
THE INHERITANCE OF NEXT-GENERATION ENGAGEMENT SCHOLARS

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Since the early 2000s, engaged scholars have been part of a generational shift in higher education, inheriting a legacy and rich history informed by the contemporary civic engagement movement that emerged in the late 1970s. Understanding this inheritance is foundational to current efforts to shape engaged scholarship and change higher education institutions in ways that support engaged scholars and serve a larger public, democratic purpose. Lessons can be learned from this movement's past. Examining its trajectory also points to common ideals that continue to draw people together. Like all movements, the civic engagement movement has been sustained by support networks, the vast majority of which have been established in the past two decades (Hartley, 2011; Hollander & Hartley, 2000). Perhaps more importantly, movements are sustained by a clear understanding of what they hope to achieve and what they are moving against (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). For example, the civil rights movement not only sought to create a world of racial understanding and equality but also opposed bigotry and the laws that upheld a system of segregation. In the same way, a desire to promote civic agency and to foster participatory democracy has animated the civic engagement movement. Its ideals have constituted a sustained critique of the notion of the university as an ivory tower and schooling as an exercise in depositing knowledge into the minds of passively receptive students (Freire, 1994). Recognizing these common purposes and adopting new tactics to achieve them in a changing world constitute the foundation of any successful, sustained movement.

A Metahistory of the Civic Engagement Movement

Cold War Science

The individuals and institutions that shaped the civic engagement movement were working within a larger history and sought to redefine colleges and universities as social, political, economic, and moral institutions. Cold War science and the infusion of federal funding that fueled the military, industrial, and university complex fundamentally shaped higher education in the United States. Vannavar Bush's (1945) *Science, the Endless Frontier* framed an epistemological and methodological case both for the primacy of pure science as the standard for research and for basic research to reside at the top of a hierarchy of knowledge production and dissemination, with applied research and knowledge then flowing from the university outward to society (Stokes, 1997). *Science, the Endless Frontier* laid the groundwork for creation of the National Science Foundation (NSF), and postwar appropriations for the NSF began to reshape research universities—a trend propelled by Sputnik and a deepening national crisis defined by the Cold War and fought with scientific advances (Leslie, 1993).

In short, the civic engagement movement inherited what Schön (1995) referred to as an institutional epistemology of “technical rationality” (p. 27) that privileged basic research and an epistemological architecture that fragmented knowledge into increasingly narrow specializations. This fragmentation was mirrored institutionally in siloed departments, a splintering that began at the turn of the twentieth century with the rise of academic disciplines (Benson, Hartavy, & Hartley, 2005). Increased fragmentation and academic work that privileged interests of disciplinary knowledge over knowledge to serve the public good gave rise to a growing chorus of critiques about the university as out of touch, unable to address pressing social issues whose complexity required transdisciplinary approaches.

The Cognitive Sciences and Learning

One of the problems with the institutional epistemology and architecture was that it largely ignored student learning and development. By the mid-1980s, an endless stream of reports emerged on the failure of undergraduate education—for instance, *Involvement in Learning* (National Institute of Education, 1984), *Integrity in the College Curriculum* (Association of American Colleges & Universities, 1985), and *Transforming the State Role in Undergraduate Education* (Boyer, 1986; Cross, 1993, p. 288). Campaigns that were constructed around a cult of objectivity and positivism that separated students cognitive development from their socioemotional development (i.e., divisions of academic affairs and student affairs) were,

according to critics, fundamentally dehumanizing and undermined educational ideals.

Coincident with the rise of the civic engagement movement was a period of significant advances in the cognitive sciences and in developmental psychology that reinforced experiential learning theory and practice. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, research had clearly demonstrated both how people learn and how the structures and practices of colleges and universities were not designed for optimal student learning. This period is littered with national reports that brought the research forward to reveal that the pedagogical architecture of lecture halls and what Freire (1994) called a “banking” model of education—depositing information into empty-headed students—was not the way to produce learning. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule's (1986) *Women's Ways of Knowing*, Chickering and Gamson's (1987) “Seven Principles of Good Practice in Undergraduate Education,” Barr and Tagg's (1995) “From Teaching to Learning,” Peter Ewell's (1997) “Organizing for Learning,” and many other seminal pieces were widely read and discussed.

