

The Unintended Consequences of Volunteerism: Positive Outcomes for Those Who Serve

Judy Primavera

Fairfield University

SUMMARY. With over one-half of all college students volunteering for community service activities and increasing numbers of colleges and universities moving towards a greater infusion of service-related learning experiences into the curriculum, it is important to understand the impact volunteerism has on those who serve. This paper presents the results of a qualitative study of the meaning and impact of volunteerism as described by experienced college student volunteers in a Head Start-based Family Literacy Project. Volunteers reported benefits in the areas of self-knowledge, academics, and social awareness. Positive outcomes in the areas of personal growth, self-esteem, and personal efficacy were noted. Service and traditional academics were viewed as mutually enhancing learning strategies; volunteering gave coursework more meaning and what was learned in the classroom increased the volunteers' effectiveness in the community. Increased awareness of impor-

Address correspondence to: Judy Primavera, Department of Psychology, Fairfield University, Fairfield, CT 06430 (E-mail: jprimavera@fair1.fairfield.edu).

The author thanks Matthew Cook, Kathleen McGuigan, Anne O'Donnell, and Erica Quinn, for their assistance in data collection and analysis.

This work was supported by the F. M. Kirby Foundation, the Reader's Digest Foundation, Peoples' Bank, Inc., the Corporation for National Service, the College of Arts and Sciences of Fairfield University, and Action for Bridgeport Community Development, Inc.

[Haworth co-indexing entry note]: "The Unintended Consequences of Volunteerism: Positive Outcomes for Those Who Serve." Primavera, Judy. Co-published simultaneously in *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community* (The Haworth Press, Inc.) Vol. 18, No. 1/2, 1999, pp. 125-140; and: *Educating Students to Make-a-Difference: Community-Based Service Learning* (ed: Joseph R. Ferrari, and Judith G. Chapman) The Haworth Press, Inc., 1999, pp. 125-140. Single or multiple copies of this article are available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service [1-800-342-9678, 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. (EST), E-mail address: getinfo@haworthpressinc.com].

tant social issues, greater appreciation for diversity, and decreased negative stereotypes were attributed to the volunteer experience. Volunteers also expressed a strong commitment to engaging in some type of community service in the future. Implications for future research are discussed. [Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-342-9678. E-mail address: getinfo@haworthpressinc.com]

The National and Community Service Acts of 1990 and 1993 motivated America's colleges and universities to focus increased attention on the role of volunteerism in higher education. Universities were being asked to "rethink" their traditional emphasis on teaching and research and to expand their definition of scholarship to include service (Boyer & Hechinger, 1981; Zlotkowski, 1995). Boyer (1994) has called for a "New American College" . . . "an institution that celebrates teaching and selectively supports research, while also taking special pride in its capacity to connect thought to action, theory to practice" (p. A48). According to Boyer, these "new" colleges will create a new model of excellence in higher education, one that will "enrich the campus, renew communities, and give new dignity and status to the scholarship of service" (p. A48). Within this model of education, successful universities of the 21st Century will be those that help to solve our nation's most urgent social problems. Successful graduates of those universities will be individuals who are adept in turning knowledge into productive action. Towards that end, there has been an increasing trend across American colleges and universities to involve students in community service experiences that address important social problems (Deutsch, 1993; Howard, 1993).

Recent discussions of how universities might integrate community volunteer activities into the curricula suggest that such volunteerism should not be viewed solely as "an exercise in altruism" (Markus, Howard & King, 1993). The picture is far more complex than the unidimensional "giver-receiver" stereotype of the "do gooder" college student helping some disenfranchised individual or group. Research confirms that the motivation for volunteering is multi-determined and that volunteerism serves a variety of important functions other than the purely altruistic (Clary, Snyder & Ridge, 1992; Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Copeland, Stukas, Haugen & Miene, 1997). Likewise, recent research on the impact of volunteer activity has expanded the traditional view of "who benefits" from volunteerism. Numerous studies (e.g., Astin, 1993; Batchelder & Root, 1994; Giles & Eyler, 1994) have documented a host of "unintended" positive personal, academic, and social outcomes for those who serve.

