

Developing and Sustaining Relationships in a Multi-sector Higher Education Access
Coalition for Urban Neighborhood Change

By

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Abstract

For more than two decades, higher education institutions have increased efforts to support neighborhood change and problem solving with practices labeled civic or community engagement. Critics and participants question whether an institutional engagement movement exists, and they also critique the efficacy of associated practices, especially because they can privilege institutional outcomes over community need. Despite the challenges, neighborhood partners may find value in higher education partnership's potential to develop social capital. In some cases, higher education engagement has become embedded in neighborhood change efforts, but engagement research rarely analyzes the complexities of relationship development processes in coalitions.

Guided by constructs from social capital theory, this study analyzes one multi-sector, urban, educational opportunity coalition to understand how relationships among higher education and neighborhood partners generated resources and structured resource allocation. The coalition, called the Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network (SJEN), included representatives from community-based organizations, higher education institutions, private foundations, a charter school, and faith-based organizations. SJEN partners collaborated for six years beginning in 2006. This analysis focuses on the initial four years of problem defining and finding external resources. I employ archival and participatory observation

methods on secondary data sources, such as interviews, meeting notes, and grant applications.

The findings from this analysis inform higher education community engagement for coalition-based change and educational opportunity by drawing attention to the structure of resource development in coalition partnership. In SJEN, four tensions emerged to undermine equitable distribution of resources: a vague concept of community, institutional obligations, transience, and funding structures. These tensions manifested to privilege school and higher education institutional outcomes, alienating some partners and limiting engagement with residents. However, the coalition eventually built trust that enabled productive conversations where marginalized partners could air their frustrations about inequitable resource distribution. Based on this insight, I construct an alternative model for higher education coalitions with potentially useful considerations for partners. This model emphasizes trust building and balancing bridging and bonding capital to embrace both institutional and relational approaches to change. Higher education engagement can benefit from deliberate partner involvement and deliberative communication among partners to establish mutuality, a measure of quality engagement.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This study contributes to the body of knowledge about the processes through which higher education institutions develop and sustain partnerships that can contribute to positive change in neighborhoods. This analysis documents and critically examines nearly five years of a partnership among university and community-based organizations in Detroit, an effort that aimed to improve educational opportunities for youth in one of its neighborhoods, Sunnydale¹.

Neighborhood change efforts are becoming increasingly systemic and place based, and many of these efforts involve higher education partners as pivotal partners. At the same time, the literature about higher education community engagement has rapidly expanded in the last two decades, as institutions seek to develop knowledge, improve their practices, and better relate to their neighbors. However, this growing literature has not prevented continued calls for more effective engagement practices. The continuing presence of challenges affecting both higher education and neighborhoods necessitates greater conceptual coherence and better professional guidance. These can be derived from careful examination of experience guided by constructs from social capital theory.

¹ In accordance with Human Subjects Institutional Review Board approval, the names of all individuals and organizations involved in this study have been changed to protect the anonymity of partners and participants. Although I did not change the name of the city, I still chose to change the name of the neighborhood to protect the identity of several individuals who may be identifiable because of specific descriptions of their organizational affiliations.

In the context of higher education civic engagement, this dissertation explores the complexity of community engagement—a concept employed to reference higher education institutions’ efforts to collaborate with neighborhood organizations to meet “society’s most pressing needs” (Boyer, 1996). I emphasize the unique challenges and opportunities afforded one specific partnership during the network-building process as higher education partners worked with neighborhood partners to define contributions and attempt to implement a plan. Building partnerships within neighborhoods can contribute to alleviating the growing mistrust of higher education (Tierney, 2006). However, improving engagement does not necessitate simply more partnerships or more activities; the quality and strength of the relationships and the potential for partnerships to contribute to neighborhood improvement both matter. Without further research on the relationship-building process in higher education engagement, efforts to build public trust through partnership could instead undermine intent, and erode rather than actualize higher education’s civic purpose.

Many studies of higher education institutions’ community engagement practices use case analysis to understand the practice of engagement from the university perspective. Others use interviews to contrast the perspectives of community partners and higher education partners. To investigate the process of collaborative partnership, I combine data from several qualitative studies about the Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network (SJEN), a network that began informally and which was formalized with state recognition and financial support in 2010. My own involvement, which began in 2007, toggled between research and administrative

roles. Generally speaking, partners' primary orientation was to explore and align diverse potential organizational contributions toward a vision for community change in Sunnydale, a neighborhood in Detroit. During my involvement in this effort, individuals within and outside the neighborhood were responding to significant economic and social disinvestment and poor education opportunities for youth in the region. Partners anticipated that their collaborative efforts could counter these trends. Within this challenging context, individuals who represented a range of organizational and community interests sought to build a mutually respectful, sustained partnership, but they did not always know how their organizations could best collectively recognize, develop, and express their greatest strengths to create systematic neighborhood impact. All of these factors—the growing number of community-based initiatives involving higher education institutions, the increased emphasis on systemic solutions in neighborhood improvement efforts, and the lack of sophisticated understanding of the relationship development process in community engagement efforts of higher education institutions—provided the impetus for this study.

Statement and Significance of the Problem

This case study employed a mixture of qualitative methods to investigate challenges associated with higher education representatives' collaboration with stakeholders to define and address local challenges. At a macro-level across higher education institutions, the community engagement movement is burgeoning, with institutions turning to engagement to solve a wide range of local challenges.

Whether or not this can be recognized as a movement that extends beyond institutional rhetoric is debatable; however, as local problems are increasingly understood as wicked (i.e., as interconnected and complex; Rittle and Webber, 1973), institutions are becoming more embedded in community change efforts. At the same time, when investigating community engagement at a micro level, research points to challenges that undermine higher education institutions' potential to meet community needs despite their good intentions. The impetus for the engagement movement comes from a variety of sources. Many scholars recognize the potential of engagement, but the implementation of institutional practice needs to be careful and deliberate. In this section, I outline these trends.

External pressures—including cuts to funding policies for social programs, coupled with expectations placed on higher education to exhibit relevance and the need to diversify funding sources (Dempsey, 2009)—have fueled increased attention to commitments and practices related to community engagement. Internal pressures have also contributed to the growing trend toward partnership, as institutions aim to improve their immediate neighborhood environments (Maurrasse, 2001) and contribute to a heightened expression of civic or democratic purpose (Ostrander, 2004). These factors are converging in a movement in higher education to change the roles and identities of students, faculty, and institutions in order to transform universities' relationships to communities as places of learning and practice (Checkoway, 2001; Dempsey, 2009; Ellison and Eatman, 2008; Holland, 1997). Yet this converging pressure to act in neighborhoods has not translated fully

into systematic understanding that enables equitable engagement between neighborhood partners and higher education institutions.

The civic role of higher education institutions—including elite research institutions—has been long debated. Higher education institutions have invoked language indicating a perpetual “crisis” as they attempt to meet the contradictory demands of preserving their elite status and creating a more equitable society (Birnbaum and Shushok, 2001). Leaders and scholars have claimed that higher education is straying further from fulfilling a public purpose. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), for example, argue that these institutions trend toward private business models more than aligning with the public interest. Some of the institutional practices adopted in the name of renewing a civic mission also create strong and powerful barriers between higher education institutions and a broader goal of empowering individuals for action. In the last two decades, higher education institutions have answered calls to become more relevant and engaged through civic and community engagement, which involves promoting service-learning and encouraging more community-based participatory research. But many from within and outside higher education have criticized these efforts for promoting shallow understandings of social change for students (Morton, 1995), focusing on values of traditional-aged and white female students (Butin, 2006), creating little value for community partners (Fairfax, 2006), reinforcing power differences between institutions and the public (Dempsey, 2009), or shifting higher education’s role in society from educating for marketable skills to promoting poorly veiled politicized aims (Fish, 2008).

The process of community engagement is being scrutinized; in recent literature, the gold standard for community engagement is its potential to be “mutually beneficial” (Driscoll, 2008), reciprocal, and a “two-way street” (Weerts and Sandmann, 2008). At the same time, community engagement configurations are becoming increasingly complex, as higher education institutions engage broadly with many partners. Some colleges and universities as well as economic development scholars have framed these institutions’ responsibilities through the concept of “anchor institutions” (Dubb and Howard, 2007). The concept of the anchor institution is gaining traction with university presidents, especially in urban areas (Axelroth and Dubb, 2010), and it describes the higher education institutions’ permanence in their regions and their capacities and responsibilities to serve as engines for economic development. The term “anchoring” may be appropriate in an unintended way: higher education institutions are criticized for exercising a heavy-handed approach that stalls, undermines, or ignores other neighborhood visions for change—perhaps an unavoidable consequence given their significant human and financial resources to bear on social challenges, along with the differential in power between many of the nation’s most elite institutions and the neighborhood organizations that surround them (Maurrasse, 2001; Dempsey, 2009). In examining several different case studies of university partnership, Maurrasse (2001) illustrates this dynamic. The concept of anchoring institutions emphasizes the institutional responsibility derived from colleges and universities’ proximity to disadvantaged regions. It can also put the institution at the center of community rebuilding, which can be at the expense of a broader sense of community. Higher education

institutions envision community partnership as a solution to the problem of growing public mistrust of higher education (Tierney, 2006). However, if universities do not attend to the complexities of the partnership process, then they risk contributing to institutional mistrust through ill-defined practices and inconsistent (sometimes self-serving) motives. Even faithful adoption of the very partnership practices thought to remedy this distrust can therefore backfire.

At the same time that institutions are reaching beyond campus in attempts to strengthen their reputations among the public, higher education institutions are also seen as contributing to some social ills. Just as they are framed as contributors to social mobility (Bourdieu, 2001), they are also perceived as part of a system of institutions that may embody and perpetuate social divisions (Clark, 1960; Brint and Karabel, 1989; Berg, 2010). Higher education institutions can operate as a sorting mechanism for economic status through the “management of ambition” among other subtle practices that perpetuate inequality. While higher education institutions have community connections and make contributions to community change, they rarely explore in depth the best methods to navigate the complex internal and external challenges facing partnerships. This is especially true with regards to the complex social and local challenges that shape the environment for urban education reform. Warren (2005) calls for urban education reform efforts to shift from emphasizing institutional change to embracing community-wide efforts.

Of late, attention is being given to the importance of Kania and Kramer’s (2011) concept of “collective impact” as an orienting concept for community partnership among organizations, and higher education institutions are finding

roles to play in these community-change processes. With recognition that achieving deep and sustainable change requires organizations in a community to work together, collective impact initiatives are guided by a vision of change that often includes, but does not depend on, the university as a centering agent in community development efforts. Through shared responsibility, power can be better understood and to a degree redistributed, offering a way that higher education institutions can become more effectively embedded in their communities.

Other measures, such as the involvement of higher education institutions in Promise Neighborhood Planning Grant initiatives, indicate that higher education institutions potentially play a wide variety of roles in partnerships that emphasize collective impact. Among the 21 Promise Neighborhood Planning Grants that the United States Department of Education awarded in 2010, four partnerships were led by higher education institutions, and higher education institutions were named as partners or potential partners in every application (Hudson, 2013). Institutions are committing to engage in their communities in more complex ways, even as they are learning about how to align institutional and community need. If higher education partners take seriously their aims to support community ends, then they must engage in ways that enable mutual benefits among many partners.

Concerns about higher education engagement practices' potential to perpetuate inequity, coupled with the increased institutional rhetoric emphasizing the importance of engagement, indicate that a closer investigation of relationships development in higher education engagement is warranted. It is a timely and important topic for further research, and the rhetoric around engagement is still

evident. Moreover, the heavy involvement of higher education institutions in systematic neighborhood change efforts and the increased number of these types of change efforts in neighborhoods across the United States both indicate that understanding higher education engagement in an embedded context is important as well. Additionally, the emphasis on change in these partnerships suggests that higher education engagement needs to be understood in terms of impact.

Study Context

This study investigates a process through which a complex organizational partnership was created and sustained between representatives of a research university, Midwest University, and community-based organizational partners in a Detroit neighborhood, Sunnydale. The study employs a qualitative design employing participatory observation and archival research, as it draws from several different secondary data sources collected over several years in partnership including interviews, records of meetings, transcripts of discussions, correspondence, and reports. Context is an important component in partnership building, and issues of context shape this study, most notably regarding the partners, the place, and the political, social, and historical context surrounding and shaping many relationships. Sunnydale is a neighborhood in Detroit, a predominantly African-American city, which has seen significant population decline in recent years. In 2000, Detroit had approximately 1,000,000 residents; by 2010, the population had dropped approximately 25 percent. Sunnydale, a neighborhood within the city, had approximately 13,000 residents in 2010. Sunnydale's institutional and political context has also been in flux. School reorganizations and concerns about both

private and public disinvestment have given regional nonprofits a sense of urgency. It has been within this context that some Sunnydale organizational representatives looked to Midwest University as a potential partner, and higher education partners hoped to contribute to investment energy into the neighborhood for shared work among partners representing both higher education institutions and community organizations.

From an analytical perspective, this trend of community disinvestment highlights a complex environment shared among partnering organizations. The organizational and institutional support structures in Sunnydale were powerful yet vulnerable. This complex context has created the impetus for the partnership eventually labeled the Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network (SJEN). The need for collaborative problem solving in this complex environment created the initial context within which higher education partners at Midwest University—and in particular one organization within it, the Civic Institute (CI)—attempted to build relationships that could create impact around the issue of improving educational opportunity. The iterative, learning-while-doing nature of this partnership was essential to building relationships and was a by-product of engaging the complex, interconnected environment.

Use of Terms

The central concepts within this dissertation include some of the most contested terms in the social sciences: engagement, community, and partnership. Many of these terms have been criticized for their overuse, and, in some cases, their positive connotations have potentially undermined a rigorous scholarly

conceptualization. In this section, I will briefly define how these terms are employed in this dissertation. Key theoretical constructs will also be explored in detail in later sections of this analysis. Here, I only aim to offer initial clarification.

Engagement. The term “engagement” in higher education is used broadly with multiple implications. First, and importantly, this dissertation does not interact with the concept of engagement as employed by many higher education scholars to deepen understanding of student commitment to learning (for example see Carini, Kuh, and Klein, 2006). Instead this analysis aligns with the conceptualization of “engagement” associated with the civic renewal movement and its related civic engagement practices, specifically from within higher education institutions. As Checkoway (2001) argues, the civic mission of higher education emphasizes aims “to prepare students for active participation in a diverse democracy and to develop knowledge for the improvement of communities” (p. 126). Practices associated with this movement cut across the institutional teaching, research, and service missions, so these traditional categories do not provide sufficient clarification. A study of civic engagement in higher education could look at any—or, more likely, all—of these aspects.

My analysis investigates practices associated with the umbrella term of “community engagement,” including the engagement efforts associated with improving communities. I use this term throughout the analysis to describe the attempts of higher education institutions to define, understand, or engage local challenges. This definition is consistent with Boyer’s (1996) concept of the “scholarship of engagement,” which he defines as the process whereby “. . . the

academy must become a more vigorous partner in the search for answers to our most pressing social, civic, economic, and moral problems” (pp. 18-19). Community engagement, as I emphasize it in this analysis, refers to the practice in higher education of reaching beyond institutional aims to improve a locale by fostering relationships between students and faculty members and other partners outside of the university.

However, I also takes on the broader definition of engagement associated with the civic or public engagement movements evident within many fields, such as public administration, education, and public health. This framing of engagement attempts to understand the relationship between individuals in communities and institutions, including the public’s access to governance and policy change structures, which is an essential component of a community change process. Of course, I explicitly differentiate between these two constructs of engagement when I use them in the text below.

Community. Within community engagement, the concept of “community” is often defined differently depending on the process and end of the collaboration. Defining the community by geographical boundaries appears easy, but it is more challenging to define a target population. Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker and Donahue (2003) argue that “community” is defined in many of the broad ways one would expect, but add a marginalized dimension to their definition:

Community . . . includes educational institutions (schools and day care centers), community-based organizations of various kinds (neighborhood associations, for example), agencies that provide services or otherwise work

on behalf of area residents (such as a local health department or battered women's shelter), or groups of people who may not share a geographical association but do share an interest around cultural, social, political, health, or economic issues (for example, unions, Latinos, ex-offenders, breast cancer survivors, and identity groups such as the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Alliance). Sometimes the focus is on a local problem facing a neighborhood or an organization. The focus can also be regional, national, or global. In every case, the community consists of people who are oppressed, powerless, economically deprived, or disenfranchised—that is, who are disadvantaged by existing social, political, or economic arrangements. (p. 4, emphasis in original).

Communities can vary in scope and size, proximity to institutions of higher education, and identity. My interpretations of community assume heterogeneity. For example, the “community” for community-based participatory research, as defined by Israel, Schulz, Parker and Becker (1998), must be a group with strong identification. On the other hand, Pennsylvania State University's partnership to create a community school defines the West Philadelphia neighborhood within which the university resides as a community (Benson, Harkavy, & Puckett, 2000), with little emphasis on identification. Schramm and Nye (1999) complicate this further by suggesting an institutional dimension of “community” and emphasizing the importance of mutual support. They define community as a network of personal and/or institutional relationships with a common sense of identification and with support from others in the neighborhood.

Community is a wide and varied term, which can be employed along several different dimensions. In my analysis, I use the term in many of these forms. But I attempt to use it carefully, centering my use on a few instances: 1) to refer to its use in the literature (especially in describing higher education's "community engagement" movement) and 2) to quote usage by partners, and to analyze how they might understand the term based on their use of it. I refer to the geographical region as "Sunnydale" or "the neighborhood" rather than "the community." I especially attempt to avoid language that will associate any particular individual or organization as representative of the region, and I attempt to avoid language that would imply false consensus. I occasionally employ the widely accepted language of "community-based organization" to distinguish organizations working in the neighborhood from those which were not.

Partner and partnership. "Partner" and "partnership" frequently appear in this analysis, and my use needs to be clarified. These terms are not used normatively in this analysis to imply good practice or meaningful connections, except when explicitly noted. Because I was involved in SJEN, the individuals in this analysis are research participants as well as partners in this collaboration. The term "partner" seemed to me the most appropriate language to label those involved in the network. The use of the term "partner" indicates an individual who had long-term or repeated involvement in the network. Anyone who did not is described as a "community representative" or by a specific organizational title. At times, SJEN partners do use the language of partner or partnership normatively. I will discuss these moments as appropriate, but avoid normative uses of the word otherwise. The word partnership

is also used to describe the network; there are no normative implications about quality or effectiveness with the use of this term, except when indicated.

The Role of Research and the Researcher

As a participant observer, I risk sentimentality in describing my role because I feel privileged to have garnered trust and support from a broad cross section of Sunnydale organization partners in order to carry out this study. I became motivated to be involved in research because I felt that higher education could make contributions to social change. I share an approach to scholarship shared with St. John (2013), who notes his “responsibility as a researcher to contribute to the process of finding solutions to critical social problems” (p. 55). But I wish to discuss my role in this work for reasons beyond acknowledging my own involvement; my approach to data gathering and analysis has practical and methodological implications in higher education research. The phrases mentioned above as descriptions of ideal community engagement, including as “mutually beneficial” relationships and reciprocity are emphasized in the literature; on their face, these concepts are reasonable guidelines in developing higher education engagement relationships, but they are difficult to define in practice. As I came to understand through the period when the long-term relationships were developing, I was also learning first-hand about the trust concerns between community representatives and elite higher education institutions. Many of these have been noted by Fairfax (2006), Maurrasse (2001), and others, but they have rarely become popular concerns of the community engagement literature.

In some ways, this participatory case study typifies the process it describes and critiques. I investigate a process in which higher education engagement is demonstrated to support institutional aims over broader partnership priorities, despite good intentions and engagement with the scholarly literature to inform partnership. Additionally, I designed this analysis by working with a committee of scholars and an internal Institutional Review Board, rather than with substantive input from the community partners who supported this research. If I derive scholarly insights from my work with colleagues in Sunnydale, what should they get in return? Should the benefits come in the form of institutional capacity building, or better access to higher education for Sunnydale youth? Who has the privilege to define these parameters? As a researcher and a colleague, I must carefully navigate this complicated space of defining mutual benefit and developing trust—both concepts informing this analysis and community engagement practice.

My role in this partnership also has implications for the data on which I have based my analysis. Throughout my work as a researcher, I was one of many students involved in developing and understanding the process of higher education community engagement in action for education reform. I worked as a program administrator, researcher, and colleague to form and secure funds for education reform in Sunnydale. As a researcher, I look back with regret that taking copious ethnographic notes was not a priority. If my colleagues at the Civic Institute and I had devoted more time to capturing years of meetings in real time with “thick description,” then this would have provided a richer ethnographic data set of how these partners understood their role in the community change processes, and how

their perspectives evolved over time. Of course, there would have been limitations for proceeding in this manner.

The relationships that have enabled this dissertation were developed not as a researcher, but as a problem-solving colleague, and the problem to be solved was not the network itself. The network was motivated by coming together to define and better serve community needs. CI representatives had an intellectual interest in the partnership process, and they attempted to balance it with a mutual respect, which made them flexible resources as well as researchers. For that matter, when conversations with community partners started in 2006, CI representatives—including myself—did not know how long they would last or whether they would evolve into long-term structures of support.

The data informing this analysis are drawn from multiple rich sources across the five years over which the network evolved. CI agreed to support this analysis by offering archival information about their work with colleagues in Sunnydale, including internal and community-based meeting notes and reflections, grant proposals, formative and summative evaluations of SJEN work, internal and external reports, and selected correspondence. CI was involved in a few research studies studying the capacities and motivations in SJEN's collaborative work. As a result, there were three sets of interviews with selected faculty, students, and staff at CI and throughout Midwest University; interviews from community partners were also available. The analyses were carried out with permission of partners, and although these studies were not community-based participatory research in the sense of being created in equitable partnership with Sunnydale representatives, community-

based organizational representatives generously let us learn with them to improve our partnership practices. Only when the Sunnydale colleagues suggested that they wanted this story told that it became the topic of this dissertation. While the version of the story that I have constructed here is a product of my own interests and insights, I feel a privilege to be entrusted to tell it in a scholarly manner.

Assumptions about researcher subjectivity vary across various empirical methods and disciplinary traditions, but subjective and action-oriented assumptions often align with practices of qualitative research. To borrow language from Milam (1991), this study is “interpretive” in its efforts to understand the shared meaning among participants’ points of views, which include my own perspective as a researcher. But I also embrace “radical humanist” aims, as I attempt to understand the organizational constraints on my own attempts to contribute to social change as an institutional agent, and to carve out the sociological claims for this kind of work. I embrace these concepts to further the epistemological and ontological diversity that Milam finds lacking in higher education research. Although not perfect, this analysis moves into an important and largely unexplored space in the field: I examine the process through which trust and partnership were developed as a plan for research and practice was being defined and before it was fully implemented. Accordingly, intersubjectivity is a central tenet of this work both as a reflection of the dynamism of the process of partnership and as a result of the process of combining research with an attempt to serve neighborhood needs and to promote institutional change. A constructivist framework enables the co-construction of meaning and knowledge

between researcher and participants; this, too, is an essential ingredient for understanding my approach to this partnership.

Contributions from this Study

This study has the potential to present practical and theoretical insights for higher education research and practice. As such, it serves two primary functions:

- 1) To apply and clarify concepts associated with social capital to better inform higher education community engagement.
- 2) To elucidate the process of relationship development between higher education and community-based organization partners in a network for education improvement.

This analysis serves these functions by applying qualitative methodology and a social capital theory lens to the practice of partnership about education improvement in one urban neighborhood. First, and most importantly, this study aims to shed some much-needed light on higher education institutions' coalition-based partnership practice in communities. In particular, I aim to distinguish among the many roles and expectations of higher education institutions, as well as other partners, as part of a system of neighborhood-based change. I employ social capital theory (described more fully in Chapter 2), which offers analytic tools to understand the value of relationships as a frame to understand the structure, expectations, and resources afforded to partners during a five-year collaborative effort among higher education partners at Midwest University and representatives from neighborhood organizations in Detroit. By employing social capital theory, I not only explore how organizations can connect one another to resources and perform particular

functions in a partnership, but I also add nuance to the theoretical concept of social capital as it relates to relationship-building practice among organizations. My analysis will especially add understanding about how interpersonal trust operates at an organizational level between social capital theory's collective and individual frames.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation includes seven chapters. After this introductory chapter, chapter two focuses on literature about higher education engagement practices, especially recent trends and concerns about practice. Chapter two also highlights relevant dimensions of social capital theory to enhance understanding of the structure and resources afforded to partners and how social capital operates at multiple levels to create trusting structures and forge connections to new resources. It also explores how social capital theory has been applied to neighborhood change efforts and higher education institutions and partnership.

The third chapter describes the case study and qualitative methods I use to investigate a set of research questions appropriate for this study. The participant observation and archival methods draw from a strong tradition of qualitative research in the social sciences and education, and these include modes of analysis related to case study, ethnographic, participatory, and action research methodologies. I detail the multiple secondary data sources and establish trustworthiness.

In the analytic chapters—four, five, and six—I provide an analysis of how findings from the study can be understood from three different perspectives

suggested by the literature of social capital theory: expectations, information, and resources. The fourth chapter examines partners' expectations of collaboration through two frames: the process of partnership and the actions associated with the partnership. Partners are expected to uphold certain relational principles, and their actions are judged both through their impact in Sunnydale and by organizational demands. (In other words, partners were responsible not only to each other but also to their primary institutions, and these expectations were not always fully aligned.) The fifth chapter explores some of the resources generated in partnership between Midwest and partners in Sunnydale associated with information sharing. The sixth chapter explores the partnership dynamics in relationship to partners' ability to generate another form of resources to support their organizational partnership aims: financial resources.

Finally, in a concluding seventh chapter, I develop a model of higher education engagement drawing from insights of my social capital theory guided analysis. I describe how relationships interacted with resource distribution in this partnership to privilege some partnership goals and marginalize the shared definition of change developed over time. I then discuss the factors that contributed to the alignments and misalignments between expectations and resource generation. I call these misalignments "mediating tensions." I find that careful consideration of these tensions in partnership could contribute to a more inclusive definition of need through coalition partnerships for neighborhood change for promoting youth development. Attention to relationships and civic capacity building

would improve partnership potential for neighborhood impact and for higher education engagement's potential for change.

Chapter 2. Relevant Literature: Social Capital Theory to Inform Community Engagement

The literature analysis in this chapter is presented in three parts. In the first section, I emphasize the research in higher education about the growing institutional trend toward civic and community engagement. Through this review, I explore some of the dominant practices, concepts, and criticisms as higher education institutions (and the actors within them) reach beyond campus to work with neighborhood-based partners to define and solve local challenges, especially as these institutions become increasingly involved in complex neighborhood change efforts. I set the stage for an analysis of relationship building in partnership by interrogating institutional motivations and approaches to higher education engagement. In the second section of this chapter, I describe social capital theory, because it can serve as a useful tool to frame analysis of relational development in the Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network (SJEN). Social capital theory is an entry point into understanding this complex partnership, because it offers constructs that can be used to analyze how relationships function as benefits and to connect partners to benefits. Finally, I explore how social capital theory has been applied to partnership and neighborhood change as well as how this theory has been applied within the higher education literature.

Higher Education Community Engagement

Higher education institutions reflect and reproduce the values of the American public, representing many of the dilemmas of maintaining a diverse

democracy. Some central tensions have forced higher education institutions to balance institutional and public interests. The higher education system simultaneously attempts to uphold elite and populist values, while it also embodies attempts to simultaneously cater to individual pursuits and collective interests (Martinez-Aleman, 2012). Perhaps as a result of social demands deeply wound up in defining the purpose of institutions in a democracy, higher education institutions have been framed as consistently dealing with one crisis after another throughout the history of the system (Finn, 1978; Birnbaum and Shushok, 2001). A current crisis is one of civic or public purpose and of realizing the institution's public purpose in action (Ramaley, 2007). Scholars find evidence for this crisis in many places, but especially in the decline in public financial support for higher education institutions (Lagemann and Lewis, 2012). Recently calls to reclaim, renew, or construct a civic engagement agenda are raised within many disciplines.

Higher education institutions enact their civic or democratic missions in multiple ways. In an influential multi-case analysis, Ostrander (2004) explored higher education's public purpose and found three rationales that provide "theories of change" for universities to connect their practices better to civic engagement on campuses: pedagogical rationales, rationales based in theories of democracy, and rationales based in the application of knowledge. Civic engagement measures are often justified by their contributions to college and universities' teaching and research agendas. For example, service learning has demonstrated benefit to students by offering "four types of outcomes: an increased sense of personal efficacy, an increased awareness of the world, an increased awareness of one's

personal values, and increased engagement in the classroom experience” (Astin et al., 2000, p. 3). Boyer’s (1996) concept of the “scholarship of engagement” engages many of these practices, when he defines the process whereby “. . . the academy must become a more vigorous partner in the search for answers to our most pressing social, civic, economic, and moral problems” (pp. 18-19), and he suggests that this occur at multiple levels. Universities’ teaching and civic missions are not entirely separable: higher education institutions improve their education of students partially in order to deepen civic responsibility in professional action and to cultivate civic knowledge and a broadly defined sense of community among students.

While supporters of civic engagement in higher education frame partnership as promoting institutional ends, such as increased learning, they also endorse improving connections between higher education institutions and their locales as a method to improve how higher education institutions serve local regions and the broader public. Although institutions have demonstrated a range of efforts associated with their public purpose, it seems that higher education needs to change to better achieve a civic purpose. With cementing strong public relationships as goals along many fronts, higher education institutions attempt to restructure their own work practices and cultivate public scholars. Fostering better connections with the public requires more than rhetoric. For some scholars, civic renewal in higher education requires a fundamental restructuring of the institution. Checkoway (2001) notes that renewing a civic mission isn’t simply accomplished by changing a

few discrete practices, but instead through an institutional transformation toward authentic engagement that requires rethinking the entire institution:

A strategy for civic renewal would include efforts to prepare students for active participation in a diverse democratic society, and to engage faculty in research that involves and improves communities. It would make knowledge more accessible to the public, reward faculty for their efforts to draw upon their expertise for the benefit of society, and build collaborative partnerships with communities. It would connect the diversity and democracy objectives of the research university in a society that is becoming more multicultural (pp. 142-143).

The concept of engagement is broad, and as Checkoway notes above, it requires thinking deliberately about connections within and beyond the institution. Scholars exploring higher education engagement over the last two decades have proposed a range of institutional changes to better cultivate civic engagement in students, faculty, and institutions. Lagemann and Lewis' (2012) recent book also emphasizes the importance of renewing a civic mission and committing to "civic learning" as the means toward realizing this goal.

Higher education civic engagement implies a diverse range of institutional practices, and here I explore one area of civic engagement: community engagement, or how institutional representatives relate to their neighbors to create local change. Increasingly, the Carnegie Foundation is at the center of defining "community engagement" through its elective classification for institutions. They define community engagement as "the collaboration between institutions of higher

education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity” (Driscoll, 2008, p. 39). This categorization charges institutions to cultivate a richer dedication to place(s), and to develop a sense of responsibility to changing environments—especially the ones in which they reside.

Higher education institutions cultivate connections with their neighbors on both local and global scales, and these practices can vary with the scope of the institutions’ missions (Jacoby, 1996; Ostrander, 2004). Internal and external forces are drawing colleges and universities into neighborhood in more systematic ways—the recognition that neighborhood and higher education institutions’ fates are intertwined and also that the siloed structure of higher education institutions often limits impact. The implications of institutions’ independence from the success of their surrounding communities have led to poor perceptions of these institutions by the public, and even violence against students and faculty in immediate perimeters of campus (Maurrasse, 2001; Harkavy, 2006). The institution can benefit from creating safer adjacent neighborhoods. For example, Maurrasse (2001) identifies the response to local violence as a motivating concern for the University of Pennsylvania’s West Philadelphia partnership. Additionally, the push for faculty members to establish the relevance of their work has incentivized community engagement. Dempsey (2009) details this when she notes that “[c]ontemporary universities and colleges face increasing public pressure to address vital economic, social, and environmental problems at the community level. This pressure results from shrinking public spending on social programs combined with rising higher

education costs” (p. 2). The impetus for the higher education institutions to reach out is not provided solely by faculty pressure from within (which is a minor force), but by tightened funding structures for higher education and community programs. Noting challenges from both sides—neighborhood and higher education—of partner engagement, the engagement movement has responded with institutionalization of engagement as a way to meet pressing needs and potentially diminish institutional barriers (Holland, 1997).

Higher education institutions have attempted to build better trust with the public by better conceptualizing and strengthening their civic engagement. Journals from the University of Georgia and the University of Michigan, the *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* and *The Michigan Journal of Service Learning*, have been standards for research in the field. External organizations are promoting research into and the practice of higher education engagement. Countless examples of awards and initiatives exist to promote higher education engagement practices. The momentum of what some have labeled an engagement “movement” among institutions was not only demonstrated by a White House Summit on higher education civic engagement in January, 2012, but is also evident in the creation of the Elective Carnegie Classification, which now designates more than 300 institutions as “engaged.”

In the last 25 years since Boyer (1990) expanded ideas of scholarship (Zlotkowski, 1995) and Campus Compact was established (Roper and Hirth, 2005; Butin, 2006), the increased attention of higher education partnership with external constituencies has been characterized by some as movements for service-learning

and engagement. Initiatives like these have changed higher education institutions and transformed institutional approaches to the “third mission,” or the service or outreach mission, of higher education (Stoecker, 1999; Timar et al., 2003; Roper and Hirth; 2005; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008). The degree to which these collective practices resemble a “movement” among institutions can be debated, though, as institutions engage more with external partners, and research attempts to strengthen practices to engagement. The expectations of partnership are evident, but higher education institutional structures are still considered a challenge, even as institutional leaders extol the value of partnership.

Many models of partnership have informed the institutionalization of higher education engagement, but these models are based in altering behaviors of individual institutional representatives—that is, faculty, staff, and students as they engage in neighborhoods. Schramm and Nye (1999) offer an example of an integrated model of higher education community engagement that highlights research and student engagement in their analysis of community development in 59 Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Partnerships—the first Community Outreach Partnerships Center (COPC) evaluation. They argue that the approach taken to partnership determines its sustainability (at least in part), and they find three models of partnership: the paternalistic/theory-based model; the empowerment or capacity-building model; and the professional/expertise model, which includes a conception of the “university as resource.” In the first model, the community is a lab where faculty research is done and university students learn—and as a consequence residents may see themselves as exploited by the institution.

In the second model, community and university work side by side. This is considered to be “the most effective and most likely to succeed in the long run” (p. 11) because of the recognition of mutuality and local control over the process. The third model, the expertise model, does not offer the same long-term success, but can be effective for short-term projects. It is framed more as a helping or consultancy arrangement, with little resident or local organizational involvement in the process.

The more recently emergent concept of anchor institutions also provides a way of thinking about higher education institutions’ (and other education and medical institutions’) role in their locale. When higher education institutions are considered “anchor institutions,” the concept is intended to demonstrate the mutual reliance between higher education institutions and regions for economic development. Axelroth and Dubb (2010) highlight three primary roles for higher education institutions as they “consciously apply their long-term, place-based economic power in combination with their human and intellectual resources, to better the long-term welfare of the communities in which they reside” (p. 3). They find that anchor institutions can serve as facilitators, leaders, and conveners. Anchoring institutions participate in regional development activities as *facilitators* when higher education institutions have limited financial support for partnership efforts. Due to the funding constraints for community development projects, the anchor institution emphasizes building relationships in the surrounding area. Institutions acting as *leaders* often become engaged in response to crisis and seek to improve the local conditions to prevent crime and to maintain their institutional image. Finally, anchor institutions serve as *conveners* when they make strategic

choices to engage and work in nonadjacent neighborhoods where “universities view the community as co-participants in leadership and agenda setting and give significant focus to building community and resident capacity” (p. 11). Although the authors note similarity in institutional motivations and approaches to partnership among anchor institutions, they also note a great deal of diversity in strategy. For example, Miami Dade College focuses on “best practices” for retraining low-income residents and creating job connections, while Portland State collaborates with city departments on long-term real estate plans (p 13). Anchoring institutions have moved the conversation, grounding it in the place and beyond the institution. Research from this perspective has more potential to reach Boyer’s engagement ideal.

This broader concept of what higher education can accomplish in partnership aligns with Cantor’s (2009) description of the intentions of Syracuse University. She argues that an anchor approach to community partnership can contribute to what Sturm labels “architecture of inclusion” in higher education, which is “designing and giving substance and solidarity to the kind of inclusive community and democratic culture that befit a diverse society” (p. 9). This movement contributes to a “civic infrastructure” that she argues can “make a difference” in Syracuse and “create a pipeline of inclusive human capital for the future” (p. 9). She emphasizes that projects at Syracuse built along this concept are large, collaborative, and “cultivate the entrepreneurial spirit in communities.” This example and the discourse invoked by Cantor also promote a practice-what-you-preach approach to partnership that encourages a grounded understanding of

higher education as an institutional citizen. Frames higher education engagement practices through inclusion, grounds practices associated with it deeply in place and it necessitates spanning traditional institutional categorizations, such as student affairs and academic affairs or other disciplinary structures. Syracuse aims to act in deliberate and strategic ways to support its neighbors based on its unique mission and the resources connected to education and research.

Criticisms of Community Engagement

However, these efforts described in the previous section have also received criticism for not going far enough to reverse institutional impediments to engagement practice. In recent years, conceptualization of higher education community engagement has shifted from understanding autonomous efforts by individual faculty members, students, or programs toward considering the institutionalization of community engagement. This shift has resulted from recognition of deep partnership challenges noted in the literature, and institutional barriers or disincentives are often cited as the source of the problems. Neighborhood partners and residents simply respond to problems differently, and they answer to different reward structures. Although the rhetoric and administrative energy for community-based efforts in higher education institutions have intensified, partners in neighborhoods still note dissatisfaction with their higher education partners. Much of this criticism comes from research with community-based partners who articulate frustrations about how higher education institutions engage (Reardon et al., 1993; Cruz and Giles, 2000; Fairfax, 2006; Ferman & Hill, 2004; Prins, 2005; Prins, 2006; Rowley, 2000). Simply put, the

literature indicates that community-based partners want to accomplish something together, not something prescribed through a course, a grant, or tenure requirements that need to be fulfilled.

In research partnerships, for example, higher education institutions have been criticized for focusing on their own ends and creating little value for community-based partners. Fairfax (2006), for example, notes how many researchers are considered “data raiders” who enter a region, take the information necessary for their professional gain, and are never seen again. Additionally, as partners, higher education institutions can be seen as “frustratingly slow” to get things done (Smerek et al., 2003), even when they do intend on reporting research to communities. Brisbin and Hunter (2003) detail some of the challenges they heard from community-based leaders:

“Community leaders indicated that their organizations need more than acts of civic engagement, experiential education assistance, and service from students. They would like higher educational institutions to help them by providing expert and professional services. Indeed, this pattern of comments and responses suggests that college and university administrators and faculty need to do much more to consider what community leaders need from them and their students, to better inform community leaders about the services offered by the institution and its students, and to provide services to community leaders over a broader geographical expanse” (p. 477).

Higher education institutions may assume that a certain program is the right answer, but in doing so they assume that higher education institutional goals align

with needs in a region. The authors conclude that colleges and universities and collective organizations must invest more resources, facilitate more student and faculty participation, and cooperate better with the community to encourage civic engagement and social capital development both among students *and* in the region where students are placed.

Weerts (2011), a scholar in higher education, also challenges an expert-driven model of higher education engagement, especially the expert language of knowledge transmission, because it alienates institutions from the public and limits knowledge as located exclusively in the institution. Solving situated problems is an alternative framework in which higher education institutions function as conveners, problem solvers, and change agents. He argues that institutions can do more if they look outside of themselves. He argues that a key part of this shift is to set a public agenda for campuses, focusing on “key problems which prohibit progress in a state or region,” and that at the heart of this work is creating the agenda “with university leaders, state and regional partners, and public input via community forums” (p. 4). Weerts, especially in his work with Sandmann (2008), emphasizes how higher education institutions need to embrace a “constructivist” model in order for higher education engagement to become more of a two-way street.