While drawing upon a long history of educational theorists who championed active learning—Dewey, Lewin, Kolb, and others—all these reports arrived at the same conclusion: Learning happens when students' affective and cognitive development is seen as integrated, when their knowledge and experiences are validated, when they are engaged actively and collaboratively in the learning process, when they have opportunities for direct experience, and when they reflect on their experiences and on who they are as learners. In the most widely cited article published in the influential magazine *Change*, Barr and Tagg (1995) wrote that in a “learning-centered” environment, the “purpose is not to transfer knowledge but to create environments and experiences that bring students to discover and construct knowledge for themselves, to make students members of communities of learners that make discoveries and solve problems” (p. 15). The National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) grew out of developments in the cognitive sciences and the quest for improving undergraduate education. Piloted in 1999 and first administered in 2000, the NSSE was a means for campuses to understand whether students perceived that they were engaged in learning and that they were participating in active and collaborative learning processes as part of their educational experience. From the beginning, service-learning emerged as a high-impact practice that fostered deep learning. The 2002 annual NSSE report found that “complementary learning opportunities inside and outside the classroom augment the academic program,” and activities such as community service “provide students with opportunities to synthesize, integrate, and apply their knowledge. Such experiences make learning more meaningful and, ultimately, more useful because what students know becomes a part of who they are” (Edgerton et al., 2002, p. 11).

The University and Society

During this period, analysts were asking questions about the role of the university in society. As Ernest Boyer wrote in his groundbreaking 1996 essay "The Scholarship of Engagement," the university had failed in addressing the country's most significant social, civic, and ethical issues. Something had to change in order to create "a special climate in which the academic and civic cultures communicate more continuously and creatively with each other" (p. 20). The "special climate" that recognized knowledge assets and expertise outside of academia meant that academics would need to rethink the core processes of generating and disseminating knowledge. The engagement he envisioned would make room for a different way to generate knowledge, which was needed in order for the university to "serve a larger purpose" (p. 13). It required a renewed way of thinking about "knowledge and scholarship," a phrase that served as the title of a 1994 article by Lynnton in which he explored two key ideas: the flow of knowledge and an "ecosystem" of knowledge. Interrogating the flow of knowledge, Lynnton noted that "the current primacy of research in the academic value system" fostered a "persistent misconception of a unidirectional flow of knowledge, from the locus of research to the place of application, from scholar to practitioner, teacher to student, expert to client" (p. 9). Such a "linear view of knowledge flow," he added, "inevitably creates a hierarchy of values according to which research is the most important, and all other knowledge-based activities are derivative and secondary." "In short," he wrote, "the domain of knowledge has no one-way streets." This logic of a multidirectional flow led Lynnton to conceptualize knowledge as an "ecosystem," in which it "is everywhere fed back, constantly enhanced. We need to think of knowledge in an ecological fashion, recognizing the complex, multifaceted and multiply connected system" and to recognize that "knowledge moves through this system in many directions" (pp. 10–11).

The notion of focusing knowledge generation on addressing critical social issues was manifested in the rise of action research, teacher research, and practitioner inquiry. Federal agencies also provided large amounts of funding to universities for these studies. The National Institutes of Health and the Centers for Disease Control recognized the importance of collaborative research in partnership with affected communities. The National Science Foundation (NSF) focused attention on "broader impacts," "the potential to benefit society and contribute to the achievement of specific, desired societal outcomes" (National Science Board, 2011, p. 2). While the NSF considered broader impacts beginning in the 1960s, not until 1997 did this focus become a separate and distinct criterion, and only in 2007 did the NSF further clarify the criteria to emphasize transformative research (National