Every year, large numbers of college students devote substantial amounts of their time and energy to community service. National surveys suggest that over one-half of all college undergraduates are involved in some type of

volunteer activity (Boyer, 1987; Levine, 1994). The combination of both the abundance of college students participating and the number of universities moving towards the infusion of service into their curricula underscores the importance of defining and more fully understanding just "what" constitutes a "successful" volunteer experience. Thus, it is critical that research efforts explore and document the outcomes for student volunteers (Cohen, 1994). The present study represents an important "first step" in the documentation process. It presents a qualitative analysis of how college students with two or more semesters of service in an urban Head Start setting describe the benefits they experienced as a result of volunteering.

METHOD

Participants

During the 1994-1995 and 1995-1996 academic years, 230 undergraduate students at a suburban Northeastern Jesuit university (approximately 3,000 full time undergraduates) volunteered to participate in the Adrienne Kirby Family Literacy Project. Participants served as language tutors for preschool-age children enrolled in an urban Head Start program. To insure that the students' responses reflected a more extensive involvement in community service, only those Family Literacy volunteers with two or more semesters of experience were included in this study. The final sample consisted of 112 "veteran" volunteers, or 49% of the original sample. Volunteers were predominantly female (82%) and White (90%). Their ages ranged from 18 to 22 years old ($M = 20$ years). Twenty percent were seniors, 41% juniors, 28% sophomores, and 11% freshmen. Volunteers were recruited through announcements posted on campus bulletin boards and by announcements made in psychology and sociology courses.

Volunteer Statistics

Of the 112 volunteers, 46% volunteered for two semesters, 35% for three semesters, and 19% for four semesters. Two semester veterans averaged 34 volunteer hours over 18 separate visits to Head Start; three semester veterans averaged 52 volunteer hours over 27 visits; and four semester veterans averaged 68 volunteer hours over 36 visits. University tutors volunteered an average of 1.9 hours per visit (range 1 to 3 hours) for an aggregate total of over 5,200 volunteer hours over the two-year Project period.

The Adrienne Kirby Family Literacy Project

The Adrienne Kirby Family Literacy Project is a collaborative project between an urban, non-profit family service agency and a private, suburban

university. The Project's goal is to enhance low income preschool-age children's language and school readiness skills. The Project consists of a parent and a child component. Parents are trained by Head Start teachers to be more effective "first teachers" of emergent literacy skills through a series of "Parents as Partners in Reading" (Edwards, 1990) workshops. Children are tutored in their classrooms, individually or in small groups, by undergraduate volunteers who are trained by the Project Director (the author), the Head Start Special Needs Coordinator, and the classroom teachers.

During the two Project years, the Project serviced a total of 780 children (age 3-5) enrolled in an urban Head Start program. Fifty-two percent were female and 48% male. Fifty-one percent were Black/Caribbean, 34% Hispanic/Latino, 4 percent White, 1% Asian American, and 4% "other." Eighty-four percent of the children lived in households with yearly incomes less than \$10,000; 80% received some form of public assistance; 61% lived with a single parent; 28% lived in non-English speaking homes, and 37% of their parents did not have a high school diploma or its equivalent.