A similar finding was evident in the influential higher education partnership case studies of Maurrasse (2001), who interviewed residents as well as institutional and organizational representatives. In describing the partnership of University of Pennsylvania, although many practices were lauded, one resident noted that the university was going to do what it wanted regardless of the need, because it was

perceived as having so much muscle in the region. Corrigan offers a similar account (2000):

Feedback from community-based clients and staff involved in integrated service programs indicates that they do not trust or have confidence in the university's long-term commitment to collaborative action. Community residents, especially those from lower socioeconomic sections, and practitioners in community agencies who serve these constituents see the university faculty as a separate, elite culture that wants to change others while it remains the same. When professors come into the community to help, they come as experts, or worse, they come with their predetermined frameworks that immediately put the client's problems into categories. (p 193)

As Corrigan notes above, these problems have the potential to undermine the very trust that these partnerships are intended to build. Improved understanding about how these partnerships can be negotiated as relationships is a necessary contribution to the higher education community engagement movement, especially as the higher education institution engagement movement intensifies, and both internal and external parties come to expect that higher education institutions will become more involved with their surroundings.

Community Engagement and Collaborative Problem-Solving Networks

Higher education community engagement must be considered in the broader context of community development and collaborative problem-solving. Colleges and universities' educational missions also align them with many civic reform efforts'

focus on schooling. Several proponents of school-based higher education engagement find education reform to be a central challenge in neighborhoods. Higher education institutions are obligated to contribute to education solutions. Harkavy (2006) locates the responsibility of higher education institutions' civic responsibility in K-12 schools. He enhances the anchor approach by promoting this specific means for universities to engage with their neighborhoods. He writes, "The goal for universities, I believe, should be to contribute significantly to developing and sustaining democratic schools, communities and societies" (p. 7). Many scholars, including Cantor above, argue for the importance of developing models to outline higher education's role in improving educational opportunity. Benson et al. (2007) connect improving education to its civic purpose. They argue that it is imperative for higher education to play a "messianic democratic" role in society through the development of community schools and a clear K-16 pipeline. Part of their vision is that higher education institutions can serve as a stable entity, due to what others have called their "anchor" qualities. Schramm and Nye further this vision, arguing that higher education is in a "third revolution" (p. 78), which began after the fall of the Berlin wall and can "achieve practical realization of the democratic promise of America for all Americans" (p. 78). They cite an "immoral contradiction" between the wealth and elite status of many American higher education institutions, and the state of many urban regions in the U.S., arguing that higher education's democratic purpose can best be served by reforming schools. Henke et al. (1998) argue that in the practice of university-school partnerships, several points of intersection exist: opportunities to write grants, opportunities for

pre-service teachers, increased opportunities for professional growth, and opportunities for students to mentor youth, among others. There are multiple opportunities for learning for both higher education and community stakeholders, all while improving the education pipeline.

Taking seriously higher education institutions' involvement in problem solving requires defining and engaging neighborhood challenges. In recent years, improving educational opportunity has grown as an emphasis for place-based change efforts. Comprehensive neighborhood models, such as the federal Promise Neighborhood Initiative (PNI), envision improving youth development and education as a core process for poverty reduction. Modeled after the Harlem Children's Zone, this regional-based network partnership effort envisions educational improvement as central to poverty reduction efforts. These programs are education-focused; school-based reforms are a required component but they are embedded in a broader vision for collaborative neighborhood change. In the words of President Barack Obama, the PNI aims "to take an all-hands-on-deck approach to lifting our families and our communities out of poverty" through a network of community-based organizations. In 2010, the U. S. Federal Government launched the PNI as a poverty-reduction policy focused on defining a geographic region for comprehensive, data-driven, and education-based solutions. The aim of the policy is to "to improve significantly the educational and developmental outcomes of children in our most distressed communities and to transform those communities" (p. 24671). The grants are available for higher education institutions as well as community- or faith-based organizations, and they enable locales to design a

“cradle-to-college-to-career” continuum of student services to strengthen the entire education pipeline as a vehicle for regional transformation. The PNI grants require the partnership of at least one school. In the ideal partnership, higher education institutions are embedded partners functioning as part of a system of solutions to deeply rooted regional challenges, and higher education institutions were named as partners in the planning or potential partners in each of the 21 Planning Grants for the implementation phases of this partnership (Hudson, 2013).

Higher education institutions are becoming embedded in networks for neighborhood change, and reasonably so, as improving educational opportunity and youth development are increasingly framed as a rallying point for organizational collaboration in neighborhoods. The language of anchoring institutions resonates well with recent external energy encouraging comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs) toward “collective impact” to better serve youth in place-based community change models, and higher education institutions often serve strong roles as partners. This is a philanthropic investment model in which organizations collaborate to pool resources as difficult economic times place constraints on a wide variety of non-profit and public organizations; they all need to get more done with less. CCIs can be thought of as comprehensive, holistic, multi-sectoral, long-term, developmental, inclusive, and concerned with both process and outcome (Torjman and Leviten-Reid, 2003). Kania and Kramer (2011) outline “collective impact,” a way of constructing systematic partnerships. They note that collaborative problem-solving is nothing new, but that “collective impact initiatives are distinctly different. . . [They] involve a centralized infrastructure, a dedicated staff, and a structured

process that leads to a common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually reinforcing activities among all participants” (p. 38). Because these partnerships require so much coordination, collective impact initiatives require time and trust. “Developing trust among nonprofits, corporations, and government agencies is a monumental challenge. Participants need several years of regular meetings to build up enough experience with each other to recognize and appreciate the common motivation behind their different efforts” (Kania and Kramer, 2011, p. 40). Comprehensive community initiatives focus on alleviating poverty through systemic approaches; they touch upon a number of neighborhood challenges rather than focusing solely on one particular area, such as health or education (Torjman and Leviten-Reid, 2003; Aspen Institute, 1997). Collective impact has been taking hold with external funders, who encourage its practice in many regions.

These CCIs have a strong affinity to higher education institutions, especially because research institutions can often accommodate the initiatives’ hefty data-sharing and analysis requirements. Additionally, the more education attainment is considered an integral part of regional growth and revitalization, the more important sustained higher education involvement becomes. It is also clear that relationship development is a common aim of partnership. Within this reasoning, developing a richer understanding of the complexity of higher education community engagement is more important now than ever, as higher education institutions have the capacity to support so many dimensions of these CCIs. They can serve multiple roles as empowers or consultants (Schramm and Nye, 1999) or as leaders,

facilitators, or conveners (Dubb and Howard, 2007). As these partnerships grow in complexity, it is important to closely examine the partnership process to understand how the roles of higher education institutions are negotiated, what roles they can best play, and in what context these partnerships operate.

Higher education community engagement research and practice have evolved in the last two decades. Institutions are attempting to respond to criticism and develop more mutual and authentic relationships in communities, as calls for these reforms from both local and scholarly communities have become louder. Higher education institutions are involved locally in many ways, but they do not always relate to their regional partners sustainably and authentically (Fairfax, 2006; Maurrasse, 2001). Recent literature has made great strides in examining the institutional and structural constraints on relationships for regional change. Although contributions to higher education knowledge about partnership are expanding with efforts to understand higher education's role in community development (Rodin, 2011) and economic development (Dubb and Howard, 2007; Axelroth and Dubb, 2010), the framing often put the perspective of higher education institutions at the center of the analysis rather than examining what community organization and higher education partners negotiate together. Higher education institutions are not *the* partner in community engagement, but often one among many partners with particular contributions to make. At times, the relational challenges seem directly related to mission, but at other times, positioning higher education institutions as the subject of research may cloud understanding of other intervening factors. Emphasizing the institutional constraints of colleges and

universities in partnership may neglect other relevant—even shared—constraints, especially those that may be evident through relational processes or through diverse organizational representatives working together for regional improvement. To understand higher education contributions to partnership such as comprehensive community initiatives, it may be best to understand higher education institutions as one among many organizations with unique goals and interests.

While it is valuable to understand how higher education institutions can uphold their institutional mission in the context of partnership, this framing suggests that community engagement is the problem; instead the problem may be better framed as contributing to a system of change in a region that can improve opportunity. Currently, concepts like mutuality, reciprocity, and two-way streets guide ideal practice in engagement; however, given the complex framework of comprehensive community change efforts, such frames appear limiting. As partnership becomes increasingly networked and complex, higher education institutions will need to operate as a unique contributor in a larger system of problem-solving among organizations. The emphasis in the higher education community engagement literature emphasizing universities' role as unique actors with specific mission ties misses the remaining context: that is, all partners work within constraints, some shared and some unique. Some of these criticisms could overlap with those of other bureaucratic institutions, and others could be part of a collaborative process. The two-way street analogy simplifies the relationships required for change in both higher education and regional partners. Framing higher

education institutions as key to a regional change process starts probing from a different perspective, a relational one embedded in a complex process toward activating resources.

Research on engagement, separated from a consideration of partnership ends, is simply engagement for engagement's sake. An institutional engagement toward no established end limits what can be accomplished (Weerts, 2011), but so too does an established problem-solving agenda when it is created unilaterally by university partners or in limited conversation (Maurrasse, 2001). This underlying tension implies a broader set of partnership interactions. Movements to solve regional challenges are increasingly networked, and higher education partners are part of that process. For successful partnership to occur, partnership needs to be considered as a set of complex interactions within a network, and higher education institutions must accept their limited roles as one partner among many. Even conceptualizing community engagement as a "two-way street" misses the complexity of negotiations among multiple partners. Community engagement is more systemic, and higher education institutions are becoming more embedded in the process.

Simultaneously considering the impetus for community engagement in higher education and the push for broader multi-sector problem solving within regions, there is yet much to understand about the process of partnership. Higher education institutions all too often frame the higher education institution, and its mission and structure, as the foundational building block for partnership. But the goals of partnership—encouraged by collective impact and CCIs—require scrutiny

of higher education institutions as only one actor in a broader partnership's web of change. Higher education institutions often serve as partners in these broad initiatives, but their roles and motives in the process, and the ways in which their educational missions intersect with other structures, are poorly understood. Systematic analysis of the partnership process can not only shed light on complex community-based initiatives, but also help influence the next wave of higher education contributions to regional problem solving. The relationships between the diverse organizations and institutional representatives are the building blocks for better communities that respond to the civic engagement movement. However, the role of higher education and the emphasis on educational institutions in this process is still to be determined. Attending to the role of these institutions will allow an understanding of civic engagement and partnership that frames higher education as an institutional citizen operating as part of an interdependent system of relational change.

Using Social Capital Theory

Social capital theory presents a useful tool to explore relationships. "Social capital" is a complex concept, which is sometimes used in divergent ways (as I detail below), but the concept is rooted in an attempt to systematically understand how human relationships can be translated into resources. As university-community partnerships attempt to accomplish exactly this task—to develop relationships between individuals and organizations that can provide resources for needy regions—social capital theory promises analytical tools to examine the partnership process. This section introduces social capital theory and identifies specific

constructs to inform understanding about partnering relationships among representatives in neighborhoods and higher education institutions. I unpack some of the competing definitions of social capital theory, and I consider the various levels at which social capital is thought to operate, with attention toward how these concepts can contribute to understanding the interaction between educational opportunity and change in a region.

I explore these issues in several subsections. First, I define social capital and the competing definitions of this concept. Secondly, I articulate two dominant approaches to applying social capital theory: the individual-centered approach and the collective approach. I aim to clarify these levels of social capital theory in an effort to apply them to the development of the partnership discussed in this dissertation. This analysis serves as an important and necessary contribution not only to scholarly understanding of the development of partnerships and coalitions for education improvement, but also to clarifying some of the constructs of social capital theory as they can inform the benefits of relationships when applied to organizations.

In the simplest language, social capital is defined as a form of capital that offers benefits through networks or relationships. Several theorists in many fields have contributed to developing an analytic concept of social capital theory, defining and redefining the concept with so many interpretations that some scholars argue that the term may have become impotent (Chaskin et al., 2001; Gittel & Vidal, 1998; Portes, 1998). Part of the challenge of defining this term is that it is employed to understand both relationship building and opportunity structure, with each at

multiple levels (individual, organizational, and societal). A further complicating factor is that the concept's emphasis on the importance of relationships to structure opportunity holds intuitive truth. Conceptual clarity cannot be accomplished if social capital represents all the ways that relationships function. A central challenge to understanding the concept and its application is to further knowledge about how this construct operates to structure relationship benefits, along with the limitations of the term.

Social capital theory has been adapted across many fields of study to describe individual, community, and national relationships (Portes, 1998). In the abundant and often disconnected conceptualizations of social capital theory, different scholars employ the concept differently. The organizing distinction in this chapter is based on considering how social capital is employed to understand benefits at two levels, the individual and collective. I consider different theorists' approaches to social capital theory, including Bourdieu and Coleman, who (among others) emphasize social capital as primarily a structuring force—although they also portray social capital resources as holding potential to alter structures. I also unpack social capital concepts associated with Putnam and others, who frame social capital as operating as the trust that structures collectives. The theoretical divisions indicate that social capital can operate to strengthen individuals' work together, to expand current networks toward additional resources, or some combination of these approaches. I also explore social capital at an organizational level in order to understand how social capital operated within the partnership that is the subject of this dissertation.

Individual-emphasizing social capital theory. One way of framing social capital theory involves scholarly work defining the concept of social capital as how relationships function to benefit or structure opportunity for individuals. Burt (2001) labels this as “social capital as a metaphor about advantage” (p. 31). Although Bourdieu (2001) was not the first to use the term social capital, his concept of social capital has been extremely influential, especially for this school of social capital thought. Bourdieu’s analysis is useful to understand the structures of opportunity. He defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (p. 286). The quality of an individual’s social capital depends on two things: the number of relationships a person has and the “volume of capital (economic, cultural, symbolic) possessed in his [or her] own right by each of those to whom [s]he is connected” (p. 103). In short, it is the number of relationships and the quality of the capital within these relationships that define social capital as a resource to individuals. It is important to note Bourdieu’s individualistic focus. In this conceptualization, social capital investments are what individuals can realize from a relationship and how the resources serve to create social structures within which the individual acts or from which the individual benefits. For Bourdieu, social capital is an avenue to enrich or maintain cultural capital; the relational structures are strongly oriented to reproduce the status quo, as members of each social class primarily develop relationships with similar people.

Within his analysis of social capital, Bourdieu articulates how social capital can function to perpetuate class differences through access to cultural capital. In another work, Bourdieu (2001) emphasizes institutions and the benefits derived from operating as part of them; he emphasizes the restructuring potential of education institutions especially. The education to which one has access through cultural and social capital can serve to act “as currency for instance, in a political career” (p. 93). Educational institutions—or rather, the relationships of individuals within them—offer social currency that benefits graduates. However, he notes that the social capital that accompanies a diploma is fleeting. One can only use it as long as they are near the institution, and the further they get away from it, the more difficult it is for the social capital opportunities offered through the educational institution to remain (Bourdieu, 2001). As he puts it, “the further one goes away from the jurisdiction of the school system the more the diploma loses its particular effectiveness as a guarantee of a specific qualification opening into a specific qualification opening into a specific career . . .” (p. 99). Education becomes a way to authorize or access success. The geographic, and likely symbolic, proximity to an institution of education helps to offer better opportunities later in life, and the diploma alone is not enough to do it. For Bourdieu, the structure of relationships that constitute an individual’s social capital is usually rather stable; however, it is not impenetrable. Relationships through educational institutions and other potential opportunities can serve to create new relational structures, even if only temporary ones. He further argues that social capital includes “investment strategies aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly

usable in the short or long term” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 249). “Establishing social relationships” refers to social capital resources that have yet to be created or strengthened; this process represents the permeability of relational structures and the potential for new opportunities.

Coleman also addresses questions about what social capital can offer individuals, which I will highlight in a moment. His work is best known for adding dimension to the “social capital” concept and improving it as a tool for research. In defining the “forms of social capital,” he is credited with inciting some of the popularity of the term “social capital” in the social sciences through his systematic analysis and naming its constructs (Portes, 1998). Coleman offers a version of the theory that provides a more systematic analytic tool than had been outlined in Bourdieu’s conceptualization. His oft-cited definition outlines social capital in terms of “its function.” As he notes:

[Social capital] is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. (Coleman, 1988, p. S98)

Coleman (1988) focuses on the possibility created by social capital more than the constraints emphasized by Bourdieu; for Coleman, social capital is something to be accessed or built in order to be accessed by individuals (or families). Although Bourdieu (2001) left room for social change, he particularly associated social capital

with the relationships formed through education, and the possibility of social change mostly had to be inferred. For Coleman, relationships create possibility and are “productive.” Thus through “persons or corporate actors,” change is possible because social capital enables “different system-level behavior or, in other cases, different outcomes for individuals” (p. S101). This can be credited to Coleman’s emphasis on creating human capital through social capital. This task is accomplished through 1) obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures; 2) information channels; and 3) norms and effective sanctions.

Both of these scholars frame relationships as structures and means to another end; Coleman frames social capital in terms of its ultimate role in the development of human capital, and Bourdieu links it to individuals’ access to cultural capital. Coleman (1988) argues that a lack of “strong relations” prevents “whatever human capital exists in the parents” from being transferred to children (p. S111). At the same time, he notes that “individuals in social structures with high levels of obligations outstanding at any time have more social capital on which they can draw” (p. S103). In other words, if there are several and/or strong potential relationships, then individuals have more opportunities to draw from more resources. Coleman emphasizes the importance of mutual trust in relationships for the structure of benefits to operate. For Coleman, trustworthiness becomes a key concept that outlines how the group dimensions of social capital are structured and expectations develop into norms. This trust then serves to structure interactions within a group, building a bond that enables access to shared resources. An organized group is required to enforce sanctions and develop the trust necessary for

norms to take hold. Coleman clearly articulates how this process operates through a series of examples. In one, he describes a community organization put in place to confront building problems, but he notes that when those problems are resolved, the structure created through their attempts to solve these problems is still in place for other potential needs. Or more simply put, the act of organizing creates social capital for individuals from which to draw and improve conditions. He notes two dominant norms required for social capital to operate: 1) group interest should be privileged over the self, and 2) relationships should be reciprocal. These norms enable cohesion, structured expectations, and extensions of opportunity to individuals.

At the individual level, the work of Bourdieu and Coleman both enable space for social capital constructs to delineate the process through which relationships reinforce or create potential for new opportunity structures that can operate to create benefit for individuals. However, there are some stark differences in their approach. Coleman sees social capital development as an opportunity that should be pursued by families and individuals to promote opportunity, while Bourdieu sees it as consisting of structures that prevent opportunity. Close relationships reinforce structures that could limit opportunity or function to offer a closeness that may afford new opportunities for individuals in the group. However, for both Bourdieu and Coleman, education institutions could enable changes in opportunity structure. Although these analyses operate from different theoretical perspectives, education scholars have aligned themselves with social capital theory to define and promote

relationships in ways that can support developing opportunities for students and their social mobility (Dika and Singh, 2002).

Social capital operating collectively. Putnam takes the structures described by Bourdieu and Coleman and broadens the scope of social capital to understand how relationships function to afford benefits to communities and nations. In his influential research highlighting a decline in social connectivity in the United States, Putnam's (2000) definition of social capital aligns with constructs from that of Coleman: "social capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19). Several of the core concepts in his framework for social capital theory are worth exploring more deeply, as they complicate previously outlined definitions. Specifically, Putnam relies heavily on the concept of trust in his definition of social capital. He also emphasizes distinctions between "bridging" and "bonding" capital.

Trust is at the center of Putnam's definition of social capital, and high levels of trust afford opportunities, such as economic prosperity, to groups that include societies and nations. Trust is "most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal relations" (p. 19), and it is essential for creating a better society: "When individuals interact regularly and trust one another, social transactions are more efficient and communal problems are more easily resolved" (p. 43). The attention to norms, trust, and networks is similar to Coleman's conceptualization, but Putnam emphasizes practices that have worn down these structures over time. Economic shifts, such as factory closings, do damage to these important social functions in addition to the other problems they cause; the same is evident in some government

reform programs, like public housing, that have “ravaged existing social networks” (p. 6). The dissolution of organizational structures in communities does damage to social capital at a collective level, but social capital has the potential to offer benefits that can permeate throughout regions, with political consequences. Nurturing local organizations to build social capital will help “make our political system more responsive, especially to those who lack connections at the top” (p. 9).

This insight draws attention to the mechanisms through which relationships can be structured to create collective benefits. The relationships of social capital are not simply offering benefit from closeness, as Coleman argues (although that is also important). Putnam expands the theory to distinguish between bridging and bonding. Bonding social capital brings people closer within a group and functions to reinforce trust, creating strong norms and obligations that sustain group cohesion. Bridging social capital is found in the relationships between or across groups, or among groups and individuals. Bridging capital functions to bring resources, assets, and information from beyond a group for access by that group. In relation to bridging capital, Putnam (2000) argues that the weak ties that keep one in touch with individuals in different groups are more valuable than ties to other individuals similar to oneself, because those are the circumstances that can offer access to different resources.

Putnam notes that collective benefits are not enough, and he argues “a well-connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well-connected individual in a well connected society” (p. 15). With this, he nods to individual benefits through relationships, and he brings Burt’s work into

conversation to contrast with his own, more collective approach. Burt (1992) informs social capital theory by applying it deliberately to the structure of networks, especially exploring the benefits and challenges of ingroups and outgroups. He elaborates some of the potential benefits through relationships by detailing the role that loose networks can play in for individuals. He offers closer scrutiny of bridging and bonding, while also introducing the concept of “structural holes.” Burt argues that

The structural hole argument defines social capital in terms of the information and control advantages of being the broker in relations between people otherwise disconnected in social structure. The disconnected people stand on opposite sides of a hole in social structure. The structural hole is an opportunity to broker the flow of information between people and control the form of projects that bring together people from opposite sides of the hole. (p. 340)

In Burt’s conceptualization, which Putnam invokes to deepen the understanding of social capital operating collectively, a closed structure with dense networks functions to offer redundant information. While in Coleman’s conceptualization, closed structures offer strong bonds to build trust and reinforce norms. In other words, if a group is homogeneous, its constituents probably have similar knowledge bases, and the group is therefore of little use in gaining access to new information. Loose networks on the other hand—those with structural holes—decrease redundancy because different individuals involved in the loose structure possess different information. Burt (1992) puts this succinctly: “Other things held

constant, the information benefits of a large, diverse network are more than the information benefits of a small, homogeneous network . . . [I]ncreasing network size without considering diversity can cripple a network in significant ways. What matters is the number of nonredundant contacts” (p. 17). This understanding of social capital theory focuses on change and the returns that can result from contacts with diverse individuals.

Applications of Social Capital Theory

To explore the complex process through which higher education partners’ contributions may remedy deeply rooted social challenges, it is necessary to employ a framework that can investigate higher education as part of a social system of change that considers individuals, organizations, and the neighborhood. The challenges that emerge in higher education community engagement, which is defined as the process of neighborhood representatives partnering with higher education institutions, warrant deeper consideration of the partnership process in context. Because it emphasizes relationships, social capital theory can provide a framework for this analysis. It offers constructs to understand the allocation of benefits and how relationships can connect them. Social capital theory has informed both neighborhood change processes and higher education engagement. At a macro-level, social capital’s relevance to strengthening civic engagement (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 1998) and the benefits and challenges of connections within and across regions (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 1992; Putnam, 2000) correspond with some of the major concerns, models, and questions about higher education’s interactions with its neighbors beyond campus. Both the

individual-centered and collective conceptions of social capital, which I have outlined above, have some application to university-community partnerships. These partnerships are usually intended to remedy deficits in the collective social capital of particular neighborhoods through the development of organizational relationships. Partnerships can be informed by individual social capital, as they serve to connect individuals to new resources and change the structure of opportunity.

Social Capital Theory Applied to Neighborhood Change. Applications of social capital to neighborhood change have made contributions to developing the theory and to understand how relationships can contribute to improvement in economic development and place-based change efforts. Place-based organizational collaboration can contribute to local improvement through its potential to build capacity, whether civic capacity or a broader definition of community capacity. Civic capacity is defined as the ability of those within a region to respond to challenges so as to deliberately shape their common future. These concepts and practices of capacity-building incorporate the idea of social capital. As Shinn (1999) defines it, “civic capacity includes social capital, but goes beyond social capital in a search for theory to explain the social requirements for democratic governance” (p. 103). Chaskin et al.’s (2001) community capacity building concept includes core characteristics of community, commitment, ability to solve problems, and access to resources. Three levels of agency—individuals, organizations, and networks—facilitate community capacity building. This occurs at the individual level by developing human capital and at the organizational level through resource

improvement in CBOs and local organizations. At the network level, capacity building operates through relationships—that is, social capital—among individuals, informal groups, and formal organizations. Across both of these frameworks for community improvement (i.e., the “civic” and the development focused), social capital is a prominent facilitator for neighborhood change. In this section, I detail social capital, including some of its conflicting conceptualizations and the constructs that can inform how relationships may function to benefit participants within SJEN.

Thinking in terms of collectives, Safford’s (2009) analysis compared two neighborhoods to understand their differences based in network structures. His work investigated the growth and decline in Allentown and Youngstown, and it found similar levels of social capital across both regions, as measured similarly to Putnam (voter turnout, church attendance, and high levels of perceived trust). But he argues that the density of the networks actually hurt development of Youngstown, as it had less robust connections from which to draw. In other words, at the city level, Youngstown’s leadership had more bonding capital than bridging capital, which hurt its ability to adapt in a global economy. Such an analysis links a community’s collective lack of bridging social capital with a variety of other economic or social problems.

Safford’s work aligns with Burt’s (1992) structural-hole theory, in which weaker links between more people lead to greater entrepreneurship and the extension of opportunities. Improving economic opportunity is not simply a matter of having dense networks; it is perhaps more important to have diverse networks reaching across various types of partners. As he puts it, it is the “configuration” of

the networks that matters more than their presence (p. 150). Studying the configuration of a community's networks (i.e., its social capital) thus becomes a method for diagnosing its problems and prognosticating its potential. In this sense, the concept of collective social capital is a tool for scholars to identify and analyze needy communities.

Temkin and Rohe (1998) investigate the relationship between social capital and adaption to change. They define social capital by two dimensions, social milieu and institutional infrastructure. Social milieu consists of the "identity, interactions, and linkages" within a neighborhood (p. 67), and institutional infrastructure consists of the presence of neighborhood organizations and their likelihood to act for the neighborhood. They argue that "the combination of a strong sociocultural milieu and an institutional infrastructure is characteristic of a neighborhood where residents feel a strong sense of community and are able to translate this feeling into effective collective action" (p. 71). Social capital by their definition consists of relationships, trust, and institutional links, along with the potential for collective action. This collective action component is missing in Putnam's definition; throughout several years of his analysis, the United States was experiencing some extraordinarily collective actions in the civil rights and feminist movements.

In Temkin and Rohe's (1998) analysis, they find that their social capital measures are more significant than many housing variables in explaining neighborhood stability (as measured by owner-occupied housing prices over time). They did not, however, find significance with one commonly conceptualized aspect of social capital: community volunteering. Instead, they found that more political or

action-oriented variables, such as involvement in organization for change, were significant. According to their analysis, participation is not enough; instead, the type of participation matters. Simply put, it seems that the degree to which social capital effects community growth or stability depends on how the concept is operationalized. Woolcock (1998) also frames social capital in terms of the quality of relationship connections that can lend themselves to informing an analysis of inter-organizational networks. He introduces the related concepts of *linkages*, or linking capital, which are the “extra-community networks” and *integration*, which are “intra-community ties” (p. 172). Woolcock argues that both of these can occur in different levels, from low to high, with different outcomes. For example, high levels of linkage coupled with low levels of integration produce *anomie*. In other words, individuals might have many contacts, but few that they can relate to, which results in a feeling of alienation or meaninglessness. Understanding the ways that trust and information operate in social capital theory in different contexts is an important conceptual area that has yet to be fully explored.

Nonprofit Organizations and Social Capital. Social capital theory has been employed by other scholars to understand nonprofit organizations and partnerships among them. As Blakely and Ivory (2006) note, the diverse interpretations of social capital imply that the concept has yet to reach its full conceptual potential. Two seemingly conflicting frames are evident to understand the benefits derived for individuals and collectives through relationships. Further complicating this is the location of the benefits, which could be located in strong, cohesive relationships that

facilitate interdependence and trust (bonding capital) or located in weak ties, which operate to access individuals or collectives to new information (bridging capital).

Recent work in social capital theory by Schneider (2009) aims to understand how social capital operates in relation to nonprofit organizations. Networks, trust, and information are concepts evident throughout the multiple conceptualizations of social capital theory. Schneider (2009) notes social capital constructs' potential to understand how resources operate through organizational relationships:

Social capital networks are more than simply connections; they are ties that people and organizations use over time to get access to the resources they need. These ties are reciprocal, enforceable, and durable; relationships do not end if one promise is broken or a partner does not come through in a single instance (pp. 647-648).

Repeated interactions are essential to develop trust, which is negotiated through enduring relationships—and a relationship is different from a promise broken or kept. In her analysis, Schneider notes that differences in trust emerged among partners. As a concept, trust in organizational actors is not easily measured. Looking for either its presence or its absence is insufficient, and instead it should be analyzed qualitatively, requiring an understanding of how expectations are negotiated through the partnership process. At this organizational level, attending to the qualities of relationships can inform how social capital functions within an organizational partnership network.

Social Capital Theory in Higher Education Engagement. In the practice of partnership, "Achieving..." (2007), a Community-Campus Partnerships for Health

report, highlights the community member perspective about community engagement practice, emphasizing that community-based organization partners find value in higher education partnership because of relationships: “one of the significant potential benefits of community-higher education partnerships is the building of social capital” (p. 11). At the same time, though, the authors note the challenge in this process inasmuch as “building social capital is a long-term process that takes years” (p. 11). Cox (2000) argues similarly in contending that one of the main “activities” for higher education partnerships is the facilitation of social capital development in partnership (p. 10). Leaders in higher education also make a connection between higher education and social capital related to building civic life. Gamson (1997) claims that higher education institutions need to “rebuild the social capital of higher education itself,” and a central contributor is connecting meaningfully with communities and community groups. This is seen as a remedy to faculty being cut off from civic life and “functioning in an environment starved for social capital” (Gamson, 1997, p. 13). The concept of social capital, explicitly or implicitly, fuels and even guides the community engagement movement in higher education. Although this movement is defined by institutional practice, these community engagement practices pursue a strategy similar to Coleman’s conceptualization that describes developing relationships between individuals and organizations in order to promote social change. Colleges and universities diagnose troubled neighborhoods partially through by applying a concept of collective social capital, and they seek a remedy by developing individual social capital between higher education and community partners.

Few studies have applied social capital analysis to specific higher education-community partnerships to inform the development of individual, organizational, and neighborhood relationships as part of a system of social change. In a higher education partnership study emphasizing the perspective of neighborhood partners, Creighton (2006) draws from Putnam's work in social capital, but only for its impact to draw attention to civic engagement. One of the few studies to analyze higher education and social capital in communities was conducted nearly a decade ago by Brisbin and Hunter (2003). Their primary aims were to understand community perceptions of student participation in the community and the development of social capital, defined as civic participation in students. They conducted four focus groups with government officials and other community leaders, including educators and leaders of community organizations from four regions. They follow the series of focus groups with a survey, which had a 25% response rate and approximately 450 participants. They grounded their analysis in the assumption that experiential learning projects build social capital building by enhancing student commitment to civic engagement, and then investigate that assumption. At the same time, though, they also explore community perceptions of their own civic engagement changes. Rubin (2000) emphasizes "building trust, strong relationships, and social capital" as a consideration of the complex university-community partnership process. Such studies are useful, but they do not apply social capital concepts to analyze the development of relationships between university and community partners over time to understand practice that can enhance the quality and structure of these organizational partnerships.

Analyses of partnership in higher education largely emphasize social capital for its connections to a broader civic engagement movement or outcomes, and they only anecdotally reference higher education institution relational contributions in partnership. Scholars frequently reference higher education's potential for building social capital, but the limited evidence offered to support this claim warrants further analysis of higher education partners' roles as contributing to the benefits resulting from higher education-community partnerships.

A Framework to Understand Relationships and Resources

In this chapter, I highlighted two literatures with potential to frame understanding of practice in the SJEN partnership: higher education engagement and social capital theory. This literature points to three areas of practice where social capital can be a relevant concept: partnership for neighborhood change, education opportunity, and higher education engagement. These concepts create a framework for how social capital can be employed to analyze the SJEN partnership and higher education's involvement in it.

As I have discussed above, social capital theory is far from monolithic, and it is interpreted and applied in divergent ways by different theorists and scholars. At the individual level, social capital has been conceptualized as the structures of relationships that serve to create or hinder opportunity for individuals. Both Bourdieu and Coleman framed it in this way, although they propose different solutions to changing opportunity structures. For Bourdieu, the structures were based in class and culture, and for Coleman, individual families were responsible for changing opportunity structures for individuals. At the same time, they both

recognized an important role for schools and education to play in realigning relationships and creating new potential structures—or as Coleman would note, norms. Putnam incorporates constructs similar to Coleman’s conceptualization, but trust is a defining component of Putnam’s view of social capital. Social capital is at the heart of many analyses focusing on trust building in higher education (see Tierney [2006] for an example). As Safford (2009) notes, trust may be a limited concept however, if conceptualized as the only benefit from relationships at a collective level. In his comparison of Allentown and Youngstown, Safford finds similar levels of social capital, as measured by voter turnout, church attendance, and high levels of trust. Instead, he argues that the density of the networks hurt the development of Youngstown, as it had a less robust network from which to draw. In other words, Youngstown had more bonding capital than bridging capital, which hurt its ability to adapt to the global economy by connecting to outside resources. He brings a close attentiveness to network configuration for collectives.

This expands Coleman’s conceptualization of social capital to align more with Burt’s (1992) structural-hole theory, making both bridging and bonding indispensable to the analysis. Burt’s work, while conceptualized in terms of individuals rather than organizations, shows that weaker links across more people leads to entrepreneurship, innovation, and opportunity. Social capital is not simply a matter of the existence of trusting, dense networks; it is important to have diverse networks reaching across various types of partners. As he puts it, it is the “configuration” of the networks that matters more than their presence (p. 150). At the same time, too much bridging social capital can lead to exclusion and inequality.

These layers of complexity within social capital theory are essential for this analysis. On the face of it, higher education institutions can contribute to social capital formation in communities, but power dynamics and resource allocation often manifest as challenges in community partnerships. As a result, trust needs to be understood as an incomplete and potentially fluid concept. Additionally, the role of education access needs to be further developed in relation to capacity building.

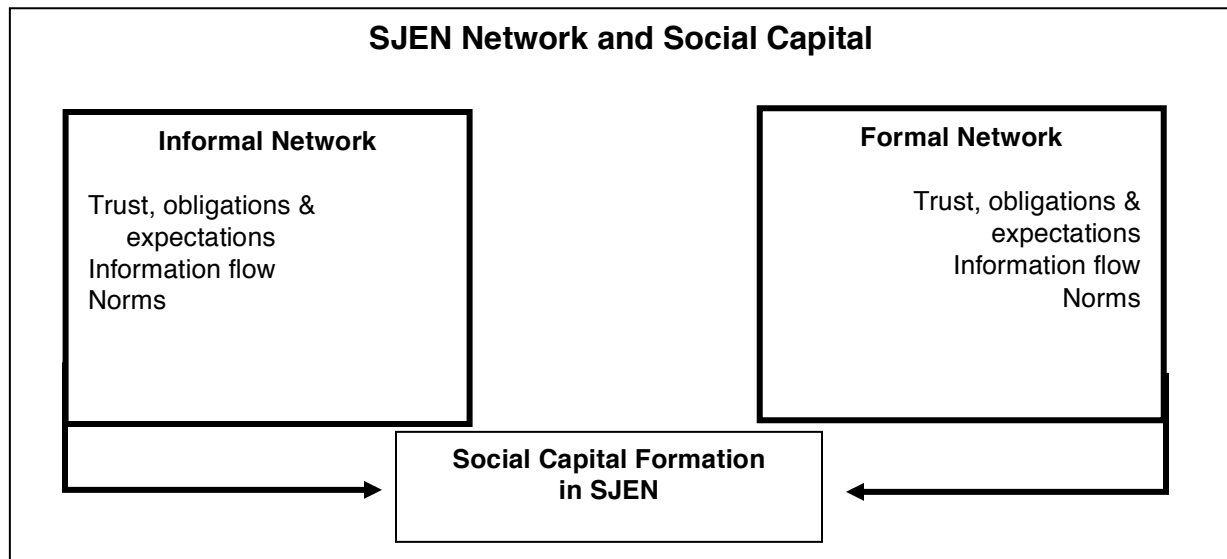
Higher education engagement is increasing across institutions, but the literature emphasizes some significant challenges. In relation to engaging the community, higher education institutions are criticized for considering an accessible neighborhood partner as a convenient proxy for community need (Maurrasse, 2001) or one that systemically neglects residents and marginalized groups (Dempsey, 2009). Additionally, the idea of community engagement as a model for partnership seems incomplete, as engagement is only a process with no specific end articulated, and institutions are unduly congratulated for merely considering relationships beyond campus (Weerts, 2011). This is especially important as engagement efforts become more complex through efforts like the anchor institution movement and comprehensive community initiatives. Articulating how and what resources can be derived from these relationships are essential for improving community engagement practice.

When applied to higher education community engagement, social capital constructs have potential to clarify the functions that are expected and practiced by partners and to inform the function of relationships in the context of education improvement. Higher education community engagement practice needs to look past

its mission as one of civic or community engagement and frame neighborhood work as it “performs particular functions” to improve community capacity (Chaskin et al., 2001). To accomplish this, I analyze one higher education and community partnership and how it developed at the network level, working through relationships among individuals, informal groups, and formal organizations to develop social capital in a community.

These insights—higher education engagement’s practical concerns about contributing to community change and social capital theory’s emphasis on how relationships operate as resources—can create a conceptual framework from which to understand the complexities of higher education partnership. I employ several constructs associated with social capital theory as defined by Coleman to understand partnership development. The concepts that I apply to this analysis include trust, obligations and expectations, information flow, and norms. I examine how each of these functioned in the partnership and how they operated as the network sustained. Added to the constructs already outlined here, I employ some additional constructs highlighted in community capacity theory (Chaskin, 2001)—informal and formal organization—as guiding concepts of this analysis. I aim to understand the partnership over time and the development of structure among the SJEN partners, as such I anticipate that the formalization of their partnership will be a salient and useful construct to understand their efforts and the development of social capital among partners (see Figure 2a).

Figure 2a. Social Capital Formation through the SJEN Network



Social capital theory offers an entry point to understand how relationships act as resources structuring and strengthening communities at a collective level. But at the individual/organizational level, social capital constructs also function to link partners to additional resources. An exploration of the constructs in social capital as they are evident in SJEN can operate to inform community engagement practices. The configuration of the network changed over time, as the partnership evolved from being a loosely structured group to a more formal organization among partners (as demanded by external supporting organizations). This change in network configuration offers a comparison framework to explore shifts in trust, information flow, and norms among partners over time.

Higher education institutions are viewed as valuable partners, in part, because they offer social capital to collaborating partners. However, a broad understanding of how these relationships function to offer resources in context remains to be developed; with the increasing complexity of community engagement

and its many moving parts, a framework for partnership is essential. Because higher education institutions are such a prevalent part of collective impact initiatives, understanding how these groups function (often including higher education institutions as partners) can offer a context to understand the development of social capital and how relationships become resources in a complex web of organizational and individual relationships. From this literature and model, I derive my research questions. The first of these questions applies specific social capital constructs to an analysis of the SJEN partnership. The second question considers the relationship between social capital and SJEN's primary education-access mission. By applying social capital constructs to higher education engagement practices, the last question draws connections between the two bodies of scholarship I have discussed in this chapter.

Research Questions

1. How are the tenets of social capital theory employed across a community-based network established with the goal of improving educational opportunity?
 - a. How are trust, obligations and expectations enacted in the network?
 - b. How does information flow among partners the network?
 - i. Who do coalition partners define as the bridging and bonding partners in the network?
 - c. What norms are co-constructed within the network and how are they developed and reinforced?

2. How does the function of social capital interact with the educational opportunity mission of the coalition?
3. How do social capital constructs inform the development of relationships and the allocation of resources in higher education engagement?

Chapter 3. Methods: Participatory Case Study

This dissertation employs a unique mixture of qualitative methods to understand relationship development and resource generation and allocation in a partnership between higher education students and staff and organizational representatives in Sunnydale, a Detroit Neighborhood. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that we are entering an “eighth moment” of qualitative research, which is “concerned with moral discourse” (p. 3). They describe “moments” as historical shifts in methodological discourses, and this particular “moment asks that the social sciences and the humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom, and community” (p. 3). The particular analysis and approach to qualitative research aim to claim space within this ethos for efforts to understand the complex process of partnership. I actively engage some of these larger issues, specifically the potential for higher education to contribute to neighborhood change, and to do so I actively employ methods that can emphasize the intricacies and complexity of the partnership process.