Science Foundation, 2014). The NSF considered the following questions in assessing the broader impacts criteria:

How well does the activity advance discovery and understanding while promoting teaching, training, and learning? How well does the proposed activity broaden the participation of underrepresented groups (e.g., gender, ethnicity, geographic, etc.)? To what extent will it enhance the infrastructure for research and education, such as facilities, instrumentation, networks, and partnerships? Will the results be disseminated broadly to enhance scientific and technological understanding? What may be the benefits of the proposed activity to society? (National Science Board, 2011, p. 4)

At the core of the goal of broader impacts were another set of questions: "What is the nature of the system within which scientific knowledge is transformed into public policy or social action?" "What interactions characterize this system?" and "What skill sets and partnerships do scientists need to develop in order to optimize the transformation of their science into actionable and useful knowledge?" (National Science Foundation, 2013).

Civic Disengagement

Central to the rise of the civic engagement movement was the need to reclaim what Boyer called higher education's "civic mandate" (1990, p. 16), particularly as the campus foment of the sixties gave way to a disquieting calm that was widely interpreted as student apathy and self-absorption. The focus on higher education's civic mission and the concern with student political disengagement were two sides of the same civic engagement coin. American culture during the 1970s had fostered what the social historian Christopher Lasch (1979) called "a culture of narcissism," a state of affairs that Tom Wolfe popularly described as "the 'Me' decade" (1976). By 1985 sociologist Robert Bellah and colleagues argued in the bestseller *Habits of the Heart* that although individualism was a distinguishing characteristic of American social thought and behavior, it had "grown cancerous" (p. xvii). Faculty experienced an undercurrent of discontent, expressed in the popularity of writers like Page Smith (1990) and Parker Palmer (1992). In 1985 Frank Newman, while at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, wrote in *Higher Education and the American Renaissance* that "the most critical demand is to restore to higher education its original purpose of preparing graduates for a life of involved and committed citizenship" (p. xiv).

Newman and other higher education leaders over the next decades were concerned with the future of American democracy as study after study

revealed that 18- to 24-year-olds expressed little interest in participating in mainstream politics. Trend data from "The American Freshman," a key survey of college students conducted annually by the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), showed a sharp decline in student political engagement. The percentage of freshmen who considered "keeping up to date with political affairs" to be an "essential or very important" objective dropped from 60 percent in 1966 to 45.2 percent in 1980. (The percentage eventually reached a low of 28.1 percent in 2000 [Pryor et al., 2007].) In 2000, campus presidents who joined the national coalition Campus Compact issued the *Presidents' Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education*, stating, "We share a special concern about the disengagement of college students from democratic participation. A chorus of studies reveals that students are not connected to the larger purposes and aspirations of the American democracy. Voter turnout is low. Feelings that political participation will not make any difference are high. Added to this, there is a profound sense of cynicism and lack of trust in the political process" (p. 1).

At the same time, a fierce national debate sprang up in the country around how campuses ought to respond to the political disaffection of America's youth. For many, students who volunteered for community service were performing good deeds but were not acting politically, and campuses that promoted service were not promoting the knowledge, skills, and values needed for active political participation in a democracy. The politics of service surfaced amid President George H. W. Bush's support for the National Community Services Act of 1990: "I am particularly pleased that [this act] will promote an ethic of community service. . . . Government cannot rebuild a family or reclaim a sense of neighborhood, and no bureaucratic program will ever solve the pressing human problems that can be addressed by a vast galaxy of people working voluntarily in their own backyards" (quoted in Kahne & Westheimer, 1996, p. 596). However, as Kahne and Westheimer also noted, "Bush was advancing voluntary community service as an alternative to government programs. . . . While requiring students to 'serve America' (the rhetoric of the federal legislation) might produce George Bush's 'thousand points of light,' it might also promote a thousand points of the status quo" (p. 596).