Procedure

At the end of each semester, volunteers were asked to complete a brief questionnaire which documented the number of times they went to their Head Start site, the number of hours they spent per visit, and the time they spent "reflecting" about their volunteer experiences. "Reflection" was defined as the time spent thinking about, talking about, or using their experiences in some way. At the end of each academic year, volunteers completed a more extensive semi-structured questionnaire requiring both quantitative assessments and qualitative comments to evaluate their volunteer experience. The quantitative questions asked for Likert-type ratings of participant satisfaction and Project success. Open-ended qualitative questions explored the relationship between the volunteers' experience and a number of potential areas of impact including: self knowledge (e.g., "Give an example of something you learned about yourself as a result of participating in this Project"—"What did you find to be the most satisfying aspect of your experiences as a language tutor?"), academic connections and rewards (e.g., "Give an example of how your experiences at Head Start related to your academic studies"), cultural diversity (e.g., "Give an example of how your understanding of cultural diversity was influenced by your experiences at Head Start"), social issues (e.g., "Give an example of how your experiences at Head Start has influenced your understanding of important current social issues"), and attitude towards service (e.g., "Give an example of how your participation in the Family Literacy Project has influenced your attitude towards service to the community/volunteerism"—"Should community service or courses that incorporate community service be a required component of the curricu-

lum?"—"Would you recommend participating in this Project to others?"). Two raters conducted a content analysis to identify the themes expressed in the participants' responses. A coding scheme was developed that defined each of these themes. Two other raters coded the participants' responses. Twenty questionnaires were randomly selected and coded. The initial intercoder agreement was 85%. The coding scheme was revised and all 112 questionnaires were coded. Final intercoder agreement was 93%.

RESULTS

Reflection

The data revealed that the participants' volunteer experience did not end when they left their Head Start site. Rather, it showed that they spent a considerable amount of time thinking about, talking about, or using their volunteer experiences in some way. For every hour they spent volunteering, participants reported spending an average of 1.7 hours "reflecting" on their experiences (range one-quarter hour to 5 hours). In other words, two semester veterans averaged a total of 58 hours of reflection; three semester veterans averaged a total of 88 hours; four semester veterans averaged a total of 116 hours. In total, volunteers reported devoting over 8,900 to reflection over the two year Project period.

Volunteer Satisfaction

A significant, but not surprising, result was that volunteers found the act of volunteering to be a personally satisfying experience. Using a Likert scale ranging from 1 "not at all satisfying" to 4 "very satisfying," the overwhelming majority (72%) of the participants reported feeling "very satisfied" with their volunteer experience and another 26% described themselves as being "somewhat satisfied." Only a small percentage (5%) rated themselves as being "somewhat dissatisfied" with their volunteer experience ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 0.56$).

Analysis of the qualitative data revealed that the major source of their satisfaction (mentioned by 78% of the volunteers) was positive response the children displayed towards them and the quality of the relationship and the personal connection that they felt they had established with the children they tutored.

I was most touched by the fact that "my" kids looked forward to seeing me each week. They always greeted me with such big smiles and

endless hugs when I walked into the room. The teachers told me that on the days that I was not there they would ask when I was coming back. They really became quite attached to me. And I felt the same way.

The volunteers' sense of satisfaction was also related to their perceptions of the efficacy of their efforts. Fifty-seven percent of the volunteers identified the source of their satisfaction as the feeling that they were "making a difference" in the children's lives and that they saw noticeable improvements in the children's language skills. Indeed, these perceptions are replicated by the results of the quantitative rating of overall Project success (i.e., did the Family Literacy Project enhance children's language skills?). Using a Likert scale ranging from 1 "not at all successful" to 4 "very successful," 93% rated the Project as either "very successful" (43%) or "somewhat successful" (50%). Only 7% rated the Project as being "somewhat unsuccessful" ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 0.61$).

Participants also related their feelings of satisfaction with a kind of vicarious pleasure they felt when observing the children's positive responses to their efforts (21%). Satisfaction was reaped by simply witnessing the children's excitement about learning, their active engagement in the learning process, and their pride in their accomplishments.

Another gauge of participants' satisfaction with their volunteer experience is whether or not they would encourage a friend to volunteer for the same service project. All but one volunteer, or 99%, said that they had already recommended the Family Literacy Project to their friends and would continue to do so.

Self Knowledge

The majority of participants reported that they had learned something valuable or important about themselves as a result of their volunteer experience. Sixty-five percent felt that they had "grown as a person," that they had improved in some specific way (i.e., they became more patient, more tolerant of others, etc.), or that they learned to appreciate something about themselves (i.e., that they were compassionate, caring, creative, the type of person who enjoys helping others, etc).