In this methods chapter, I develop my orientation and approach to this mixed-method case study that combines participant observation and archival methodological strategies. This participatory case study draws from principles associated with three types of qualitative methods: case study, ethnographic, and

participatory action methods. In my analysis, I include orientations to emergent design and grounded theory. This analysis is an interpretive one and aims to be true to these methods as much as possible. However, the analysis is both strengthened and limited by its rich data sources. The diverse and rich source of data offer multiple vantage points from which the partnership can be interpreted, but at the same time, the data were not designed with the questions of this analysis in mind; the research opportunity emerged and data agreements were negotiated at a point far into the partnership's formation. As a result, this analysis does not perfectly fit the mold of any one qualitative method, but it offers rich, intersubjective qualitative insights. These approaches combined to balance the subjective and objective interpretations of the data, and they enable access to a multifaceted narrative of the partnership as well as the expectations and role of higher education within it.

I start with a presentation of the context of the partnership and describe the partners involved by outlining the regional context for the analysis, with descriptions of the neighborhood, context, and partners involved. I then detail the merits and drawbacks of the different modes of inquiry considered for this analysis and their applicability to partnership among the partners within higher education and Sunnydale community-based organizations. I finally describe the data sources that inform this analysis, and my approach to their analysis. I combine my privilege of being entrusted by community-based organizational partners to analyze the partnership with my goals to understand this process as a phenomenon of interest to higher education researchers and those interested in current collaborative approaches to regional improvement.

Study, Regional, and Partnership Context

This analysis explores an effort among higher education partners and community-based organizational partners in the neighborhood of Sunnydale. Sunnydale resides in the Northwest region of Detroit, which is bordered by major thruways, a large city park, and railroad tracks. Providing a definitive geographic outline of the neighborhood is difficult for both residents and policy makers; it is contested. A region that approximates the geographic area of Sunnydale aligns with one of the U.S. Census's data tracts. The Census-outlined neighborhood boundaries were used by the regional Carpenter Foundation to inform programming and investment decisions through its Target initiative. In this initiative, Sunnydale was one of six designated neighborhoods. These lines are drawn too far to the north to meet some definitions, too close on the east to fit others, but it approximates Sunnydale well enough to capture the neighborhood demographics.

Within these contested boundaries, Sunnydale housed approximately 13,000 residents (2010 U.S. Census), representing a population drop of approximately 33% from the 2000 U.S. Census. This change surpassed the citywide population loss of 25% during this period. Additionally, the educational context is shifting. Enrollment in one elementary school decreased 19% in the period between 2005 and 2008, while the other elementary school saw a smaller decrease of only two percent (NCES, Common Core of Data, 2009). Two other schools had closed in the region in 2007, including the neighborhood's only public high school. In 2010, an institution serving youth kindergarten through middle school closed and was replaced in 2011 with a new school to serve this region. In sum, three schools serving kindergarten

through high school had closed in a five-year period, and they were replaced with one kindergarten through middle school institution.

Despite these challenges, which Sunnydale shares with many low-income and high-poverty urban regions, at the organizational level the neighborhood holds significant assets being activated in attempts to reverse trends that limit opportunity. The Sunnydale Coalition, established in 2000 and comprised of representatives from neighborhood-serving organizations, has open bi-monthly neighborhood meetings to connect Sunnydale residents to resources and local decision making. A pastor's committee has also formed in Sunnydale to contribute to a neighborhood-wide, holistic vision for positive change; many of the pastors of this initiative are involved in the Sunnydale Coalition as well. The region has received investment from regional philanthropic organizations. Additionally, higher education institutions from across the state have been investing human, intellectual, and financial capital by providing services and research. Sunnydale is on the city's edge in Detroit, but it is the closest point of entry to many of these higher education institutions. Diverse organizations are both working in networks and independently to improve the neighborhood.

The Partnership

The Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network (SJEN) is one initiative that spawned from this organizational energy. Much of the partnership time documented in this analysis was spent articulating partnership possibilities and finding ways to work together. The development of this partnership includes many stops and starts,

as the partnership took on multiple forms before eventually forming as a formal Midwest Education Network in 2010 (see Table 3a).

Table 3a. Key Moments in Collaboration among SJEN Partners

Year	Activity	Description
2000	Founding of the Sunnydale Neighborhood Coalition	More than 30 organizational members located in or service Sunnydale in various capacities
2001	Founding of CI at Midwest University	An institute in Midwest University's Education Department aiming to strengthen the public commitment of higher education
2006	CI and Sunny Development begin to discuss partnering opportunities	CI-affiliated students attempted to move college-access programming from a closing school in Detroit to Sunnydale
2007	CI, Sunny Development, and Sunny Baptist Church discuss partnership	Partners attempt to implement education programming at Sunny Baptist Church, while seeking support to develop their broader vision of integrating education and housing development
2008	Additional higher education partner involvement from faculty and an additional institution	Additional neighborhood and higher education partners were involved to discuss how to cultivate impact of higher education partners in the region.
2009	Sunnydale Coalition leadership changes and CI student involvement changes, resulting in limited opportunities to further work together Governor launches Education Network initiative	CI and several Sunnydale partners (but without other higher education partners) propose collaborative work as a Midwest Education Network
2010	SJEN grows to include more Sunnydale partners, including BCS and Spiritual Guidance Regional foundation representatives become formally involved in Sunnydale organizations	CI and Sunnydale partners receive planning support, becoming the first Education Network in Detroit
2011	Sunnydale Coalition claims stronger stake in partnership ownership My involvement ends	Implementation process continues, and partners design additional proposals for support through MEN May 2011 marks end of analysis period

By 2010, SJEN had acquired formal support to encourage neighborhood youth in pursuing postsecondary aspirations. However, the collaboration's roots had been established many years earlier through relationships between neighborhood-based organizations. Community organizing and housing

redevelopment efforts in Sunnydale date back at least twenty-five years. But the focus on educational opportunities for Sunnydale youth was sharpened in 2006, when organizational representatives from the Detroit neighborhood of Sunnydale and surrounding areas began meeting to explore ways of strengthening neighborhood infrastructure, stabilizing home ownership, attracting new families, developing the regional economy, and promoting better land use patterns. At the same time, several students at CI had been committed to extending an urban education access program after the high school that housed their programming closed. Shifting this school-based program into community-based organizations in Sunnydale prompted a broader conversation about shared interests in improving education opportunity.

The network commitment that became SJEN originated when a Sunnydale organizational representative reached out to a faculty friend at Midwest University to discuss how to improve educational opportunities in the neighborhood where the organizational representative worked as a housing developer. From there, individuals and representatives of local groups met informally and intermittently over the course of many months to discuss strategies to improve educational opportunities for youth. Over time, the participant list has changed, but throughout the partnering process some partners have stayed actively involved, albeit with changing roles. The partnership started with representatives from the regional housing developer in Sunnydale and the nearby Midwest University, and they were eventually joined by a faith-based partner in the region; both of these Sunnydale partners had previously held leadership roles in the Sunnydale Coalition mentioned

above. The SJEN partnership later expanded to include private foundation representatives, school staff, scholarship and educational service providers, and additional leadership from the neighborhood coalition.

The partners eventually gained recognition from the Midwest Education Network (MEN)—an initiative that formalized support for the partnership’s educational efforts as a state-recognized education access network. The governor had launched MEN in 2009 to contribute to the state goals of increasing the number of college graduates by the year 2025. Similar education access networks exist in states across the nation and are affiliated with a national college access marketing campaign. It was through this statewide initiative that the SJEN partners adopted a name and mission. It was the first recognized Education Network in Big City. During the planning process in 2010, the program established its goals: “Through integrated community networks ... we aim to advocate for and better position students in the Sunnydale neighborhood ... for postsecondary education access and success.” The coalition partners represent diverse neighborhood and external organizations, and grew in numbers throughout the study period. Diverse organizations were represented in the partnership through staff and leadership, including a housing developer, a charter school, a citywide scholarship and dropout prevention program, a faith-based private school and tutoring program, the neighborhood coalition, a local church, a private international foundation, the community center, and higher education institution access programs and research initiatives.

Some of the most closely involved higher education partners were staff and volunteers at the Civic Institute for Community Change (described below) for which I served as a research assistant for five years. Although I was not a founding partner of the initiative, I worked closely with many of the founding partners, and it was through my graduate research position at CI that I was introduced to colleagues in Sunnydale who would serve as the core of this initiative. Several CI representatives supported this partnership in various capacities over the course of these five years, including the faculty director, office administration, and doctoral, master's, and undergraduate students. The organization has been committed to community engagement and understanding how higher education can contribute to this process. This goal aligns with CI's mission, related to a cycle of "awareness" through "action" to improve the role of higher education in the United States, and public perceptions of higher education.

List of Partners

Shifting membership as well as external and internal support encouraged flux of partners engaged in the process. In this section, I list and describe several key organizations involved in the partnership since 2006, and I follow these descriptions with some of the representatives. This list is neither exhaustive,² nor

² Other Community, Higher Education, and Regional Partners also informed the work of the partnership, although they were not considered formal partners. These are listed here:

Data Solutions Center (DSC). The DSC is an office at MU managed by faculty in human services fields to support community-based and data driven solutions. The DSC was funded as a data solutions office for the work of the Carpenter Foundation.

Carpenter Foundation. The Carpenter Foundation has been a regional grant-maker for more than 50 years across Detroit. They have annual city investments of tens of millions, and Sunnydale had been named one of six target neighborhoods over ten years in their programming efforts that run through 2015, bringing financial support to the efforts of many organizations.

Pastors' Committee. In 2010, the Sunnydale pastor's committee formed to work together to facilitate a vision for the community centered on a "people-focused approach" prioritizing "physical,"

does it describe the extent of organizations involved in community-based improvement efforts or the breadth of work offered by these organizations in Sunnydale and beyond. Many organizations in the neighborhood—those listed here as well as many others—are working on initiatives that did not intersect or only peripherally intersected with SJEN, and they are not described in detail here. At one time or another throughout the multi-year initiative, the organizations involved in this partnership played a pivotal role in defining what eventually became SJEN. The length of their involvement, which appears at the end of each description, marks their involvement with CI. For convenience, I organize this section based in the scope of the organization and partner involvement at three levels: the community-based organizational partners, the higher education partners, and other regional partners.

Community-based organization partners. A range of partners informed the SJEN network in Sunnydale. The community-based organizational representatives each appear to share challenges associated with navigating public and private disinvestment in the regions (or at least in their organizations). They also appear to share an orientation toward partnership to counter these trends. In

“spiritual” and economic growth and stability. Their vision embraced coordination, cooperation, and “whole and healthy families.” The work of this group informed the coalition because of involvement of some of its leadership in the coalition.

Sunnydale Community Center. The Sunnydale community center is a wide reaching community center with a staff of about three. They offered a range of community services from tutoring to elderly services. The program director, Jim, and the Executive Director, Anya, were occasional attendees of the coalition, and they informed its practices and development. This involvement included arranging meetings with the YouthCAN Detroit Committee, which was a monthly meeting of young people to cultivate their civic involvement.

YouthCAN Big City Committee (YBCC). The YBCC is a group of Sunnydale youth and young adults, aged 16-22, who meet regularly to strengthen their development and have a voice in community change process. They work closely with the Sunnydale Coalition; community-based leaders and staff function as youth mentors in this program, which meets at the community center.

this section, I describe these organizations, the partners involved, and the role they played in the SJEN partnership.

Sunny Development. The neighborhood housing developer aimed to provide “affordable housing” in the northwest region of Detroit. Sunny Development had been experiencing financial challenges as the population declined in Sunnydale; the need for housing declined too. Its mission expanded over time to accommodate shifting need and grew to include greenway projects and block development. It had the general mission “to support the people of Sunnydale.”

Mark was the organization’s Executive Director, and he sought out ways to partner with his friend, the higher education faculty member from CI, Conor. Mark was involved from the outset and had an interest in cultivating more and diverse financial support for his organization. As the partnership grew, staff members at Sunny Development became involved as well. Eventually, a CI staff member moved to Sunny Development to continue this work in the region. Sunny Development was the earliest partner working with the higher education partners and was committed to cultivating this network partnership.

Sunny Baptist Church (SBC). The pastor of SBC, Pastor Lester Windsor, was an active catalytic partner for connecting the neighborhood’s service organizations beyond the neighborhood for resources and visibility. He was involved with other efforts in Detroit. He was also director of the Sunnydale Community Development Center out of the church, and it aimed to promote job opportunities for Sunnydale youth. He was an early visionary in the partnership who stayed dedicated to the project throughout the process. Lester’s primary involvement was from 2007

through 2009. Though he continued to support the work, he was not as active after it became formalized into SJEN in 2010, and its emphasis was higher education access.

Sunnydale Coalition (the Coalition). The Sunnydale Coalition is a neighborhood coalition of organizations; its collaboration began in 2000. At the time this partnership began, the Coalition had 30 fee-paying organizational members, and the coalition included more than 50 organizations by the time the period of this study completed. A governing board comprised of local organization representatives and residents ran the coalition, then the board was complemented by a paid executive director in 2008. The Coalition's general mission is to create "a vision" for Sunnydale that resonates with the partners' collective values, including faith, safety and "opportunities for all residents."

Both Mark and Lester had served on the Board of the Coalition at the initiation of this partnership. In late 2008, the Coalition hired an executive director, Lynn, who held the position for a year. By this study's completion, the Coalition was working with its second director, Kevin, who strongly supported the vision of SJEN. Throughout the partnership, the relationship between the Coalition and CI was complicated. Many of the network partners were connected to CI, and eventually SJEN, because of their involvement in this organization; it served as a conduit for further partnership. Formal agreements were often with the individual organizations, such as Sunny Development and Sunny Baptist Church. Because of the involvement of some of its leaders in the partnership, the Sunnydale Coalition

was considered an early partner, but formal conversations across the board did not occur and formal Coalition support was not established until 2010.

Big City School (BCS). BCS is a charter school on the border between Sunnydale and another neighborhood to its immediate south. The school emphasizes a Waldorf-influenced mission, and it has many shops and emphasizes experiential learning. It opened in the mid-'90s for kindergarten through middle school, and it expanded to a K-12 school around the time that the neighborhood public high school closed in 2007. BCS serves more than 100 children from the neighborhood, but at the time of this partnership it was struggling financially and academically. When the school's superintendent joined the partnership in 2009, the school had already failed to meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) for the high school and was in a second year of a three-year reorganization plan. Its charter was under threat to be removed.

Ted, BCS's superintendent, started attending meetings for the network partners in 2009, shortly before a hiatus. He was a key partner in the development of the SJEN network. In 2010, during the BCS reorganization process, he was shifted out of his position as superintendent and named "founder." He was still involved as the partner in this role, and he cultivated relationships with other BCS staff members, including the principal and counselors, as the partnership became formalized into SJEN. BCS was intended to house many of the pilot college-access programs through SJEN.

Spiritual Guidance. Spiritual Guidance is a faith-based tutoring and mentoring organization as well as a private school. The leadership relocated the

organization to the neighborhood to help change the cycle of poverty from within Sunnydale. It serves more than 100 youth through tutoring and programming and approximately 35 through its K-5 academy.

Tim, a leader of this organization, served as the fund developer and became involved in the Network in 2010, when partners were entertaining federal grant opportunities. He stayed involved in the visioning process for SJEN and was still involved at the end of this analysis period.

Regional partners. Several partners involved in SJEN worked in organizations that emphasized the region of Detroit and beyond.

National Development Centers (NDCs). NDCs promotes organizational and neighborhood capacity building across Detroit. The organization was supported, in part, through the Carpenter Foundation's multi-neighborhood target initiatives, and it had designated liaisons to function on the ground to facilitate and build resident involvement. One of the six NDCs liaisons, Kevin, focused on the Sunnydale region. He was involved in conversations at the early stage of the network development beginning in 2008, and he became a key SJEN partner when he was named the Sunnydale Coalition's executive director in 2010.

Martin Luther King Jr. Foundation (MLK Foundation). This organization offers multiple programs to support educational access for African American youth, and it has a strong reputation within the African American community in Detroit. It supports youth education through competitive scholarships as well as programming for higher education access. The organization hosted a traveling program in many

Detroit neighborhoods targeted at character building among middle school aged youth.

The Executive Director of the MLK Foundation, Dr. Maureen Johnson, was introduced into the partnership through MEN leadership in 2010. Because several organizations in Sunnydale were supported in part through the Carpenter Foundation including programming through MLK, MEN administration suggested they collaborate with SJEN partners for higher education program development in Sunnydale. Martin, the MLK Foundation program director, became involved in the early shaping of SJEN's vision.

Higher education organizations. Throughout the period studied here, only two higher education institutions were involved in the SJEN partnership. Several programs or departments within Midwest supported the partnership work, and partners from another institution were also involved for a period of time.

The Civic Institute for Higher Education Community Partnership (CI). CI is an institute located within Midwest University's education department. CI has a program and research mission that explores the role of higher education institutions in today's society. At the peak of this partnership, it had a full-time staff of four, including a faculty director, Conor, who shared his time across teaching responsibilities, and three administrators. The staff has always also comprised of an intergenerational team including several students: doctoral, masters, and undergraduates. These students combine their (most often part-time) employment with graduate assistantships, internships, independent study, service learning credits, volunteer time, or other university program contributions.

During this partnership, CI hosted several graduate students from many fields and drew many students with a practical orientation to their studies, and they emphasized education policy research, organizational studies, higher education access, or community engagement, to name a few. CI had a reputation for work that integrated community engagement, educational opportunity, and research. As a result of this unique confluence of interdisciplinary and grounded work, CI also has a steady stream of student staff as well as student volunteers. Conor's friendship with Mark prompted the partnership discussions, but student interest drove the work that was to be carried out. CI students and staff were involved in SJEN from the outset, and more than 20 students over the course of the five years in this analysis contributed to the partnership in SJEN, but many of them never interacted with partners in SJEN.

Midwestern State University Partnership (MSUP). CI partners connected with Midwest State University Partnership staff early on because they were both doing work in Sunnydale, and they recognized the breadth of university-based partnerships there. MSUP was located at another University about 50 miles from Detroit, but they had a very active presence in the city. The Partnership organization supported and monitored Midwest State's community-based learning and community engagement. They were involved in this initiative during 2008 and 2009.

Midwest University's Service Learning Center (SLC). The SLC was a program within Midwest University that promoted service learning educational experiences for students across the University. The organization offered a rich

collection of experiential learning programs and support for service learning in the University. The SLC Director was involved in land use efforts in Sunnydale through service learning courses, and she led an initiative to strengthen the “impact” of collective efforts from university and Sunnydale partners. Between 2008 and 2009, the SLC informed and supported CI’s partnership work in Sunnydale by supporting a conference; this program also supported CI research and partnership efforts.

Center for Community-based Opportunity in Education (CCOE). The CCOE was an office at Midwest University, and it specifically focused on improving youth educational opportunity. They offer school-based programming to increase college access in youth throughout the state. The CCOE was involved in 2010-2011.

Primary individual partners. The partnership that eventually came to be labeled SJEN included individuals representing a wide range of organizations. The initial energy for the partnership was from a faculty member and students from CI and the director of Sunny Development. The primary partners and their organizational affiliates are described below. These partners entered into the partnership at different times, which is not captured here, but they are listed in Table 3b for convenience and clarity.

Table. 3b. Primary Partner List

Higher Education Partners (from CI)	Sunnydale-based Partners	Regional Partners
Conor, faculty member More than 20 students including Peter, Jenn, Marie, Edward, Wilhelmina, Chuck, Erin was the primary staff member (later moved to Sunny Development)	Mark, Sunny Development Lester, Sunnydale Baptist Tom, Spiritual Guidance Ted, Big City Schools Kevin, Sunnydale Coalition Erin, Sunny Development (formerly with CI)	Kevin, NDCs, then Sunnydale Coalition Bryan, Carlson Foundation, then Sunnydale Coalition Dr. Johnson, MLK Foundation Martin, MLK Foundation

Qualitative Methods

This study employs qualitative methods to understand the process of partnership formation and sustainability among the SJEN network. In conceptualizing this study, I agree with researchers, such as Milam (1991), who envision higher education research occurring on a continuum of philosophical assumptions. His investigation of peer-reviewed journal articles in higher education drew from the concept of a paradigm as defined by Burrell and Morgan (1979). For them, research occurs along two dimensions: the subject-object axis and the change-regulation axis. The result is four quadrants: functionalist (object/regulation), interpretive (subject/regulation), radical humanist (subject/change) and radical structuralist (object/change). The assumptions of this study align with a change focus and share both the subject and object perspectives of research. Using this continuum to frame research assumptions creates the opportunity to try and reach across assumptions, as will be required for this research to engage both case study and participatory research methods.

While these assumptions can align with an array of methods, the subjective and action-oriented assumptions more often align with practices of qualitative research. This study is both “interpretive” and “radical humanist” in its efforts to understand the meaning from participants’ point of views, use in-depth interpretive methods to identify emergent themes from the data, and contribute to social and institutional change. While the quadrant formulation seems to outline these areas as mutually exclusive, they need not be. This study will show how these approaches complement one another and give richer insights into the partnership process.

Generally speaking, a constructivist framework allows the co-construction of meaning and knowledge between researcher and participants, which is an essential ingredient in understanding this partnership.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that “qualitative research is inherently multi-method” (p. 5), and this assertion also hold true for the present analysis. Because my goals were to understand this partnership as a unique phenomenon and as a participatory higher education partnership, it is necessary to combine two methods of research: the case study and the participatory approaches. These qualitative research methods come together to form a broad and deep understanding of how this partnership can inform higher education’s civic mission. It offers the ability to provide an in-depth narrative about the unique phenomenon that is this partnership, and it also allows for a subjective understanding of how higher education institutions contribute to regional-based change. In this next section, I show how these methods combine to achieve these aims. A case approach enables a bound, objective analysis of partnership and how these different groups, including and especially higher education partners, come together to build capacity relevant to education access. Participatory approaches capture the aims of co-constructed problem solving that were relevant throughout the partnership, and they employed in some study design throughout the process. I offer each of these study approach rationales in detail below.

Case Study Research

This analysis is presented in the form of a case study, because the partnership is examined over time and can be considered a bound case, though

admittedly a complex one. Yin (2009) argues that research using the case study method is warranted when the goal of research is to understand “in-depth” a particular “social phenomenon” and how it “contributes to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political and related phenomena” (p. 4). Additionally case methods can be distinguished from other methods as “researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time” (Creswell, 2003, p. 15). For many experts, the designation of a particular social phenomenon alone articulates the defining characteristic of a case study—that is, “the case” (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). In this section, I illustrate the unique properties of the SJEN case. The case is *the* defining component of any case study; to be considered an analyzable case, it needs to be bound (Merriam, 1998). Here I give evidence for SJEN as a case, which is bound theoretically, temporally, and spatially.

First, this must be established as a case worthy of analysis. My intimate knowledge of this partnership puts me in a unique position to identify it as a case of intrinsic interest to explore and deepen understanding of the process in which higher education and Sunnydale partners worked together. In themselves, educational access networks are unique and worthy of inquiry as a way to inform new perspectives on higher education access, but I would be remiss to limit my interest solely along this dimension. The education network was a later designation of the partnership; early on, the coalition partners framed educational opportunity as the future of Sunnydale, and partners aimed to find ways to incorporate an education reform process in a system of regional development. In some ways, this

case is typical of higher education community engagement: it included self-designated partners from higher education institutions and organizations agreeing to work together toward certain outcomes through trusting and mutually beneficial relationships. This case is about higher education institutional engagement and education as tools for improvement.

Theoretical definition is necessary to establish boundaries, which serves to differentiate this analysis from purely ethnographic or grounded theory. This case employs the theoretical lens of social capital theory to explore the process of relational development for resources. It highlights the collective and individual levels of social capital, as the resources generated benefit organizations and residents in the partnership. I emphasize the development of the relational expectations and how they functioned to develop trust in the partnership. I also attend to concepts associated with network configuration to inform how these relationships became resources. This case incorporates Merriam's (1998) definition of an interpretive case study to frame higher education's engagement practices as they function in a partnership to generate resources to improve educational opportunity in a regional change process.

SJEN operates as a longitudinal case study because the phenomenon is investigated over several years. I compare the origin of the partnership and track how the roles of specific partners and institutions shift over time. In this analysis, because the focus is on higher education community engagement, I emphasize an approximately five-year period when partners explored different funding opportunities for their work together and eventually secured support. This time

period, 2006-2011, encompasses CI's initial involvement through when the Sunnydale Coalition partners decided to fully administer the SJEN program from inside the neighborhood. The scope of higher education involvement is also a delimiting factor for this case, as it was a conversation between the higher education and Sunnydale organization partners that developed this education emphasis. Taken from another perspective, the partnership's foundations could be traced more deeply back into the neighborhood coalition's efforts. This case, however, explores more than the education access network; it explores the partnership formation with higher education partners, their principles and practices from late 2006 through early 2011, a period short of five years.

Finally, I restrict this case spatially by investigating this partnership as it is aimed at improvement in one neighborhood, Sunnydale, located in Detroit. Although the neighborhood boundaries are sometimes disputed, and some of the organizations in the partnership serve youth and families outside of the clear boundaries, many of the organizations within this partnership consider themselves Sunnydale-based and neighborhood partners. This case can be constructed as an embedded case, a case study examining the interrelatedness of multiple individual actors and organizations at different levels (Yin, 2009). Thinking about the case in this way encourages multiple data sources to achieve a rich analysis of the processes of this partnership phenomenon, SJEN.

While this study appears to have warranted a case analysis, case study methods assume an objective researcher (Merriam, 1998). In this way, this partnership deviates from the definition of case study research. Although much of

the data is from interviews with the purpose of understanding a process of partnership, my passionate involvement as a partnership participant and researcher kept me committed throughout the more than four years of analysis. I served as an advocate within the university walls to find programming support and resources to serve a collective understanding of need, but as a researcher, I gathered evidence and observed processes based in the constructs of research and objectives of several studies. In the next section, I explore the participatory elements of this case.

Forms of Participatory Research

Although it could seem that this analysis could be framed as a subjectively biased case study, many of the principles of participatory research guide this analysis. At the same time, this study does not clearly align with one distinct approach to participatory analysis, just as it does not fully align with case analysis. Boyer's (1990) definition of the scholarship of engagement sets the tone for this approach to research in this analysis, and it informed the approach to partnership for some at CI as well, especially myself. For Boyer, engaged scholarship emphasizes knowledge co-constructed through partners working together to define problems and approaches to research. The higher education institution researcher does not solely determine the knowledge creation process; instead, it is developed and shared with Sunnydale partners. Grounded knowledge is problem driven; rather than starting with a question developed by a researcher, participatory research taps into a region to define and create a solution to a pressing need. It is, in some ways, a response to what Fairfax (2006) calls "data raiders," which occurs when researchers enter a region to study the residents, then take the data for their own benefit and

are never seen again—or at least not until more recent data are needed. In this section, I describe a few different participatory methods, each of which offers valuable frames for the participatory orientation to this study. At the same time, none of these methods offer a perfect description of the process of partnership and data sharing from the SJEN initiative, as it happened over time in many stages. In this section, I describe a few participatory research approaches: applied ethnography, action research, and community-based participatory research. I then illustrate how they inform this study.

Ethnographic research is a rich qualitative method, but like other methods, coming to know from this perspectives has less noble roots. Ethnographic research has origins in colonial attempts to understand the “other,” but it has recently become a method associated with giving voice to marginalized groups by emphasizing the potential for participants in research to “speak for themselves.” Researchers often act as participant observers, and the emphasis on participation or observation varies depending on the orientations of the research and its goals. Some researchers choose to maintain an objective stance, and they emphasize observation more greatly. Other researchers participate as much as possible in the community/culture of the analysis by taking on specific necessary roles and interpreting from their experience as much as from the insights of others. This level of immersive participation can be associated with applied anthropology, which aims to impact the community or culture being analyzed. Applied anthropological analysis offers participatory guidelines that are especially useful for understanding

the intersection point of different cultures when they come together to solve problems.

Additionally, anthropological analysis has special methodological considerations in the data gathering process, as one acts as a participant observer. During this time, researchers are “immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group carrying out the research” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). In particular, researchers employ observations supplemented with fieldnotes and formal and informal interviews during the research process (Wolfinger, 2002). Also in ethnographic methods, participation is often framed as a challenge of access and a necessary consideration for the data-gathering process. Research is the ends of the relationship-building process, but some common warnings apply to relationship building, such as to “proceed slowly,” consider how “appropriate” the process of gathering data would be, and appreciate the role of learning in the process. Others emphasize the need to “work one’s way down the political hierarchy” to get access to parties in the partnership (Ferraro and Andreatta, p. 101). Like other methodological approaches, ethnographic methods require tradeoffs. For example, ethnography has advantages of strengthening rapport with participants, distinguishing actual from expected behavior, and allowing for observation of nonverbal reactions and other observable behaviors. However, the rich methods can be constraining and only feasible with small samples, it is difficult to obtain standardized data across participants and contexts, the data are often incomplete, and researchers inevitably impact the study.

Alternatively, another participatory method, participatory action research, has roots in the concept of “Action Research” derived from Lewin and dating back to the 1950s where a group is working collaboratively from a common concern (McTaggart, 1989). Central to Lewin’s definition were the concepts of the “group decision” and “commitment to improvement” (p. 28). Lewin’s research focused on organizations, and many tenets of this form of analysis have been adopted as a method to hone professional practice in many fields; however, these tenets form the foundation for the practice of participatory action research in communities. In both cases, they hold constant an orientation to intervention, and the researcher serves as a consultant with potential to improve process, especially professional practice. The concept of “action research” has grown to be referred to as “participatory action research,” and this has been adopted by many fields, including education. It keeps the core ideas outlined above, but it has expanded to include participation throughout the research process from those who are most affected by the problem to be researched—namely, the participants, who are often professionals.

The concept of collaboration is central to another participatory method, community-based participatory research (CBPR). This approach is also defined by other tenets such as the demystification of the research process, aims of social change, and flexibility (Strand et al., 2003). Other scholars expand this definition by highlighting the need for a collective commitment to an issue; a desire to engage in self and collective reflection; individual or collective action orientation; and alliances between researchers and participants in the planning, implementation, and dissemination of research (McIntyre, 2008). This research aims to improve

society and holds justice aims. The language has shifted in change-focused research to community-engaged research, and the discourse of research “with” participants (instead of “on” participants) has become a common reflection of how community-based action research should be practiced to solve the nation’s problems. In practice, though, these principles can be difficult to uphold, since an evident challenge is that higher education partners may reach out to organizations as a proxy definition for a region. Strand et al. (2003) defines these forms of partnership as “CBPR in the middle”, inasmuch as it does not represent a community-based partnership, but a partial and unarticulated designation of the community.

Applying principles of participatory research to SJEN. Many of the principles of participatory research across these methods were evident in the SJEN partnership. While this analysis does not fall neatly into a single one of these categories, here I consider explore how this analysis aligns with some and misaligns with others to create a multi-method qualitative approach to understanding SJEN.

I was a participant in the partnership, and, I was not strictly a participant observer even though I was reflective and observant. Ethnographic methods and field notes were not consistently recorded throughout the data collection period. Researchers associated with CI reflected on their practice in internal and external reports as well as through occasional informal reflections that were shared in emails or at meetings as part of internship and course requirements. However, these were not always tied to explicit goals, and the documents were tied to improving practice as it occurred. There is some necessary open-endedness of the research as a result of the mutual learning throughout the period of analysis, and the questions that

motivated the analytical framing will not offer a full frame from which to design the analysis. This analysis draws from an ethnographic ethos and is informed by epistemological and ontological assumptions of anthropological methods. A sense of intersubjectivity and an interpretivist approach to research participation and interactions with context guide this research (Lincoln and Guba, 1986).

At one point or another throughout the partnership, each of the characteristics of CBPR was evident; many of these occurred simultaneously. Participation was a key guiding concept to shape this research, because reciprocal partnership was a primary goal realized to different extents over the course of the period of analysis. Partners—both from higher education and Sunnydale—aimed to adhere to these principles by being collaborative and committing collectively to a particular problem in Sunnydale. Forms of community-based research are appropriate to understand the partnership formation of SJEN because of the shared efforts that employed a wide range of capacities from higher education and Sunnydale representatives to alleviate educational opportunity challenges in the neighborhood. Several formative and evaluative components were designed throughout the partnership with partner involvement. They were flexible and forgiving of one another's competing aims and allied in the planning and implementation and findings of the research. Partners helped to shape evaluations and research through group interactions of coalition meetings or one-on-one meetings to elicit feedback on individual questions for youth in the neighborhood.

The action orientations of this partnership were complex and multiple. Throughout the coalition, we attempted in partnership to co-construct definitions of

action and a path to create change in Sunnydale; research aims were secondary or a means to an end. For CI, research ends were especially important, because this organization could support student involvement and become enticers to draw additional advanced students into the work; for other coalition partners, depending on the study, they could inform their organizing strategies and programming. At times throughout the partnership, CI developed research and analysis with external support to understand partnership and with partners in Sunnydale to design evaluation; these were not, until late in the partnership, expected to be part of a larger project to understand the partnership. Not every research initiative was aimed at creating change in Sunnydale; some were focused on understanding the group itself in ways more oriented to action research, as partners (especially research partners) reflected on their own work in the neighborhood and attempted to improve their ability to work together as a result.

This dissertation nearly did not come to fruition (although a different one likely would have). I had once considered my action-oriented participation in SJEN and my dissertation aims parallel paths. I had been involved in the partnership, but not as a researcher gathering data; I did not consider investigating the partnership, because my role as a participant might not have allowed for the standards of research rigor expected by a committee. Although the partnership had been intellectually stimulating and worthy of analysis, I valued the partnership relationships and action ends and did not want to alter the terms of our work together. Over time, though, partners in Sunnydale came to learn that I was a student with sights on articulating a dissertation to my committee; as this came to

be known, some colleagues (both from Sunnydale and Midwest) encouraged me to tell the story of our work together. My decision to pursue this particular dissertation was a participatory one. Many of the SJEN partners supported and encouraged my writing it. Even with the shared knowledge that it would be my interpretation and research informing the dissertation analysis, community-based and CI partners entrusted me to do this work and continued to be patient, responsive, and cooperative. The problem of this analysis—understanding higher education engagement and the partnering process in a complex system of solutions—was more of an underlying challenge than a mutually articulated concern among partners. The principles of participatory research did not guide the entire partnership; for example, the research questions and problem of focus were not developed with regional and Sunnydale partners, but the very heart of this analysis is a participatory one.

Mode of Inquiry: Participatory Case Study

Because this research is based on a hybrid of multiple methods, it is an imperfect example of each individually, but it still can offer rich insights into the process of partnership. It is also, however, an example of the potential offered by thinking beyond traditional methods while still orienting toward scholarly rigor. Combining participatory methods with case study into a participatory case study require both broad and intimate sources. To create this unique approach to the research, I employ a rich set of data sources to inform this study. They are detailed in this section.

Data Sources

The data for this partnership come from many secondary sources. Three sources included a series of learning agreements between the CI and the Bailey Foundation about CI’s community engagement and organizing practices as well as an additional externally supported source from an institutional engagement study out of the Service Learning Center, which aimed to understand how a diverse group of higher education representatives frame neighborhood impact. The data sources also include formative evaluation information from the SJEN planning process. These studies all form a wide set of interviews from SJEN coalition partners, meeting minutes, meeting video, emails among the coalition partners, and formative and summative evaluations to create the data corpus (see Table 3c). Below, I detail these sources.

Table 3c. Data sources for this dissertation

	Sunnydale interviews	CI and higher education interviews	Partnership Meetings with Minutes	Meeting video	Emails about the partnership ³	SJEN Evaluations
2007	0	0	6	0	Y	N
2008	3	3	4	0	Y	N
2009	0	0	3	0	Y	N
2010	6	4	8	1	Y	2
2011	0	0	3	0	Y	1

Interviews. Interviews are included from three studies, and each utilized a semi-structured interview protocol. In the next sections, I discuss the sources for the interviews, the interview protocol designs, and the selection of interview

³ In 2010, selected participants opted to include their email relevant to the partners, so this data source is only available for some of the more recent partners as well as a few CI partners who willingly shared their emails.

participants. I classify these studies as “partner process interviews” and “coalition research” to distinguish between the research that occurred before the partnership was formalized and after it was formalized through the MEN partnership.

Partner process interviews. Interviews informing this study from 2008 come from two different research initiatives from that period. In total, six partners from the Sunnydale initiative were included from this period: three from Midwest University and three from Sunnydale (see Table 3d). All of the interviews from each study used purposive sampling, and participants were identified because of their involvement in the Sunnydale neighborhood.

The first study investigated community-based organizational leaders’ perceptions of impact on neighborhood change and higher education’s role in neighborhood partnership (see Appendix A for protocol questions). These questions were developed with a research team from the CI in partnership with a representative from the supporting organization (a national research foundation), which has the aim to better understand democratic practice in communities today. The study compared the practices and perceptions of change neighborhoods or regions across five areas in the state; the neighborhood of Sunnydale served as one region. A few partners from community-based organizations were interviewed in each locale, and we interviewed three community partners in Sunnydale for this study. This previous study aimed to understand how the organizational representatives in the region organized to solve problems and the role of higher education in community partnership.

The second 2008 study investigated higher education community engagement practices and the motivations of faculty, staff, and students at Midwest University. It was supported by Midwest University’s Service Learning Center (SLC) and explored the diverse and uncoordinated university-based community engagement initiatives active in the Sunnydale⁴ neighborhood. At the time of the study, the research team identified 14 university programs or partnerships operating in the neighborhood. The research participants were faculty, staff, and students at Midwest University and they were asked about their motivations and commitments to community engagement and specifically work in the Sunnydale neighborhood (see Appendix B for questions). This interview protocol was developed in a collaborative effort with students and faculty in education and the Service Learning Center. In this study, 14 faculty, students, and staff were interviewed serving a wide range of fields and program foci including urban planning, education, law, literacy, and political science, to name a few. Because the aim of this dissertation is to understand the formation of SJEN, I have only included the interviews from three partners pivotal in upstart of this partnership—an administrator, student, and faculty member working in CI.

Table 3d. Participants from the 2008 University and Sunnydale Interviews

University Partners	Peter Erin* Conor	PhD Student Staff Professor in Education
Sunnydale Partners	Lynn Pastor Windsor	Community Leader Faith Leader

⁴ The 2008 studies were anonymous. Partners are all in pseudonyms. In previous reports of this data, the community is under a pseudonym as well.

	Mark*	Community Leader
* interviewed in both 2008 and 2010		

Coalition research. The 2010 study of the SJEN coalition was also a partnership with the same national research organization. It primarily centered on interviews, but it also included the use of other data sources: notes during the regular coalition and program development meetings, correspondence among willing participants, and meeting videos and interviews with key participants detailing their perspectives about the participation process. The research questions for the learning agreement focused on unpacking the multiple competing organizational identities for coalition members and how they interact with coalition commitment and participation (see Appendix C for interview questions). Again, this interview protocol was developed by a team of researchers from the Civic Institute for Community Change to satisfy the learning agreement with the foundation.

I led the efforts to design a protocol through a collaborative approach that would offer formative evaluation to the coalition from a diverse range of SJEN partners. Research from effective coalition practices was used to inform the general questions (Wolff, 2001; Sarcone, 2008). A team of five students and a representative from the funding organization developed the interview instrument. The protocol was presented to coalition members in a meeting, then altered from their feedback to include a stronger conceptualization of civic engagement borrowed from the work of Boyte (2005).

Participant selection occurred through a coalition list serve that exists to keep communication open for MEN participants in Sunnydale, and participants were

solicited through email. Because the aim of this research is to understand the interactions among diverse organizational members, organizational diversity was privileged over the number of interviewees. Both paid and volunteer members were solicited for interviews. And participants no longer involved with the partnership were also included in the sample to help understand how commitment and participation shifted over time. We aimed to have at least one member of each organization represented; when two participants were willing, we targeted an organizational leader and program representative or staff member from the organization. Eleven total interviews were performed (including pilot interviews), and these are listed in Table 3e.