Social Justice and Change

Raising the question of whether the purpose of the civic engagement movement was to change American higher education was one thing, but asking whether its purpose was to change American society was another thing entirely. This was the larger politics of the movement that Kahne and Westheimer (1996) were raising. At bottom, the question was whether the

civic engagement movement was a movement for social justice, and, if so, what were the implications for higher education? How one's identity as an engaged scholar intersected with the larger history of American higher education and its role in advancing social justice had implications for how one is positioned in relation to the college or university as an institution.

As a movement sharing demands for social justice in the 1960s, the civic engagement movement overlapped and intersected with a movement for diversity and inclusion in higher education, a movement with deep roots in the struggles for civil rights (Vogelgesang, 2004). While both movements sought legitimacy within the academy, by the 1990s tensions emerged as the civic engagement movement realized greater acceptance through an emphasis on depoliticized pedagogy, curriculum, and student learning. Those in the civic engagement movement often seemed oblivious to the potential synergy of their work with the work of diversity and inclusion on campuses and in local communities (Battistoni, 1995). In the first short history of the "community service movement in American higher education" (Liu, 1996), issues of diversity work on campus or how the efforts at advancing service-learning and community service might advance social justice in a diverse democracy are not mentioned. As structures supporting community service and service-learning emerged on campuses in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s—at the same time that campuses had established or were establishing multicultural centers and ethnic studies departments—there was "a strong tendency to separate and compartmentalize these two efforts on college campuses" (Vogelgesang, 2004, p. 34). The two movements struggled to find greater connection on campuses even as they used different frameworks and languages to describe their work; as Beckham noted in the late 1990s, "supporters of each reform movement tend to discount the complexities of the other" (1999, p. 5).

Beckham, the first African American dean of the college at Wesleyan University and a program officer at the Ford Foundation leading campus diversity initiatives during the 1990s, also noted, "We face another obstacle to collaboration" that had to do with a "certain lack of fit. . . especially having to do with the ways in which" some scholars "describe the past and the future" (1999, p. 6). Beckham surfaced a difficult reality about the work of scholars who identified their scholarship as "engaged" or "activist" and who viewed the university as an institution of oppression that fueled wider social injustices. For many of these scholars, often from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups and women, their goal was to direct their intellectual and institutional resources to addressing social injustices in local communities. They did not position themselves as part of the civic engagement movement, partly because they did not see their work as reforming institutions

of higher education. Theirs was a historical relationship with institutions of higher education that Moren and Harney captured when they claimed that “the only possible relationship” of the “subversive intellectual” to “the university today is a criminal one. . . . In the face of these conditions one can only sneak into the university and steal what one can” (2004, p. 101). Resistance to a stakeholder relationship came from the concern that the university would appropriate and corrupt these scholars’ social justice work, following the academy’s past record of exclusion, oppression, and injustice. Thus, there was an orientation that distanced activist scholars from service-learning efforts and wider claims toward an engaged campus because such efforts could appear to serve as cover for the ways in which the university was part of a wider social culture of injustice and, thus, part of the problem. The politics of activist scholarship invoked collaboration with those in local communities but resisted the politics of scholars being collaborators with the university.

This historical and political undercurrent ran deep. Beckham (1999) named it as a historical divide between aspirational and historical democracy. He wrote that those in the civic engagement movement aspired to strengthening “the civic mission of the research university,” and that they “discern something in history that should be ‘recovered’” (p. 6). According to Beckham, these scholars viewed the civic mission of higher education as “something that once existed, but which has been lost” (p. 6), something that required retrieval. For many others, whose scholarly work was defined by a social justice agenda, “The rhetoric of civic renewal can sound dangerous, threatening to smooch over the gross injustices of the past . . . for America’s minority populations” (p. 7).

Amid the often unacknowledged repercussions of a divided history, Beckham and others were striving to find a way for advocates of campus diversity and those advancing the civic engagement movement to find common ground. By the 2000s, people in the civic engagement movement were forced to account for the complexities of diversity. Students were increasingly diverse in every way, as were the graduate students and the young faculty entering the professoriate. Moreover, many of the communities with which urban campuses in particular were partnering were predominantly historically underserved communities of color.