Through this experience I have found parts of myself that I thought I had buried a long time ago, parts of myself that had been hidden in safe places came back out into the light. I remembered that I can care and have love for those that I don't know that well. I remembered that I have a much softer heart than I let on that I do. I remember that I can feel the pain of other people just by looking into their eyes.

What makes the Project so great is that I not only helped the children, I have also helped myself. Every time I entered my Head Start classroom, I would enter physical as well as emotional therapy. Interacting with the children and knowing that they look up to me gave me a real sense of self-worth. As corny as it may sound, volunteering at Head Start healed my mind, my body, and my soul. Volunteering has taught me things that could not be attained from a lecture or in a textbook. I have discovered a great deal about myself. I have learned that what I become and what I do can and will affect the lives others around me. I have begun to understand what true compassion is. I have begun the search for my "real" self. This I owe to Head Start and the Family Literacy Project.

Many of the participants (44%) described a feeling of competence and increased self-esteem because they had accomplished something that they believed was worthwhile, because they discovered that they were capable of "making a difference," and because they had come to view themselves as "resources" to the community.

I have learned a few things about myself as a result of my time volunteering at Head Start. Most importantly for me, I have learned that I can make a difference in the lives of those around me. I never imagined that my presence could actually have an impact on others. The children at Head Start showed me that I was wrong. I have learned that I am a valuable resource to children. This realization has helped me to feel better about myself. Volunteering at Head Start has definitely been a great boost to my self-esteem!

By involving yourself in something so important, such as a human life, you feel a real sense of accomplishment and self-worth. I feel that I have received more out of this experience than the children I tutored. Everyone should have the feeling of true accomplishment.

Volunteers also found that they learned something about their future careers. Forty-four percent stated that their volunteer experience had helped them choose or prepare for their career. One-third of the volunteers (32%) said that their volunteer experience helped them to realize how fortunate they were, to recognize the opportunities they have, and to appreciate their family.

My experiences at Head Start have taught me a great deal about myself. To begin with, how lucky I was to grow up in a safe neighborhood, living in a beautiful home with a stable family life. I am ashamed to say that I always took my childhood for granted before now.

Academic Connections and Rewards

Volunteering was viewed as having a bi-directional and positive relationship with the students' academic life. On the one hand, volunteering enhanced the students' academic behaviors, understanding, and performance. On the other, formal coursework informed and made more effective the participants' activities in the community. Each of these two very different types of learning activities were seen as adding "greater meaning" to the other.

Volunteering at Head Start was definitely a valuable educational experience. I may have done well in Developmental Psychology without volunteering but the amount of material I would have remembered long term probably would have been minimal. Likewise, volunteering at Head Start would not have meant as much to me if I did not have the knowledge of how kids see things and why they behave in certain ways. The combination of course work and volunteering made it possible for me to learn the material so well that it will be remembered for years to come and applied to my daily living.

This type of positive connection between formal academics and volunteer activity was reported by 81% of the participants. Sixty-six percent mentioned a specific course and provided a specific example of the academic-service relationship. While the connection was most frequently cited for Psychology (especially Developmental Psychology) and Sociology courses, positive relationships were found for courses as varied as Business Ethics, Economics, English, Foreign Language, Nursing, Philosophy, and Religious Studies.

Most participants (70%) believed that the "hands on" learning experience provided by their volunteer activities was, in some important ways, both different and superior to traditional academic book reading and classroom learning. Volunteering taught them things that they could not find in books or a classroom.

No classroom can ever provide what is learned by actual experience. A textbook cannot tell you what it feels like to be a child. It cannot show you what exposure to poverty or violence can do to a child. Reading and actually experiencing are two different things. The reality of my experiences is irreplaceable.