Table 3e. 2010 Interview Participants

Name	Role	Organization Description
Edward	Student	Higher education institution
Mark	Executive director	Housing developer
Dr. Johnson	Executive director	Scholarship and character building program
Ted	Founder	Community school
Kevin	Liaison/Executive director	Regional foundation/coalition
Martin	Program director	Scholarship and character building program
Erin	Administrator/Special project manager	Higher education institution\housing developer
Tom	Fund development	Faith-based K-8 school and tutoring program
Tanya	National service member	SJEN and higher education institution

Evaluation Data. Another data source informing this dissertation was evaluation data from both formative and summative processes. Two formative evaluations took place, one in 2010 and one in 2011. A 2010 youth evaluation included data from high school and middle school students about their educational aspirations, support systems, and characteristics. The first formative evaluation

took place in 2010 as a neighborhood needs assessment during which community-based organization representatives in Sunnydale described their program and were asked what was necessary to create a successful partnership, a successful neighborhood, and youth postsecondary opportunities. These evaluations included feedback from nine organizations or groups in the neighborhood who were not yet involved in the coalition meetings. This evaluation was created in partnership with coalition members to gain a broader understanding about what was available to Sunnydale youth—who was being reached, through what programs and where. It aimed to inform the SJEN partners of next steps.

Part of this formative evaluation process included establishing a baseline to understand youth aspirations. CI partners designed a questionnaire in 2010 for the SJEN program (see Appendix D for the questionnaire). A team of CI graduate students developed this questionnaire in partnership with Sunnydale partners, especially counselors at BCS. This questionnaire served as a data-gathering tool about student aspirations, expectations and needs for their postsecondary opportunities. While this exact survey is not a requirement of the MEN grant, each of the organizations need to gather information on specific benchmarks that could indicate higher education success for students, including ACT scores and access to Algebra 2 and Advanced Placement courses, for example. Complementing the required data with a locally defined approach, we included information about student support systems, including access to services and information about adults encouraging and helping them with postsecondary plans. We borrowed from Scott Gillie's UEP tool for school counselors to inform our questions. We then worked

closely with school counselors in the neighborhood to define the most relevant and useful questions to them and to inform college access practice with youth. The result was a 31-question, closed-ended survey for youth targeting grades 6-12.

Demographic information was not included in the question tally. In total, 97 students from the 6th and 12th grades completed the questionnaire.

A third evaluation was initiated in 2011, as partners wanted to assess their own vision, the current program offerings in the neighborhood for youth, and interest among organizational representatives and community residents in the SJEN program. This evaluation was administered by MU students and included a series of questions about partnership effectiveness as a rough outline for the evaluation (see Appendix E). Students talked with residents, organizational representatives, and foundation representatives. Overall, 14 individuals representing organizations in the neighborhood were interviewed for this evaluation. I rely on student notes, reports, and reflections for insights from these interviews.

CI Archives. A data agreement was designed with CI to access the above archival documents that may be relevant to inform an understanding of the partnership. The archival data involved many of CI's internal planning documents during the four-year period of this analysis. These documents included minutes from internal meetings, some emails, successful and unsuccessful grant proposals (including multiple drafts across time), event and meeting planning documents, and internal reports. Files from administrators and from the "community engagement" team at CI comprised the relevant CI archival data for this analysis.

Treatment of Data and Analysis

The multiple data sources of this project create potential for a rich partnership narrative, but they also warrant a description of my treatment of the data, which I provide in this section. Additionally, I deal with potential validity concerns by including my processes to ensure trustworthy data.

Data Transcription. In total, 14 interviews were audio-recorded, and the transcriptions were available this analysis. The transcription had been outsourced for previous studies. At the time of original analysis, CI staff members (including myself) reviewed the transcripts to ensure accuracy. A single interview was available in the CI archives in audio form and needed to be transcribed for inclusion in this data set, and I performed that transcription. All of transcripts only attended to a level of detail that included utterances, because they were only coded for content rather than other communicative cues. Pauses or fillers were not relevant to this level of analysis. The single video was transcribed in the same way with only attention to words; nonverbal behaviors were not recorded, as only some participants can be seen on the video.

Approach to Analysis and Revising Constructs

To organize the wealth of information, the data for this analysis were analyzed chronologically by source: the 2008 interviews, correspondence and meeting minutes, the formative and youth evaluations, the most recent interviews and meeting video, and the final formative evaluation. The interview and video transcription texts were coded using a memoing technique. I attended to language relevant to SJEN participants' understanding of what they and higher education partners could or should accomplish in partnership.

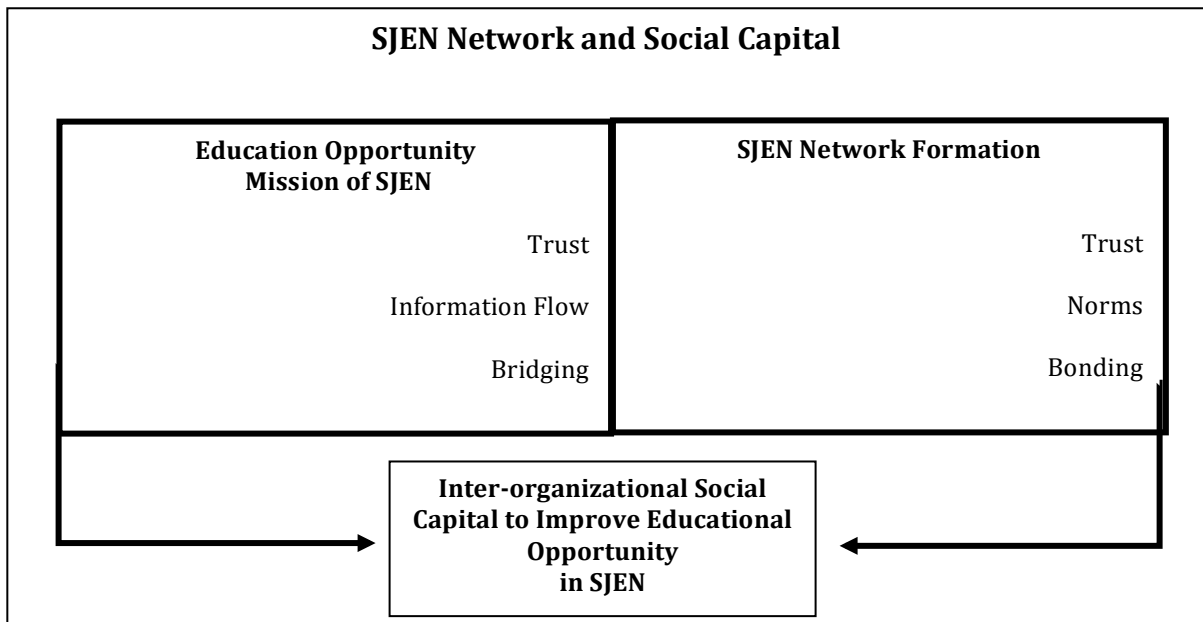
Yin's (2009) outline of case analysis, which encourages theoretical guidelines as the first general step to organize case study data, orients this analysis to relationships using the social capital framework. As I became more immersed in the data, I found a rich source of information about relationships, resources, and visions for improving educational opportunity in the neighborhood, much of which was aligned with my framework from Chapter 2. However, they were not organized around many of the constructs considered most salient in social capital theory. Through the first coding process, I found my focusing constructs in social capital theory more limiting than illuminating; some of the anticipated constructs, especially understanding the normative structure of trust, were not yielding insight into the structure (or lack of structure) in this partnership.

My initial research questions made two assumptions about the practice of partners that, once I became more familiar with the data, did not align with the evidence: 1) the dynamism of the partnership was more salient than the expected constructs such as normative structures, and 2) the continual fluidity made the anticipated distinctions between an informal and formal periods in the partnership less relevant than the emergent resources throughout the partnership. The implication was less information about relationships as general structure and resources, and instead more information about the distribution of resources among SJEN partners to understand the implications of that on the network's goals.

I shifted from coding based in the previously outlined constructs (see Figure 3a) to an open-coding framework. I took those open codes and interpreted them in relation to concepts associated with the role of the partnership in Sunnydale and

what the partnership approach affords the organizational partners and residents. The secondary data analysis required flexibility to enable emergent constructs that can inform the formation of the partnership process. I was able to tie many of these codes back to primary constructs to understand relational expectations of the partners and their contributions. Although constructs associated with social capital framed the questions, the secondary data warrants openness associated with a grounded approach that can allow and encourage salient themes about the partnership process in the SJEN partnership. An open-coding framework and a constant comparative approach facilitated not only my iterative interactions with the constructs in social capital theory, but also the development of new ideas related to additional relational concepts and perspectives on change in this organizational partnership.

Figure 3a. Social Capital Constructs in SJEN



Research Questions

- How are the tenets of social capital evident across a neighborhood-based coalition established?
 - How do trust and expectations manifest throughout the partnership?
 - What are the definitions of resources in the partnership and how are they distributed among partners?
- How does the function of social capital interact with the educational opportunity mission of the coalition?
- How do social capital constructs inform the development of relationships and the allocation of resources in higher education engagement?

To address these revised constructs, I adhered to Miles and Huberman's (1994) guidelines for analysis, which include reducing data, displaying data, and verifying conclusions. I reduced the data into salient concepts through the coding and memoing. I displayed the data along multiple dimensions by quantifying and qualifying email correspondence (see Appendix F). I drew connections across the constructs and then connected them back to the general revised constructs in Figure 3a.

Ensuring trustworthiness. While the rigor of my analysis, which especially emphasized multiple interactions with the data, should be clear from the above description of my approach to the analysis, my obligations to colleagues in Sunnydale and CI ensure that my analysis and information presented here is

trustworthy. In qualitative research, trustworthiness is an alternative to the concept of validity (Lincoln and Guba, 1986). External validity claims are not preferable in qualitative research, because the aim is to understand the representation of the case. The analysis can be deemed trustworthy through commitments to transparency and authentic representation (Rubin and Rubin, 2012) in at least two ways: member checks (Creswell, 1998) and investigator triangulation (Yin, 2009). These efforts will contribute to the quality of data and analysis and allow participants to contextualize any findings and additional qualified researchers to authenticate them.

To strengthen the confidence that this analysis includes the authentic perspective of participants, findings and conclusions were shared with several available participants from CI and Sunnydale so as to verify the veracity of narrative and the context of their statements. This process is called member checking. I did this in two ways for this analysis. In early interpretive stages of the analysis, I contacted one partner from the Sunnydale Coalition and one from CI for their interpretations of the narrative at different points of the study period. I then integrated their interpretations into the analysis. Additionally, during later stages of my analysis, I explored my conclusions one partner from Sunnydale and one Partner from CI (different partners from before). They found the analysis fruitful and added additional background information to strengthen the narrative. They also further elaborated their perspective through reflections on the findings.

In terms of research vigor, I triangulated my findings with an advanced researcher. At multiple stages of analysis (because of the different types of data),

this colleague reviewed codes. Additionally, this triangulating researcher was available to interpret challenging codes that seemed difficult to qualify. When these emerged, we interacted to resolve the tension and coded based on our resulting agreement.

Research ethics. In addition and prior to ensuring the trustworthiness of data and analysis, I worked the IRB to protect participants in this analysis. This dissertation involved two types of research: basic research and program evaluation. They each involve different levels of rigor regarding participant consent. Because this analysis is using secondary data sources, the primary negotiation was with CI to access their available information. Informed consent was acquired from all participants in formal research studies. From the perspective of the IRB, this information is organizational informing and does not require IRB consent. The basic research requires full informed consent for each participant, and data deemed to be part of organizational program evaluation requires permissions and formal agreements from the primary organizational partnership (in this case those were established through a data use agreement). The formative and summative evaluations to inform the partnership itself, however, were available at the discretion of CI, which is the organization the administered these evaluations. In the IRB application, I committed to protect partner anonymity by changing individual and organization names.

Chapter 4. Building Social Capital in Sunnydale: Relational Expectations about Neighborhood Change

In his conceptualization of social capital theory, Coleman highlights expectations and obligations as structuring components of relationships centrally related to trust. Expectations are a key tenet in social capital theory, described as a necessary factor for the successful application of social capital to generate value in relationships ends. At the same time, however, the nature of diverse organizational coalitions almost ensures that there will be different ideas about the means and ends of shared endeavors.

In this chapter, I describe how the partners in SJEN expected relationships to contribute to neighborhood development. The expectations around partnership were intricately and complexly related to both process and outcomes. Expectations about the role of partnership in change efforts were salient to understand how partners engaged in the neighborhood change process. The partners that became The Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network (SJEN) expressed a range of expectations for individuals or institutions that aimed to contribute to neighborhood change work in Sunnydale. In this chapter, I examine partners' expectations about how they envisioned relationships functioning to contribute to neighborhood change in Sunnydale. Specifically, partners emphasized expectations regarding both process—how partners related to one another—and action—the goal-directed activities resulting from the relationships. Many of the expectations about partnership discussed in this chapter explicitly concern the role of higher

education institutions in a neighborhood change effort; neighborhood partners encouraged university partners to become more trusting, reciprocal partners. But this chapter also analyzes relationship expectations more broadly.

Partners emphasized the process of relationship development to generate a shared sense of goals, especially emphasizing the interests of organizational representatives in the region. In partners' work together, a guiding norm was to emphasize the role of relationships for education and neighborhood change. SJEN partners entered the partnership with preexisting expectations of each other's behavior, but the experience of the partnership itself influenced expectations. Much of the data cited in this chapter was gathered after the SJEN partnership was already in full swing. This does not minimize the importance of expectations in the partnership process. Indeed, as this chapter demonstrates, partners' expectations set the context for their attitudes and actions and were continually negotiated throughout the period under study.

There are a few salient concepts that provide a framework for understanding the role of relationships in the change process in Sunnydale. First and generally speaking, partners in Sunnydale expected that partnership was a necessary step to create change in the neighborhood. It seemed to be a shared conclusion that siloed work was both limited in scope and impact, difficult to maintain and support, and less marketable for funding partners. Partnership expectations could take both positive and negative forms. Partners did not anticipate an easy accordance of attitudes and actions, and sometimes expressed concerns about other partners' motivations. In fact, as I demonstrate in a subsequent section, community-based

SJEN partners were especially wary about partnering with higher education institutions.

Additionally, partners considered two primary types of expectations about partner relationships: expectations about process, and expectations about action. Expectations that reflected norms about process concerned behavior within the partnership, including the ways in which partners should build collaborative relationships or effectively communicate among themselves and outside the group. Expectations about action concerned the role of relationships in the application of resources, and required that action should be extended in ways to impact residents as well as organizations. In my analysis, I explore the variation among partners' expectations. They varied widely and exhibited some tensions, which were apparent among partners both inside and outside the neighborhood. Ultimately these expectations manifested to bring into focus some key ideals from partners about the way that partnership should be practiced and implemented; I detail these in this chapter.

Process Expectations in Partnership Building

Many of the expectations held by partners emphasized the importance of attending to the task of building relationships in the coalition. Partners anticipated that certain qualities of relationships would promote an effective neighborhood change process within Sunnydale. Partners in community-based organizations in Sunnydale especially emphasized relational process ideals when discussing the role of higher education partners. In framing the partnership process, partners highlighted the importance of long-term partner commitment to the region and to

youth opportunity. Partners also highlighted the expectation of responsiveness in partnership, which required listening and flexibility. Sunnydale-based partners often discussed this expectation in the course of explaining to higher education partners how to overcome challenges to building trust in community work in Sunnydale. However the general term of “community” can muddle who should be committed to whom, and who should be responsive and responded to. In other words, it isn’t clear who counts as the authentic community voice, or, indeed, whether there is one.

Committed Partnering Process

Several partners expressed the expectation that organizational representatives should be committed both to the issue of neighborhood change (especially through improving youth and resident opportunity) and to the specific neighborhood of Sunnydale. For example early in the partnership, Mark, the Sunny Development Director, explained his expectations for the partners that he worked with—higher education and others—in terms of “a real commitment toward providing a future, a sustainable future, for the residents in the community. . . a common concern for the well being of those that have limited resources and for opening opportunities for families, and particularly the children” (Interview, 2008). In this sense, Mark’s foundational concern—the value he thought most essential in other partnering organizations—was not a committed relationship with his own organization, but rather a shared commitment to the residents of Sunnydale. For him, organizational representatives should rally around a shared commitment to families in the region. A shared concern for youth opportunity in the region was an

expectation among both Midwest University and Sunnydale neighborhood partners, and an expected and necessary building block for the partnership that carried through to partners when it formally became SJEN in 2010. A shared commitment to youth in the region was fundamental to solidify the relationship among partners, but this was a necessary condition and proved not to be sufficient. Even when the goal was shared, the means of supporting youth and family opportunity offered many divergent paths and priorities.

In partnering with higher education institutions, neighborhood representatives raised concerns about the level of commitment from such partners. Higher education representatives were mistrusted by Sunnydale representatives, and needed to overcome this mistrust. Lynn, a community-based organizational representative, contended that the short-term relationships fostered through “class projects” undermined the long-term commitments necessary to create neighborhood change. Other Sunnydale colleagues expressed similar concerns. It took time to develop and implement effective and worthwhile efforts, and the lack of impact created by perpetual short-term efforts wore on partners. In other words, Sunnydale-based organizations’ expectations of universities were shaped by previous experiences; from the very beginning of the informal partnership that became SJEN, Sunnydale partners’ expectations about higher education institutions influenced the development of these relationships. Sunnydale representatives emphasized the importance of locally focused, long-term commitment when working with university partners because they knew that universities had greater

flexibility in choosing a specific community or geographic region for civic work, and student transience complicated building long-term relational commitments.

Despite the concerns about the commitment of university representatives, many Sunnydale-based partners valued the contributions of university students, but emphasized that students' efforts would be strengthened by deeper "commitment" to or "investment" in the neighborhood. When higher education representatives work with individuals to provide a service, the Sunnydale-based partners called for deep relational commitments. Though the university could offer strong contributions just by demonstrating "role models" for educational attainment, as Lynn noted early in the partnership, there was a sense among many partners that orientations toward long-term commitment and reciprocal relationships needed to be cultivated better in institutional representatives. From within the university, partners at CI were strongly focused on the relational development process, and viewed themselves as responsive listeners. But students and staff within CI were also aware of their own position as "outsiders" to Sunnydale, who could only advocate for but never authentically represent a voice of the region in defining the importance of outcomes.

In September, 2008, the "University Subcommittee" partners—this was the name partners used to capture the intentions of their partnership at that time—were offered time on the agenda at a neighborhood-wide Sunnydale Coalition meeting, to discuss a neighborhood vision for higher education partnership. The Coalition meeting was a bi-monthly, open meeting in which organizational representatives and residents discussed developing solutions within the region.

Sunny Development staff and Midwest University and CI partners took this opportunity to introduce the Subcommittee’s recent conversations to a wider audience, to facilitate discussions in a roundtable format, and to elicit feedback from Sunnydale representatives. Five different roundtable conversations were organized and facilitated by partnership representative, who recorded and summarized community feedback. This feedback was from a mix of neighborhood representatives including neighborhood youth, adult residents, and employees from organizations. Partners shared a worksheet with neighborhood representatives to guide the discussion, which framed the potential vision for action from the Subcommittee. Though this frame was contested among those involved in the Subcommittee, and there was some divergence of opinion over how structured it should be, it outlined several potential outcomes including “sustainability,” “maximize[ing] the use of university resources,” “develop[ing] institutional investment” and “creat[ing] an accessible pathway to higher education.” In practice, many of these roundtable discussions eschewed the framework and spoke from their experience about what higher education institutions should or could offer to support change in Sunnydale. One neighborhood representative, who had been working in Sunnydale but who had not yet become involved in partnership development, expressed his expectations about higher education commitment in this meeting, as summarized here by a university student recording the discussion:

[The neighborhood representative] wanted us to be so invested that it would be as disgusting to [university representatives] that their community looks the way [Sunnydale] does. . . He wanted [university partners] to care about

that place just as much as we would our own place, and get just as enraged about the things that go on in [Sunnydale] as if they were going on in their own. (Roundtable 5, September, 2008)

Another community representative described the types of relationships required to make an impact for youth. As recorded by a facilitator, the representative argued that university students could serve a useful role, but only if they did things differently: “While there is a need for tutoring, the tutors need to make an investment in the relationship they develop with the tutees. It is very disruptive to the learning process when tutors are cycling in and out” (Roundtable 3, September, 2008). To her, the relationship process required an investment to Sunnydale, and thinking about assisting people in the neighborhood as a semester-long project wasn’t enough to create the relationships that neighborhood youth needed to succeed. The expectations about change, and thus the university’s role if they aimed to contribute to improving education for youth, required commitment that was long term to provide a foundation for an ongoing relationship. The transience of universities’ student populations—an unavoidable reality of higher education—thus presented a potential challenge in meeting the parameters required in a neighborhood change process aligned with the neighborhood partners’ expectations of long-term commitment. A similar tone was captured other neighborhood representatives in the same meeting: “[participants] stressed the importance of having volunteers that stay, not just that come in, do the project, and leave” (Roundtable 2, September, 2008) The participants in this small group elaborated that in order to “really gain an understanding of what’s happening in the

neighborhood, you need to *live* there at least a semester.” This was the level of commitment required to gain perspective on resident experiences; without that, as one participant noted, there would be limitations to “building trust” in the neighborhood. Sunnydale representatives expressed frustration with project-based approaches to neighborhood efforts, recognizing that the neighborhood challenges run much deeper—both structurally and systematically.

Though long-term commitments and sharing expectations were emphases of the early partnership efforts, they were continually negotiated among partners throughout their work together, especially as new partners joined the effort and opportunities shifted. Higher education institutions were not the only organizations expected to make a long-term commitment to programming efforts in Sunnydale, and partners recognized funding partners as establishing potential to build relationships. Martin, a youth-service provider with the MLK Center, who became involved in SJEN during 2010, describes the role of funders in building long-term commitment. They often failed to support the necessary long-term commitments and relationships with neighborhood residents. He contrasts others’ experience with his own five-year commitment to the neighborhood in a 2010 interview, as he reflects on the relationships he had developed working within Sunnydale:

History stated that groups . . . will come into the communities to help. They were given money, but yet after a year they were gone, so that relationship never was built; well, the trust never was built. Well, again, we've been there four or five years now, and whenever there is a meeting people see

somebody from [our organization]: the majority of times it's me. (Martin, 2010 Interview)

For Martin, there was no substitute for a simple process of long-term repeated contact, and his organization has been “blessed” with support from a regional funder to sustain their relationships in the neighborhood. Only by working in the neighborhood over a period of years and becoming a familiar presence at local events could he expect to establish trust of residents, and funding partners had been essential to building the long-term relationship that has enabled him to be a “step-son” in the neighborhood and to build trust that would allow him to contribute to positive change. Without that funding support, he might well have been forced to move on to a project in a different neighborhood.

Neighborhood-based partners expected higher education partners to offer genuine commitment to the partnership, and higher education partners also expected partners to be committed, though they expressed it differently, and at different moments. Higher education partners highlighted the importance of commitment in partnership in terms of passion and “follow-through,” and they expressed the importance of these qualities when they questioned them in the neighborhood partners. Chuck, an advanced student at CI, noted in an interview that if the partnership was to have impact, neighborhood-based partners needed strong commitment to the SJEN effort. “From my experience which is mostly attending meetings during the summer, I think that other members of the network need to be more invested in it for it to actually have the type of impact we hope” (Chuck, 2010 Interview). From the perspective of higher education partners whose interaction

with Sunnydale was limited almost entirely to SJEN, commitment to that program became the standard for judging partners' commitment to neighborhood improvement. Higher education partners did not share neighborhood-based partners' explicit concerns about long-term involvement, and students and faculty were involved in the partnership over a wide range of time periods. Higher education partners did find commitment to the partnership essential to contribute to long-term change, though their own programs were not always structured to create long-term impact.

Though commitment was often framed as a barrier that higher education partners needed to overcome, relationships were considered essential to make an impact, and this was evident across partners from many institutional affiliations. Long-term and passionate (or at least dedicated) commitment to both the region and issue (youth development or college access) was necessary to build change in the neighborhood. Of course other factors, such as funding partners, contributed to the sustainability of these relationships, but the relationships—among organizational actors and with residents—were the potential foundation on which change would occur.

Responsive Partnering Process

Neighborhood representatives and higher education representatives expressed the importance of being responsive in the process of partnership. In describing the qualities that they looked for in partners, Sunnydale-based partners highlighted two core practices: flexibility and listening. I would describe these as requirements for a “responsive partnership” when viewed by neighborhood-based

partners. They were essential to the neighborhood change process, but while seemingly simple, in practice they were more complicated as listening and being flexible requires knowledge of who to be responsive to and when to be responsive. In other words, partners need an understanding of how to define regional needs. Furthermore, higher education institutions sought to overcome an assumption held by neighborhood partners that university partners wouldn't find their role through listening to the community's expressions of need, but would instead define their role based on their own institutional perspective. Neighborhood partners resisted this rigidity.

Continually Responding. The partners who comprised what would become SJEN were often in flux, as was the political context within which organizational partners operated. This was especially evident as schools reorganized and funding partners created new initiatives. Although this shifting participation became frustrating when it impeded focused progress, it placed an even greater emphasis on "continually responding" behaviors by those involved in the work in Sunnydale. As I have already discussed, neighborhood partners considered the transience of university students to be a hurdle to developing the long-term relationship process necessary for change in the neighborhood. Neighborhood partners recognized that both the local neighborhood population and the composition of the coalition would be in flux, and partners needed to sort through the dynamism of the relationship development process. In this section, I describe partners' expectations in relation to how they expected partners to be responsive to salient needs throughout the partnership process.

In the process of partnership in Sunnydale, neighborhood-based partners expressed the importance of higher education partners listening for needs in the region, but also being responsive to changing needs over time. While listening may seem like an obvious component of trust and relationship building, the process orientations were articulated from one partner, Pastor Windsor, offering some advice to organizations (including those from higher education) who wished to partner in Sunnydale:

One of the main take-a-ways is listen to those who are in the community.

Second of all, be willing to change and adapt however you're used to doing business to make sure that everybody's satisfied. And that's the same thing that I've told the community, as well. (Pastor Windsor, 2008 Interview)

Partners were expected to "adapt" their typical organizational practices to align better with the neighborhood. Movement and flexibility in the process of goal definition were necessary as partners came to understand and negotiate needs. Maintaining relationships toward change and in the neighborhood required ongoing attention to process. In the neighborhood this was something Pastor Windsor claimed that "the community" had learned, and that in his view "the community" attends more now "to planning their strategy versus to just willy-nilly throwing something together" (2008 Interview). It was work to develop and create a vision; this process wasn't stagnant and wasn't the responsibility of any one partner.

Partners stressed reciprocity as an essential partnership element, and they accepted and expected that developing mutually beneficial relationships would be a slow process. For successful relationship development, partners would have to get

to know each other as part of the partnership process, mutually discovering and identifying their shared interests and potential capacities; this was expected and necessary for their work to create change. Without discussion, some potential resources could be overlooked, and they would not be able to “maximize the benefits” that the various partners had to offer in the process. Mark noted this when he highlighted the importance of ongoing conversation to define partnership work together: “there’s really kind of an open-ended type of discussion about how do we both maximize the benefits that we have to offer” (Mark, 2008 Interview).

The process of participating in discussion within the neighborhood was essential to establish a sense of shared value. As Mark later noted, without “incremental steps” to build and understand shared interests, partners wouldn’t see the value in “staying involved” (Mark, 2008 Interview). These conversations add up to move a relationship to sustainable partnership. This careful process of exploring possibilities together was especially important when partnership brought together organizations from different backgrounds, such as community groups and university partners. As I will discuss in greater depth below, Mark’s belief that universities possessed a “wealth of resources” was a common expectation of neighborhood partners (Mark, 2008 Interview). But it is worth noting that his focus here remained on the process—“an open-ended type of discussion”—that was deemed necessary to develop shared resources. The complexity of attending to these processes in any context was aptly highlighted by one master’s student, Edward, who included in a 2011 planning email to CI staff colleagues a quote from Martin Luther King, Jr.: “All progress is precarious, and the solution of one problem

brings us face to face with another problem.” He recognized the continual negotiation of relationships and the ever-emerging challenges of community engagement work; he was part of an ongoing process, and not necessary a solution.

Mark, though, noted how partnership inclusivity was inevitably partial. In other words, the idea of being perfectly representative was impossible, so “transparency” was key to establishing a trusted process. Failing to reach out to some neighborhood partners could contribute to distance and mistrust—or, as he put it, “a piece of the community that feels out of the loop” (Mark, 2008 Interview). Partial representativeness of the region has diverse consequences, and potentially innocuous ones. However, the lack of pursuing certain types of engagement can be perceived as denying access to some neighborhood representatives. Mark framed this potential for alienation as an inevitable pitfall in the partnership process, as “[some organizations] haven’t actually been always at all of the meetings, or haven’t been involved directly in implementing some of the projects” that had the consequences of undermining the foundation of trust up to that point. Community-based organization representatives could become resentful from “feeling like they should have been consulted,” as Mark put it. But he found that in these cases, partners should just do the best that they can by creating “an effort to keep everything as transparent as possible so that there’s not that sense of a few people benefiting from the process moving quickly or something.” The implication was that moving too quickly to decision or action could give a sense that some partners were deliberately excluded.

The partnership should include not only careful listening to constituent members, but also slow and deliberate movement to promote communication among organizational representatives in the neighborhood, to avoid the appearance of pushing through a self-serving agenda before all had had a chance to weigh in. Organizational representatives' dual responsibilities both to the partnership and to their own organizations would further slow this process, as commitments needed to be continually negotiated both within the partnership and within its various constituent organizations. This process wasn't without challenges, as Pastor Windsor noted in negotiating the expected shift in goals as more partners engaged in a change process. Goals need to be "tweaked" not only from existing organizational interests, but among partners and throughout the partnership. He was differentiating a tweak (showing flexibility in the process) from a change of vision, which was a more dramatic shift in fundamental direction. His expectations conjure imagery of partnership as a long, winding road, rather a series of U-turns or stops and starts (Pastor Windsor, 2008 Interview).

Responding to whom? Listening required responsiveness among partners as they adapted to and met shared needs. Without listening and centering change efforts in response to the voice of Sunnydale representatives (in Pastor Windsor's words, "those who have been living and working and doing business in our community"), barriers to partnership will occur, which will erode trust and ultimately imperil the process of change:

[O]ur voice must be heard and . . . our position must be the position of change in that neighborhood. In other words, those who have been living

and working and doing business in our community will have the preeminent voice, as relates to what changes are desired and need to happen and take place. (Pastor Windsor, 2008 Interview)

Throughout the course of the partnership, some neighborhood partners tried to establish the expectation that “ need” was best understood as a set of evolving priorities and goals. At the same time, though, some community-based organizational partners— such as Mark and Pastor Windsor—expected that their voices would be recognized as best representing need. Both of these partners were heavily involved in the Sunnydale Coalition at the early stages of this partnership, an organizational coalition in the region, which predated the inchoate SJEN partnership. But in practice, the needs were not always defined through active conversation or even by consultation with local organizations. At times, need was established through normative or external influences, such as by the interpretation of survey data from regional organizations like the Carpenter Foundation.

Higher education partners understood need in the region as related to their capacities as partners. Early in the partnership, Midwest University partners filtered partner expectations through perceived institutional constraints. Conor expressed concerns that the expectations of university contributions might exceed what they could offer or accomplish. Careful listening for expressed neighborhood needs was balanced by a sense of what was feasible, as Conor noted to CI students and staff in an early email about the partnership parameters: “We will need to constantly listen for the community's definition of need and priority, while maintaining a manageable effort from our end.” For university partners, the desire to meet community needs

and follow priorities set by community leaders had to be tempered by potential institutional constraints, which placed limits on possible action. Constant communication and negotiation was necessary to ensure that expectations did not become misaligned with what could be accomplished. It was an ongoing challenge to manage neighborhood and higher education partner contributions to the partnership in a way that kept them in balance. The constraints on Conor's potential for action on behalf of Midwest seemed to be learned throughout the partnership. In a 2008 interview he describes in detail what he learned:

I'm more careful than ever not to represent the university at [large's commitment] to work in Sunnydale, because the only commitments that I'm able to make at this point are those for myself, [and] to a certain extent for my students. . . I've kind of had to learn that when I'm sitting at a table in Sunnydale and I say that I'm from Midwest University, people actually think I'm speaking for [Midwest], and I can't. (Conor, 2008 Interview)

Partnership building was expected to be a slow, dynamic process; organizational representatives were responsible to negotiate partnership aims and their participation, both within the partnership, and with representatives from their own organizations. While Conor hoped to dispel perceived expectations from neighborhood partners that he could make decisions on behalf of Midwest, he managed relationships with Midwest University staff and faculty to benefit Sunnydale interests when possible, and he expected his role to involve this type of resource brokering. In fact, reinventing—or at least influencing—how higher education institutions engage in communities was a goal of several students

involved in Sunnydale from CI, including Peter, Mary, and Chuck. Peter highlighted the need for change in higher education during an interview:

I think if you don't change the culture of the university, you can't create a system whereby the community, the good of the community, is integrated into the good of the university. If they don't see . . . their welfare being tied to one another, then neither side is going to benefit from any of this. (Peter, 2008 Interview)

Peter's vision framed higher education as interwoven into the fabric of the neighborhood, and this interrelated vision of shared good implies a process of listening and responsiveness. Higher education institutional partners from CI envisioned their role as change agents in the neighborhood, but they expected to make their primary impact within their own institutions. Partners in higher education expected their learning to impact the way their own organization did business; though Peter expressed doubts that he would be able to promote these changes in his role as a student, which offered limited opportunities to impact structure, he expected faculty to take the lead in reforming the institution. Higher education partners were negotiating both within their own institutions and with the neighborhood partners.

Other partners also engaged in a similar practice of navigating the internal politics of their own organizations. It was a challenge shared by partners who were involved as representatives, but didn't bring to the meetings full decision-making authority on behalf of their institutions. Ted, a Big City Schools (BCS) founder and superintendent who became an active partner immediately before the SJEN

formalization in 2010, noted the importance of what-he-calls “pre-conversations” to explicate the goals of the partnership and explore how it could serve the needs of the school. “Pre-conversations” to define direction were required before he discussed the effort with a broader group of participants, in his case the school staff or board. He determined that this was part of the “slow building process,” and key to his understanding of how partnerships operate.

Well, it’s become clearer just what the program is and bringing other partners to bear on it our commitment to it has increased and it’s been a slow building process in a way with myself—really beginning with myself, first of all as the, you know, community director of community programs and outreach and so on. Becoming familiar with the process and all the, all the pre-conversations that took place along the way to that point where it became more feasible to bring our counselors, principals, superintendent and board into a level of awareness of what’s going on. (Ted, 2010 Interview)

Partners from larger organizations, including BCS and Midwest University, negotiated their role with one foot in the partnership and one in their organization. Their involvement managed multiple sets of expectations simultaneously. However, their dual negotiation complicated listening, as some partners might define listening as listening *for* the value for their organizations, or they might be listening with partners to filter the potential change goals in the neighborhood, or perhaps both. Partners envisioned goals for the partnership, as they tried to keep in mind those who weren’t in attendance, or who hadn’t participated in the partnership. For organizational representatives, the process of coming to understand the partnership

and connecting the partnership work to their own organization was necessarily slow. It involved a careful balance of weighing organizational interests and broader neighborhood interests, as partners translated the work of the partners through and into efforts that aligned with their organization's goals.

Partners needed to attend to the relational process and be responsive to maintain work toward a successful change process. The partnership was necessarily expected to be a fluid—even frustratingly messy—process as partners moved in and out. A definition of neighborhood need was continually interacting (and being constrained by) the voices and potential of those at the table, and this could and did fluctuate—even from meeting to meeting. From the perspective of community-based organizational partners in Sunnydale, such as Pastor Windsor, the community voice was to come first, and that was the goal of listening, but this left unresolved the question of who represented the community voice, and organizations were also unavoidably listening for how their own organizational aims aligned within a collective understanding for change in the neighborhood.

Summarizing Tensions in the Relational Process. In this section, I highlight partners' expectations about the process through which relationships developed, as organizational representatives explored the potential of working together. Partners pointed to the necessity of building committed relationships and negotiating defined goals. They expected the partners to be committed to the process or issue, but also to the neighborhood (especially for higher education partners), and to be responsive to other partners and their own organizations throughout the partnership. As partners were able to demonstrate both

commitment and flexibility, they expected that the partnership would be able to sustain their work toward change. There was a lot of alignment on these fundamentals, but some tensions become apparent from partners' discussions of their expectations for negotiating these relational processes in context. Here, I will highlight four major tensions: vague concepts of community, institutional obligations, transience, and funding structures. In this chapter, I will discuss two of these tensions: vague concepts of "community" and institutional obligations, both of which were complicating factors for partnership expectations. The following chapter, which focuses on the partnership's function over time and the flow of both human and monetary resources, will discuss the tensions of transience and funding structures, as they become salient to the narrative.

One complicating, unaddressed challenge in defining expectations about process was the frequently used but rarely unpacked concept of "community." Partners were expected to commit and be responsive to "the community," but this concept was fluid. It wasn't evident who or what organization best represented the needs in the neighborhood, and the complexity of concepts was rarely confronted by partners—both in the neighborhood and at Midwest. Partners working in the neighborhood sometimes offered an unquestioned representation of local needs through their organizational mission. Mark used "we" to describe his work through Sunny Development and the Sunnysdale Coalition, but also to describe the neighborhood generally. Conor often described the importance of listening for "community need" in ways that might align with potential CI or Midwest partnership contributions, thus filtering need through CI's area of expertise. These

vague definitions had potential to be self-serving, but they also had potential to conflate the concept of “community” with available organizations and leadership. Attending to “the community” was considered by all partners an essential part of good partnership, but the shifting meaning among partners of who counted as “the community” had implications for their work together.

As partners expressed their expectations of inclusive and representative relationships, the language of “community” conflated two levels at which these relational process commitments were expected: community-based organizations and residents. This continual conflation became an unarticulated source of tension as the partnership progressed. Partners assumed shared meanings and that they all knew who comprised “the community,” but it was never formally opened up for discussion among the group or agreed upon. Partners didn’t consistently reflect on how, even though their work was targeted to reach neighborhood residents, the partnership’s goals had been formed by organizations rather than those residents. Partnering with organizations required both long-term commitments and continual negotiation to create systematic change, as partners negotiated and renegotiated the partnership conditions and expectations among one another, and within each partnering organization. Sunnydale community partners were not immune from this process, as they engaged with their constituencies in the region. However, the development of relationships within organizations was often privileged over the development of relationships with residents, and this was especially true for higher education partners. As the partnership grew and developed, this organizational process would need to be continually revisited and redeveloped.

Table 4a. “Community” and the Development of Shared Expectations

	Neighborhood-based Organization	Organizational Coalition	Specific Organizational Mission
Relational Process	Develop relationships with organizational partners	Negotiate relationships among organizational partners	Further organizational development and action in the neighborhood

In Sunnydale, the “community” was framed vaguely among partners, and it shifted in concept among organizational partners, those the organization served, and subgroups that rallied around specific concerns. This discursive move of laying claim to “community” became a tension in partnership, as Midwest partners were expected to commit and be responsive to community, but it wasn’t always clear what dimension of the “community” they should partner with, or how closely they should align themselves with the different visions of need expressed by different neighborhood representatives. If organizations were understood as a proxy for the neighborhood, then working with them would represent an important process of organizational capacity building; but if “community” was defined through its residents, then Midwest partners should be directly working with residents, or at least have a deliberate path for their work to impact at the resident level. CI’s institutional position as an outsider didn’t give much of an opportunity to question community-based organizational leaders’ claims of representation throughout the partnership process. In fact, the university use of “community” often described those willing to discuss change with them (without specificity or limitation to the neighborhood). Some representatives of neighborhood organizations framed their

own organizational interest as synonymous with “community” interest, while other partners were perhaps intentionally nebulous about the meaning of community, and still others had a specific population in mind as the beneficiaries of the SJEN partnership, such as youth, Sunnydale residents, local families, or clients of their specific programs.

Action Expectations in Partnership

In addition to the careful consideration of partnership process, neighborhood representatives and higher education representatives were expected to progress toward tangible action in Sunnydale. In this section, I explore the different expectations among partners about action in Sunnydale. Action was defined as work that reaches specific ends; this could include reaching residents as well as organizational ends. Sunnydale partners raised strong concerns about higher education institutions’ contributions to neighborhood action that could reach youth and families. In this sense, the potential misalignment between the goals of different institutions could become a tension in the partnership. The divergent institutional obligations of various partners thus became a second major tension in the SJEN partnership, as I will discuss below.