By the mid-2000s, efforts to connect service-learning programs to college readiness in the K–12 schools had arisen, particularly for underserved students in underperforming schools. Often, however, that access did not mean access to the campus that sent the college students into the schools, and it had few implications for changing campus culture. By the late 2000s, greater connection between the two movements, greater accounting of their complexities, and the associated need for organizational change on campus

led to the emergence of structural connections. For example, a number of campuses combined offices of diversity and inclusion with offices of civic engagement, recognizing the inherently intertwined nature of the work (Sturm, Earman, Saltmarsh, & Bush, 2001; see chapter 15).

While seeking to promote deeper partnerships between colleges and universities and their communities and to effect positive social change, the civic engagement movement did not necessarily embrace social justice as a chief aim or adopt political activism as a means for challenging the status quo. It failed to encourage what Barber called “strong democracy” (1984). Boyte joined Barber in critiquing apolitical conceptions of service because it met students’ needs for “personal relevance and a sense of membership in a community [but they] . . . usually disavow[ed] concern with larger policy questions, seeing service as an *alternative* to politics” (1991, p. 766; emphasis in original). In the early 1980s, with the formation of the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), and again in the early 2000s, beginning with the Wingspread summit on student civic engagement, students called for campus leaders to recognize student altruism and provide opportunities to express it. In 2001, when a group of 33 undergraduates representing 27 colleges and universities came together at Wingspread, they challenged the critics as well as their institutions. The students waded into a simmering debate about the varieties of community service experiences (e.g., charity versus justice projects), and “argued that community service is a form of alternative politics, not an alternative to politics” (Long, 2002, p. vi). Participants at Wingspread argued that campuses needed to structure educational opportunities to connect individual acts of service to a broader framework of systematic social change, leading, potentially, to institutional transformation as campuses, government, and public policy become more responsive, public-spirited, and citizen-centered. These two themes—student political engagement and the role of the campus in preparing citizens—were woven together by the vexing problem of higher education’s role in preparing students as citizens in a democracy.

Neoliberalism

Alongside the problematic institutional epistemology, architecture, and pervasiveness of passive pedagogies arose neoliberalism, a political ideology that not only shaped the political economy of the United States but also took hold in the political economy of colleges and universities. The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed both the rise of the neoliberal, market-driven, highly privatized university and the demand for universities to more effectively address critical social issues, many of which were impervious to market solutions. “A central goal of neoliberalism is to transfer numerous

public functions, assets, and roles to the private sector. . . . [It also] seeks to eliminate any notion of the broader public good, including institutions such as schools and public universities” (Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011, p. 13).

Neoliberalism’s effects were apparent in the state’s withdrawal from funding public universities, a result of abandoning the overarching notion of higher education as a public good (Bloom, Hartley, & Rosovsky, 2006). Instead, education became part of the commodification of everything, and its larger democratic and social goals were either discarded or redefined in market terms. Trend data from the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at UCLA show a significant shift over time in the attitudes of incoming students regarding the purposes of higher education. In 1967, 85 percent of students indicated that “developing a meaningful philosophy of life” was an essential or very important objective of higher education. By 2003, however, that number had dropped to 39.3 percent. During the same time period, the percentage of students indicating that “being very well off financially” was a priority jumped from 42.2 percent to 73.8 percent (Pryor et al., 2007, pp. 31–33).