Volunteering also made the information in textbooks and lectures "more real." Statistics took on new meaning now that they had real names and real faces attached to them.

Statistics are more than just numbers. It's easy to discuss "the poor" as nameless faces. It's easy to forget that we are talking about real people when we just study a textbook . . . I got to see firsthand how poverty affects children. I got to see what the kids go through. I now have more compassion and understanding of the problems they face.

Participants (15%) also noted that their volunteer experiences provided them with an opportunity to interact with people who are "different" from themselves and who they might not have met otherwise. As a result, students felt that they had become more "open minded" in their approach to their studies and more willing to sample courses offered on campus related to diversity issues. Because of this "broadening" of their educational experience, participants viewed themselves as being "better educated" and they perceived their education as being "more complete" as well as being "more useful."

All but one (99%) of the participants voiced their support of incorporating more community service opportunities and/or specially designed "service-learning" courses into the curriculum. Thirty-two percent stated that service should be a "required" component of their college education; 67% supported increased opportunities for service and increased offerings of courses that included a community service component but felt that service participation should be optional.

Understanding Cultural Diversity

The Family Literacy Project brought together two very divergent sets of individuals. That is, predominantly white undergraduates from middle-to-upper middle class backgrounds who attend college in a suburban, almost bucolic setting and children and adults from a predominantly poor, sometimes violent, urban environment. Nearly all of the participants (93%) said that volunteering for the Family Literacy Project exposed them to a culture and a way of life that was "different" from their own. Many participants (27%) commented on this contrast and how important it was for university students to be exposed to the "other reality" that exists beyond their own "sheltered" family environments and the "protective bubble" of the university.

Volunteering at Head Start has made me realize what a sheltered life I lead. I come from a small, wealthy, suburb in Massachusetts. I go to school in a small, wealthy town in Connecticut. I really know very little about anything other than growing up with rich kids who get whatever they want. The children at Head Start probably won't get a new car when they turn sixteen. They probably won't have a brand new computer to type their high school assignments on. For all I know many of

them may not even go to high school. But what I do know is that they should have every opportunity to do what their hearts desire. I am so glad that I have gotten the opportunity to have exposure to people "different" from what I am accustomed to. If it were not for Head Start, I probably would have gone back to my little rich town in Massachusetts and lived happily ever after, but it would not have been the same. I want to make a difference.

Nearly one-half (49%) of the participants reported that through volunteering they had gained an increased awareness of diversity and a greater appreciation for the strengths of multiculturalism.

You learn that there is no one right way to think, no one right way to do things, no one right way to view the world. In fact, what you learn is that there can be beauty and value in being different. You learn to be more open to new ideas and new ways of doing things. You learn not to be so quick to pass judgement on someone who is different from yourself.

In contrast, many participants reported that as a result of the relationships that they developed with people who were "different" from them, they came to better appreciate how similar people of different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds really are.

Interacting in a predominantly Black, Hispanic, and economically challenged environment was a totally new experience for me. This was the first time I, a white middle class suburbanite, was put into a situation in which I would be considered the minority. However, interacting with "those people" I learned that they are no different from you and me. Sure their skin is a little darker and maybe their bank account is a little smaller but they still possess the same needs, dreams, feelings, and desires as I do. From volunteering I have learned that "those people" are the same as "us people."

The fact that negative stereotypes about low income, minority, inner city children and their parents were challenged and eliminated (47%) was identified as another important outcome. Many participants were surprised to find they, themselves, actually had prejudices and used stereotypes. Others merely were struck by the contrast between their experiences with the people at Head Start and the traditional stereotypes perpetuated by the media or their own middle class background. That is, the stereotypes predicted that the parents would be uncaring, neglectful, and unmotivated and that the children would be unintelligent, undisciplined, violent, and unkempt. Experience proved otherwise.