Overcoming Mistrust Developed from Neglecting Action

In discussing their expectations for SJEN, neighborhood-based partners emphasized the expectations of organizational representatives who were not anchored in the neighborhood. This included higher education institutions, but also other organizations that came into the neighborhood from outside. Early on, Pastor

Windsor powerfully articulated his concerns about the involvement of some organizations, especially higher education institutions, in the partnership. He noted that universities and other outside organizations have strong “infrastructure” to write grants and acquire funds, but that the work they support often neglects to create change in the neighborhood. He called these types of partners “poverty pimps” for their potential to benefit from the circumstance of poverty while making limited contributions to changing it:

... I hate to use this term because it sounds derogatory, but I think you’ll get the point—one of the issues of trust revolved around poverty pimps and what I mean by that is those organizations that will come in, receive a great deal of money from foundations because they have the infrastructure to write the grant to do the work, however the work never hits the ground. You’ll never see those resources leveraged in the community. (Pastor Windsor, 2008 Interview)

Partners had to build trust by demonstrating an orientation toward on-the-ground impact, but it also had to be renewed and rearticulated throughout the partnership. And even committing to specific programming goals with intended neighborhood impact was no guarantee of partnership cohesion, as SJEN’s orientation toward higher education access action work was at times misaligned with the priorities of some Sunnydale partners. In this sense, just as privileging the process of soliciting partners and continually negotiating goals with them could lead to minimizing action, so could privileging a specific action (such as higher education access) risk shortcutting the process of mutually determining goals with all partners. In this

section, I describe partners' expectations of action, highlighting the expectations for both organizational capacity building and neighborhood-based action. I also discuss how SJEN's orientations toward higher education reflected the expectations of Sunnydale organizational partners and residents.

CI became involved with partners in Sunnydale at a time when the neighborhood partners could best be described as skeptical about the intentions of these institutional actors. CI partners were overcoming distrust. A large barrier to trust was the fact that many neighborhood partners had prior experience working with higher education partners, and anticipated that higher education actors would emphasize their own ends at the expense of neighborhood partners. I have already suggested this above, in my analysis of process expectations. While partners thought there could be a shared interest in research ends, the results of studies didn't seem to hit the ground in any form—to residents or to organizations. Partners understood the educational mission of the institution, but didn't want it to overshadow their work together. That is, many neighborhood partners feared that the university would pay greater attention to learning and research over creating impact in the neighborhood at any level, individual or organizational. In the September, 2008 meeting, an anonymous neighborhood representative expressed the concerns plainly: "Stop studying people, and stop having the same conversation over and over. [We are t]ired of surveys and comings and goings. Do something." That "something" should be work that affects the neighborhood's action efforts. One neighborhood partner, Lynn, articulated her perceptions that neighborhood

residents felt exploited in how universities were only working to promote their own ends:

[University] people have come in here and said, “We want to do a focus group.” I tell you, that’s the worst thing you can say now to people. . . They will not come. They’re tired. . . They don’t mind answering questions, but what they do want is they want you to share your conclusions and the data with the community. I mean, if people are going to be part of a study, and if you are interviewing them the way you are me, you mail the information to them or give them a phone number or a self-addressed stamped envelope if they have any questions or they want to see—send them over the executive summary. (Lynn, 2008 Interview)

Speaking for herself and Sunnydale residents, Lynn expressed frustration that Sunnydale representatives didn’t know what happened to their voices or data once they shared them with higher education partners. This resulted in the potential for mistrust. Residents might shut down future contributions to the research process because meeting institutional research ends didn’t appear to offer positive impact in the neighborhood, or even minimal expectations of reciprocity.

Expectations of Organizational Action

Universities were also considered valuable partners to support organizational ends. They partnered through organizations, and were seen to possess potential to build capacity in these organizations along many fronts, as they had multiple interests in common with many neighborhood organizations. In the time building up to the formal SJEN partnership, CI partners were especially valued

for their ability to support fund-raising efforts. Sunnydale organizational partners expected that CI could offer grant-writing support, and coordinating support to help strengthen organizational capacity for the neighborhood (especially within Midwest University).

The initial contact between CI and Sunny Development was based in a desire to strengthen funding opportunities for neighborhood partners, and to promote goals related to CI's mission. Mark, for example, described a primary challenge in the neighborhood as rooted in the way that organizations were often forced to compete "for [the] same pots of resources," and observed that under such circumstances people ended up "fighting over the dollars on the table," which decreased their ability to work together. But if Sunnydale organizations were "in lock step," it would strengthen the neighborhood's opportunities for external support, and potentially broaden and deepen the impact at a local level. Conor responded that CI could fulfill its mission by participating in this collaborative work, strengthening student learning experiences and research opportunities, while learning more about community engagement in the process. The partnership involved exploring funding opportunities together, so CI and Sunny Development could pool efforts and resources in collaborative ways, strengthening their work in communities. Conor expressed his commitment to Mark in an early partnership email during the summer of 2007, which established some of CI's potential contributions to the partnership: "we will be available in whatever way we can to provide grant writing or technical support for your coalition interests. We see this

as more than just ghostwriting proposals—we would want to act as partners in sorting out opportunity and getting the community positioned for support.”

Throughout the regular meetings that took place until the SJEN funding was secured in 2010, partners often emphasized exploring and articulating a vision that could appeal to funders. The meeting minutes among institutional and neighborhood partners highlighted action items that included drafting grants and gathering feedback from partners. Early meetings sought to accomplish tasks such as “solicit[ing] and complet[ing] . . . [a] small grants proposal” (Meeting notes from August, 2007). As the partnership developed and became more diverse, meeting goals included “review[ing] . . . [the] budget and provid[ing] feedback” (Meeting notes from May, 2008). The meetings themselves often strategized resource acquisition with in-depth conversations about institutional and neighborhood politics and decision-making, which I discuss in detail in a later section.

As mentioned earlier, neighborhood and higher education partners expressed hope that universities could help to leverage support for neighborhood financial investment, but this was tempered by a concern that university and neighborhood goals might not align. The value of the university for the partnership was often expressed in terms of the “expertise,” “credibility,” or “theoretical leadership” that the institution could offer. Midwest University and other higher education partners were considered important to offer legitimacy and expertise, and to gain access to funding opportunities. Conor, CI’s director, also mentioned symbolic values related to Midwest’s community engagement work:

[Midwest] brings a lot of resources into Sunnydale, but [the University] is not organized with its involvement. . . CI provides technical help to Sunnydale like grant writing. [This] role offers credibility—that someone outside of Sunnydale cares. (Conor, Interview 2008)

Another partner, Steve, a faith-based school development director, expanded upon what Midwest offered in terms of academic support. He framed the value of higher education partners' involvement as "theoretical leadership." He said that this offered balance to his own contributions of "practical leadership," and that these could come together to create a richer neighborhood vision that would appeal to funders. At meetings, Sunnydale partners expressed thanks to higher education representatives for grant proposal writing that would otherwise have cut into other partners' program implementation time.

Pastor Windsor, who was involved in SJEN from 2007 to 2010, noted his expectations about higher education's partnership contribution, but also noted that neighborhood organizations were the connection to "people power" in the neighborhood:

The community organizations are fully engaged in this process, as well as the universities. . . However, the universities bring much more to the table. The community organizations can bring a great deal of people power and muscle, so I'll tell you the universities brought—we tap into them for this grant and for this project. We tap into them for what their academic excellence, for their academic expertise, as well as for some funding opportunities. (Pastor Windsor, Interview 2008)

He perceived higher education partners to offer “more” in terms of institutional resources, such as technical skills associated with grant writing, and valuable “academic expertise.” In terms of leveraging funds, the institutional contributions were framed as potentially superior to the “people power” offered by the neighborhood organizations.

Partnership Expectations on the Ground

Expectations among organizations about on-the-ground action were diverse, and didn’t always fully align with one another or with CI’s capabilities. Sunnydale partners often evaluated higher education institutions based on local expectations of the necessary outcomes—that is, on-the-ground action (and as we have seen, universities were often found wanting by these standards). Partners highlighted their action expectations of higher education in general terms to ensure good partnership, but also filtered their expectations about the particular partnership with CI through broader expectations about what higher education institutions should do. At times, partners’ expectations were very specific about what would qualify as a mutually beneficial partnership, but at other times, they could be vague. Sunnydale partners had wide-ranging expectations of higher education institutions, but also asked that universities recognize their own institutional limitations. For example, as a discussion facilitator highlighted in a 2008 Sunnydale Coalition meeting, a neighborhood representative described potential limitations of higher education representatives in partnership: “University groups need to have a very clear definition of what they do and do not do. Universities cannot do everything for

the community, and credibility gets lost when they try.” Higher education institutions were expected to contribute to organizational capacity as well as resident-impacting action, but they were also expected to know their limitations and to understand that not every problem was within their capacity to solve. In this section, I highlight partners’ perceptions of what was expected from both institutions of higher education and partners in Sunnydale to take action in the neighborhood.

While partners found value in higher education institutions, they had concerns about their potential to contribute actionable work for residents in the neighborhood. Neighborhood representatives perceived that higher education partners had an inevitable shortcoming in their programming efforts, in that they couldn’t reach “families” in their work. For example, the college access work promoted by many at CI seemed ill-suited to reach Sunnydale on the family level. As neighborhood representatives noted in the 2008 Sunnydale Coalition meeting, higher education partners were able to settle for “creating limited change because they are not reaching to the families, and many of these values start there.” Higher education partners’ distance from the neighborhood and the inherent structures of their partnerships mean that “they are not going to create long-lasting change because they can only get so far with the impact they are making.” Some neighborhood representatives believed that higher education institutions were inherently incapable of creating effective change.

Universities needed to demonstrate shared commitment to local goals, and in part this was evident through work that created visible contributions to Sunnydale

on the ground. Other partners identified similar barriers to building trust when partnership work and funding support didn't result in action in the neighborhood. School staff noted similar priorities, as Ted requested in 2011 that partners "demonstrate action from what [they] say," emphasizing that "delivery is important." Counselors at the school expressed a similar concern when they noted simply that trust required that partners "do what [they] say" (Ted, 2010 Interview). Follow-through on agreements of action was a key building block for trust, and the actions of partners were negotiated in relationships. Neighborhood partners explicitly drew connections between successful on-the-ground action and relationship building. When Sunnydale Coalition director Kevin was asked how he would recognize successful action emerging from the SJEN partnership, he said, "[When] I can see a tangible program working to be able to take children from wherever they are to success and their goals. When the community uniformly understands that this program is in this community the same way they know that there's a McDonald's [at an intersection downtown]" (Kevin, 2010 Interview). In these comments, Kevin combined an emphasis on neighborhood impact with a demand for long-term relationships; success would be achieved when the partnership achieved measurable goals and became a universally recognized institution in the neighborhood.

Pointing the way toward alternative roles for universities, neighborhood partners suggested a broader understanding of how higher education institutions could make an impact on the ground, though the action plan wasn't always as clear. For example, Lynn highlighted higher education's involvement in communities as a

moral and civic imperative, and argued that outside institutions' work in the neighborhood should function with an end goal to "empower people" in the neighborhood, which includes encouraging their voice in political processes:

I think the university's role should be and really has been to support—to empower people. To find ways to enable them to advocate for their own needs. . . The people in this community are contributing to you and I think that when you do outreach to communities, you're just—you're solidifying that partnership . . . expanding your own purview to include the people in this neighborhood and bringing with you your own experiences and your own resources in order to help them see a bigger picture. Just like the leadership classes I mentioned before. I think a lot of times, people think that advocating for policy changes or trying to take their needs to the maybe elected officials, legislation, or whatever—this is something that other people do—other people who are better educated, other people who are making more money, other people that have better clothes. But that's not true. We're living in a democracy. I think that they need to hear it from somebody that has different credentials. (Lynn, 2008 Interview)

This was a sentiment shared by others who envisioned a role for higher education in neighborhood change efforts. One foundation representative, who helped to inform the partnership, noted that higher education institutions must "help build capacity of community members," through leadership and group dynamics programming. Another partner thought the educational mission should serve the neighborhood directly. Pastor Windsor, in a 2008 interview, highlighted the early coalition goal of

an education center in the neighborhood as defining mutual benefit from partnership. As he put it: “we want to see an educational center in the midst of our neighborhood where our residents can go to that center and obtain either GED certificates of completion for certain programs, some type of college credit where they can learn right there.” In this vision, Sunnydale residents would gain access to institutional learning, just as university students received practical education and experience from the neighborhood. Mark saw higher education action similarly; for higher education partners, successful action should occur just from the opportunity to work with the neighborhood, as representatives—students and researchers—gained insight from access to the neighborhood partnership. He notes his understanding of mutual benefit:

We’re looking for opportunities to expand this and really fully take advantage of the opportunity from both [the community and the university] perspectives. There’s a recognition that the community offers the university an opportunity to be involved directly and in the neighborhoods efforts, and the community recognizes that there’s a wealth of resources that the universities bring to the table. (Mark, 2008 Interview)

Higher education partners articulated the desire to connect their efforts to residents in the neighborhood. In a 2007 email to Mark, Conor expressed his intentions of on-the-ground work in Sunnydale: “I would not be happy if we did not explore some way of organizing direct person-to-person involvement in service to Sunnydale youth and families.” For CI partners, whose expertise and student interest emphasized educational access and reform, “direct” service involved

educational support, and in particular higher education access support. The initial programming developed by students at CI emphasized higher education access, including essay writing assistance and ACT preparation. However, these university students struggled to implement the program because of low attendance and a lack of financial support. Students questioned the commitment of Sunnydale organizational representatives to the program they were co-creating. Although neighborhood partners expressed support for the program, CI students thought their actions indicated otherwise. As one student noted, “. . . I'm not sure the Sunnydale Coalition sees the Sunnydale Covenant in the way we do—it's the old problem of us all agreeing on the vision of making Sunnydale a place where young people see college as a realistic aspiration for them, but I don't know whether the Coalition wants to be part of these efforts in any active way . . .” But program development was an internal priority for many CI students, and the bulk of internal CI meetings in 2007 emphasized volunteer recruitment as well as the design of brochures and program logistics. CI partners were developing on the ground action efforts, but doing so based in their own perceived priorities and capabilities for action.

In a Sunnydale Coalition meeting in September, 2008, priorities of higher education involvement in the neighborhood were discussed, and though an action orientation for higher education partners was often highlighted by neighborhood representatives, these Sunnydale representatives considered programming for higher education access to be a low priority. They emphasized that instead of higher education access, partners should prioritize efforts to “teach students vocational or

technical skills.” Other Sunnydale residents, unaffiliated with any particular organization, expressed similar reactions. One facilitator reported that “the first priority” listed by meeting participants was “sustainability” or “the covenant,” which aimed to put an agreement in place in the neighborhood to ensure higher education access for students who qualified. She went on to note that “they all labeled higher education [access programming] as the last priority,” adding that “(one even put it fifth after an ‘other’ category that went undefined).” These conversations threw CI partners’ intentions into a state of confusion. Their capability to offer programming was primarily centered on higher education access because of the student population that made up a large portion of their workforce available to work in the community. The low priority assigned to college access programming by neighborhood representatives led students to question their role in community engagement work for this purpose.

Though higher education access programming wasn’t the priority that many in higher education considered it to be, neighborhood SJEN participants did articulate a clear and directed programming role for higher education, requesting university partners to “send Midwest University students to do their internships in Sunnydale,” and have partnerships that enable “mentorship” in ways that model relationships among students and neighborhood youth. This vision of building enduring but undefined relationships between college students and local youth differed from CI’s previous programming, which aimed to build specific college-application knowledge and skills. Sunnydale partners framed the challenge of building a college-going culture as a broad one, which would require more holistic

remedies than programs focused solely on secondary school students. A comment from a neighborhood representative in the roundtable focus groups emphasizes this perspective:

When you're poor and dealing with all that that entails, college is pretty low on the priority list. This is a nice idea and all, but many parents will need help making sure their kids are safe and fed before they'll really care to have this conversation. . . It really starts with parents. Rather than just helping small proportion of Sunnydale students, why not focus on creating a larger attitude change in parents? If parents want their kids to go to college, that value will be passed along to their children. Right now, that's not the case. . . .
(Roundtable 6, September, 2008)

These weren't universal sentiments in Sunnydale, and several neighborhood-based organizational representatives expressed support for college access as a goal that could lead to broader neighborhood change over time. If neighborhood representatives at the 2008 meeting thought that neighborhood holistic change would be necessary to promote college access in Sunnydale, Mark from Sunny Development argued that same year that improving college access for local youth could promote exactly this sort of comprehensive change:

I think that the ideal is that we have an ongoing network of students moving from our neighborhood into each of those universities as students, and that they and their classmates come back to the community as professionals and as very good students to bring resources and knowledge back to the

community that we can utilize in our ongoing renewal. (Mark, 2008 Interview)

Nevertheless, CI staff and students expressed a range of responses—surprise, dismay, and disappointment, to name a few—to the resistance to prioritizing higher education access as a neighborhood goal among the broad cross-section of neighborhood representatives who attended the 2008 roundtable meeting. The unexpected prevalence of the attitude that other priorities should take precedence over higher education access also indicated a potential disconnect between the expectations of some institutionalized organizations—such as the school, regional partners, and higher education institutions—and organizations with other missions. This meeting revealed the conflicted definitions of “community” that I discussed above, by challenging assumptions about the representativeness of community-based organizations. As a result of this feedback, CI was forced to reexamine its potential contributions. While action was an essential goal to validate and strengthen their involvement in Sunnydale, their area of expertise, and what they felt could be the strongest contribution, was being challenged directly and perceived as a low priority contribution to the needs of Sunnydale.

A 2009 report about a Midwest University conference on creating stronger impact in Sunnydale summarized CI’s work in the neighborhood up to that point, and also proposed possible future directions. Students at CI authored the report, but work in the neighborhood was not very active at the time. The authors framed the partnership by emphasizing the clear benefits of developing partnerships with other education institutions, and noted “[t]he emergence of BCS” as a potential partner in

the future “because the high school’s [superintendent] has expressed interest in partnering with Midwest faculty and partners on issues of college access” (July, 2009 Internal CI Report). CI sought out potential partnering institutions who could align with the work they had the structure to support “on the ground,” because organizational coordination wasn’t increasing university collaboration in the way they had hoped. CI also sought to ally with other programming structures within Midwest University that had a history of working with schools, which was also mentioned in the same internal report. In this sense, CI responded to the skepticism expressed by neighborhood representatives at the roundtable meeting without completely rethinking their approach, but rather by seeking out sympathetic partners who shared CI’s interest in college access work. Neighborhood partners appealed to this goal. The BCS superintendent, Ted, noted in an interview after SJEN had been established, that partners needed to ask themselves, “Where is the captive audience [of secondary students for college access programs]?” and argued that the partners needed to “take the programs there” (Ted, 2011 Interview). Taking the college access goal as a given, this logic highlighted BCS’s advantages in promoting this work.

However, the concerns of Sunnydale-based partners were not lost on the university partners. Conor, head of CI and a faculty member at Midwest University, was the primary contact for the fundraising partnership, and articulated a vision for funding in the partnership that included a rationale for sharing resources with partnering organizations. He noted that the partnership was about action, and that his primary aim in leveraging funds was to support the neighborhood. He noted that

if the partnership was successful in obtaining outside funding, the financial disparity between CI and the neighborhood would have warranted that “the bulk of it should [go] to Sunnydale as a community.” But at the same time, he notes that he is also battling institutional restrictions in that CI’s students don’t work for free, and that his own organization “does require resources” for students to carry out their internship work.

Mark, at Sunny Development also paired funding with action. He noted in a 2008 interview that he would like to change the situation so the partnership “would be better funded,” but that he felt “satisfied with where we’re going.” In addition to pursuing funding opportunities, higher education partners were also expected to support the partnership through organizational capacity building. Sunnydale representatives in the neighborhood roundtable discussion in September, 2008 highlighted that higher education institutions could strengthen organizations through contributing to “measuring impact,” and found that a research partnership could serve Sunnydale better if their work had measurable outcomes. Neighborhood representatives expressed expectations that university partners would assist in such measurements, “at least do[ing] something minimal such as pre, intermediate, and post tests.” Partners in SJEN also saw value in tapping into some of the research and human resource strengths of higher education partners, to whom they looked for help establishing “mapping of services” as well as “panel discussions . . . on what is working and what is not” in educational access programming. In an interview, a neighborhood-based service organization partner expressed that the value of higher education’s involvement with SJEN included the potential of universities to share

expertise in terms of promoting greater educational access. He called for them to “start providing case studies for evaluation tools to assess the successes and failures for some of these programs.” He also wanted “tracking” among program partners, so youth didn’t fall through the cracks. In these various ways, Sunnydale partners looked to university partners for organizational support. However, partners also expressed concern that they were not gaining access to the full range of the university’s intellectual resources: “SJEN can bring experts to the table and improve the organization capacity, but you always see the same people at these things.”

Partners, both higher education and neighborhood-based partners, expressed the importance of aligning resources in the neighborhood. Partners thought that higher education partners could help support this process among the neighborhood partnering organizations, but they emphasized that higher education institutions also needed to better align their own internal work to have impact in the neighborhood. They aimed to decrease redundancy in programming, improve meeting systemic neighborhood needs, and improve communication among higher education partners. In a 2007 meeting, partners expressed the desire to explore methods “to get higher education partners talking to one another at Midwest University, and to get a conversation in Sunnydale to occur.” These calls for stronger coordination from higher education aimed both to increase efficacy and decrease redundancy in neighborhood organization efforts. At a September, 2008 meeting with Sunnydale Coalition participants, one student reported that Sunnydale representatives “talked about how things at the university are disjointed and one person doesn’t know what another is doing,” adding that “the university is way off”

and that “schools need to get together so they don't duplicate.” The student described the example of “grant-writing workshops” which duplicated similar programs that had already been offered through early childhood partnerships in the area. At the same time, though, neighborhood representatives acknowledged that duplicating services across two programs does not always indicate redundancy, if there is sufficient need for both programs.

In a 2009 report, CI partners picked up on the potential to explore gaps and redundancies in university efforts, as they articulated their potential contributions. The report noted that CI partners found that there was support for CI work from neighborhood partners, and the continued challenge of effectively coordinating with neighborhood organizations. “Several of the community members . . . expressed support for the work that university organizations were doing in Sunnydale and expressed the need to strengthen community-university partnerships. . . Based on our current experience we should also recognize (call attention to) the challenge of coordinating the goals of university partnership (as a collective group) with the goals of the community’s leadership organization” (2009 report about meeting in October). Much of this report positions the importance of coordinated action among university partners to improve the potential for greater impact from the work of the university partners.

Summary of Action Expectations

This section emphasized the importance of action resulting from partnership work. The idea of action is a complex one, and can take on multiple forms. In this

section partners expected their work together to take form in ways that could create impact at the neighborhood level (i.e., on the ground). They also envisioned their work benefiting organizations by building organizational capacity in ways to enhance work with residents. At the same time, though, higher education institutions had mistrust to overcome, as they were being perceived as attending too strongly to their own organizational aims of teaching and research. Partnership needed to attend to organizational capacity in equitable ways that permeated across partners. Necessary action resulting from partnership needed to take these multiple forms.

However, different individuals and groups expressed different priorities and understandings of need in the neighborhood. Partners had to reach residents on the ground and balance multiple organizational partners' priorities. The neighborhood was not a monolith, and need ranged from creating educational centers in the neighborhood to serving residents to running support programs—and much in between. These divergent visions became increasingly conflicted, but also increasingly difficult to recognize as time went by and partners weren't forced to push past their surface agreements that young people's futures and educational opportunities were core concerns.

At a basic level, opinions could diverge about what might constitute successful action for the partnership. "Action" can be framed from at least two distinct perspectives. From the perspective of the neighborhood partners, successful actions are those that have the potential to improve the lives of residents in Sunnydale. From the university perspective, institutional/organizational actions

that serve as organizational capacity builders, such as grant-writing support, can also be perceived as successful action. These could also be actions that were more inwardly-focused on higher education, such as teaching and research (though even these actions were framed alongside multiple aims that included network or organizational capacity building). Higher education partners were framed as the intermediaries who could bring resources to the neighborhood. But to be successful, their work needed to reach the ground in the neighborhood. The level of mistrust when higher education partners engaged with residents through data raiding gave community-based organizations reason to approach these relationships carefully. These institutional obligations became tensions perceived by partners.

Summary of Expectations: the Conditions of Trust Building

The expectations of partners in Sunnydale represent a complex web of interactions. Overall, partners—especially higher education partners—were expected to attend to process as well as action in order to develop and maintain trust and establish mutually beneficial relationships. Attending to process requires commitment; Sunnydale and Detroit partners expect universities to commit to much more than one semester, and to demonstrate shared passion about improving residents' opportunities. Process also requires flexibility among partners, who are continuously negotiating who is involved, and what it is possible to accomplish together. Partners need to listen to one another and adapt. Partners are also expected to contribute to a range of outcomes related to neighborhood impact, shared organizational ends, and the distinct organizational needs of each institution.

Neighborhood partners expressed general concerns with higher education institutions' ability to meet local needs on the terms of neighborhood partners. They expressed mistrust in these institutional partners' ability to maintain relationships over time, do work that hit the ground, and continually negotiate change with the neighborhood-based SJEN partners.

Higher education institutional capacity had struggled to impact the neighborhood at a level that residents would recognize as action. At same time, it wasn't clear the form this higher education impact should take. Were higher education institutional partners expected to work in ways that would strengthen organizational capacity in the neighborhood, which would, in turn, affect the on-the-ground work in the neighborhood? Were they expected to provide direct services to residents through programming so as to reach the ground? Should they attempt some combination of the two? Some partners viewed the challenges of impact as inevitable structural limitations, while others framed the problem as one of perpetual neglect on the part of university partners, who privileged higher education ends over local need. Unfortunately, explicit discussions among partners about this challenge only occurred in the interviews, and were rarely engaged in an exchange among partners in real time. While CI partners often articulated their inability to speak for or commit resources on behalf of Midwest University, these statements didn't go so far as to include a conversation of the implications of this fact for what SJEN might be able to accomplish together.

Exploring these expectations reveals the importance of a careful balance of attention between process and actions (See Table 4b). Relational process

expectations attended to the commitment of partners and gave attention to the relationship process, including the willingness of partners to listen to one another and be flexible in their plans and expectations. Although some neighborhood partners expressed distrust of university partners' ability to engage in the process of long-term relationship building, there was general agreement between all partners on the values of successful process. Definitions of action were more conflicted; partners juggled the various imperatives of creating direct neighborhood action, serving collective organizational goals, and fulfilling the institutional goals of specific partners (especially the goals of higher education partners, whose institutional missions were substantially different than those of neighborhood organizations). Partnership work needed space to consider neighborhood action, because otherwise there were risks that SJEN's work would never "hit the ground," or create change within Sunnydale, which was of course the foundational goal of the partnership. Neighborhood partners expressed concern at the potential for higher education institutions to privilege economic and professional gain over neighborhood impact and action. Without specific attention to neighborhood action aims, they feared that university partners would pull the partnership toward their own institutional or organizational visions of action.

Table 4b. Expectations of Partnership in Sunnydale

	Relational Process	Action Expectations	
		Local Action	Organizational/ Institutional Action
Definitions	Relational expectations for a trusting, reciprocal relationship	Local action represents work that results in impact in the lives of neighborhood residents	Organizational action highlights practices that can enhance the work of organizations in the neighborhood
Practices in SJEN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enduring and committed • Responsive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • College access programming • Relationships in the neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding capacity • Partner connection and coordination • Higher education’s research and teaching goals

Insights into the Sunnydale partnership’s structure have implications for understanding the practice of reciprocity operating within the partnership. High-quality relationships were essential in change processes. They needed to be trusting, and generally speaking, partners described their own relationships within SJEN in this way. But trust was also accomplished through micro-practices related to listening, staying in touch over time, and being reliable. Although partners engaged in the SJEN partnership because they intended to work toward action, “doing something” on the ground wasn’t what everyone expected from Midwest University’s involvement. The SJEN partners toggled between working toward action goals, developing shared organizational capacity goals, and maintaining an orientation toward institutional priorities. As organizations were considered key partners in efforts for social change, organizational ends have the potential to obscure the partnership’s ultimate goal: neighborhood action. When organizational or institutional “action” could include objectives like research and theoretical leadership, the distinction between process and action could become smudged as SJEN partners each sought to accomplish their own goals. However, all partners

were aware that the partnership was necessary to define and accomplish the broader goal of neighborhood action. In this sense, no single organization could claim to be solely designing or leading the effort. However, no formalized structure existed to designate authority within the partnership. Even as SJEN funds were secured, it wasn't clear precisely who was responsible for defining and implementing neighborhood action. The SJEN action goals could only be determined through the messy and ongoing process of continual negotiation between all partners.

Chapter 5. Relational Realities: Information Sharing as Resources

In this chapter, I explore how the relationships in the SJEN partnership functioned to generate and connect resources during the partners' work together. I emphasize one resource evident throughout the partnership period, which is also a central construct of social capital theory: information sharing. Just as the previous chapter explored partners' expectations through the twin themes of process and action within the partnership, information sharing was framed to support Sunnydale in two ways through SJEN: 1) by solidifying and strengthening relationships, and 2) by providing new knowledge that manifested in action in Sunnydale. I explore both of these framings over time. I highlight insights into how information sharing was an essential structuring mechanism in the SJEN partnership, and how institutions could interact in that process to dominate the vision of change. Though information sharing shifts are presented here as occurring chronologically or even teleologically, the structure of information sharing processes shifted continually with changes in staff and new opportunities for financial support, complicating any simple, linear, cause-and-effect understanding of the causes of change in SJEN's network structure.

I organize this analysis chronologically, illustrating shifts in the partnership's information sharing structure and its orientation to action. Information shared within SJEN shows that the partnership started with just a couple nodes of contact,

who were exploring their capacity to work together. Sharing information involved learning about one another, especially about their capacities as actors within organizations, but they also shared information about the neighborhood and the political dynamics and landscape within higher education, in order to develop a shared understanding of their potential for collaboration. Over time, as the partnership sustained, these relationships were dispersed more broadly among additional representatives from the neighborhood. Other higher education institutions became involved, as did Sunnydale organizations. At this point, information centered on organizing higher education involvement within Sunnydale and exploring how an multi-sector partnership including higher education institutions could strengthen its contributions to supporting neighborhood needs. As I discuss below, there was a period in 2009 when the partnership almost collapsed, as SJEN partners stopped interacting and sharing information. Finally, the partners rallied their information sharing around higher education access programming, defining (and necessarily limiting) a vision of the partnership. This emphasis became more tied to specific actions, especially with an orientation toward promoting postsecondary access. I document the tradeoffs throughout this process here, with special attention to how partner transience affected the partnership.

Two Primary Nodes for Information Sharing

The initial communication about forming a partnership between CI and Sunny Development primarily involved Conor and Mark, the two organizational

directors. Beginning in the summer of 2007, they explored opportunities to work together, and shared information about potential regional, state, and national funding partners for work in Sunnydale. Conor and Mark also shared information with staff at CI and Sunny Development as potential projects emerged. From the beginning, Conor and Mark's discussions focused on potential higher education access programming in the neighborhood. They also discussed opening a conversation among the multiple faculty and organizations within Midwest University who were all working in Sunnydale, in order to better coordinate Midwest's research and outreach in the region. This lack of internal coordination within Midwest was ironically demonstrated in the summer of 2007, when Midwest faculty member Conor asked Mark (who had no affiliation with Midwest) for a list of Midwest faculty and staff partnering in Sunnydale; Conor seemed to expect smoother information sharing from Sunny Development than within his own institution. Internal communication among CI staff and students continued throughout this period, totaling by the end of 2007 approximately a dozen emails each month. The ongoing contact between partners in CI and staff from Sunny Development was primarily concerned with grant feedback and meeting coordination. The communication emphasized exploring and clarifying potential funding and partnership opportunities.

Until the summer of 2007, Peter, a CI PhD student, and a couple of other students had been offering a mentorship program to promote college access. This program provided essay writing support and ACT preparation for youth in a school outside of Sunnydale. This program had ended in 2007, when the high school it had

been affiliated with closed. Although the inchoate partnership between CI and Sunny Development had not yet defined any programming components, CI's ongoing relationship with Mark led Peter and the other students to seek a new home for the program within the Sunnydale region. Mark introduced Conor and the CI students to the pastor of Sunny Baptist Church, initiating Pastor Windsor's involvement in the partnership. Mark and Pastor Windsor were both connected to the neighborhood organizational coalition, the Sunnydale Coalition, which involved more than 20 neighborhood-serving organizations at the time.

The college-access mentoring program was housed at Sunny Baptist Church as an after-school program, but saw limited participation from Sunnydale residents. However, the growing partnership contributed to momentum and propelled the conversation about a potential CI/Sunnydale Coalition partnership more firmly toward educational opportunity and access. Partners aligned their educational vision with funding opportunities from the Carpenter Foundation and national funders, and began connecting with additional potential partners. They discussed aligning their vision for college access programming with existing city programs, which provided merit scholarships for students who surpassed a designated minimum standard grade average and ACT score. They emphasized balancing an articulated need with something innovative enough to get attention, but practical enough to be feasible—a very delicate line. Though partners envisioned the college access program which was already occurring as part of this effort, students pursued this specific programming on a volunteer basis while the partners explored funding opportunities.

Partners gave updates about progress or clarified information through email; partners (at this point mostly Mark and Conor, but also CI and Sunnydale staff) shared what they were learning, or needed to learn, and coordinated meetings. Meetings were the primary way for partners to share information and hone a shared vision. At the early stages, meetings were small and exploratory. This was especially true in 2007, when the entire partnership consisted only of a few staff members from CI and Sunny Development (and eventually Pastor Windsor). Internal meetings of CI's "community engagement team," which was composed primarily of students and administrative staff, occurred approximately every two weeks, and emphasized the potential and practices of partnership work in Sunnydale. The participants in these meetings discussed programming, the partnership, and potential funding streams. The internal meetings⁵ in 2007 were task-oriented, and covered three general areas of action: program development for the college access efforts, funding development for their work within Sunnydale, and sharing information about other potential higher education partners within Midwest University or other institutions.

Although CI partners were pivotal to developing the network, their distance from the neighborhood left them outside of regular interactions in Sunnydale. These were necessary to help the partnership progress, and this deficit showed. In certain circumstances, CI's involvement with the partnership could even become a liability. This was observed on a few occasions when CI partners asked more information about neighborhood funding structures in order to pursue support on the group's behalf. This was especially evident in relation to regional funding initiatives, an

⁵ Reflections/minutes and emails from six 2007 meetings and proposals were included in this analysis.

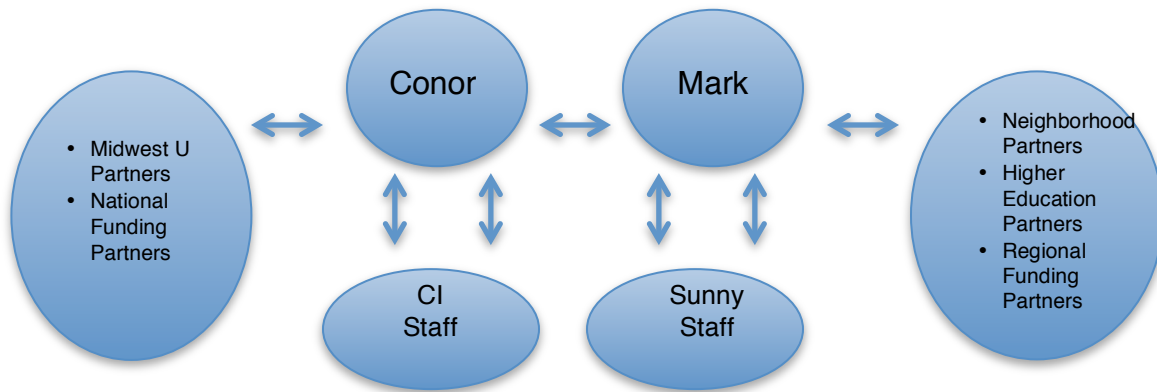
early target for the SJEN partners. For example, Conor sent Mark a clarifying email early in the partnership asking if any current support for Sunny Development would “disqualify us from funding consideration” for future grants. Conor didn’t know which funders had already provided support for Sunny Development, or the implications of past funding for future initiatives. The dynamic of interactions between partners remained fluid and informal, as partners continually reached out to each other for these types of clarifications. CI partners could share some information about external partners, but they relied on Sunny Development and other Sunnydale partners (and as the partnership grew, regional partners) to understand the interaction patterns of the neighborhood.

In the earliest meeting between CI staff and Sunny Development staff, which occurred in September, 2007, the primary talk concerned developing a mutual vision for a grant proposal to the Carpenter Foundation, a regional philanthropic foundation in Detroit. As the semester progressed, additional MU students joined the group to help administer the education access program, and internal meetings largely focused on program details and tasks (such as designing brochures and training volunteers). That same semester, Sunny Development submitted a grant application to Carpenter Foundation to support a college access program in the neighborhood. This grant application had been developed in coordination with staff at both Sunny Development and CI, and was intended to fund ongoing participation by higher education partners. This support was denied because Carpenter was already supporting a college access program in the region, which emphasized parent involvement. During the process of writing and revising their grant intentions, the

small partnership entered into communication with additional neighborhood-based partners. At this time, the partners, especially partners within CI, shared frustration about the process. Peter felt their proposal was a unique contribution that would serve the neighborhood. At this point CI partners were struggling to fund student involvement, but continued its involvement on a volunteer basis.

Students and staff from CI articulated the importance of a “community-based” effort, but in the earliest stages the neighborhood was represented only by Sunny Development and Sunny Baptist Church (and indirectly, the Sunnydale Coalition, which included both of these organizations). These neighborhood-based partners in SJEN, especially Pastor Windsor and Mark, showed reluctance to expand interactions to other community-based organizations and residents, out of concern that this would slow the progress toward action. They argued that including additional partners would not only slow and complicate the communication process, but also might lead to the partnership privileging research into problems over the action necessary to solve them. Partners aimed to hone a clear vision of the possibilities of the partnership, before sharing that vision with additional neighborhood representatives. Need was filtered through definitions established by this small group of organizations. They served as both gatekeepers and facilitators to additional neighborhood-based relationships.

Figure 4a. Early SJEN Network Configuration



Two coalition meetings were held at a restaurant in Sunnydale. The first formal meeting was between CI and Sunny Development partners in August, 2007; the second was in October, and included Pastor Windsor in the conversation, as well. Mark and Conor took it upon themselves to build will with their respective constituencies; Mark connected the ongoing partnership conversation to the neighborhood coalition and other community-based organizations, and Conor to faculty and staff at Midwest University. At meetings, partners explored the capacity of their institutions or the neighborhood, sometimes specifically and sometimes in terms of broader trends and politics. They attempted to get a sense of the landscape to understand what was possible. Partners from CI often discussed how to better incorporate residents' voices into planning, and CI staff and students hoped to involve residents in ongoing planning conversations. This was an early goal of the partnership, and one of the "next steps" that emerged from the very first meeting was to connect with high school students and parents in the neighborhood. But it became clear over time that neighborhood organization partners resisted fostering these connections, expressing concern that residents shouldn't be burdened with

excessive meetings to gather information. Neighborhood organizational representatives argued that residents would be more interested in the partnership as it moved forward toward action. This had two implications: first, the CI partners' relationship with residents was mediated by community-based organizational partners; Second, conversations with residents were postponed during the planning stage, and framed more as an information-dissemination process once something tangible could be shared with them.

Information Sharing with, within, and about Higher Education Partners

During 2008, email communication among CI staff about the partnership increased from the previous year, growing steadily through May. For example in the month of May, at least 70 emails about the partnership circulated within CI, but only a few connected with partners in Sunnydale or other higher education institutions. To CI staff, Conor emphasized the need to build relationships with other representatives at Midwest, in order to support a potentially shared vision of work together in Sunnydale. Conor cultivated faculty and staff support for a conference within Midwest about the university's work in Sunnydale. The talk about Sunnydale was gaining momentum within CI, but this did not yet translate into an increased volume of conversations with Sunnydale partners; as CI students worked with others in Midwest to plan a conference, most communication was directed inward, within the university. This early stage of the partnership also indicates how philanthropic investment played a hand in shaping the conversation between CI and partners in Sunnydale. Internal support at Midwest eventually supported a conversation at the institution among staff and faculty, which I discuss in the next

section. Communication between partners emphasized coordinating action by specific institutions and within the broader partnership organization. This communication wasn't aimed at work on the ground in neighborhoods, but instead emphasized improving organizational capacity.