As colleges and universities adopted prevailing neoliberal principles, higher education became viewed as a private benefit, hence the effects of defunding public postsecondary education, rising tuition costs, increasing student debt, the proliferation of online for-profit providers, and the dominance of contingent-faculty labor. Philanthropy also shifted its funding strategies away from higher education. It is hard to know the degree to which the broader discourse of privatization influenced funding priorities, but the result was unambiguous. In the 1980s and 1990s, the major foundations—including the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, Templeton, Pew Charitable Trusts, the Kellogg Foundation, and the Atlantic Philanthropies—collectively had poured tens of millions of dollars into improving undergraduate education and building capacity for public engagement. They were committed to higher education as a public good and invested their resources accordingly. By the early 2000s, however, each and every one of these foundations had deprioritized their funding of higher education as a place that educates citizens for a healthy democracy because the self-evident truth of the public good of colleges and universities had been surpassed by issues of access, affordability, and workforce preparation—issues predominantly framed as access to the private benefit of higher education. From a philanthropic perspective, higher education as a place of teaching and learning to cultivate the intellect, promote ethical growth, and develop interpersonal competence and professional preparation of students as citizens was largely abandoned.

“The logics of neoliberalism” included “relentless attachment to privatization and the destruction of an ethical and relational public” (Simpson,

2014, p. 192), undermining the civic commitments of the movement. The civic engagement movement was often on the defensive, reassessing the democratic purposes of higher education, countering the reductionist trends sweeping across the landscape of higher education, and attempting to counteract neoliberalism’s effects on the university. “For critics of the neoliberal model . . . universities became places of civic engagement,” with the result that “one answer to the abuses of neoliberalism became the engaged university, and one strategy was service learning” (Jones & Shetter, 2014, p. 11).

A New Generation of Scholars

Enormous demographic shifts in the United States coincided with the emergence of the civic engagement movement. Greater numbers of women, people of color, and low-income individuals began pursuing higher education, groups that traditionally had either not sought postsecondary degrees or had been excluded from the academy. These changes in the student population were mirrored, albeit more slowly, in the faculty. For many within the academy, the success of these underrepresented and underserved students became the litmus test for whether issues of access, equity, and social justice were embodied in the civic mission and democratic purpose of higher education. As campuses were slow to change, affirmative action aimed to increase access for historically excluded groups. Neoliberal reaction led to the decimation of affirmative action, but many campuses embraced the educational value of diversity as core to their mission and struggled to adapt to the new demographics—if not for higher ideals, then out of enlightened self-interest in attracting an increasingly diverse applicant pool.

For underrepresented faculty pursuing academic careers, the university was often a hostile place. The institution may have opened the door, but once inside, faculty found a narrow environment unaccepting of many ways of knowing and different habits of being. The university’s institutional epistemology was not hospitable to emerging forms of scholarship (or the scholars who used them), often referred to as *collaborative or public scholarship*, that originated in a rich and complex intersection of feminist, postmodern, postcolonial, and critical race theories, and employed a broad array of disciplinary approaches, schools of thought, and methodological practices. The presence of these scholars, their confrontation with the academy, and their determination to create a different kind of university would have deep and pervasive implications for higher education—across the curriculum, through teaching and learning practices, in research and scholarship, and in determining the ultimate relevance of the university to the wider society.

Focusing on these significant trends in American higher education, HERI added questions to their 2004–2005 faculty survey aimed at assessing

faculty involvement in civic engagement in their scholarship and teaching and their perceptions of the institutional environment. One of the questions centered on whether, in the previous two years, the faculty member “collaborated with the local community in teaching/research.” In the 2013–2014 survey, the response to this question from faculty at all undergraduate campuses was 48.8 percent (Fagan et al., 2014). At public campuses, it was 50.4 percent; among tenure-track faculty, 51.1 percent; among women faculty, 52.4 percent; and among Hispanic faculty, 55.2 percent. For all institutional types, faculty ranks, race/ethnicity groups, and both sexes, the data indicate increases in the percentage of faculty identifying community engagement in their teaching and research since the question was first asked a decade earlier (see Table 2.1).

As one data point contributing to an understanding of emerging faculty work during the development of the civic engagement movement, the HERI faculty survey allows us to gain perspective on a new generation of faculty. As the faculty became increasingly diverse, as evidence from the cognitive sciences revealed the importance of experience in student learning, as there was greater understanding of the kinds of knowledge needed to address social issues in communities (despite and perhaps because of the intransigence of neoliberalism), a generation of engaged faculty emerged within the academy. This next generation of engaged scholars is both a product of the civic engagement movement and a foreshadowing of its future.