When I walked into Head Start for the first time I realized I carried with me the perceptions and the prejudices of my parents and the middle class suburb I live in. I thought that the poor did not really do anything about their situation. I expected that the children of the inner city would be undisciplined, violent, unkempt, and not as smart or as interested in learning as suburban kids. I thought that their parents would be ignorant, neglectful, and lazy . . . then I got to know them. My experiences proved "reality" to be quite the opposite.

Participants (56%) reported an increased knowledge of the devastating effect poverty (and all of its concomitant stresses) has on a child's development. They also claimed to have gained both a greater awareness of how difficult it is for a person to "break out" of the vicious cycle of poverty and increased empathy for those engaged in the struggle to do so. Volunteers (46%) expressed a new appreciation for the strengths and competencies of the children and the parents that they had come to know.

I have come to realize that poverty is blamed on the poor and is taken out mostly on children. I realize that children cannot choose the life they are born into. It is overwhelming to see what some of these children are up against. Many of them have experienced things at age 4 that most of us will never experience in a lifetime. The way the children at Head Start have coped with such a situation is remarkable. The children at Head Start have to work harder and travel farther than do children from higher socioeconomic environments to achieve the same goals. I never truly realized this before. They are truly amazing kids!

Understanding Social Issues

Over one-half of the participants (57%) reported that their understanding of important social issues such as poverty, illiteracy, unequal educational opportunities, community violence, etc., was increased as a result of their volunteer experience.

Volunteering at Head Start made me more aware of the social problems going on in our country. I realize that poverty, crime, unemployment, and illiteracy are more than just pages in a textbook or a story on the evening news. I know what the statistics say. But when you actually witness it first hand, it finally means something. You realize that the problems are real and that they affect the lives children and families. . . . When you see it with your own eyes, you can't pretend it doesn't exist anymore.

Forty-four percent pointed to an increased awareness of the inequities in opportunities and resources that exist across socioeconomic lines, the need to take action to correct this injustice, and the belief that they have a social responsibility to be a part of "the solution."

I have begun to understand social injustice more since I started volunteering. It seems almost unbelievable how unfair it is that some are so fortunate while others are not. It makes you wonder "why" and "who decides?"

I have learned a great deal from my time at Head Start but it has left me with one unanswerable question. The question runs through my mind every time I drive through the poverty-stricken area surrounding my Head Start site. How can the United States, the richest country in the world, allow such a situation like this to occur in its own backyard? We as citizens of the United States should help our brothers and sisters, for when it comes down to it, we are all the same, the only difference is that some are born more fortunate.

I have learned that I can never turn my back on the poor. Often I see law-makers and older people turning their backs on the poor and I used to think that it was just part of growing up and getting older. Now I know that they are the ones who need to grow up.

Participants viewed the development and expansion of early intervention programs for low income children and families as a viable and necessary vehicle for social change. Fifty-three percent indicated that they had learned how important early intervention programs are and how effective they can be in combating poverty and social injustice.

Commitment to Service

The volunteers who participated in this study were highly committed to service. All of the participants (100%) indicated that they would continue to volunteer in some capacity in the future. Why were they so committed? Their explanations included the more traditional motives related to a desire to help others and a sense of social responsibility to "give back" to the community as well as a host of non-altruistic motives related to esteem, achievement, a sense of empowerment, and the emotional satisfaction people experience when they feel "connected" to another human being or when they have found "meaning" in their lives.

I learned that service work isn't just something about helping people or doing something to get better Karma or some other good stuff like that.

But there is something in volunteering that makes me feel good. It gives me hope. I don't know why.

Finally, the participants said that they came to appreciate two other important aspects of volunteerism. That is, they learned that what may seem like a small gesture on the part of one person can have a significant impact on the lives of others (21%) and they found that the benefits to the "giver" often exceed those of the "receiver" (22%).

DISCUSSION

The current study presents a qualitative analysis of how experienced college student volunteers describe the meaning and the impact of their volunteer experience. Findings suggest that, in addition to the "intended" outcome of "helping" and "being of service," volunteers also benefit from a host of "unintended" consequences as well. The undergraduate participants in this study describe volunteerism as a source of personal growth and efficacy, as a crucial component of their educational experience, and as a catalyst for greater social awareness and future civic commitment.