Meetings continued and participation grew despite the unsuccessful educational programming grant with the Carpenter Foundation; in 2008, Mark and Conor continued to leverage participation from other higher education and community-based organizational partners. As the partnership endured, its membership expanded, especially among representatives from Midwest and other higher education institutions. The opportunity to coordinate partnerships within Midwest University, which many in the partnership and CI considered essential to create impactful work in the region, eclipsed the college-access programming that had been promoted by Peter and other CI students. By the spring, an informal group of partners within the Sunnydale Coalition had adopted the label, "Sunnydale University Partners," and aimed to improve partnership efforts among institutions to better support institutional action that aligned with neighborhood need. Peter was still active in the partnership and planned on promoting action, but he was transitioning out of CI and Midwest. Other CI staff members, including Marie, were more oriented toward organizational partnership. The organizational levels of action seemed to take priority at this point both because of funding opportunities and student transitions. The potential to foster a discussion among university partners seemed a worthwhile goal, as one of the challenges to college access

programming (in addition to funding) was a perception that other Midwest University organizations might already be offering similar programs.

Plans for the conference within Midwest were moving forward, but funding support (from the Service Learning Center, among other departments) wasn't fully aligned with the vision for the partnership expressed by the "University Partners," which was leaning toward broader collaboration of several universities, rather than just the work of faculty and staff at Midwest. Throughout 2008, partners from another institution, State University, became more involved and they were trying to find ways that the universities could collaborate and better support the work of the neighborhood. The SJEN vision at this point was still developing, with a broad emphasis on exploring the ways in which higher education institutions could work together to define and better meet their collective goals for neighborhood change. SJEN partners came to a point where they decided to expand the number of voices in the partnership. In September, 2008 Mark arranged for representatives at a Sunnydale Coalition meeting to share information with a broader cross section representing the neighborhood, and gather opinions about how higher education goals could better align with those expressed by the neighborhood representatives. Subcommittee representatives gave a brief presentation about their ongoing conversation, and then facilitated discussions at a Sunnydale Coalition meeting in a roundtable format to elicit feedback from Sunnydale representatives. Five different roundtable conversations occurred, and partners recorded and summarized feedback from a mix of representatives including youth and adult residents and employees from organizations. Partners used a worksheet to guide the discussion,

which was shared with neighborhood representatives, and presented a working vision for action based on the Subcommittee's ongoing conversations.

The frame for this worksheet reflected several potential approaches to how higher education institutions could contribute to change in the neighborhood—the results of the Subcommittee discussions. It highlighted potential outcomes from higher education partnership including “sustainability,” “[m]aximiz[ing] the use of university resources,” “develop[ing] institutional investment” and “creat[ing] an accessible pathway to higher education.” Many of the roundtable discussions eschewed the framework and spoke generally about what higher education institutions should or could offer Sunnydale. In the discussions, Sunnydale representatives framed programming for higher education access as low priority. Neighborhood representatives emphasized that instead of higher education access, partners should prioritize efforts to “teach students vocational or technical skills.”

This facilitated community discussion demonstrated disconnect between how partners from higher education could potentially contribute and what community representatives found as a priority. As mentioned earlier, a facilitator reported that “The people in my group ordered either sustainability or the covenant as the first priority” (which aimed to develop long-term capacity building for organizations, or to formalize access agreements with higher education institutions for those in the neighborhood, respectively). That same facilitator went on to note that participants “all labeled higher education [access programming] as the last priority,” and in another meeting “one [participant] even put it fifth after an ‘other’ category that went undefined.” These conversations left some CI partners confused

about their capability to support the neighborhood. Students had often been drawn to CI to learn how to improve educational opportunity, and the low priority assigned to college access in the roundtable discussions highlighted a tension between CI's capacity and the demands of organizational representatives in Sunnydale. Higher education partners expected to make a contribution to the neighborhood through their work. (See the previous chapter for a more detailed discussion about these expectations.) But when neighborhood representatives shared information about needs, it wasn't always what higher education partners wanted to hear. Nevertheless, this process was important to help CI learn the limits of its own potential, and what it means to develop a community vision for change.

Throughout this year, CI had become a mediating organization between Midwest University's Service Learning Center and SJEN partners. An early CI staff meeting about the proposed conference revealed the tensions between the priorities of university partners and those of Sunnydale partners; notes from the meeting stated, "We think it should be hosted in [Sunnydale. The funding partner] thinks it should be hosted at [Midwest]." This led CI staff to question whether the effort represented "a University-centered study/process, or a Community-centered study/process" (Meeting notes, March 2008). These questions highlighted tensions in strategy. While students and staff in CI expressed their preference that the aim of the conference should represent the vision of those who had been working together in the Subcommittee, they needed to balance this with the demands of the funding partner. The conference was being considered in coordination with a broader study

about Midwest's institutional engagement practices, also supported by the Service Learning Center. The conference was ultimately held at Midwest in October, 2008.

As the partnership developed into a funded process, the increased communication that had begun in May continued. Email communications were often at their most numerous as partners got close to submitting grant proposals, but emails also helped to clarify partner roles and task delivery. Higher levels of email communication about the Sunnydale partnership continued through the summer, though they did not reach the highest level again until 2010. The months leading up to the conference showed high energy among partners—CI, especially. The emphasis of their involvement in Sunnydale was shifting from exploring collective understanding of meeting expressed need by organizational partners to understanding how higher education could collaborate better to support neighborhood change efforts.

During this time, participants were continually changing, too. Peter, the CI student who had championed higher education access programming within CI, had completed his degree in Spring, 2008, and left CI to pursue a faculty position. Marie, another PhD student, had become more involved in CI's community engagement efforts, following her research interests in organizational partnership and neighborhood change. CI's efforts during the summer had been focused on organizing the conference, and CI partners had been interviewing Sunnydale partnership colleagues and Midwest faculty about their vision for defining neighborhood impact. These interviews informed the conference organization. Approximately 70 participants attended the conference, which interspersed several

(12) short presentations from faculty and staff about their partnership work in Sunnydale with roundtable discussions on various topics, including strategies to improve impact in the neighborhood, opportunities and challenges of impactful work, and the potential for university collaboration. Though partners—both Mark and Pastor Windsor from Sunnydale and many from Midwest—reported that the conference was fruitful, it didn't reflect the need expressed from partners in the Subcommittee, and partners from State University didn't attend.

The University Subcommittee continued meeting. At a meeting in November, 2008, members discussed the potential for neighborhood programming akin to the comprehensive aims and structures of the Harlem's Children Zone. The Subcommittee received an invitation from the Sunnydale Coalition to meet with the coalition's board, and potentially formalize their connection. They planned to present their findings to the Coalition's board during its November meeting. The partners had been calling their network a University Subcommittee for nearly a year, but they had yet to formalize the connection to the Sunnydale Coalition; up to that point they had been informally connected through Mark and Pastor Windsor, the Sunnydale Coalition members who were involved in the Subcommittee. Students and staff at CI—especially Melissa and Erin—did the Subcommittee's administrative work, such as scheduling meetings, and documented the process of partnership by creating logic models and presentations, and honing funding proposals to reflect the language of the partnership.

However, CI faced some real obstacles in conversations when defining what they could contribute to a change effort in the neighborhood. The CI partners were

supported through grant funding for specific projects, none of which had been raised to fund administrative support to the Subcommittee. State University partners had different forms of support for this work. CI was only able to work with partners to raise funds, and attend to potential funding sources to support their work, while other partners could commit support to an idea in the moment as it was raised at a meeting. To complicate matters further, soon before the November Subcommittee meeting, Lynn was named executive director of the Sunnydale Coalition—the organization’s first named director in a newly formalized position. The Subcommittee was asked to present at the next meeting, which would occur in early 2009. However, this presentation never occurred, and the work of the Subcommittee wasn’t embraced by the Sunnydale Coalition under Lynn’s leadership.

Leadership Transitions Precluding Information Sharing. During this period the partnership was characterized by a great degree of turnover in the representation of partnering organizations. Though the partnership had encountered change before, roles were shifting at this time among neighborhood-based partners and within CI. This transience among partners meant that prior work negotiating together the aims of the initiative did not always reflect the priorities of current partners. New partners attended the first meeting of the Subcommittee in February 2009, including Ronald, a new PhD student from Midwest, and Lynn, the new director of the Sunnydale Coalition. Ted, a leader of Big City Schools (a charter school serving K-12 students on the edge of the neighborhood) was also in attendance for the first time. Partners were shifting out

as well. Melissa had left CI after completing her Master's degree, and Marie was gradually phasing out of CI for a short while to emphasize coursework.

Most of this first meeting of the year was spent bringing the new participants up to speed on the Subcommittee's vision—that is, explaining to Lynn and other first-time attendees how the partners saw university partnership as a support for change efforts in the neighborhood. Lynn articulated that the Coalition's emphasis was on safety more than education, and expressed hesitation to commit energy to exploring the potential of the Subcommittee. Through the summer of 2009, information sharing between Conor and Mark continued, as they privately discussed neighborhood, city, and state changes and opportunities. From information gleaned from relationships with former students and other university staff, Conor suspected that state officials were planning a new program to promote educational access networks, and that this could provide funding opportunities for the partnership. Conor pointed out in an email that while transience was an expected barrier to partnership of the university, it was something they were negotiating with new Coalition leadership too. This would continue to be the case moving forward, as Lynn held the directorship for less than a year.

Though it is difficult to distinguish from the data when differences among partners were personal and when they were structural, Lynn's tenure was long enough to expose tensions between the Sunnydale Coalition and the university partnership efforts. In October, 2009, Lynn requested that CI remove references to the "Sunnydale Coalition" from the CI website. In an email to colleagues, CI graduate student Marie explained that Lynn didn't intend to formally dissolve the

partnership, but had expressed worries that the relationship was “characterized in a way that she could not articulate” (October, 2009 Email). CI partners were still in contact with Mark, who expressed regret and took responsibility for putting Conor and Marie, the primary contacts in Lynn’s email, in “such an awkward position.” Marie expressed concerns about maintaining relationships that CI partners had been building for well over a year, and suggested that Conor should reach out to Lynn. However, Marie also expressed concerns about CI’s ability “to respect [Lynn’s] time properly” because they currently didn’t have “a reason to communicate [with] or meet her” (October, 2009 Email). Without a current collaborative project in the neighborhood, they had no relationship to maintain. Lynn lacked a preexisting relationship with CI partners and was a skeptic about the role that higher education would play in the neighborhood. Strong relationships between individuals and organizations had been essential to promote the initial conversations between Conor and Mark, and weak transferability of trust to new relationships became a stumbling block to advancing the partnership in 2009. Mark’s trust development with Conor and others at CI couldn’t be assumed to extend to Lynn. In fact, it could be because of CI’s strong relationship with Mark that this trust wasn’t extended. In an email to Conor, Marie indicated that others had “suggested that [Lynn] and [Mark] don't have the best relationship.” The tension between Sunny Development and the Sunnydale Coalition may have partially resulted from a divergence of opinion on neighborhood goals, or from weak relationships between important neighborhood leaders. But in either case, the whole affair demonstrated that neighborhood group perspectives on change and education were not unanimous,

and transience within the partnership functioned to disrupt the flow of information among partners.

Information Sharing for Education Action

In 2009, communication about partnership among Mark and Conor and other partners had nearly fallen to a halt, due to shifts in partners and the limited available opportunities to do work together. However, Conor, Mark, Erin, and Marie had committed to listen independently for opportunities to reignite their work together, and communicated about this a couple of times throughout the year. Partners reconnected in November, 2009, in order to prepare a grant for a new potential funding opportunity. A graduate of Midwest's Department of Education was leading a state initiative to improve educational opportunity through developing neighborhood-based networks called the Midwest Education Network (MEN). Planning grants were available for communities interested in developing these programs, and Conor communicated this opportunity to Mark as a way to reignite their network of partners. State funding could help partners to design a locally relevant initiative for education improvement in Sunnydale, a prospect Mark greeted with enthusiasm.

Email communication among CI partners, about Sunnydale, picked up again, as they drafted a letter of intent for the \$8,000 planning grant. Erin was a member of the development staff at Sunny Development, and the grant was drafted and planned to be administered out of their office, with CI staff supporting the effort. CI partners hosted the MEN administrative leadership on a conference call to get a better sense of what they were looking for in a partnership, and to better determine

if it made sense for Sunnydale partners to pursue the opportunity. Attached to the agenda, CI partners included a document outlining CI's qualifications to support community engagement and network development, including the organization's collective collaboration and college access programming experience. A letter of intent was due on December 1, 2009, but required minimal detail of the partnership—mostly only a listing of partners or potential partners in the Network. The letter of intent included partners from Midwest, BCS, and a regional foundation in Detroit; Sunny Development was an administrative partner.

Partners began more detailed discussions after the letter of intent was submitted. CI leadership, Conor and Marie, met with Ted at BCS before the end of the year to discuss mutual expectations, and Marie with other CI staff and Erin (from Sunny Development) drafted the proposal, which was due early in 2010. The letter of intent encouraged MEN to connect Sunny Development with another Detroit partner, the MLK Foundation, which provided scholarships and programming in the city. The MLK Foundation also submitted a letter of intent to start a Network. These partners planned to meet after the New Year. Erin and Marie continued to be close colleagues, and Marie expressed the importance of their "obligations" to one another in an email where she committed to support editing the proposal draft. The grant was submitted by Sunny Development and approved with eleven partners, many neighborhood partners, such as the Pastor's Alliance and BCS in the neighborhood, but also partners from regional foundations.

Partners met about every six weeks starting in late January, and the network extended from the few organizational representatives that had been meeting

between 2006 and 2008 to six by the start of the 2010-2011 academic year, including Big City Schools, the new leadership of the Sunnydale Coalition, a regional scholarship and youth programming partner, the MLK Foundation, and an additional faith-based organization partner, Spiritual Guidance. During the six-month planning process, meetings were called by Erin or Sunny Development staff, and occasionally by CI staff. CI served as a research consultant on the partnership, and fostered discussions about the available resources in the neighborhood. The partnership oriented itself toward meeting the goals of developing an educational access network; partner meetings were characterized by visioning and exploration, but included far more targeted data gathering and task orientation than had occurred previously. The additional partners aligned with the effort to secure funding for CI and Sunny Development to continue their partnership work. Meetings became more consistent and the organizational participation diversified in 2010, when the partnership was formalized into a local education network planning process, and this pattern continued through the implementation period the following year.

Perhaps as a result of both the partnership expansion and the clear orientation toward action, key practical tensions emerged in the visioning. Throughout the planning period, partners disagreed about whether college access or job preparation should be a priority. They also disagreed on the role neighborhood residents should play in the planning process, as well as which organizations could best serve an educational mission. Partners disagreed about the role that paid professionals should play in supporting college access counseling.

Those with a counseling background saw this as a free service, and anyone looking for a fee to help find money for college was suspect, while some neighborhood-based partners had paid for these services, which usually included FAFSA help and scholarship searching, and had found these paid consultants invaluable. For example, Wilhelmina, who been a high school counselor and joined the partnership as a CI representative in the summer of 2010, argued that she didn't feel it was appropriate to encourage students to pay for something they could get for free (such as FAFSA help), and stated that she had always dismissed these professionals in her work with students. On the other hand Kevin, who had started working in Sunnydale as a liaison with the Carpenter Foundation and eventually became the Executive director of the Sunnydale Coalition (replacing Lynn), argued that these services had been essential in his own college journey. Ted noted that the college counseling services available to students were scant due to high student-to-counselor ratios in the schools, and a lack of finances to improve that situation. The partners eventually did include a consultant because he offered his services at no charge and committed to do so for students involved. Only some of these tensions were deliberated among partners in meetings, such as the differences between college- and career-oriented priorities. In some cases, challenges were discussed in smaller conversations, or they were ignored or resolved among in conversations that included only some partners.

The points of contact diversified as the partnership grew over the next year and a half. More CI staff members were directly interacting with more neighborhood-based partners, who also reached out more frequently, primarily by

phone. Partners in the neighborhood called for informal planning meetings to strengthen their work together. Within CI, student partners were increasingly responsible for interacting with partners between meetings, getting the necessary clarifications to carry out tasks, exploring the neighborhood vision of partners and residents through interviews and informal conversations, and offering technical information to partners about college-access programming. CI students and staff regularly performing this work included Marie, Chuck, Wilhelmina, and Edward. In October, 2010, Tanya joined the coalition through a National Service Member position. She became involved through a competitive grant available to higher education partners involved in MEN. These Service Members were committed to support local networks throughout the state, including a specific charge to leverage student involvement in the Networks. Tanya's position was housed at CI, and she took over much of the administrative work that Erin and then Marie had supported. She also worked out of BCS a couple of days a week to support counselors. Students and staff at CI were in regular contact with one another and Sunnydale colleagues, negotiating these partner relationships. Conor became a less frequent point of contact for partners, though through 2011 he still attended meetings, gave feedback on grants, and attempted to broker funding relationships within Midwest University and with external sources. CI partners listened to community partners in order to clarify shared interest, and reframed this information for grant makers. Reflecting on a meeting, Edward noted that he felt the African-American colleagues based in Sunnydale carried most of the conversation, and that he was surprised that BCS didn't have more college access support systems.

Though the partnership drew from a wider range of neighborhood visions, it also became more cohesive as it focused on partners' shared interests in promoting action that could improve educational opportunities for youth. Partners communicated frequently through email, but the majority of partnership-related emails were still exchanged internally among CI members. Emails among partners represented a wider range of partner feedback and insights, including occasional informal news bulletins from neighborhood-based organizational partners in the region to share potential issues of interest. Within the SJEN partnership, partners communicated whenever issues arose that required clarification; communications with others outside of SJEN were strategized and deliberate. SJEN partners followed a procedure of coordinating messages, designating meetings, honing their vision in line with funding partners, holding meetings with those potential funding partners, and then communicating their interaction with the rest of the group. Grant applications were often shared via email with the SJEN network for feedback prior to meetings, and while not all partners provided feedback, those who did often provided detailed assessments.

As the partnership became formalized as SJEN, the gatekeeper brokering of Conor and Mark that had characterized the early period of information sharing became increasingly dispersed among other students, staff, and neighborhood partners, with BCS operating as a primary partner in the neighborhood. When describing the initiative to external groups within Midwest or in the region, Conor framed the collaboration as a "community-based" and "grassroots" effort. But partners in Sunnydale, such as Martin (programming from the MLK Center), Bryan

(initially representing the Carlson Foundation, before moving to the Sunnydale Coalition), and Tim (with Spiritual Guidance) described the partnership as run by CI (and at times pointed to this as a partnership limitation). There was some truth to both representations: The partnership was comprised of primarily neighborhood organizations, but, on the other hand, CI staff and Sunny Development still served as the administrative core of the work, and as a result initiated much of the interaction between partners. Partners expressed that trust among SJEN partners was evident in their work together, and was necessary to enable this work. The way information was shared, and the types of information shared, were continually in flux, and characterized differently among partners.

Ted, the Superintendent at BCS, attested to the shifting nature of his own role, as he negotiated partnership involvement with others in his organization. Though he noted that the response within his organization to the partnership work in Sunnydale had been “open,” he argued that the value of the partnership wasn’t fully understood by others in his own organization, Big City Schools—and that he had to negotiate with these colleagues as an advocate:

I have been reminded on occasion that, now you know who you work for . . . that my first responsibility being employed with the schools is to look out for our students. At the same time, my role in a community development person is to be concerned about all the children in the Sunnydale community, which I am. So, it’s . . . kind of [a] balancing act and thus far I would say this—it’s working out really well on the part of the school (Ted, 2010 Interview).

The SJEN connection was beneficial to BCS. Collective celebration among partners was evident after an early collaborative success—when a BCS student was awarded a competitive grant of \$20,000 from the MLK Center; without the collaboration between BCS and MLK through SJEN, the student at BCS wouldn't have known to apply. This award in the spring of 2010 was described among partners as an early success for the network, and Erin noted how it “should inspire us to continue moving forward” (May, 2010 email). When the next academic year started, programming support was offered at BCS. The connection to Midwest became valuable to them, as National Service Member Tanya partnered with counseling staff at the school twice a week, including supporting ACT preparation. Another school-based partnering organization at Midwest joined the coalition in 2010, offering structured college-access programming for middle school youth and student-led college access programs that supported ACT preparation. A college night at BCS was also coordinated through SJEN, which showcased representatives from ten higher education institutions. Despite heavy snow, about 100 youth and parents attended college night, and many SJEN partners from the neighborhood attended as well. Counselors at BCS considered the event a “success,” according to a student interview. During the 2010-2011 school year, each of these programs had operated to share information about higher education access directly with youth (indeed, this shared interest had brought these various partners into the SJEN partnership). But higher education programming wasn't the only concern of partners in SJEN, and as I have already demonstrated in the previous chapter, it was a questionable neighborhood-wide priority. The MLK Center offered a character-building program

at BCS during this school year, as well. Martin, the MLK Center staff member who operated the program, mentioned that SJEN had been crucial to enabling this program. Martin had attempted to work with BCS in the past, but SJEN gave him access to the institution that he hadn't acquired previously, and also coordinated with BCS to promote direct information sharing with youth and families in Sunnydale.

Communications among SJEN partners, including meetings, interviews, and emails, often explored the potential for other organizations to contribute to the partnership. Partners felt they were incomplete as a network to fully engage the big issues they were taking on, and that if additional partners became involved, the partnership would have better information flow and greater impact in the neighborhood. Two primary groups were highlighted as essential partners for the SJEN efforts: the public schools in the region (which included two middle schools) and Sunnydale residents (usually but not always framed through the specific roles of “parents” or “high school students”). Chuck, a CI student who had worked as an educator, described how the partnership needed parents involved for any hope of impact (2010 Interview); Martin, too, often espoused this orientation, going so far as to suggest during a meeting held at BCS that students should be pulled out of class to contribute to SJEN's exploration of programming options (August, 2010 meeting). This orientation was often shared by higher education partners and partners who worked with programming, or had worked closely with youth in the past. Marie called for conversations with youth or residents, and broader representation of neighborhood voices—beyond that of organizational leadership—in the

partnership. In a 2010 interview, Edward highlighted resident involvement as a fundamental challenge for educators, which was emerging as a weakness in the SJEN partnership as it became more aligned with BCS. Many partners were also disappointed with the level of youth access and neighborhood impact that had resulted from the partnership with BCS. This was apparent in a June, 2010 meeting, when Conor had asked about the role of BCS as the primary school representative in the neighborhood. BCS was a charter school, and had recently had its charter threatened because it had been identified as a failing school in terms of state and federal standards. Bryan, with the Carlson Foundation, pointed out that BCS's status as the only school partner in the coalition could be perceived by funders as a liability in promoting the Network. Tim also perceived that CI had made an early misstep in the partnership by failing to involve more education institutions, which would be necessary for SJEN to have the impact it intended. The role of education institutions in relaying information to youth was especially touted among partners, but without the involvement of residents—particularly parents and youth—it was difficult to ground the programming in the neighborhood in ways that partners thought would make an impact.

While funding partners and regional partners, like the MLK Center, appreciated the close link between SJEN and BCS, other partnering organizations within SJEN became frustrated by this emerging pattern. Information about college access for youth was disseminated primarily through BCS during the 2010-2011 academic year. SJEN partners had initially framed the implementation of partnership programming at BCS as a “pilot program,” which would be “scaled” to

other organizations as time went on (August, 2010 implementation grant). But the direct benefits BCS received made its position enviable for other program partners. Tanya's work highlighted points of tension among the partners, between the vision and implementation of the partnership. Some neighborhood-based partners complained that she wasn't available to all of them, and that her efforts were directed to serve the missions of MU and BCS, rather than the broader mission of the SJEN partnership. Kevin, the Sunnydale Coalition director, expressed the feeling that Tanya was being monopolized by Midwest and the BCS. Several neighborhood partners, including Tom and Pastor Windsor (both of faith-based organizations), complained that her work in Sunnydale was primarily utilized to assist BCS, to the exclusion of other local organizations. Tanya stated that she preferred to work directly with youth, rather than strengthening organizational connections. In an interview, when asked of her commitment to the partnership, she framed her work in this way: "I would say, I'm pretty committed. . . I'm focused more so on the youth, so it can be a little difficult to think of communities and the partners while I'm with the youth, but it often gets reminded to me so it's not a huge delay." This statement reveals how the tension between organizational, institutional, and "on the ground" goals emerged in practice; through working with various partners, Tanya was "reminded" about her multiple roles, and forced to consider how she should juggle different goals. She preferred her work in the school because of the connections it gave her with youth, but this prompted some partners to question her commitment to the neighborhood as a whole.

The role of the school wasn't the only challenge that was raised in the process of implementing the partnership. In December, 2010, Kevin reached out to Marie for grant-writing support, so that Bryan could move from the Carlson Foundation to the Sunnydale Coalition in a role that would support the Coalition's involvement in SJEN. The Carlson Foundation, the regional family foundation where Bryan worked, provided the Sunnydale Coalition with funding to hire Bryan as a staff member for educational initiatives in the neighborhood. His role related to promoting and growing SJEN and other educational initiatives in Sunnydale. The position was framed as similar to Tanya's service position—full time and supporting the Network's program efforts, but housed full time in the neighborhood. Bryan had been working with the SJEN partnership since the summer of 2010 as a representative from the Carlson Foundation; he left this position to take the Carlson-funded position at the Sunnydale Coalition.

Initially, when Kevin asked Marie for language from previous proposals to help frame this grant application, Marie expressed concern, reporting to Conor in an email that she thought that Kevin was submitting a grant proposal on behalf of SJEN to a foundation and asking for her support without the backing of the Coalition. Marie noted that such a proposal could undermine the collaborative work in the network without more extensive consultation with additional SJEN partners. Recognizing the importance of a stronger neighborhood stake in the partnership, Marie shared the document that she used to recruit the National Service Member, Tanya, and the description of Tanya's role, and Kevin incorporated some of that language into the proposal. Kevin explained in a response to her that “the grant I'm

submitting is to support a staff position at [Sunnydale Coalition]” and that SJEN support will be “part of his responsibility,” agreeing that “any proposal to fund the actual working components of SJEN would definitely include input from everyone involved with the project” (Email, December, 2010). He also added that this was a proposal request initiated from the Carlson Foundation, which both he and they saw as generally strengthening the coalition’s staff capacity, but with a complementary role in strengthening SJEN. Regional partners funded action at the neighborhood level—that is, work that hit the ground—and the neighborhood organizations in Sunnydale were closest to that process. CI’s position outside of the neighborhood at times became a liability for understanding the regional relationships in Sunnydale. These relationships were already developed among partners independent of CI staff involvement in SJEN and continued to develop alongside SJEN. CI involvement could be seen as a liability as information sharing was often needed to bring them up to speed on the status of the relationships that could support the partnership’s work together. Still, when concerns about collaborative process occurred among partners, they were able to express and work through them in conversation.

As 2011 started, the partnership was growing. Opportunities (and demands) from MEN were increasing, and CI staff often mediated this relationship because of their knowledge of college access programming and prior relationship with organization leadership. Reflecting the gradual disengagement of Erin from the partnership to pursue a nursing degree, CI partners took on more of the bureaucratic and administrative work of the partnership in late 2010. Required meetings from MEN were attended exclusively by CI students, and Sunny

Development staff when possible, though eventually school leadership would be involved. Marie had initiated conversations with the SJEN partners to explore the potential of more structured MU student involvement in the partnership through coursework. Other partners, including Tom, Martin, and Kevin, had all discussed student involvement in various ways.

Additional funding support and opportunities to expand the Network were becoming available because of the network's affiliation with MEN—many of these were through Higher Education Serves, the same organization that had offered the National Service Member partnership; its mission was to support and promote higher education involvement in community engagement, especially as this mission related to enhancing student learning. This organizational support was especially appealing to CI because only higher education institutions could apply. SJEN would only be eligible for these opportunities through MU's participation, and thus gaining this level of support represented a clear and unique contribution from CI or other MU-affiliated partners. In addition to the exclusiveness of this opportunity to higher education institutions, it was tied specifically to MEN, and aimed to broaden the partnership across other regional higher education partners in the interests of SJEN; it would put CI in the role as a convening partner to broker higher education organizational relationships—this time outside of Midwest—on behalf of Sunnydale. As Kevin and the Sunnydale Coalition increased their stake in the effort, Marie set up a call between the leadership of Higher Education Serves and Kevin of the Sunnydale Coalition to establish if the organizational visions could align. In a phone call with Lina, the director of Higher Education Serves, Kevin and Marie

articulated the shared aims of SJEN and listened as Lina discussed the program from her perspective. Marie attempted to bridge CI's relationship with Kevin as they defined their work together in order to pursue a grant funding opportunity. At the end of the call, Kevin was uncertain about the grant's emphasis on higher education, but he encouraged CI staff to pursue the opportunity. Neighborhood partners wanted to become more involved in defining partnership means and goals, as well as articulating their aims and owning the partnership process.

During 2010, SJEN partners were still attempting to manage and prioritize the multiple goals of the constituent partners. Kevin, who had taken over as Sunnydale Coalition director in the spring of 2010, often framed SJEN as a defining initiative of the neighborhood, but he saw it as a point for data sharing among neighborhood organizations. Because of SJEN's efforts to align with existing neighborhood goals promoted conversations among neighborhood organizational partners, the structure was at least partially in place to support building organizational infrastructure. Kevin was also increasingly expecting leadership to shift from CI partners to him at the Sunnydale Coalition. CI partners shared this goal, but no clear action plan existed for transferring SJEN administrative responsibilities, especially those associated with MEN demands, from CI to the Coalition. CI and Sunny Development partners often negotiated misalignments in expectations between neighborhood organizations and MEN, and spared the rest of the partners from the trouble.

Summarizing Information Sharing: Creating and Reinforcing Fluid Structures

SJEN started as a centrally controlled, but also limited, partnership between Mark and Conor. It evolved into a broader and more complex network. Throughout the time of this investigation, organizational and neighborhood-based action orientations shifted, and at times the partnership itself seemed to stop and start. Over time, information sharing among partners became more dispersed, but the ownership of the partnership became contested and the responsibility to fine tune partnership aims was also dispersed. Particular structures of information flow privileged some organizations, especially educational organizations, over others. Throughout SJEN, the general aims were agreed upon, but more specific aims and the means to achieve them were contested. When the partnership was formalized, partners were confronted with putting a shared action plan into practice. This forced partners to confront multiple points of divergence in partnership orientation, as partners defined their roles and the priorities of the partnership differently. Even though partnership was catalyzed by fundamental agreements on the partnership ends to improve education, the disagreements weren't worked through until there were resources on the table to define SJEN's shared commitment to youth. However, not all of the tensions about the neighborhood vision for education improvement were worked through within the partnership, and some decisions were determined externally through resource designations.

Still, the ebbs and flows of information sharing structured the configuration of the partnership, and this changed continually—in little ways with each meeting, but also in major ways throughout the period of this investigation. Sharing information was a network structuring mechanism, and in the case of SJEN, the

configuration was in flux throughout the partnership as participants interacted with one another and outside forces. Information sharing operated to build and grow the network as much as to reinforce the relationships, as some individuals continued to navigate these new partners' involvement; at the same time though there were constraints on this fluidity, as neighborhood-based partners managed the resident involvement, which enabled and encouraged growth in an organizational direction.

Relational Realities. In the previous chapter, I emphasized two salient mediating tensions related to partnership expectations: vague concepts of community and institutional obligations. Those stemmed from discursive partnership constructs. In this chapter, I highlight the actual partnership practices and note a salient tension interacting with information sharing: partner transience. Partner movement—network growth, but especially transience—operated to complicate the process of information sharing. The partnership was in some ways driven by passionate, committed students, and their inevitable shifts due to the university structure could affect the overall vision of the partnership and the perceptions and possibilities of what the university was able and willing to contribute. But the transience challenge wasn't unique to higher education, as Sunnydale's partnership structure changed as well, at times diminishing the potential for partnership altogether. Additionally the addition of new partners, from the neighborhood or encouraged by SJEN, required partners to regularly rearticulate their aims; this had both positive and negative consequences, as partners were simultaneously reinforcing their work together but perceiving that

this work was failing to progress. This led to frustrations about the slow-moving nature of the partnership.

This perception had real consequences, as partners were perceived as attending to their own structure too much, and this precluded action in the neighborhood. My analysis of the SJEN partnership reveals how, when, and why specific tensions emerged. Tensions emerged related to information sharing as partners attempted to define the work of the network—its purpose and mission. Work reaching residents—the action on the ground, that is—came in the form of the early college access program (with more student involvement than resident attention), as well as the brochures developed during this time, but as school-based programs were developed (after the partnership became formalized as SJEN), many partners weren't satisfied with the targeted scope of this work. Work “on the ground” was routed through specific institutions, and primarily benefited students who attended BCS, rather than a broader cross section of youth in the neighborhood. Some partners questioned higher education access as a neighborhood priority, and in other cases, they questioned the focus of the partnership on educational institutions. Partners also expressed dissatisfaction with information sharing in the partnership, which was perceived as overly focused on strengthening capacity, at the expense of ongoing conversations about goals and methods. SJEN partners never collaboratively considered the challenges of discerning between process and action, or between organizational ends and neighborhood-based action ends.

One challenge of this analysis, which mirrors broader challenges and criticisms of social capital theory, is that relationships between partners simultaneously contributed to means and ends—that is, relationships simultaneously represented the structures partners were creating as an inherently valuable partnership goal, and instrumentally useful tools to access resources (or cope with shifts in the relational development process). Information sharing was framed as reinforcing structured relationships, but was also the means through which processes and actions could occur. The most salient tension that emerges from my analysis of information flow in the partnership concerns partner transience. The changes in staff at CI and in Sunnydale required partners from both sides to continuously revisit their priorities. New staff didn't have a motivating project for their partnership, a problem exacerbated by the lack of commitment to work together from the leadership of the Sunnydale Coalition and new student leadership at CI.

Chapter 6. Organizational Realities: Levels of Philanthropic Investment

In this chapter, I explore another resource generated by and shared within the SJEN partnership: funding. Of course, funding isn't a construct of social capital theory, which makes this chapter different from the previous chapter. But financial support was equally salient as a theme in this partnership. It motivated the partners to work together, as from an organizational perspective it was essential for them to continue their work—independently or together. Generating and connecting financial resources was a catalyst for the partnership throughout its existence, especially in the early partnership formation work of Conor and Mark. It continued to be a salient force that strengthened partners' work together, giving them the opportunity, excuse, and space to engage one another in SJEN to promote neighborhood education reform. As the partnership progressed, the funding sources sustained or framed organizations' work together. It was an essential resource for organizations in the partnership.

Pursuing Financial Resources in SJEN

Here, I outline the structure of financial resources in SJEN, and how they impacted the work of the SJEN partnership. The SJEN partners' continued engagement over several years is evidence that, in their views, the value or potential value of their work together outweighed the recognized costs. One of the

acknowledged benefits from working together was the partnership’s ability to leverage financial investment. Partners expected to attract greater funding together than they would alone. And indeed, in many ways, by working together the network was successful in developing financial resources and outside investment. The salient distinctions among these supporting structures were the origins of the funding sources; I label this variation the “levels of investment,” and discuss the resource development in SJEN below (See Table 6a).

Table 6a. Philanthropic Investment in SJEN by Levels of Investment⁶

	National/State	Regional	Institutional/ Internal
Attempts	9	6	8
Not pursued	5	1	0
Rejected	0	4	3
Successes	4	1	5

In the table above, I detail the funding attempts, challenges, and successes. In total, partners discussed⁷ or submitted applications for 23 funding opportunities from state/national, regional or institutional or internal higher education partners. They were successful in obtaining funding on ten occasions, receiving grants totaling more than \$160,000⁸. The remaining thirteen grants were either not pursued or rejected. My discussion below is divided into three sections, each of

⁶ The language of attempt and rejection here isn’t clearly black and white. Different funders had different processes of applying for funds, with some involving multi-stage application processes, and others requiring only a single application. My distinctions between formal rejections and failures to pursue further action are therefore in some cases irreducibly subjective.

⁷ By applications that the partners “discussed,” I mean proposals that were discussed in depth in meetings, or pursued to the point of writing a letter of intent; other potential philanthropic partners mentioned in brainstorm sessions or other brief contexts are not included in this analysis.

⁸ Later in the partnership an additional position was supported for neighborhood-based SJEN support through the Sunnydale Coalition, but as the proportion of this position’s time devoted to supporting the SJEN initiative was unclear, this amount isn’t included in the total.

which focuses on one of the three levels of investment from which SJEN sought funding. First, the institutional/internal level emphasizes outside funders who tied their investment to higher education institutions, or funds made available from within these institutions. Second, I highlight the conversation in Sunnydale around regional investments, which aimed to invest in improvements in and around Detroit specifically. Finally, I explore the potential and secured investments from public and private funding partners at the state and national level.

Internal and Institutional Investment

Internal and institutional investments represents the funds available only to higher education institutions, or from within these institutions. Sunnydale-based partners only knew these funding opportunities when Midwest University partners (or other higher education partners) communicated them. These resources could be leveraged—depending on the grant proposal call—to further the neighborhood partnership ends or the university mission. Although the academic literature on partnership with higher education institutions often frames these partnerships in terms of the benefits they offer to communities, the reverse is rarely articulated so clearly—the neighborhood partners’ benefit to the university. From a financial perspective, the SJEN connection was valuable to higher education partners because they were able to align with a wide range of organizational partners and funders that financially supported neighborhood action ends. Neighborhood partners lent legitimacy to SJEN applications, which CI acting alone would have lacked. This was true even for institutional/internal funding opportunities for which only university

partners were eligible. At times these funds were leveraged to contribute to direct resident impact, but most institutional/internal funding sources aimed to improve teaching and research.

Of course, not all internal or institutional funding attempts were successful. Conor and CI students attempted to capitalize on connections within and beyond MU, and to find support to maintain and strengthen the involvement of CI students in the administration of the partnership. CI was a grant-funded organization within the Education Department at Midwest. This meant that their continued institutional involvement in the SJEN conversation required financial support for their efforts, inasmuch as students on graduate assistantships or paid internships were involved. Though many students volunteered, some of the core students involved were paid. CI reached inward to MU for support collaborating with other Midwest faculty in Sunnydale, and attempting to put their work in Sunnydale on the radar of the Education Department. As early as October, 2007, CI partners were exploring support opportunities from the provost, which might finance a multidisciplinary conference about MU's various research projects in Sunnydale. In the grant application, CI described their aim as "step[ping] back from the work, shar[ing] it with a selected group of community partners and scholars, and chart[ing] the next phase of sponsored research and community engagement efforts" (October 2007 Midwest Department grant proposal). Although vague in its definition of outcomes, this proposal outlined an intention to work with neighborhood partners to share findings and best practices, as well as to develop future lines of inquiry. This proposal was unsuccessful. CI repeated the attempt to fund the research of its own

student workers by partnering with the same office in 2010; this too was unsuccessful. CI partners were also unsuccessful in attempts to fund a service-learning course that would support community engagement in Sunnydale through a teaching center at Midwest. These unsuccessful attempts to secure internal higher education partners demonstrate a tension evident in upholding the higher education institution expectations of CI while doing work in Sunnydale. It appeared that by aligning with the higher education missions of research and teaching, CI couldn't support their continued involvement in Sunnydale. CI partners negotiated these complex and competing values within their own institution as they struggled to translate their partnership process into traditional institutional goals of research and teaching. Although in the traditional sense of research and teaching, the support wasn't always evident, other forms of internal funding from Midwest were made available through hybrid organizations and partners within the institution that could be leveraged to support the SJEN partnership.

The higher education institution partners were able to gain support for their involvement in Sunnydale through departments and organizations that explicitly valued community engagement practices in higher education. Soon after CI's attempts to procure provost support were unsuccessful in 2007, Midwest's Service Learning Center, whose director had partnered in Sunnydale, supported CI's efforts to bring together faculty toward improving neighborhood impact. The SLC supported a conference in 2008 to bring Midwest partners together to discuss impact. The conference emphasized faculty, staff, and student organization work in Sunnydale and was titled "Finding Our Place: Collaborating for Impact With(in) the

Sunnydale Community.” It aimed to fund the exploration of improving university impact in communities through a CI research study about institutional engagement, and by bringing together faculty to collaborate on exploring how to improve impact in the neighborhood. The Center’s support made an important institutional conversation possible, but not the exact conversation that Sunnydale partners had been calling for. The conference was held at Midwest, and emphasized the involvement of representatives including program administrators, students, and faculty who were actively engaging in Sunnydale. The conference’s location and the dominance of university-affiliated participants tended to direct attention inward, within the institution. Non-university partners, based in Sunnydale and elsewhere, felt that multiple conversations—one at the university and at least one in the neighborhood—were called for. Mark and Pastor Windsor did attend the conference, and expressed their vision for neighborhood involvement in higher education. But the original conference plan discussed among the “University Subcommittee” in 2007 and 2008 had explored the possibility of a conversation among a broader cross section of actors within both the neighborhood and the institution. What actually occurred—lauded by Midwest faculty and the neighborhood partners alike—was a combination of what was desired and what was fundable. With multiple attempts to obtain funding and many rejections up to this point, a partial success was still reason for excitement. Higher education partners were balancing the internal expectations and funding support structures within their own institution, and at times partners were forced to compromise shared vision and complete understandings of mutual benefit in order to achieve

practicable action. Additional support for the conference was offered through another university center that aimed to promote diversifying educational opportunity, the Diversity Center.

