of community service without being required by their schools to participate. Observational findings from the case study included that few service-learning coordinators are available in high schools, that high school schedules are inflexible, and that communication between various organizations are difficult to maintain. Chapin suggested that restructuring of high schools may be necessary for implementation of service-learning. The most significant finding in Chapin's interpretation of NELS:88 data showed that students favor diversity in their choice of community service and that social action is not their typical first choice. Chapin's research was weak. Opinion and data were not separately reported in the case study portion of the report, and NELS:88 data did not connect to the case studies mentioned by the researcher. Additionally, this researcher did not address key faults of the NELS:88. Further considerations of Chapin's arguments require separate studies for validation.

Metz, and Youniss (1997) used a quasi-experimental study to investigate whether required service students' rates of continued/further volunteering changed or whether intention to volunteer changed as a result of the required forty hours. The power of invitation through required service showed in students finishing twelfth grade having completed their 40 hours of service. For students with low levels of inclination to serve, the experience of service changed their commitment to service in the future. Comparing two cohorts of disinclined students, researchers found an impact of required service on intention to serve. There was no indication in this study that required service turned students away from service by examining intra-individual patterns of volunteering. The limits of this study were primarily in the nature of the limited population and the potential non-transferability of findings. Finding generalizability is limited, in part due to the nature of the student sample chosen: The two schools studied were private religious institutions, and demographic profiles in the schools are not representative of national averages. Similar studies conducted on larger sample sets with increased randomization in participant selection would strengthen the reliability of results suggested by these findings.

McLellan and Youniss (2003) argued that both required and non-required service provided desired outcomes, but that they are best understood as separate systems operating from different regimens. They argued that voluntary and required service function as distinct systems serving separate needs. This study showed that those students choosing to do more also participated in networks, families, and friendships that provided support for ideological commitment to service activities. They described volunteer service as the standard against which required service is judged, and they suggested that

other directed/externally motivated service might preclude autonomous expression. Further, they asserted that much of what passes for mandatory service ends up as uninteresting make-work that does not inspire civic fervor. School A showed more students choosing to engage in service-learning projects in the teaching/coaching and social categories, while students in school B engaged in service-learning of a more functionary type. Both schools showed that students were two times as likely to do functionary service for requirement-based projects. There was no difference between schools in the kind of chosen volunteer and non-required services. Students without any friends doing voluntary work chose to engage in functionary service more often than their peers. Parental service forms showed strong parallels to student choices in service activities.

Choosing functionary work is in essence choosing less cognitive, less emotional, and less physical investment. This choice makes sense if students are viewed as needing to prioritize their efforts or are viewed as simply in it for the required number of hours. McLellan and Youniss (2003) suggested that if schools want lasting impact, service-learning needs the same attention and support as other pedagogies, this may involve revising current academic priorities and time allocations to support desired citizenship outcomes.

Researchers in this study suggested that service is not an individual, spontaneous act. They argued that required and voluntary service programs function as distinct systems involving separate factors and that each ought to be viewed on its own terms. Their findings emerged from the complex non-reducible irregularities of volunteer patterns in and out of school and from required service, where students participated in

required service for one reason and in voluntary service for another. The way schools organize service programs determines the nature of service projects completed by students. Networks and other factors influence voluntary service behaviors. McLellan and Youniss suggested conceiving of service as action following from available resources, networks, and organizational affiliations.

### Classroom Implications

Teachers implementing service-learning programs in their classrooms will support student success by incorporating elements of quality into their projects, utilizing student voice, and engaging students in the creation of the project if possible. Service-learning works well in circumstances where students gain contextual understanding from direct contact with others. Reciprocal giving in programs creates respect important to all parties. Training for participation prior to participation creates further opportunities for student success. Longevity of programs matter: when students work with community groups or other outside agencies, the relationships develop over time and strengthen learning. Service-learning experts generally consider creating opportunities for dialogue about service-experiences and opportunities for written reflection essential, but research is mixed.

Citing research supporting skill practice as the primary method by which youth advance civic abilities, Kirlin (2002) investigated the comparative value of service-learning when compared with other skill building activities. A primary quality of the programs described by Kirlin was their reliance on student planning and organization. Kirlin supported the position that service-learning ought to remain an option rather than a

requirement. The skills practice needed for advancement in civics are those practiced by students planning and organizing within groups.

Kirlin cautioned against pre-packaged service-learning programs because they replace student agency with teacher and adult organization. Further, Kirlin rebuked Youniss and researchers for their emphasis on civic identity-development by criticizing the civic identity-development frame as a flawed construction. Describing the flaws and inconsistencies within the service-learning research, Kirlin suggested that researchers ought to revise their thinking about civic identity and refocus their energy on skills practice.

Citing Patricks' skill list as the place to begin, Kirlin described the problem of predetermined end-goals in sports as the same problem created when service-learning gets offered to students rather than being constructed by them. In Patricks' frame, the predetermined end-goal pursued through sports sets the activity of sports in a non-contributing to civic skills category.

Patricks' (2000) list identifies civic skill-building activities: opportunities to identify students with similar concerns, discovery of problems, learning who to contact, types of projects to undertake, and deciding on collaborative action. These skills offer opportunities to learn in ways that organized/pre-packaged curriculums do not support. Volunteer programs with prepared roles tend against student decision-making and civic skill building. Kirlin stated that all non sport extracurricular activities contribute equally to long-term civic skill building, then further stated that service-learning research does not support the position that it offers stronger civic skill building than those

extracurricular activities, in fact it may take away valuable opportunities when adults organize service in advance.