Next-Generation Engaged Scholars and the Rise of the Public Engagement Knowledge Regime

Part of the inheritance of the next generation of engaged scholars is a history of the civic engagement movement that empowers them to claim agency in creating what can be identified as an emerging “public engagement knowledge/learning regime.” Slaughter and Rhoades, in their 2004 book *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy*, make the case that throughout the twentieth century, there were two competing “knowledge/learning regimes” operating within higher education, both coexisting within the dominant institutional cultures of higher education.

The language of “regimes” is significant; it is a language of power, privilege, and politics. It constructs an understanding of knowledge generation and of teaching and learning that is inherently political—with consequences for equity and justice in a democracy. Regime language can evoke unease and discomfort, suggesting a conflict within an academy that prefers not to have issues of power and politics enter into the heady atmosphere of freedom of thought

TABLE 2.1. Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA, Faculty Survey; Changes in Faculty Reports in Response to the Following Question: “During the past two years, have you collaborated with the local community in teaching/research?”

	Percentage, 2004–2005	Percentage, 2013–2014*	+ Percentage Change in Response
All Baccalaureate Institutions	42.4%	48.8%	6.5%
Institutional Control	Public	50.4%	6.4%
	Private	46.4%	8.1%
Academic Rank	Professor	45.0%	4.6%
	Associate Professor	52.5%	5.6%
	Assistant Professor	51.1%	5.6%
	Lecturer	45.0%	9.1%
Tenure Status	Instructor	46.0%	10.4%
	Tenured	43.2%	5.0%
	On tenure track, but not tenured	46.8%	4.3%
Sex	Not on tenure track, but institution has tenure system	47.9%	9.3%
	Institution has no tenure system	34.4%	13.7%
Race/Ethnicity	Male	41.1%	5.2%
	American Indian	44.1%	8.3%
	Asian	53.4%	33.4%
	Black	40.9%	5.9%
	Hispanic	40.4%	2.0%
Other	White	42.3%	17.1%
	Other	47.4%	6.1%
	Two or more races/ethnicities	44.7%	6.0%
		57.1%	12.4%

*Based on responses from 16,112 full-time undergraduate teaching faculty at 269 four-year colleges and universities.

and detached objectivity. Such language makes visible the kind of struggle Schön discussed when he wrote of the “battle of epistemologies” on campus (1995, p. 34). The language of regimes, and competing regimes, also suggests regime change that challenges the legitimacy and prestige of the status quo.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) refer to one regime as the “public good regime”; the other, the “academic capitalism regime” (pp. 28–29). The academic capitalism knowledge/learning regime “values privatization and profit taking in which institutions, inventor faculty, and corporations have claims that come before those of the public,” and holds that “knowledge is constructed as a private good, valued for creating streams of high-technology products that generate profits as they flow through global markets” (p. 29). In contrast, the public good knowledge/learning regime is “characterized by valuing knowledge as a public good to which the citizenry has claims”; its “cornerstone . . . was basic science that led to the discovery of new knowledge within academic disciplines, serendipitously leading to public benefits” (p. 28). According to the authors’ historical narrative of higher education, the public good regime prevailed early in the 1900s, but by the end of the twentieth century the academic capitalism regime had driven out the public good regime. Thus, in the early twenty-first century, academic capitalism was in ascendancy if not dominance, and the public good was under siege.

A history of the community engagement movement reveals that among and through the next generation of engagement scholars in the current movement, an emergent public engagement knowledge/learning regime is competing for ascendancy. It is a regime that is fundamentally different from the public good regime and the academic capitalism regime, a regime that does not perpetuate the existing institutional structures and cultures—in other words, a knowledge/learning regime that necessitates institutional change and transformation.