The 1980 report of the National Commission on Youth specifically suggests that community service helps young people gain emotional and intellectual maturity and service should be used to "bridge the gap" between youth and adulthood. More generally, Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) describe the college years as a "time of change on a broad array of value, attitudinal, psychological, social, and moral dimensions" (p. 557). Potential for significant and long-lasting impact is greatest during such a time of personal change. While neither the literature nor the present study can prove a direct causal link between service participation and personal growth, volunteer experiences during this highly influential transition period surely change the odds of which direction the personal change will take.

The concept of learning through the type of "hands on" experiential activities characteristic of volunteerism has its roots in both the educational pragmatism of John Dewey (1938) and the experiential learning theory of David Kolb (1984). The present study confirms that service activity can, indeed, be a powerful pedagogical tool. Newman (1985) advocates for a "marriage" between service and education. Participants' responses confirm that that union is a potentially productive one. In fact, their responses repeatedly reflect what has been deemed a guiding "principle of good practice" in combining service and learning. That is, "service combined with learning adds value to each and transforms both" (Honnet & Poulsen, 1989, p. 1). The data also suggest that the service-academic relationship is a reciprocally enriching one. Students' experience in the community adds depth and greater

meaning to classroom learning and, in turn, what is learned in the classroom helps the volunteer better understand and more effectively contribute to the community.

Boyer (1990) further suggests that for service activities to be effective change agents in education, the link between service and the curriculum must be explicit and it must be guided. In other words, learning through service is not "extracurricular." Rather, the "real world" experiences of community service are infused into the university curriculum through the offering of specifically designed "service-learning" courses (e.g., Galura & Howard, 1994). Although the use of curriculum-related "volunteering" or service-learning has begun to generate an empirical literature (e.g., Batchelder & Root, 1994; Cohen & Kingsley, 1994; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Kendrick, 1996; Krug & Kraft, 1994; Marcus, Howard & King, 1993; Miller, 1994), continued research efforts are needed to document the impact of service on education.

With the possibility of increased integration of service into the curriculum, an important question needs to be addressed. That is, should service be mandatory or voluntary? (Barber & Battistoni, 1993). Participants in this study overwhelmingly favored more opportunities to engage in service linked to specific courses, but opinions were mixed on the issue of "forced volunteerism." More research is needed to explore what differences in outcome occur, if any, when service is mandated to inform future curriculum policy decisions.

In a special report for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Newman (1985) argues that the true crisis in American higher education is its failure to provide both an understanding of social issues and an awareness of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship. Responses of the participants in this study suggest that volunteer activity can be an effective means of remediation. Their reports of an increased knowledge of social issues, a greater appreciation of diversity, and a strengthened commitment to service in the future indicate that the level of their "civic literacy" (Stanton, 1991) had been raised and that "civic education" (Boyer & Hechinger, 1981) had, indeed, taken place.

The present study provided a qualitatively rich account of the personal, educational, and social benefits of volunteerism. It represents an important "first step" in the type of future research that is needed to better document and understand the more general impact of volunteerism as well as the more specific effects of curriculum-related service (i.e., service-learning). It is important to develop a standardized assessment instrument of volunteer effects. Clary, Snyder, and their associates (Clary et al., 1992; 1997) have developed the Volunteer Functions Inventory to assess "why people volunteer." A similar assessment tool to measure the impact of volunteerism needs

to be developed. Towards that end, the content analysis of the qualitative data presented in this study was used to develop a Volunteer Impact Scale (Primavera, Cook, Quinn & Slimmon, 1997). Finally, an important "unanswered" question in this study and in the volunteer literature is "Do the positive effects of service persist over time?" The literature offers little in the way of documentation of the long-term effects of volunteering. Longitudinal studies are needed to determine if the type of positive short-term effects found in this study do, indeed, have a more long-lasting effect on the lives of those who serve.