Additional support from Midwest institutional partners came from MU's Outreach Center, which started working with Sunnydale partners when the SJEN partnership was formalized. They partnered with CI in 2010 to contribute some financial support for the National Service Member, Tanya. Staff from CI and the Outreach Center implemented some of the programming to support SJEN; staff representation from the Outreach Center started attending SJEN meetings in 2010. The Outreach Center had begun offering programming at the BCS middle school in the 2010-2011 academic year, including a program that brought students to Midwest's campus. The Outreach Center's partnership offered direct programming for college access in schools, and the Center implemented this programming during the school year.

Tanya's full-time role in the partnership was made possible by involvement in the statewide Education Network (MEN), a planning grant that commenced in 2010. Tanya's work began in October, 2010. As mentioned in the previous section, only higher education institutions were eligible to apply for a National Service Member to support the MEN programs, and a partial funding contribution was required. SJEN partners pieced together this support through internal Midwest funds from the Outreach Center and implementation support from the state MEN, which was the umbrella organization that supported SJEN. The position aimed to promote Midwest University students' involvement in the Education Networks as

college mentors, but it was also framed to offer general network support. SJEN neighborhood partners were supportive of the effort, but partners based in Sunnydale tended to understand Tanya's role as a resource for neighborhood organizations, whereas the funding organization, Higher Education Serves, framed the primary goal of the program as leveraging Midwest student involvement, and Marie and other CI staff considered her role as primarily supplementing administrative functions. Although university and neighborhood partners split the cost of the partnership, several partners in Sunnydale felt Tanya's work was too aligned with BCS, and that she was not supporting the aims and needs of Sunnydale partners beyond the school and higher education partners.

In sum, institutional and internal funding usually went toward supporting university-defined goals: undergraduate service was promoted, as was institutional convening and research. Institutional/internal funding wasn't available to fund the alignment of institutions with locally defined goals (or at least, if it was, CI wasn't successful in procuring it). Institutional and internal funding did support some goals of the partnership, attending to particular parts of the collaborative vision, but was not fully able to embrace the partnership's aims as a whole.

Successful internal and institution support were most often received from hybrid organizations, such as the Service Learning Center and the Outreach Center; these supported both institutional aims and the broader aims of organizations in the neighborhood-based network. Successful support required balancing institutional and community-based organization aims. Even the action-oriented funding effort that supported Tanya skewed to specific types of institutions: BCS and Midwest

University. The actions that received this funding support were heavily associated with the missions of specific organizations rather than with definitions of action shared by a broader section of neighborhood organizations or by residents on the ground.

Regional Investment

I define regional funders as those that targeted support to the Detroit region; these institutions were primary targets for many of the SJEN partners as they sought funding to support programming. Compared with other sources, the partnership was not terribly successful in leveraging this level of funding for the SJEN work. Although regional funders did not provide funding for the SJEN partnership's shared vision, individual partners did see success through one particular organization. Many of the neighborhood organizations had been supported by a particular regional funder. The perceived disinvestment from the Sunnydale neighborhood by the funder and the city prompted the involvement of Midwest to help leverage funds. At the same time though, the Carpenter Foundation, had a program targeting this neighborhood specifically, but was reorganizing its support into collaborative work. They were still primary funding partners, but the structure of support seemed to be shifting, and many organizations felt vulnerable to this shift.

The Carpenter Foundation was perceived as a strong contributor to neighborhood programming, and it had been a primary supporting organization for several community-based organizations in the neighborhood. Though the network that eventually became SJEN unsuccessfully applied for funding in 2007, and considered renewing the application in 2010, they were never able to get financial

support from Carpenter. In a 2010 interview, a program staff member from Carpenter expressed concern about the number of schools involved and a lack of neighborhood ownership of SJEN. To outsiders, it seemed more like a university program than a neighborhood one. Another regional foundation was also pursued as a potential partner from SJEN, as the MEN network provided matching grants to encourage involvement by some local regional foundations; the community foundation partners in BCCF were not willing to support SJEN because they had expressed concern about its approach aligning with the needs of the city (as opposed to some of the suburbs, which were closer to reaching the goals of the program).

Even when they were not directly involved in SJEN, regional investors had a strong influence on who worked in the neighborhood over the long term. Martin, a program director with the MLK Center, noted in his interview that his organization was “blessed with a partnership with the Carpenter Foundation which allowed us to expand” their work on “life skills” for youth in the region into Sunnydale. He noted that “[Carpenter] had six communities that they were designating money to. . . Sunnydale was one of them. . . So that's the reason why, you know, we wound up actually housed in the Sunnydale community” (2010 Interview). Even without directly contributing to SJEN, regional partners had helped to shape the environment within which the partnership operated.

Additionally, the leadership and staff of the Sunnydale Coalition were heavily influenced by the regional foundations. Kevin’s role as the Sunnydale Coalition director was supported by the Carpenter Foundation, and some neighborhood

partners, such as Pastor Windsor, felt neighborhood representatives had had limited influence in the selection process of the new director, which undermined a broader stake in the future. The SJEN network was also able to gain support in a roundabout way from a regional partner, the Carlson Foundation, to fund Bryan's involvement in the Sunnydale Coalition and SJEN. Bryan had previously worked at the Carlson Foundation. As discussed above, this funding was directed through the Sunnydale Coalition (made up of neighborhood organization partners) rather than through the broader SJEN partnership (which also included higher education partners). Though there had been limited support from regional foundations, the involvement of key staff members from the Carpenter Foundation and the Carlson Foundation created a sense among the partners in SJEN that the work between CI and regional funders primarily supported direct action on the ground, and emphasized local, regional organizations in their work. While higher education partners could serve as assets to create resources and strengthen conversations and collaboration, they may not always have been perceived to be assets to contribute to impact. While university partners were heavily involved in applying for funding through internal/institutional and state/national sources, impact-focused neighborhood organizations held the strongest relationships with regional funders.

National and State Investment

At the state and national level, SJEN partners aimed to attract new financial interest to support the neighborhood. As at the other levels of investment, partners had mixed success overall in securing support; pieces of the coalition mission were supported, but not the network vision as a whole. There were in-depth

conversations among partners to pursue at least five national or state-level funding opportunities to SJEN's work. The two federal opportunities, which emerged at various points in 2010, involved lengthy application processes, and while the partners submitted a letter of intent for one, they didn't fully pursue the effort, according to partners in the neighborhood and at Midwest because of fear that their application might be perceived as representing a "weak" or "scant" level of partnership compared to other applications in the region. Other attempts to leverage national funders were considered by SJEN but not pursued either because CI partners, who by 2011 were writing most of the grants and budgeting for the partnership, didn't believe that the time involved would be rewarded with a successful application. Conor also sought national support through his existing relationships with national funding organizations. In at least one case the decision not to pursue support among these funding partners created tensions among colleagues within CI, and Marie questioned Conor's commitment to the partnership. He responded that he didn't carry the research clout to leverage investment of national organizations.

As discussed above, the SJEN partnership's greatest funding success came in early 2010, in the form of a planning grant from the newly formed Midwest Education Network (MEN), which was followed by implementation funding the following year. CI was also able to continue student support in 2008 and 2010 to engage in the partnership through a national research organization that aimed to understand civic action and neighborhood organizing. I will discuss each of these funders separately below. Both of these relationships were initiated through CI

relationships that had begun prior to their work in Sunnydale. Additionally, they both emphasized CI's role as a research organization, although in this case CI's research agenda was strengthened by its association with a coalition of partners with whom the CI representatives had developed close connections. But, as funding from state and national sources emphasized research, it also promoted a vision of CI's work as integral to the partnership.

The Bailey Foundation, a national research-funding partner which aimed to understand democratic practice and community action, supported CI students as they interacted with neighborhood partners, reflecting together about their mutual and misaligned expectations. Bailey supported research about how the partnership developed, using information on its formation gleaned from the partners themselves. Accordingly, the research initiatives paid for interviews with Sunnydale partners about the partnership building process, and enabled and encouraged continued partnership support in the neighborhood by CI students—especially Marie. It also supported formative learning among SJEN partners, as they articulated their visions, goals, and tensions in the partnering process—those lessons, though, were far more consistently extended to CI partners than across all the SJEN partners, as CI conducted this research. Nearly one third of the overall partnership support, about \$60,000, was from this organization, which exclusively supported Midwest partners' research and partnership involvement. It was research funding that mainly supported student involvement in the partnership, and sustained a part of CI's community-engaged research agenda.

The other funding source explored in this section is a statewide partnership, based on a national model, the Midwest Education Network (MEN). MEN supported and formalized the SJEN partners' work together starting in 2010 as an Education Network, emphasizing neighborhood partnerships to improve higher education access. Although SJEN partners had collaborated for a long time to develop shared interests before this opportunity emerged, they framed the \$8,000 planning grant, which was awarded in February of 2010, as a way to strengthen their work together. As Conor noted when they submitted the letter of intent, "I am most optimistic about the opportunity. It isn't much money but if it allows us to keep the vision alive for a true partnership in Sunnydale it will be worth it." This state-level opportunity served to rekindle the partnership that had been nearly extinguished by leadership changes in 2009, as discussed above. The planning grant connected new partners to the Network in Sunnydale, such as the MLK Center, and enabled a visioning process and the development of an implementation plan for college access work in Sunnydale.

But college access programming was still a disputed neighborhood goal because some Sunnydale-based partners considered other priorities for youth engagement more pressing, and those who did support college access called for a broader definition of preparing for the future which also included career preparation. As the number of partners increased, the emphasis on college access felt increasingly partial. Some neighborhood programming partners, especially Martin, Tim, and Pastor Windsor continued to dispute this as a neighborhood priority because it left too many youth or young adults behind. In their view, too few

local students attended college to justify a sole focus on higher education access. The conversation continued and partners aimed for a vision that could raise standards of education as well as job preparedness (May, 2010 meeting). Partners were successful in developing additional support with an implementation grant opportunity from Midwest Education Network, which was worth \$50,000.

The plan resulting from the six-month planning grant married the Education Network's vision of college access with a local vision of improving career training and preparation, and preventing high school dropouts. A May, 2010 meeting emphasized "[b]oth college bound and high school graduation" as programming goals, with the ultimate goal of for youth to "have choices upon graduation." In addition to connecting students to college access resources, the grant application emphasized a drive to "offer people what they feel they need most in the region: jobs." The activities associated with the grant included college-going "tool-kits" for community-based organizations in Sunnydale, as well as a summer program to connect work opportunities with college preparatory work. These goals were articulated as the result of months of negotiation and deliberation between external and internal partners about what they felt was desirable and necessary to create positive educational change in the neighborhood. However, the goals associated with opportunities outside of college, which were essential to many neighborhood partners, were neglected in the process of implementation during the next year.

In early February, 2011 the MEN director contacted Erin about an opportunity for BCS to incorporate another service member, through a college-advising program. The opportunity was offered to support SJEN. BCS (or SJEN)

would be required to contribute a 1/3 match to the program, or \$7500, and they would share the volunteer with another region in the state. They had a few days to decide, but the offer confused BCS administrators because it seemed to exclusively benefit the school rather than the partners. When discussed with Ted, founder of BCS, he declined the opportunity because he felt his staff was “stretched too thin” to take on the necessary supervisory role, and, as Marie later explained in an email to MEN staff, that “the purpose of the [SJEN] partnership from his perspective is to really develop community-wide capacity, and not just opportunity for his students, so [SJEN]-focused programs should reach beyond [BCS’s] doors and support their community school mission.” A discussion between Marie, Erin, Conor, and MEN staff about the “community” vision followed, and how to structure support for their work together. A MEN administrator stated that aim was aligned with state college completion goals, and broader cultural change efforts would be outside its scope, but she planned to advocate on behalf of the state’s Networks for resources to support them. These resources would not always be compatible with the partners’ continually developing vision of change.

It was increasingly becoming clear to CI and SJEN partners that their dispersed approach to college access and education change in SJEN wouldn’t align with MEN opportunities. At best, MEN supported a partial vision of their work together. For some Sunnydale partners in SJEN, the state didn’t encourage enough involvement and support among the diverse neighborhood organizations. MEN was limited in who it supported, and faith-based organizations saw it as exclusively interacting with a single school. Pastor Windsor and Tim, a faith-based school

program leader, questioned their own organizations' access to the support structures offered through SJEN. This also held true for the partnership's broad vision of including career enhancement and professional development as part of SJEN's mission. Although the partnership proposal emphasized the language of career preparation, in practice the measurement structures emphasized higher education involvement. The SJEN visioning and the emphasis on careers were being eclipsed by the connections with the one school. Although CI partners worked with Tanya to adjust her role, it was still questionable if enough work ever "hit the ground."

Funding Structures as Sorting Mechanisms

Financial support was available from several sources to support SJEN partners' work together. CI and other partners working in Sunnydale channeled financial resources from multiple sources to support their efforts toward neighborhood change, and to sustain the relationships necessary to continue those efforts. The financial resources developed in the partnership were gained from three levels: institutional/internal funders, from within Midwest University or from organizations that only supported higher education institutions; regional partners, who were located in Detroit and aimed to improve life there; and state/national funding partners, who had a broader scope. Funding success across these levels was not uniform, and different types of partners were assets for SJEN in seeking different types of funding. Regional funding partners aligned most closely with the SJEN partners' action orientation, but SJEN did not succeed in acquiring regional

funding to support the partnership's overall vision and development. Internal and institutional funding partners in higher education supported improving action, but only as it tied into other ends—namely, goals relevant to higher education institutional missions. National and state funders, who were connected to SJEN through CI partners and aligned with higher education missions, often financed partial visions with specific goals predetermined through programs. For instance, the Bailey Foundation supported research in communities, and MEN promoted higher education access programming. As SJEN formalized and focused on programming, the interaction with external funding sources became a primary sorting mechanism to determine the direction of partnership action.

Organizational Realities

Both community-based organizations and higher education institutions are reliant on funding structures to perpetuate their existence and accomplish their missions. Without funding structures, many organizations couldn't exist. In a sense, SJEN didn't exist as an organizational entity. Rather, there was a process of continual negotiation among the organizational partners about their own institutional ends, and the funding structures that might support these varied goals, as well as those shared across the partnership. The shared goals in SJEN were broad ends of educational change and commitment to youth as a means for neighborhood revitalization. Though partners were thoughtful in their approaches, as a collective, they were willing to get there by any means necessary, because they perceived the situation as dire—both for young people and for community-based organizations. The fragmented nature of available funding could provide scaffolding to accomplish

SJEN goals, even if it was secured only one piece at a time. This enabled the complex SJEN vision to be reconciled with the organizational reality of available funding.

Funding structures became a salient mediating tension, often directing resources toward institutional goals, rather than the shared organizational goals of the entire partnership or the process to build shared goals. The need for funding was a background concern and a source of anxiety throughout the partnership, especially as relationships became stronger and CI partners committed more concretely to work in the region. This pursuit was especially evident for higher education partners, who needed funding support to justify their work in the neighborhood at an institutional level, and to support the advanced students involved through internships and grants. Partners at times emphasized the abstract goal of funding their continued work together, rather than attending to partners' shared vision of change and ensuring that all the means and ends to accomplish it were equitably supported. In SJEN, the available funding structures supported some visions of the partnership better than others. As a result of this mediating tension, the relational aspects of the partnership were not supported by funding, or only supported insofar as partners could stretch funding to combine institutional action with more general support for the partnership process.

According to this logic, SJEN partners appeared to trade a collective mission and vision of community change for the opportunity to potentially survive another day. However, depicting the partnership as a constant pursuit of funds doesn't do the effort justice. While it is true that partners attended to their own institutional missions and the fragmentary opportunities for funding, they also attempted to

stitch these missions and funding opportunities together in a way that would uphold a vision for change that accessed a wider range of community assets. The source of these tensions was not the partnership structure itself, because the partnership could still create a mosaic of opportunities toward a shared and collective end. The problem was that funding structures collectively catered to specific institutional structures, and systematically marginalized parts of a broader change vision. Available funding opportunities privileged educational systems' role in contributing to educational change over the roles of community-based organizations or of residents. These institutional forces went unchecked for a long time; perhaps because of partner faith that they could be used to leverage other support for a broader definition of change, or because several of the most heavily involved partners believed that emphasizing institutions would result in the desired outcome. However, this latter claim seems contrary to many perspectives on the efficacy of partnership articulated by SJEN partners.

Process/Action Distinction Revisited

Though the process/action distinction outlined in Chapter Four didn't serve as an organizing structure in this chapter, it can still provide insights into resource generation and distribution in SJEN. In some ways, the financial resources in the partnership functioned to serve process, that is, the development of relationships. Financial structures also functioned to support action in the neighborhood, inasmuch as specific ends for the partnership were often tied to financial resources. In this section, I detail these distinctions more specifically, as they relate to funding structures.

Financial support was never generated to explore a collaborative vision among SJEN partners. The process of partnership wasn't fully funded, and the same was true for partnership-defined ends. Both process and action received only partial funding support, with important impacts on the partnership's function. Funding partners engaged with SJEN with specific ends in mind. For example, when the MEN network financially backed the SJEN partnership, this funding primarily aimed to support one piece of the partnership's overall vision for neighborhood renewal: higher education access. Action was most often the standard for funding decisions, and though that funding could function to support the process of SJEN's work together (for example, through a planning grant or a research grant for formative evaluation), funding supported the partnership toward specific ends, forcing partners to juggle multiple goals. When partners sought to obtain funding, strengthening the process of relational development was at best a secondary concern. At the same time however, in the later stages of partnership, this action orientation toward specific ends pushed partners to have the rich discussions in which they confronted their different approaches and orientations to change. The challenge of obtaining funding to sustain the partnership and to promote change forced partners to articulate their beliefs about feasible partnership goals and their own institutional needs.

The financial support often emphasized ends over process, especially in the broad sense of process: practices designed to reinforce partners' relationships with one another, and with neighborhood residents. The funding structures often supported only a segment of SJEN partners' vision. Partners were never able to find

outside funding that could fully support the process of developing a shared vision for change, and they found only partial support for working toward action. Emerging opportunities paid for only some portion of neighborhood partnership goals, and some partners felt that their own goals had been completely overshadowed or neglected over time. SJEN partners familiar with the funding landscape were contorting to align the partnership vision with opportunities, while other partners with less fundraising experience might view this process as self-serving.

The partnership did accomplish some shared goals, but most often what they were able to accomplish was partial, and aligned with the goals of specific institutions—such as the research and teaching goals of higher education, or the college access goals which aligned with BCS. In the rare instances that financial support emphasized process, it involved recruiting students to implement mentoring programs, or support for research efforts to understand partnership process; from the perspective of some neighborhood partners, these projects could easily be considered as supporting higher education institutional ends more than the development of vision and the partnership process. Higher education partners were able to financially support graduate students in internships and assistantships, and also to support undergraduate students through independent study roles in the administrative and research work in the partnership. CI's involvement enabled SJEN to access funding support from internal and external organizations that supported the development of partnership with communities.

If framed as a mosaic, partners hoped that a number of different opportunities could come together to encompass both the shared vision of the partnership, and the independent work of different partnering institutions. The negotiating process with potential funders outside of SJEN made it difficult to maintain a pluralist vision of partners' multiple goals. As funding orientations were sourced from institutions with specific institutional ends in mind, the partnership was strongly drawn toward these areas—especially as CI partners, institutional actors themselves, attempted to direct these funding opportunities partially with the goal of supporting their own continued involvement. Perhaps because the goals of the partnership were closely tied to developing support, the visioning process within SJEN was in continual negotiation with potential funding partners outside of the partnership. Partners not only brought their own institutional perspectives to the table, but also their expectations about funding opportunities.

Chapter 7. Conclusion: Higher Education Engagement and Neighborhood Change

Some scholars and institutional leaders in higher education engagement, especially those associated with building higher education institutions reputations as anchor institutions (e.g., see Cantor, 2009; Axelroth and Dubb, 2010) assert a strong role for higher education in long-term regional economic and community development. In my own research (Hudson, 2013) about the planning grant applications for the Promise Neighborhood Program—a federally funded comprehensive community initiative to improve education opportunity for youth—I found that higher education institutions were heavily involved, committing their resources in diverse ways. They supported neighborhood and organizational capacity, offered administrative support, and committed student human resources to fulfill the neighborhood mission. Higher education engagement to improve educational opportunity is caught in a complicated web of local, regional, state, and national politics (Rubin, 2000). This study shows that negotiating and strengthening relationships in these webs proves to be a complicated and political task, but one with potential to impact the lives of residents and neighborhood organizations. These constraints indicate the need to pursue community engagement mindfully and deliberately. As higher education institutions engage within complex systems of neighborhood change to make a positive impact, engagement becomes both more complicated and carries more potential. Good intentions alone are not enough.

In this chapter, I discuss the implications of the analytic chapters. I describe implications from applying social capital theory to this higher education partnership. In this section, I draw conclusions about the SJEN partnership from my social capital theory-guided analysis along three lines of impact: developing a network of organizational partners, higher education engagement, and educational improvement. These implications can inform higher education engagement programs, and any neighborhood change efforts involving higher education constituents in a complex organizational partnership.

Higher Education Engagement in Complex Community Initiatives

In this section, I develop findings from the analytic chapters into a model that can inform the role of higher education inter-organizational comprehensive neighborhood change efforts to improve education opportunity. Guided by social capital theory, this analysis points to several partner considerations that suggest the need for a delicate balancing act. Partners simultaneously need to consider partnership means (i.e. the development of relationships) and ends (i.e., the impact). Furthermore, when considering impact, partners need to think about how action affects both organizations and individuals. In the figure below, I show the dynamics of the partnership, and how they interact with social capital constructs (See Figure 7a below). Through this image and my analysis of the case of SJEN, I explore the potential for higher education engagement to contribute to community change through improving education opportunity. It is worth noting that this model explores possibility and potential rather than absolutes; moreover, while this analysis may not be generalizable to other partnerships or neighborhoods, the

present case provides lessons for higher education and community partnership practitioners, especially in urban regions.

At a time when higher education institutions, neighborhood organizations, and philanthropy all want to do more with less (but still meet complex public expectations), directing investment where it can create or contribute to impactful change and lasting effort is essential. The practical and theoretical implications combine to inform an inter-organizational comprehensive neighborhood change model to improve education opportunity (see Figure 7a). In Chapter 3, I created research questions that positioned this analysis of the SJEN network to use social capital constructs to inform higher education engagement as well as collaborations for neighborhood change and education opportunity. The first of these questions was designed to apply many social capital constructs to my study of this partnership: trust, obligations, expectations, information flow, bridging and bonding, and norms. These concepts have guided my analysis in previous chapters, and they shape my discussion below. Taken together, applying social capital constructs to this partnership illuminates implications for interorganizational change efforts in neighborhoods and provides helpful insights about how to maintain a partnership between higher education institutions and neighborhood representatives to make neighborhood impact.

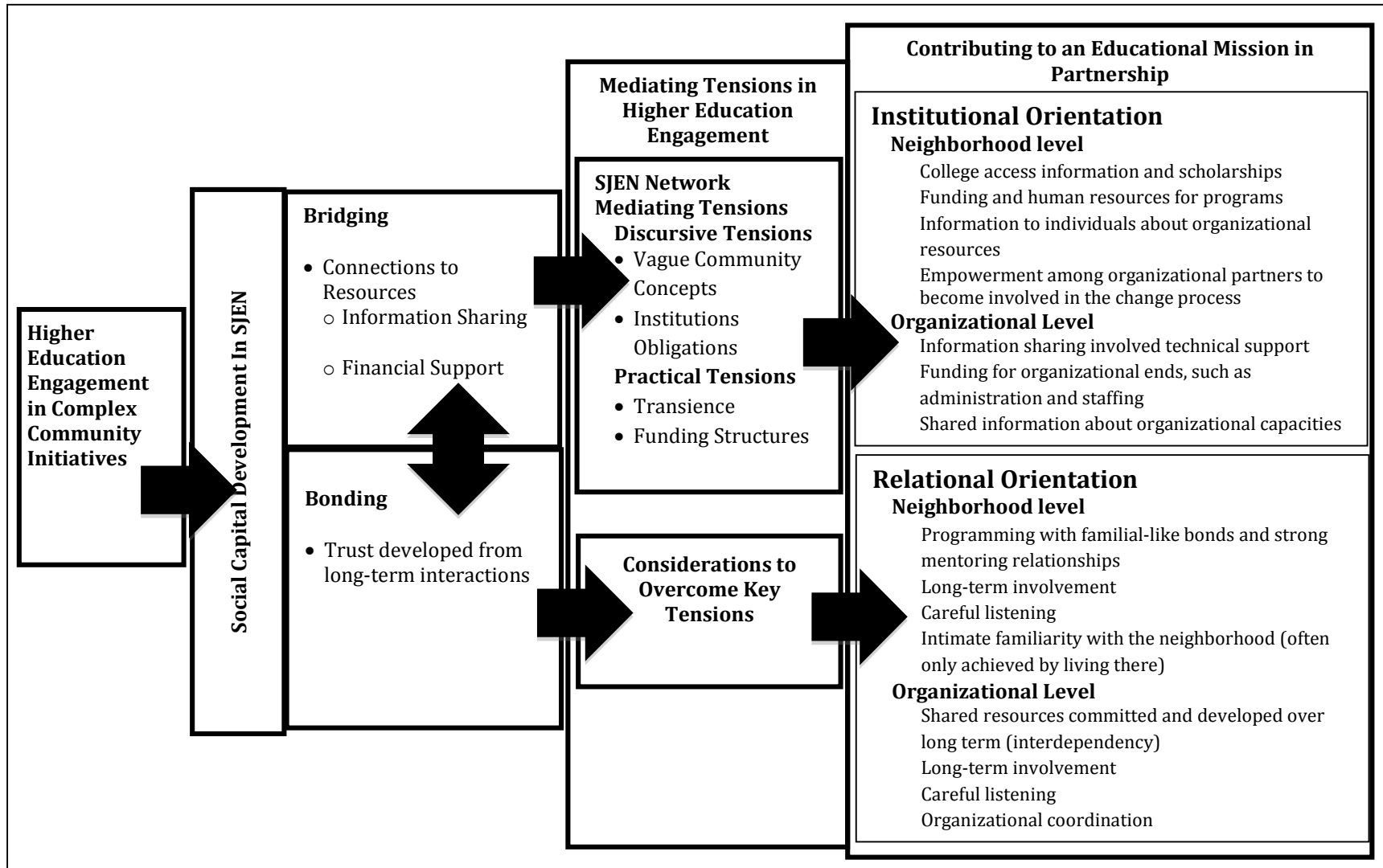
My findings in regard to my second research question (pertaining to the interactions between social capital and SJEN's educational opportunity mission), were somewhat unexpected: Although Bourdieu and other theorists have described education as a primary method to increase individuals' social capital, the mission of

this partnership was shaped largely through mediating tensions and designed to satisfy institutional goals. In this sense, applying social capital concepts to this partnership has led me to the conclusion that SJEN's focus on educational access owed more to structural factors, such as institutional obligations and available funding, than to a desire among Sunnydale residents to use education to remedy the community's deficits of social capital.

With regard to my third research question (pertaining to how social capital informs higher education engagement practices), this study makes important contributions to the field. In the model below, the interactions among partners in an inter-organizational coalition enable them to navigate the tensions and create a more inclusive conversation that can include both relational approaches to change and institutional ones. My model demonstrates the communicational and structural tensions that operated to privilege institutional over relational orientations in SJEN. My analysis frames these problems in a unique way, and the model below provides a map of the structures and practices that tended to skew SJEN's operations toward institutional ends. However, similar problems have been noted by other scholars of higher education engagement (e.g., Fairfax, 2006; Maurrasse, 2001; Corrigan, 2000). In this sense, my findings will be of interest to a wide range of scholars and practitioners in higher education engagement (and other fields of community work) who are seeking to understand and improve institutional partnership practices to contribute to civic change. In this chapter, I also suggest practical communicative practices that future practitioners could employ to avoid or ameliorate the major tensions that I noted in SJEN, while also (a) remaining cognizant of the practical

realities of the higher education and philanthropic sectors, and (b) retaining the practices that allowed the SJEN partnership to endure, to acquire funding, and to make an impact in the community.

Figure 7a. Inter-organizational Comprehensive Change Model to Improve Education Opportunity



As this image demonstrates, I differentiate between two paths of partnership, which involve institutional and relational orientations to change; the former category includes means and ends that are institutionally-derived, while the latter category considers approaches that privilege relational development and attention to the concerns of individual community members. I ultimately argue that both of these orientations to change must be considered together to create the broad impact that SJEN, and potentially other CCIs, aim to achieve. Careful and deliberate consideration and implementation along both of these lines are considered the means for neighborhood change. In SJEN, however, the emphasis on developing bridges over bonds led to a skewed vision that privileged some organizations' approach to change. The mechanisms for skewing this vision were specific mediating tensions, both discursive and practical, that tended to privilege organizational and institutional ends over broader visions of community change. While the quality of relationships has become a salient theme in the social capital literature, the role of interaction, especially deliberative problem solving, is under-theorized in the work on higher education engagement. The partnership's deliberative process clearly interacted with how resources were allocated in SJEN; attending more carefully to this interaction could illuminate the central mechanics of social capital development in higher education partnership. In SJEN the interactions started to point to how relationships operate to create and distribute benefits, and to the presence of inequities among partners. Because of these tensions, the quality of interactions among partners could function to raise issues of asymmetry or inequitable distribution of resources, and they eventually did so within this partnership. But in practice, this skewing of goals and resources occurred at some chronological distance from the partnership's first discussions about developing a shared,

collective vision, and partners who did not see the effort as serving their vision often left the partnership rather than protesting these shifts. In fact, after 2012, CI partners were no longer involved in SJEN meetings or meeting regularly with any partner; the structures build by SJEN did prove sturdy.

In this chapter I detail the above figure by articulating the structure of resources and how this structure violated partner expectations. I describe how social capital constructs operated in this partnership. I then describe the mediating tensions, and include alternative approaches. Finally I describe the effects of these processes on the potential to contribute to institutional approaches to change at the expense of the relational approaches, even though partners in the neighborhood and higher education institutions valued both. Through this model, I lay a foundation of lessons on which to potentially build a more equitable approach to higher education engagement.

Social Capital Development in SJEN

Social capital, as it is commonly explored in the literature, emphasizes how benefits can be extended from trusting relational networks. The more trusting a collective is (i.e., the more social capital is present), the stronger the functioning of that collective along some specific dimensions, often including economic indicators (Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001). Of course, scholars have complicated and challenged this narrow view of social capital, arguing that relational benefits can take many forms, and they may not even always be good. Burt (1992) and Portes (1998) both note that too much insularity can be a problem, creating something akin to groupthink, and Safford (2009) highlights how this insularity cuts collectives off from other extra-network relationships that could offer benefits. Additionally, networks with too much bridging capital find difficulty realizing a purpose

(Woolcock, 1998). In this analysis, the SJEN relationships were relatively long term and enduring, but partners primarily drew from their own normative neighborhood or organizational structures, limiting the partnership's capacity to establish informal group norms. However, trust eventually manifested over the course of these relationships to facilitate conversations among partners with potential to challenge the allocation of resources—seemingly a form of interactional capacity that could enhance neighborhood problem solving together and challenge existing structures.

The role of interactional capacity, which was an outgrowth of both resources and trusting relationships, is essential to consider in relation to social capital. The structure of benefits among SJEN partners was skewed toward certain types of change in the neighborhood: change associated with educational institutions. Developing stronger interactions earlier in the partnership could have aligned partners more clearly with action outcomes, and defined who is responsible for those outcomes. In fact, Kania and Kramer (2011), point to the importance of ongoing interaction in their exploration of Collective Impact, arguing that “continuous communication” among partners enables partners to learn that “their own interests will be treated fairly, and that the decisions will be made on the basis of objective evidence and the best possible solution to the problem, not to favor the priorities of one organization or another” (p. 40). While interactional forms of trust were developed eventually in SJEN, trust in the social capital sense did not develop and most shared resources were among organizations with an educational mission. Collectively, however, SJEN partners did not see the benefits of their collaborative as located specifically in educational institutions, and these institutional actions were privileged. Cultivating interactional trust earlier could encourage a balanced approach

between institutional and relational orientations to change, which would have better reflected partners' interests and intentions.

Increased Interactional Capacity

Trust is a foundational construct in social capital theory; it indicates collective norms that provide potential benefit for partners. In this analysis, I explore the development of trust, and find that it was far more complex in the SJEN partnership than anticipated. Given how trusting networks were slow to develop in SJEN, I detail in this section how trust functioned. SJEN did not demonstrate the development of a trusting network that generated resources among partners through the informal normative structures, as would fit many social capital theory models. A trusting network where partners could draw from normative structures, resembling Coleman's or even Putnam's work, never grew. Partners were not able to draw from a single shared normative structure and assume that they held shared interests (beyond a shared belief in the potential for partnership). However, partners in SJEN expected that relationships would offer value and embraced the gospel of social capital in their organizational practice, as evidenced by their statements about why they should work together. Trust was more complex in practice than suggested by social capital models, but SJEN partners were able to generate sufficient trust to allow the partnership to operate for specific ends, as I discuss below.

Relational expectations and obligations, which are constructs in social capital theory closely related to trust, were evident throughout the SJEN partners' work together, and meeting these obligations was an essential condition to create functioning trust between partners, especially for community partners to trust higher education partners. By meeting each locally negotiated expectation, trust was reinforced at least to the point that the

relationship could continue, but partners were pursuing resources at the same time that trust was being developed. Partners (especially those in higher education) met obligations and partners' reliability to fulfill commitments served as a repeated and necessary demonstration of trust. They needed to follow through on locally negotiated commitments and continually demonstrate and enact their commitment. Within SJEN, trust was situational and continually demonstrated rather than general and enduring. Partners were employing practices that aligned with the norms of their own organizations or the practices of neighborhood organizations. For example, early in the partnership, organizational gatekeepers mediated higher education partners' relationships with residents because of a deep mistrust of university partners. Over time, the structure of the relationships became more dispersed and the conditions for successful partnership process were continually met (i.e., the partners maintained involvement and adjusted their ends).

Trust among partners developed through a process of continually meeting obligations and expectations to one another, and the continued interactions of partners eventually became a source of strength of SJEN. This indicates a mechanism through which trust can be beneficial for problem solving in neighborhoods: deliberation. Repeated interactions among SJEN partners enabled specific benefits associated with getting to know one another and developing a shared vision. These relational benefits were especially evident as partners increasingly challenged (albeit respectfully) one another's visions for change. Trust became evidenced through the organizational partners' interactional capacity for deliberative problem solving—to ask difficult questions about neighborhood and institutional politics and challenge the allocation of resources among partners.

Partners were able to talk more explicitly about the role of residents in the partnership and

promote a more integrated framework (though it was never fully realized, which I explore in the next section). Also, higher education partners were able to defend—but also find ways to expand—their orientation to change from higher education access to include job training as well.

The structure of the partnership, then, not only promoted the construction of shared goals, but also provided partners with a forum in which they could challenge one another's approach to change and clarify collective partnership aims. They contested individual visions and made strides toward a collaborative one; these conditions are necessary to solve local, shared challenges through organizational collaboration. Although the SJEN members did not always directly engage their disagreements or tensions, partners continued to meet and became increasingly comfortable having some necessary and difficult conversations. In this way, enough trust was functioning among partners to foster ongoing deliberation and the possibility to work through at least some of their different perspectives. Perhaps offering evidence of trust, continued interactions created social capital in facilitating better—more contested and deliberative—problem-solving interactions among partners. In the partnership, contested and deliberate approaches to interaction signaled points when partners perceived goals that were not shared and/or inequitable allocations of resources, and they were able to air these disagreements and discuss them in productive ways to create a more inclusive vision and allocate resources more effectively. Briggs (2008) argues that this type of shared problem-solving effort is the foundation of “civic capacity” and necessary to create long-lasting change in neighborhoods. The development of interactional trust indicates that better communication among partners—the foundation of relationship building—is an essential

component of understanding the mechanisms for social capital and trust development toward neighborhood change.

In the case of the inter-organizational development of trust among SJEN partners, trusting collective norms emphasized by Coleman and Putnam were not the strong resources for community partners in SJEN that social capital theory would predict. Although it is not certain that additional time could have enabled this, the lack of interdependency among these organizational partners does not seem to make it likely. The norms of institutional action for higher education partners and neighborhood norms of mistrust of outsiders strongly guided partner action throughout most of the partnership process. However, I contend that benefits to improve neighborhood problem solving resulted from repeated interactions, a construct of organizational social capital emphasized by Schneider (2009). Through their repeated interactions, partners in SJEN enabled a process that could facilitate the construction of more equitable definitions of change in the neighborhood to inform their potential contributions.

In inter-organizational higher education engagement, social capital development in the form of trusting norms should not be the end for problem solving in a neighborhood change process. Rather, relationships should be carefully considered as a means to strengthen the problem defining and solving process, or what Briggs (2008) labels “civic capacity” in neighborhoods, including through developing “institutions that combine learning and bargaining effectively and constantly” (p. 13). As I elaborate in the next section about the structure of bridging capital and new resources, developing social capital is not sufficient for promoting systemic, sustainable neighborhood change; norms need to be addressed through a process of interaction.

Bridging Capital, New Resources, and Institutional Privilege

Social capital theory relies on the construct of bridging, which is useful to frame how partners access new connections to benefit their own organizations or organizational constituencies. The connections fostered in SJEN demonstrate the inter-organizational function of bridging social capital. The partnership created relationships that connected partners and their constituents to new information and to new financial resources. Financial resources were generated for some partners through participation in SJEN. Information was shared that enabled better access to resources among organizations. To a lesser extent, new information was shared with individuals to improve education opportunity. Throughout the period under study, the partnership was continually connecting to new organizations with the potential to further the coalition's resource development and educational opportunity goals. However, building relationships for education opportunity is challenging because change at the neighborhood level necessitated diverse partnership and involvement. Partnership efforts often privileged change through institutional structures. When applied to SJEN, this construct from social capital theory illuminates how the goal of access to new resources privileged institutional connections and ends, at times eclipsing the continued process of strengthening relationships to create change.

Partners drew from relational resources to strengthen organizational capacity and create new resources that could be accessed by young people in Sunnydale. There was general agreement that partners had assets worth sharing or potential connections to these assets. Partners shared information in the coalition that had the potential to improve college access for young people. Early on, SJEN connected to individuals as Midwest

students, and CI staff mentored a few secondary students in Sunnydale. Later in the partnership, connections fostered by SJEN helped to provide youth with tutoring, information about competitive scholarships, and college fairs. This access to resources was often specifically aligned with educational institutions.

Relationships within SJEN created social capital that could enable them to access third-party resources through their work together, including outside funding that would not have been available to any of the partners alone. The funding often came through organizations that supported the work of higher education institutions and neighborhood partners working together. The SJEN partners were able to generate more than \$160,000 of investment, and their work together made these funds possible.

Woolcock's (1998) analysis of social capital demonstrates that too much bridging capital can create *anomie*, or lack a coherent, shared structure among a network. And while there is evidence for this, something more was happening in the bridges of SJEN, which enabled a skewed realization of partners' vision of partnership. Inter-organizationally, information and financial support resources were allocated in ways that privileged some organizations and institutions, while marginalizing the involvement and interests of other organizations and of neighborhood residents. In this way, bridging in the partnership functioned to reproduce structures of privilege where larger, technocratic education institutions (and their constituencies) were able to benefit more from the SJEN connections than other partners. These findings align with Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital. The partnership aimed to connect to institutional language associated with education-based community change and education reform. Social capital operated to privilege a specific type of cultural capital, one produced by and associated with

educational institutions. For some who embraced the educational ends associated with institutional reform and change, the relationships were clear and easily pursuable. For other, the inclusive vision of SJEN involving job training *and* education access fell by the wayside. Instead of maintaining and implementing their robust and inclusive vision, partners oriented the partnership toward reaching youth through specific institutions, but limiting the impact in the neighborhood.