The public good regime reflects the dominant academic culture of higher education, often characterized as “scientific,” “rationalized,” and “objectified,” meaning that the approach to public problems is predominantly shaped by specialized expertise “applied” externally “to” or “on” the community, providing “solutions” to what has been determined to be the community’s “needs.” In the public good regime, the *public service function* of the university is defined by an activity (e.g., research or service) that happens in a place (a community) whereby knowledge flows from the university to the community, the university is the center of problem-solving, and the university produces knowledge that the community consumes—all done with the self-proclaimed justification of providing public benefits.

The goal of the public good regime is for academics who create knowledge to move it beyond the ivory tower. In the public engagement regime, the

goal is for academics to move beyond the ivory tower to create knowledge. Unlike the public good regime, the public engagement regime comprises core academic norms determined by values such as inclusiveness, participation, task sharing, and reciprocity in public problem-solving, and an equality of respect for the knowledge and experience that everyone contributes to education, knowledge generation, and community building. Within the public engagement regime, academic work is done *with* the public; there is shared authority for knowledge generation and cocreation of knowledge and problem-solving that values relational, localized, contextual knowledge. In the public engagement regime, the university is part of an ecosystem of knowledge production addressing public problem-solving, with the purpose of advancing an inclusive, collaborative, and deliberative democracy.

For next-generation engagement scholars, public engagement raises the relationship of knowledge to power, privilege, politics, and self-interest. In Etienne’s 2012 book *Pushing Back the Gates*, a study of university-community engagement, he maintains that successful engagement requires three ingredients: long-term, sustained, leadership, substantial infrastructure; and a widespread sense of self-interest. This element of self-interest shapes next-generation engagement; the institution and those who enact the institution’s mission share a core understanding that the campus’s well-being is connected to the local community’s well-being. In the academic capitalism regime, self-interest was market share or shareholder interest. In the public good regime, self-interest is often translated into the faculty’s research and prestige interests. Only in the public engagement knowledge regime is there a more authentic sense of self-interest. That is, it is in the best interest of the campus’s knowledge, learning, and democracy-building mission to be engaged deeply in the education, health, housing, employment, and overall well-being of the local community.

As the backbone of the public engagement knowledge regime, next-generation scholars are seeking campuses where they can thrive as engaged scholars. If they find that the institution is a barrier to their engagement, they seek regime change. The public good regime does not require that the university do anything differently. All that is needed is to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of what exists, without disturbing the basic organizational features or substantially altering the ways in which faculty and students perform their roles. There is no need for major shifts in institutional culture. As one scholar of literary studies, who identifies himself as a public good scholar, has written, the existing “structure will do quite nicely as a home, thank you, though it ever so badly needs paint, perhaps an addition or two, and a bit of landscaping” (Terts, 2011, p. 34). All that is needed, in this positioning of higher education’s relation to the public good, “are innovative efforts to bring

the knowledge, expertise, and protocols of careful, critical thinking developed over generations within the academy to bear on the experiences and problems of our fellow citizens who make up the general public" (p. 45). Next-generation scholars seek cultural norms that support public engagement and therefore enact agency by bringing about transformational changes in policies and structures. These changes can require major shifts in an institution's culture that are deep and pervasive, altering underlying assumptions and institutional behaviors, processes, and products. The history of the civic engagement movement in American higher education suggests that fundamental culture change in the academy is needed, not merely a new coat of paint.

While the history of the civic engagement movement in American higher education indicates a rich and robust emergence, countervailing forces surround it. Thus, the outcome of the current "movement" around publicly engaged scholarship and institutional public engagement of colleges and universities is not certain. This auspicious historical moment might be described in this way: Located squarely between the neoliberal, market-driven, highly privatized university and the need for universities to more effectively address social issues and improve the human condition are the issues of community engagement, publicly engaged scholarship, and university-community partnerships. This is the crux of the "crucible moment" that the Association of American Colleges and Universities identified (National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012), and what David Scobey (2012) terms the *Copernican moment*. It is nothing less than the moment for next-generation engaged scholars to create the future of higher education.

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