REFERENCES

- Astin, A. W. (1993). *What matters in college? Four critical years revisited*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Barber, B. R., & Battistoni, R. (1993). A season of service: Introducing service learning into the liberal arts curriculum. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 26, 235-240.
- Batchelder, T. H., & Root, S. (1994). Effects of an undergraduate program to integrate academic learning and service: Cognitive, prosocial cognitive, and identity outcomes. *Journal of Adolescence*, 17, 341-355.
- Boyer, E. L. (1987). *College: The undergraduate experience in America*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Boyer, E. L. (1994, March 9). Creating the new American college. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. A48.
- Boyer, E. L., & Hechinger, F. M. (1981). *Higher learning in the nation's service*. Washington, DC: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., & Ridge, R. (1992). Volunteer's motivations: A functional strategy for the recruitment, placement, and retention of volunteers. *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, 2(4), 333-350.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. (1997). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, in press.
- Cohen, J. (1994). Matching mission with service motivation: Do the accomplishments of community service match the claims? *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 1, 98-104.
- Cohen, M. A., & Kingsley, D. (1994). "Doing good" and scholarship: A service-learning study. *Journalism Educator*, 48(4), 4-14.
- Deutsch, M. (1993). Educating for a peaceful world. *American Psychologist*, 48, 510-517.
- Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and education*. New York: Collier Books.
- Edwards, P. A. (1990) *Parents as partners in reading: A family literacy training program*. Chicago: Children's Press.
- Galura, J., & Howard, J. (Eds.). (1994). *PRAXIS I: A faculty casebook on community service learning*. Ann Arbor, MI: OCSL Press.
- Giles, D. E., & Eyler, J. (1994). The impact of a college community service laborato-

- ry on students' personal, social, and cognitive outcomes. *Journal of Adolescence*, 17, 327-339.
- Honnet, E. P., & Poulsen, S. (1989). *Principles of good practice for combining service and learning*. (Wingspread Special Report). Racine, WI: The Johnson Foundation, Inc.
- Howard, J. (1993). Community service learning in the curriculum. In J. Galura & J. Howard (Eds.), *PRAXIS I: A faculty casebook on community service learning* (pp. 3-12). Ann Arbor, MI: OCSL Press.
- Kendrick, J. R., Jr. (1996). Outcomes of service learning in an Introduction to Sociology course. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 3, 72-81.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Krug, J., & Kraft, R. (1994). Review of research and evaluation of service learning in public and higher education. In R. Kraft & M. Swadener (Eds.), *Building community: Service-learning in the academic disciplines*. (pp. 199-213). Denver, CO: Colorado Campus Compact.
- Levine, A. (1994, July/August). Service on campus. *Change*, p. 4-5.
- Markus, G. B., Howard, J. P. F., & King, D. C. (1993) Integrating community service and classroom instruction enhances learning: Results from an experiment. *Educational Evaluation and Political Analysis*, 15(4), 410-419.
- Miller, J. (1994). Linking traditional and service-learning courses: Outcome evaluations utilizing two pedagogically distinct models. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 1, 29-36.
- National Commission on Youth. (1980). *The transition from youth to adulthood: A bridge too long*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Newman, F. (1985). *Higher education and the American resurgence*. Princeton: Carnegie Council for the Advancement of Teaching.
- Pascarella, E. T., & Terenzini, P. T. (1991). *How college affects students*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Primavera, J., Cook, M. J., Quinn, E., & Slimmon, E. (1997, August). *University-community partnerships and service learning*. Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.
- Stanton, T. K. (1991). Liberal arts, experiential learning and public service: Necessary ingredients for socially responsible undergraduate education. *Journal of Cooperative Education*, 27(2), 55-68.
- Zlotkowski, E. (1995). Does service-learning have a future? *Michigan Journal of Community Service*, 2, 123-133.