### Implications for Further Research

Current research in the field tends to rely on surveys, NELS data, and case studies. The problem with the research frequently rises from lack of attention to prior inclination to serve and over-reliance on correlation. Researchers rarely establish causative sequences, and few establish strong control sets. The research methods improved in the last two decades, but more effort is needed. In order to know if service-learning ought to be a required element of K-12 schooling, it is important to know how it compares to competing curriculum priorities.

Shumer (2006) encouraged researchers to shift from studying the impacts of service-learning to studying the implementation of service-learning programs and researching how quality implementation might be achieved. Shumer also suggested that program quality related to positive outcomes and that the manner of implementation and support matters as much as the program itself; his work bolsters suggestions made in this review of the literature. Future research ought to focus on quality program implementation in order to answer important questions about the ultimate sustainability of and best uses of service-learning in K-12 settings.

The research reviewed in Chapter Three does not show significant advances from Shumer's (2006) overview; the need for a shift in research focus remains necessary. Given this overview of current research history, it is possible to contextualize contemporary research to current trends in the field. Researchers generally focus on academic and civic education outcomes. Secondary concerns, such as students' sense of

motivation, self-efficacy, and other by-products of service-learning projects in the schools support implementation of service-learning programs, but they do not make up the key elements on which large-scale implementation of mandatory service-learning hinges.

Researchers continue to find correlations between service-learning programs and academic achievement, but cause and effect remain unclear. Researchers focusing on civic education and citizenship outcomes find strong correlations, but the forms of citizenship and civic participation outcomes continue to prompt debate about which political agendas get served by widespread service-learning implementation. The role of existing social capital and intrinsic motivation for service confounds much of the research; increased care in research design is needed when achievement levels are measured.

Service-learning research suggests that student agency and voice appear to constitute important components of successful service-learning projects. Required service-learning does not appear to be a significant determinant of student success, but the research on the impact of mandatory service remains developmental. Findings show that service-learning does not harm academic achievement; when programs are implemented, student grades remain the same or improve. But studies comparing the effects of service-learning curricula to other curricula may be needed if a choice is to be made regarding which programs ought to be mandatory and which programs ought to receive full funding.

Further research on the relationship between extracurricular activities and

service-learning is needed. Critics describe benefits of extracurricular activities as contributing to academics, civics, and other areas of importance, but this body of research did not show a significant amount of comparison data. Service-learning as a mandatory activity in schools often presupposes student noninvolvement in valuable extra school activities. Additional research on the activities students engage in without school requirements is needed. What forms of civic engagement do students participate in when there are not any required school structures for service? How do those forms of civic activities interact with school achievement?

Current research trends focus on civic impacts without acknowledging natural and less structured forms of civic participation. The last study reviewed in Chapter Three (McLellan and Youniss, 2003) suggested that required and non-required service function in separate ways. Future research ought to consider these differences between required and non-required service. Researchers need to improve data describing the impact that required-service has on non-required service activities and networks of social capital.

### Conclusion

This review of the literature shows service-learning as a strong method, but it does not yet prove the need to require service-learning in K-12 education. The question of required service-learning is one of quality; when considering it as a requirement, the inquiry ought to focus on whether requiring a new pedagogy supports quality implementation of that pedagogy. If a requirement will lead to school restructuring, guaranteed funding, and teacher training, then service-learning as a requirement for graduation might work. However, if the requirement is implemented without clear goals, administrative support, or authentic opportunities for student voice, then adding another

requirement to schools already overburdened and underfunded by state and federal mandates may not be the best way to ensure long-term civic involvement.

Research shows a relative lack of negative impacts on student test scores and service-learning. For some students, service-learning is their primary area of success. The question of service-learning returns educators to the question of what we prioritize in a school system with multiple stakeholders. Institutionalization of service-learning provokes school reformers to question the purpose of schools and reconsider the role of schooling in the community.

Full implementation of quality service-learning programs may require significant changes in school structures and in the ways that we measure student success. Standardized testing does not show negative impacts from required service, but the full measure of benefits gained or lost through required service-learning is not currently accessible through standardized results. Proponents of service-learning see the pedagogy as a method to combat xenophobia and as a way to nurture caring democratically engaged citizens. Service-learning does have the potential to engage students in complex dilemmas and to help students feel an increased sense of belonging in their communities, but the research is not yet clear about which elements of service-learning are most crucial to student success and which elements may hamper desired goals.

School reformers support the role of service-learning as one way to increase deep learning via student engagement and increased curiosity. Service-learning does offer learning rooted in personal relationships, and enhanced memory of content through context-based support, but other active teaching methods offer comparable gains.

Implementation of this pedagogy requires further quality research and thoughtful consideration.

If the goal of social studies and other disciplines is to prepare students for participatory citizenship, then reformers must ask how service-learning supports that goal. Many researchers ask about the particular form of citizenship sought and the degree to which service-learning supports goals for social justice, systems thinking, personal responsibility and other capacities for democratic participation. When choosing service-learning or forming a program, program type impacts civic outcomes, as do school auspices and teacher attitudes. The question of required implementation of service-learning in the schools is one that may not yet be settled; further research is needed.

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