SJEN embraced the development of bridging capital in partnership, and it found new connections essential to reach its goals of neighborhood change. In social capital theory, bridging capital is considered a primary mechanism to connection partners to new information and resources, and it operated in SJEN to connect partners to organizational and local information, financial investment, and new college access resources. However, this analysis of how bridging social capital in SJEN enabled access to new resources reinforces some findings from Woolcock (1998), who argues that bridging capital can function to maintain a dispersion of interests among partners and undermine the development of trust, creating *anomie*. In the case of SJEN, bridging capital operated to connect partners to information on two levels: bringing local, political knowledge about the community and institutions to the partners in SJEN (such as funding sources and politics), and bringing college information to young people. It also generated financial resources for the organizational partners. I found that the development of new resources through bridges, however, had potential to privilege some organizational interests, especially the interests of educational institutions that already had in place mechanisms to support college access priorities (although they still had use for additional resources). Bourdieu argued that educational institutions can function as a bridging institution to create

relationships that can enable access to cultural capital. In my analysis, however, the role of education institutions as a promoter of social capital cannot be taken for granted, and the mechanisms through which these connections operate can serve to divide interests among partners in inter-organizational efforts for neighborhood change.

Mediating Tensions in Higher Education Engagement

Figure 7a visually represents the tensions that mediated partnership contributions in SJEN. The higher education community engagement literature rarely frames partnership challenges in terms of tensions. While there are notable exceptions (see Nyden and Wiewel, 1993; Reardon, 2006; Kezar and Rhoades, 2001; Cress, Donahue, and Associates, 2011), the community engagement literature typically emphasizes needed changes in institutional structure that could rectify power differentials among neighborhood partners and higher education institutions. Reardon emphasizes the politics of engagement, highlighting how local voices complicate the process. The work of Weerts and Sandmann (2008) emphasizes a constructivist model of engagement that allows institutions to be receptive to change and interact more openly as opposed to a client- or expert-driven model, which highlights content delivery over engagement. But tensions were evident among individuals as they navigated their organizational, institutional, or neighborhood roles in the partnership. These tensions mediated partners' capacity to forge reciprocal relationships in this complex partnership.

Defining Mediating Tensions in Engagement

The misalignments between neighborhood partners' expectations about higher education community engagement and the allocation of resources described in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 demonstrated that partners encountered tensions that were rarely made explicit

in their work together. These tensions intersect with social capital theory constructs associated with the alignment of norms, trust building, and the flow of information. In this section, I detail four tensions evident throughout the SJEN partnership: vague concepts of community, institutional obligations, transience, and funding structures. These factors were apparent in the relationship between community-based organizations and Midwest University, but they manifested in diverse ways throughout the partnership. However, changing one's approaches to higher education engagement holds promise to prevent or limit these tensions, thereby improving a fundamental practice of higher education engagement: building relationships. Below, I draw implications from the tensions evident throughout the SJEN partnership and connect them to ideas in higher education engagement to improve practice.

Vague concept of community. At the earliest stages of the partnership, higher education partners conflated a “community” perspective (represented by a cross-section of organizational partners) with *the* community perspective. For example, Mark from Sunny Development was often seen as fully representing the interests of the Sunnydale community. Scholars in higher education, such as Strand et al. (2003) and Maurrasse (2001), have cautioned about the tendency for higher education institutions to conflate community-based organizational representatives with the needs of a region. Dempsey (2009) takes this criticism a step further, arguing that the use of a broad concept of community homogenizes a region at the expense of those who are marginalized. Vague concepts of community have implications for furthering equitable distribution of resources, and can undermine the complexity of understanding need and how to remedy deeply rooted challenges.

Further reinforcing this challenge are the seemingly innocent assumptions of many organizational representatives in the neighborhood who do not question whether their work represents genuine (or even salient) neighborhood needs. Of course, community-based organizations do reflect the perspectives and interests of many that they serve in the region, but community-based organization representatives' assumptions about fully representing the neighborhood can exclude some perspectives from the partnership. Housing developers hold closest interest with homeowners, schools represent their students (and in more complicated ways, the families of those students), and mentor programs can represent tutees. Mark's assumption that his work with Sunny Development and the Sunnydale Coalition were uncomplicatedly representative of the work in the neighborhood was not intended to distort the partnership's understanding of the community, but it had this effect. It took a long time, however, for CI, as an external partner, to understand the politics of neighborhood representation and assert any broader or alternative vision. Many of the neighborhood partners never acknowledged defining community as a tension, but they often held different definitions of who needed to be involved in the partnership and at what level it needed to affect for their work together to be successful.

Using general language for the "community," without attending to the more specific orientations of various constituencies, enabled SJEN partners to interpret the word "community" in multiple (and perhaps contradictory) ways. This led them to define contributions liberally or not refine them at all in collaboration. Partners (within and outside of the neighborhood) variously identified the "community" as homeowners, residents, organizational leaders, youth, parents, public schools, and faith-based partners,

among other interpretations. Of course, all of these definitions are in a sense accurate, but they are also partial. While partners continually engaged in conversations about who needed to be involved in the partnership, these conversations became instrumental, as they worked back from particular ends, rather than from an inclusive design process or considerations of improving civic capacity. In fact, no one ever suggested that any particular organizational partner or resident should not be involved, and the goal of creating a more inclusive network through actions to pursue resident involvement were often voiced, but never substantively pursued. When partners, both within and outside the neighborhood, employed language of “the community,” they assumed alignments that didn’t always capture the range of meanings different partners assigned to that term.

Complicating the potential for understanding who should be involved in the network was the fact that CI, as an outsider organization, was poorly positioned to raise questions about representation of community, especially early in the partnership. The literature in engagement can position higher education institution partners negatively as agenda setters in pursuit of partnership (Maurrasse, 2001; Ferman and Hill, 2004), and this was something CI consciously sought to avoid. Higher education partners were in a position to learn, which was necessary to earn trust, but they could not dictate the partnership parameters. Midwest University had a particular perspective on defining needs in their community engagement practices. From its position outside the neighborhood, Midwest relied upon other groups to represent the region and often conveniently defined “community” according to the availability of willing partners, rather than through a focus on resident impact. This complexity showed itself throughout the SJEN partnership. While the importance of involving residents in the network had been a priority for higher

education partners throughout the SJEN, higher education partners responded to neighborhood organizational partners' calls for patience in involving residents. CI later critiqued the lack of involvement of a broader cross-section of residents and neighborhood representatives. Only through the long-term commitment could these critiques be expressed and the question of representation be more fully explored. This demonstrates how growing trust contributed to a deliberative discussion within the partnership, which is a significant finding from this analysis that I discussed in the previous section.

Transience and turnover. This analysis showed how turnover can undermine partnership progress by thwarting momentum in the development of long-term relationships and hindering the flow of information and resources toward action. For SJEN partners in Sunnydale and Midwest, there was regular turnover within the partnership. In the case of SJEN, transience (or just movement of partners, including network growth) had real implications for continuity toward action. Partners were continually revisiting process and rearticulating aims and visions. At times, revisiting partner aims prompted rich and valuable conversations about SJEN's vision and partners' expectations about change. Cumulatively, though, partners often expressed fatigue, because these repeated conversations led to the perception that the partnership was not going anywhere or caused confusion about its aims. Transience meant that those in the room at a meeting defined the need, and because those in the room continually changed, they generated multiple competing visions of change. Sometimes these competing visions were worked through and reconciled, while at other times, they were added onto a broad definition of need in the neighborhood.

In the community engagement literature, higher education institutions are often criticized for their inability to develop long-term relationships, because of the transient nature of the student population. While higher education institutions do experience a large degree of student transience (and did throughout this partnership in ways that stymied progress), turnover also affects neighborhoods (Cadwallader, 1992). This was apparent in Sunnydale, especially given high levels of poverty and shifting institutional structures, which operated during this partnership to close schools, change organizational leadership, and strain nonprofits. Transience among the staff or membership of any partnering organization had the potential to undermine momentum of the partnership. Bringing new partners up to speed or negotiating their different priorities could result in a sense of stagnation among partners, as those who had been involved for longer did not feel that their efforts were moving toward reaching action ends. A continual process of strengthening relationships at times prevented the partnership from moving forward into action, and turnover required a constant renegotiation and reiteration of partnership goals, even when the organizational membership of the partnership remained stable. Partners need to attend to both action and process to be considered valuable partners.

Institutional obligations. The role of institutional obligations was especially prominent for the educational institutions involved in SJEN. As partners engaged with one another to form solutions, they filtered possibilities through their obligations to their home institutions. Higher education representatives, whose obligations included teaching and research outside of Sunnydale, were more likely than neighborhood partners to be pulled away from developing and enacting a shared SJEN vision by divergent institutional obligations. However, at the same time, higher education partners expressed strong

orientations to change their institutional orientations from the inside in order to ease the process of future community engagement work. The partners sought to cultivate stronger community engagement orientations within their own institutions.

The partnership comprised many partners with varying levels of authority in their own organizations. As a result, some organizational representatives could make decisions on behalf of their organizations about partnership contributions, and others could not. This was not always an important distinction, but it sometimes made negotiations in the moment a challenge. When SJEN explored best practices about higher education access, for example, partners at the table were able to share their concerns, expertise, and insights. In these exploratory conversations, there was no need to seek approval from each member institution. Partners were continually toggling in their visioning between the practical and the ideal, and they aimed to implement the possible.

In later conversations, as the partnership moved toward action, the fact that not all institutional representatives could speak for their organizations complicated this process. For example, this was a continual challenge for CI partners, who represented a small organization in one department of a large research university, and BCS representatives, who needed to negotiate their participation across school leaders and personnel or sometimes the school's board. As a result, the possible actions proposed by neighborhood partners were often resisted, redefined, and negotiated to align with institutional ends. Institutional barriers to neighborhood change often amplified the needs and ends of institutions at the expense of enacting change. The partners who were negotiating their roles within their institutions often put a larger institutional stamp on the partnership. Even while they were working to change their institutions from within to become more

oriented toward community engagement, these partners often had the most demanding commitments to their home institutions.

Funding structures. In his research on partner perspectives on change, Creighton (2006, 2008) recommends transparency about funding structures to strengthen mutual benefit in higher education community engagement. While partners in SJEN fully disclosed resources and contributions, there were some inequities that point to tensions beyond transparency. In the current collective impact and systemic climate for funding solutions, support skews toward strengthening organizational or service capacity (Schmitz, 2012). While SJEN partners were successful in generating funding support for SJEN, the structures of funding in this partnership did not support the full vision of change, and they were only available to some organizations. While there was a wide range of benefits that included more human resources to support SJEN efforts through student and staff at Midwest, financial support for SJEN privileged only the ends of a few of these participating organizations. CI's involvement in the partnership enabled connections to and some credibility among funding partners, but it may have also served to undermine efforts to obtain support from regional funders.

Although that support served to keep students from CI involved in the partnership, it did not further SJEN's collective work toward neighborhood ends. At the same time, CI aimed to support its work through specific programs within its own institution, but it was successful in obtaining funding only from departments and outside organizations that supported higher education community engagement research and practice. Partners successfully pursued funding for staff support, and some of the SJEN-generated opportunities brought new resources into Sunnydale to fulfill the partnership's mission for

educational improvement. However, this successful funding of SJEN did not represent full support of the holistic approach to change supported by many partners, and SJEN's focus on higher education access often skewed resources toward specific organizations or institutions. These funding sources were tied to specific organizational ends rather than collective ends or to the partnership process, which limited the ways partners could work together toward their shared vision; partners became divided as they balanced multiple ends. In this sense, funding structures often reinforced the tensions created by divergent institutional obligations; some institutions were more successful than others in obtaining funding that aligned with their own institutional goals.

Most of the funds obtained supported research to understand the partnership. These grants supported university research ends in the partnership, but they did little to enhance the partnership's civic, collaborative, or communicative capacity. These concepts (civic, collaborative, and communicative capacity), which are drawn from the fields of public administration, community psychology, and communication studies, all emphasize the need to attend to the relational aspects of partnership among organizational representatives and residents in order to strengthen systemic community change. Collective impact partnerships aim to foster more systematic and impactful investment toward regional change; while these efforts emphasize administrative investments, as described by Kania and Kramer, they do not promote the cultivation of a strong vision of participation by residents. Partners in SJEN, who often emphasized impact, often described potential ends and worked backwards, contorting those ends to available funding structures. While at times funding supported the administration of particular efforts, it was not until late in the conversation that funding was able to promote deeper communication

within the collaboration about how to allocate resources. The conversations were in response to funding outcomes that misaligned with perceptions of neighborhood need, and funders rarely supported the hard work of in-depth conversation and implementing a shared vision among partners. In the moments when this level of deliberation occurred, it was extremely valuable to demonstrate and work through the diverse perspectives of partners and create a collective vision for change. Funding structures also did not promote or cultivate deeper connections with residents in the partnership.

Implications of Tensions

In the case of SJEN, although many university partners were versed in the community engagement literature, they did not manage to change the structures of their own institution, of community organizations, or of available funding structures. The tensions evident among practice among neighborhood partners, higher education partners, and external partners complicated any simple model of a two-way street of collaboration between the university and community partners. The multiple layers of expectations evident from this analysis—long-term commitment to the neighborhood, responsiveness, and orientation toward neighborhood-based and organizational action—present a far more complex model of engagement, which makes creating reciprocal relationships difficult in community engagement. As the partnership continued and outcomes were defined, partners' orientation toward MEN-outlined outcomes resulted in programming that served some institutional partners—especially education institutions—more than it fulfilled a broader definition of action embraced by SJEN partners.

Collective impact (Kania and Kramer, 2011) and other comprehensive community approaches to change recognize the interconnectedness of neighborhood problems and are

thus well-suited to promote complex considerations of change efforts. Eventually, the SJEN coalition aligned with an effort with a similar structure, MEN, which aimed to build networks to improve educational opportunity and higher education access. In some ways, the partnership embraced this broader approach, but in practice creating a coalition around this predetermined issue was not easy. The drive toward improving educational outcomes did not consider the importance of cultivating relationships among the partners, which was an important part of the process. At the same time relationships were built and efforts had energized around broader definitions of improving educational opportunity. Collective impact, at least at an abstract level, indicates understanding about how funding structures interact with developing a partnership and providing assets dedicated to administrative development. Recently, the work of Kania and Kramer (2013) has emphasized the importance of an emergent process for problem definition and outcomes development in partnership. However, organizations such as MEN that develop networks toward specific ends ask for the development of community alliances around a problem that has already been articulated. This can alienate some partners and privilege others, as it did in the case of SJEN. Higher education partners and education institutions had a more clearly defined stake in the partnership, and they received more benefits in this formal process.

Types of Partnership Tensions. Some of these tensions manifest in partners' expectations as they are defining the problem, and others are evident in implementation, although no absolute distinction can be made between these categories. In this section, I highlight the importance of attending to both discursive tensions (i.e., those associated with defining the problems) and practical tensions (i.e., those that emerge in

implementation). The tensions I discuss in Chapter 4 (vague concepts of community and perceptions of institutional obligations) I label as *discursive tensions*. These tensions arise in the space between words and action, and they function in interactions among partners to produce false alignments or misalignments. They are real and should not be dismissed as “only talk.” After all, in many ways, talk formed the structure of this partnership, and these tensions sometimes functioned to restructure and redefine the partnership. The extent to which these discursive tensions were based in reality is irrelevant for this analysis.

Whether or not the perceived institutional obligations and constraints were real, and whether or not there actually was a coherent, monolithic Sunnydale “community,” these perceptions exerted real discursive power. A vague concept of community functions to muddy very basic questions about partnership goals, the actions best suited to achieve those goals, and which partners should be engaged in partnership efforts. In similar ways, the institutional obligations discussed in this same chapter functioned to pull partners away from in-the-moment definitions of “community” action, as partners felt the need to negotiate their potential commitments and contributions in the neighborhood within their own institutions. These discursive tensions—those that manifest to hinder establishing a concrete and inclusive vision based in partners’ talk about change—have real implications for impact in neighborhood work insofar as they blur the targets and beneficiaries of community work between organizations and community residents. By presuming that the partnership’s definitions of community need and goals aligned with those of its organizational members, these discursive tensions tended to privilege institutional ends over on-the-ground impact.

I discussed the *practical* tensions of transience and funding structures in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. These were evident as partners negotiated their day-to-day (or even meeting-to-meeting) interactions and as they attempted to put their relationships into practice toward realizing goals. They emerged as tensions when partners moved from building relationships to action. The practical tensions were evident as partners attempted to negotiate the partnership and to carry their ideas forward. Partners continually needed to bring new partners up to speed, and turnover required them to justify the value of the project with changing community leaders, new students, and new representatives of various organizational partners. This occurred while also attempting to support existing partners to further a shared vision, which was difficult to define as the partners shifted. Funding structures operated to support ends over means, but the ends were associated with specific institutions. These tensions, especially when taken together, show that partnership is real and fluid work, but also that both means (which suffer from discursive tensions) and ends (which are impacted by practical tensions) warrant support in collaborative efforts. Continual efforts to incorporate new institutional partners and to appeal to outside funders also operated to privilege institutional ends by focusing the partnership's attention on organizations rather than on neighborhood residents.

Negotiating Tensions. These emergent tensions in SJEN were not uniquely directed at higher education partners, but understanding them could make strong contributions to supporting higher education engagement as much as comprehensive initiatives in general. Community engagement practices could be strengthened by higher education partners better anticipating these problems. From my analysis of the SJEN partnership, I formulate some key questions partners could ask themselves, and one another, to address the

discursive and practical tensions that emerged in the SJEN partnership. These can guide partners through these tensions as they engage one another and negotiate the relationships between their institutions and external partners (see Table 7b).

Table 7b. Considerations to Overcome Key Tensions

Discursive Tensions	
<p>Institutional Obligations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What organizational baggage do we bring into this partnership? • What decisions can we make on behalf of our respective organizations? • When do institutional or independent organizational goals become hindrances on the collective vision? • What are the organizational levers that can create space to contribute to a deeper collective vision for change? • What are the institutional or organizational structures to support resident engagement? 	<p>Vague Definitions of Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do we mean by community? • Who comprises the community as we define it? • What stakeholders need to be involved in this collaboration, when, and who is responsible for sharing information and spreading the word? • At what stage do we involve residents in the partnership process? Why and to what end? • Who is responsible for cultivating resident (or youth and family) involvement and what is the process for doing so?
Practical Tensions	
<p>Transient partners</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What degree of transience do we expect among representatives of our own organizations? • What can partners within the collaborative network do to support new partners and understand their commitment to the effort? • What can new partners do to integrate themselves into ongoing work? • What level of structure is necessary to keep the partnership fluid while still moving toward action? 	<p>Funding Structures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What about our collective vision costs money? • Collectively, where should we prioritize financial resources? • Who should manage the resources? • What is the funding structure necessary to support process and action satisfactorily among partners? • How often should we revisit the funding structure to explore its equity across partners and partnership goals?

Creating a partnership toolbox is not new, but it can still be useful to partnership-building processes. For example, McLean and Behringer (2008) developed the give-get model, based in social exchange theory, to foster partner conversations about expected contributions and benefits in partnership. The questions above take a similar approach, but I resist the simplicity of an exchange model and embrace a communicative one. Weerts and Sandmann's (2008) work to encourage a constructivist approach to partnership shows that in higher education, institutional and professional barriers have prevented wide adoption of constructive practices to create interactional learning. This level of change requires a "cultural shift" (p. 81). Even with the best intentions toward mutuality, higher education and neighborhood partners can be immersed in their own organizational culture, which can undermine establishing shared responsibility. Organizational theorists such as Schein (1990) understand language as an essential component to culture. Openly discussing perspectives on the hard work of partnership—both the relational and action aspects—creates more space for mutual understanding of shared and individual responsibility and ownership of the partnership.

In this case, questions about institutional obligations, vague concepts of community, transience, and funding structures could facilitate trust along the multiple dimensions expected from partners. Instead of each partner separately negotiating their obligations to their home institutions, partners can work together to navigate institutional obligations in ways that can align more closely with their potential to create shared benefits. Articulating the meaning of "community" can enable partners to clearly establish their expectations of action and process. This can also clarify to whom the partners are responsible, both as a group and individually. This analysis also shows transience as both a barrier and an

inevitability, and not just when considering higher education partners. It needs to be dealt with and planned for so that partners can allow their work to still carry forward as the conversations continue with new or different partners. A fundamental point in the partnership literature encourages partners to share information about funding in ways to establish transparency. While I agree that is important, simply acknowledging the funding sources is not enough. In the questions about funding structures, I emphasize the importance of discussing the role of funding structures to equitably meet the partnership's multiple goals. Through these conversations, a partnership can pursue funding opportunities that meet the expectations of the individual and collective vision of partners. Of course, the ability to have these conversations is built with trust over time. But engaging partners about their investments in, and commitments to, the partnership could be prompted earlier in the process, and this can provide richer, multidimensional trust for partners to share responsibility in ways that cater to their individual strengths, but also recognize their shared vision. The conversations will become richer as the partnership trust is built. More thoughtful communication is the obvious solution to discursive tensions: Engaging the partners in a collaborative discussion about how to define its target population and their needs would help to avoid vague definitions of "community." Moreover, open conversation about how (or whether) various institutional goals align with the partnership's vision would help to ensure that institutional obligations do not have undue influence over the definitions of problems or solutions. But the considerations I list above also hold promise to ameliorate practical tensions. In SJEN, a failure to discuss and to plan for predictable transience among partners and biases in available funding structures meant that the full partnership never considered how best to respond to these issues. Any

organizational partnership operating in the real world will face both transience and the challenge of acquiring funding that fully aligns with the partnership's goals. But by discussing these potential problems in advance, partners could anticipate them and avoid allowing these practical tensions to make an unexamined impact on the goals of the partnership.

Locating the potential solutions in the communication process of the partnership has its drawbacks. After all, in SJEN and other higher education engagement criticisms, there is a perception that talk is privileged over action. However, this analysis does not just indicate that more talk is essential; instead, it emphasizes the importance of a different type of talk—talk within partnership that contributes to defining problems better and creating a clearer responsibility (collectively and individually) for action. The mediating tensions served as primary sorting mechanisms in this study. They were explored in depth in the previous section, and generally functioned to skew impact toward organizations, especially education institutions, rather than community-based organizations and neighborhood residents. These intervening tensions, which partners rarely confronted, led to institutionally oriented means for change rather than a more inclusive relational approach to change. It is worth repeating that this analysis is not meant to demonize institutional approaches to change. I argue that both institutional and relational orientations are essential parts of any real-world partnership of higher education institutions and community organizations. But in SJEN (and in other partnerships discussed in the engagement literature), this institutionally oriented approach led to limited tangible neighborhood impact, despite partner expectations of the collaboration's possibilities to promote the interests of community residents. The need is for tools to

remedy the imbalance between institutional and relational approaches, and this is what I have provided above in the considerations to overcome key tensions.

Contributing to an Educational Mission in Partnership

Figure 7a offers suggestions for partners that may inform partnerships like SJEN, as they enact a mission to improve education opportunity. Considering the tensions in the last section more deliberately promotes partners' potential to contribute through broader definitions of change in neighborhoods and helps to position higher education contributions to improving education opportunity in neighborhoods as contributions to neighborhood change. The partners in SJEN defined youth development in broad terms, under which all the partners could play a role in developing youth and improving their opportunities for success. The educational mission of SJEN created priorities for youth development that defined it through institutional means, which eclipsed a broader definition of community change embraced by community-based organizations and residents. By straddling the line between institutional and community priorities, partners were limiting their impact in the neighborhood as whole, as they were only able to make minor contributions both to the institutions they represented and to the broader community. Social capital constructs illuminated the centrality of institutional norms in SJEN, which overshadowed more inclusive norms of community change centered on social capital development among residents and other organizations in the neighborhood—a value confirmed among many participants and residents. This alienated some partners and limited the potential for impact. SJEN partners were able to develop efforts that functioned across these tendencies, which I label institutional and relational, and I describe these orientations in the sections below.

Institutional Orientation

Institutions can contribute to improving education and other neighborhood challenges. Briggs (1998), who attempts to clarify the relevance of social capital for change agents in cities, notes that “we should think hard about which kinds of social capital we want more of, which we want less of, and how and through what institutions to create more of the desirable kinds” (p. 117). This study lends evidence to the idea that the connections with actors from different types of institutions function to establish and reinforce different types of social capital. In terms of education reform, there is potential for education institutions to align in ways to make it seem that their own institutional capital plays a primary role in creating neighborhood change.

Institutional practices could operate to serve organizations or residents. For organizations, institutional change processes included aligning data systems, technical support, and funds for administration and staffing. In SJEN most of these were aimed at supporting educational institutions. The institutional approaches that operated to serve residents were those available to residents through association with specific programs. They were also often housed in or offered through education institutions. This was true for college access programming to improve test scores and for programs that provided program staff and college access information. Partners that represented broader definitions of community outside of education institutions were able to access fewer resources for their constituencies through the partnership.

Current trends in education reform emphasize change *within* education institutions, with some exception from scholars in urban education who think more broadly about change; as two examples, Anyon (2005) frames education reform tied to larger social and

political issues, such as poverty, and Stone et al. (2001) create an inter-organizational framework for civic capacity building to solve education challenges in urban neighborhoods. In SJEN, partners were committed to the idea that relationships function to promote education opportunity, but this change was filtered through funding structures and relationships that emphasized broader trends in education reform and privileged institutional solutions. While education was the means for change agreed upon among partners, the best way to create educational change was defined differently among partners (and among the residents who were occasionally consulted about the partnership). Some partners framed the solutions as institutional, which meant they highlighted working through institutions to create solutions. They expected their collaborative work together to improve the organizations' capacity to understand the neighborhood, to work together, and to share information and resources (such as data and programming staff). It was through these structural improvements that education reform, and thus neighborhood change, would be achieved. As MEN influenced the partnership, these solutions became skewed more toward education institutions. This violated a long-standing sense that diverse partners should benefit equitably from their collective efforts.

Relational Orientation

SJEN partners shared an appreciation for the importance of authentic relationships in contributing to change, which is a central idea in social capital theory (Putnam, 2000). Overwhelmingly, partners shared a sense that relationships could contribute to changing local education opportunity and thus the neighborhood. However, directly activating access to resources through their relationships in the manner partners envisioned became complicated in action. The gospel of social capital is far stronger than the partners' ability

to cultivate connections. This was evident throughout their coalition work, as partners attempted to cultivate relationships among institutional and organizational representatives, between organizational partners and neighborhood residents, and/or among residents.

SJEN partners and neighborhood residents framed relationships as requiring long-term investment and commitment, a finding emphasized in the work of Rubin (2000). But social capital theory pushes thinking about these connections among organizational partners. Even these connections were challenging to develop, as partners needed to overcome institutional or neighborhood norms of practice. As discussed above, the social capital constructs of trust, expectations, and information flow all help explain the development of relationships between organizations, and they can also provide a model for sustained inter-organizational relationships, as different institutions trust one another to fulfill expectations and to freely communicate relevant information.

Relational considerations were not necessarily structured; at least, formalizing them was not a priority. Relations at the levels of neighborhood residents and organizations each required consideration. At the neighborhood level, programming required long-term relationships, familial bonds and strong mentoring between families and programming staff, careful listening, and intimate familiarity with the neighborhood. Among organizations, partners still required long-term involvement and careful listening as well as responsiveness, shared resources, and coordination among organizations. Of course, in a partnership guided by a relational ethos, programs would be still expected to be effective, but this purpose would be driven by the family-like bonds that had developed. Partners and residents would feel that their needs were understood and carefully listened to.

Relationships would be enduring and not dependent on external sources. Even at the inter-organizational level, there would be a shared sense of interdependence and long-term commitment. Most of all, the familiarity of a neighborhood would be intimate one, rather than intellectual, and ideally drawn from lived experience.

Partners within SJEN as well as community residents agreed with the guiding principle embraced by many supporting collective impact initiatives: relationships are necessary to create systemic neighborhood change. Kania and Kramer (2011) also emphasize the importance of long-term relationships. What their work overlooks, however, is the importance of a relational ethos—an ethos that emphasizes means over ends and care over outcomes. Organizational partners expected this of one another and of their relationships in communities, and residents expected this from organizations. The strong bonds described by Putnam as central to social capital theory ideally demonstrate to partners and residents that they can establish shared ends. Furthermore, they show that an organization is not another entity working in the neighborhood for short-term gains and should therefore be mistrusted. But institutions and neighborhood partners need to move past their own norms of work patterns to develop collaborations that can create change. In partnership, higher education institutions cannot make the lasting impact for which they strive by developing data systems alone; they need to develop durable relationships and find ways to become more than a program—to become, rather, a community asset.

Summary

This analysis aimed to improve the scholarship of engagement (Boyer, 1996). It emphasized the potential for higher education to serve a contributing role in complex neighborhood change efforts. By applying social capital constructs to the higher education

community engagement process of SJEN, I was able to demonstrate how bonding and bridging capital served unique functions in this inter-organizational context. Trust was most evident after partners had been working together for a while, as they began to challenge the allocation of resources in the partnership. The absence of these contested conversations early in the partnership meant that bridging relationships that created new resources were often structured to privilege some partners' goals over others. Different ways of communicating could overcome tensions in the partnership to ensure that it can create change and serve a neighborhood in the way it intended (through both relational and institutional means for change).

In a survey of partnership evaluations and approaches in higher education engagement, Rubin (2000) found that it is not new for scholars to argue for the importance of recognizing “the complexity of the endeavor and the importance of building trust, strong relationships, and social capital. [The literature] discounted the value of simple, static prescriptions or rational comprehensive planning and advocated ongoing, incremental, open-ended planning processes that stress continual learning” (p. 228). More than contributing yet another voice in the increasingly loud chorus articulating the complexity of partnership and the need for open-ended communication, my goal in this analysis is to frame how some key tensions work as mediating factors to undermine efforts for neighborhood inclusivity as well as to suggest some practical methods to resolve these tensions.

Institutional representatives could benefit by considering the implications from this study in at least two ways. First, this research suggests that partners should more carefully scrutinize their language (including in relation to guiding concepts like reciprocity),

because of how partners overlook or obscure the multiple levels of impact in a partnership and create assumptions of shared goals that may not hold weight in practice. Institutional representatives should engage in dialogue with partners guided by the knowledge of the potentially multiple—and sometimes competing—concepts that are used to refer to different points of impact throughout partnership. Second, partners should be aware that even the best intended contributions to a change efforts have potential to privilege institutional approaches to change over a broader neighborhood change vision. Higher education institutions are just as responsible as other partners to ensure that engaged partnerships attend to these more organic forms of change.

Appendix A. 2008 Sunnydale Community Questionnaire

Initiation and Background

- Could you talk a little bit about the history of your community work in Sunnydale?
 - Why did you become involved? What motivated you?
 - What sustains your motivation?
- What have you done in the past?
- What are you currently working on?
- How was your current work initiated?
- What would you ideally like to see in the community as a result of your work?

Partners

- With whom in the community do you work?
 - Other community organizations?
- What do you see as the shared interests that promoted these partnerships?
- How do you see collaborations helping you meet your organization's goals?
- How were these collaborations initiated?
 - By whom?
- What is the long-term vision for these partnerships?
- How do you sustain momentum?
 - Do you feel like the effort to sustain these collaborations is balanced?
- How have these relationships been going so far?
 - Do you feel like the goals of both you and your partners are being met?

- Why and why not?
- What barriers have you encountered in these partnerships?
 - How do you negotiate these barriers?
 - What barriers have seemed nonnegotiable?
- How fluid and timely is communication among your partners?

University partners (if relevant)

- What university partners do you work with?
- How would you currently describe your relationship with the university partner(s)?
 - How would you describe your ideal relationship with a university?
 - What would you change about your current relationship to make it closer to the ideal?
- Have you found that there are differences in collaborating with university groups versus community-based organizations? If so, please explain.

Challenges

- What challenges have you experienced working within your community?
 - How do you navigate these challenges?
 - What other challenges? (Keep asking until interviewee says, “no other challenges.”)
- Our work on understanding community organizing strategies has led us to understand that trust is one of the most important components of a successful collaboration. What issues of trust have been emerged in your work?

- What have you learned about community organizing from working through these challenges?

Learning process

- What changes have you seen so far in the community as a result of your work?
- Have you identified any other organizations that you would like to collaborate with in the future? What drives the desire to partner?
- Based on what you have learned to date, how would you approach a new potential partner (or partners)?
- Have you been involved in any collaborative relationships that have fizzled out over time?
 - What do you think went wrong?
 - If you could go back and do it again, how would you approach your work with these partners differently?
- Based on your experiences thus far, how do you see the different groups currently working in Sunnydale coming together to produce wide-reaching impact in the community?
 - How do you think this could happen? *or* Why don't you think this could happen?
 - Do you think such a widespread collaborative effort is necessary?

Wrap up

- What major lessons do you want us to take away about community engagement work with and without a university?

- Is there anything else you would like to add about your work in Sunnydale?
- Are you aware of anyone else that is working in Sunnydale that you would recommend contacting to participate in this study?

Appendix B. 2008 Institutional Engagement Questionnaire

Defining the work in Sunnydale

What project are you involved in?

What made you decide to take on this work?

How and when was it initiated?

How is community need defined?

Who defines it?

What is your [planned] strategy?

How is your project funded?

How much money? For how long? What is the status today?

Partners

Who do you [want to] work with?

University?

Students registered for a course? Admin? Other?

Community?

Groups? Individuals with Org.

How is continuity maintained among partners throughout and across academic years?

What methods do you use to maintain these relationships?

With what other departments do you partner in Sunnydale? Other institutions?

What challenges have you experienced working with the community?

How do you navigate these challenges?

What challenges have you experienced working within a department or university?

Cultural and support?

How do you navigate these challenges?

Impact

What would you describe as the most important indications of impact resulting from your work in Sunnydale?

Measurement?

How does this align with community need?

What are your major successes?

What changes have you seen in the community?

How do you measure impact in local community members' lives?

Theory of Action

How does the vision of change that you hold relate to the work you do in the community?

In addition to student learning or research findings, what evidence of change do you notice?

How does this evidence inform the vision of change you have carried into the community?

Wrap up

What do you define as the lessons for the future from this project?

How do you see this project in ten years?

Anything else you would like to add about your work in this community?

Appendix C. 2010 Community Coalition Questionnaire

READ: Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions. We are looking for your opinions and experiences as a representative of your organization and coalition member. Your honest and thoughtful responses will improve practice and help inform future partnerships. Thank you!

Initial involvement

Tell me a bit about your organization and your role in it.

What is the mission of SJEN from your perspective?

How would you describe your role in the SJEN partnership?

****Do you consider your participation with SJEN voluntary in nature?**

What prompted your organization become involved in SJEN?

****Do you have other personal motivations that you wish to share?**

What do you consider your relationship with the Sunnydale community?

For example, are you an insider/outsider?

****In what ways are you representative of the neighborhood?**

****Why do you do work in Sunnydale as opposed to another neighborhood?**

READ: The next set of questions is extremely important to this research. They engage your views about the partnership process including civic and community representation.

Process and Partnership

How do you feel about the potential for this coalition to create community change?

How would you characterize your level of commitment to the SJEN partnership?

How has your commitment shifted over the duration of the SJEN?

What are some of the barriers to your participation that you have encountered?

Who have you worked with in the SJEN previous to this partnership and in what capacities?

How do you feel that the diverse organizational sector involvement impact the partnership?

**for example, businesses, schools, higher education partnership, foundations, faith-based, nonprofits.

Who have you talked to about this initiative? And what were their impressions?

Have you talked to community members about this initiative?

**If yes, who, in what setting, and what were their impressions?

How do you feel the community of Sunnydale can be represented well in this partnership?

By which individuals? Groups? Organizations?

**Through what values?

How might you anticipate that community member input might change the coalition?

What are the positives and negatives of that?

What are some challenges for SJEN being representative of the community?

What are the other forms of community groups or participation in Sunnydale?

What could they learn from us?

What could we learn from them?

Do you think of the SJEN initiative as a civic initiative? Why or why not?

(If asked for a definition, substitute democratic)

What type of participation do you think it takes for this initiative to be democratic?

Who needs to be involved? How are decisions being made and by whom?

Should democratic involvement be a value of this initiative?

What tensions do you see most affecting participation within the coalition?

What do you think is the source of the tensions

The Future

What do you see as the outcome for the Sunnydale Jobs and Education Network?

How do you envision your role in reaching that outcome?

Have your ideas of the aim changed at all in the last 6 months? In what ways?

What do you think it will take for this initiative to succeed?

What else needs to happen inside the community?

Outside the community?

When will you, personally, know that your involvement in this initiative was successful?

How do you envision the ideal Sunnydale in 5 or 10 years?

Is SJEN part of that vision? Why or Why not?

How effective do you feel these questions are to help thinking about participation in SJEN?

What are we missing?

Those are all the questions on my list, is there anything that I overlooked and you think would enhance thinking about this partnership?

Appendix D. 2010 Youth Baseline Survey Questions

Q1.2 General Information First Name

Q1.3 Last Name

Q1.4 Age

Q1.5 Gender

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q1.6 Current Grade Level

- 6th Grade (1)
- 7th Grade (2)
- 8th Grade (3)
- 9th Grade (4)
- 10th Grade (5)
- 11th Grade (6)
- 12th Grade (7)
- Other (8) _____

Q1.7 School Name

- Big City School (1)
- [Schools omitted for anonymity]
- [Schools omitted for anonymity]
- [Schools omitted for anonymity]
- Other (5) _____

Q1.8 Home Street Address

Q1.9 City, State, Zip Code

Q1.10 Email Address

Q1.11 What ethnic/racial background do you identify as?

- Asian/Pacific Islander (1)
- Black/ African American (2)
- American Indian/Native American/Native Alaskan (3)
- Latino/Hispanic (4)
- White/Caucasian/Non-Hispanic (5)
- Mixed Racial or Ethnic Heritage (6)
- Prefer not to answer (7)

Q1.12 What is the primary language spoken in your household

- English (1)
- Spanish (2)
- Other (3) _____

Q1.13 At home you live with

- Mother(Step-mother) and Father (Step-Father) (1)
- Mother (2)
- Father (3)
- Grandparent(s) (4)
- Legal Guardian(s) (5)
- Foster Parent(s) (6)

Aunt/Uncle/Other Relative (7)

Q2.1 Academic Information 1. Do you feel confident that you know the course requirements to graduate high school?

Extremely Confident (1)

Very Confident (2)

Somewhat Confident (3)

Not Confident (4)

Q2.2 2. In a usual week, about how many hours do you spend on homework outside the classroom?

0 (1)

1 to 3 (2)

4 to 6 (3)

7 or more (4)

Q2.3 3. How often do you turn your homework in on time?

Never (1)

Sometimes (2)

Most of the time (3)

Almost always (4)

Q2.4 4. How often do you take part in class discussions and activities?

Never (1)

Sometimes (2)

Most of the time (3)

Almost always (4)

Q2.5 5. How often do you seek help when you do not understand something in class?

Never (1)

Sometimes (2)

Most of the time (3)

Almost Always (4)

Q2.6 6. How often do you use the Internet in doing school work?

Never (1)

Sometimes (2)

Most of the time (3)

Almost always (4)

Q2.7 7. Where do you access the internet to do school work (check all that apply)?

Home (1)

School, during regular hours (2)

School, after school (3)

Public Library (4)

Other community location (5) _____

I have no convenient access to the internet (6)

Q2.8 8. Do you feel that your high school is preparing you to accomplish your future goals?

Yes, I feel like my school is preparing me for my future goals. (1)

Yes, but my school could do more towards preparing me for my future goals (2)

No, I do not feel like my school is preparing me for my future goals (3)

Q2.9 9. If you could grade your school what grade would you give it?

- A (1)
- B (2)
- C (3)
- D (4)
- F (5)

Answer If Current Grade Level 11th Grade Is Selected Or Current Grade Level 12th Grade Is Selected

Q2.10 Have you taken any Advanced Placement (AP) courses?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Currently enrolled/will take in the spring. (3)
- Not Sure (4)

Q3.1 Education Access and Support Services 10. Would you like to receive help or advice about any of the following? (Check all that apply.)

- Building better study habits (1)
- Homework (Tutoring) (2)
- Exploring career possibilities (3)
- Learning about the ways that you learn best (4)
- Finding out about different options for education and training beyond high school (5)
- Finding ways to pay for college or other education and training (6)
- Learning about high school diploma options (7)

- Getting along with others (8)
- How to feel safe in school (9)
- How to feel better about yourself (10)
- How to earn college credit while in high school (11)
- How to make and keep friends (12)
- How to manage your feelings and emotions (13)
- How to get along with your family (14)
- How to deal with the illness, injury, or death of someone close to you (15)
- None of the above (16)

Q3.2 11. Would you like to take part in any of the following? (Check all that apply)

- Volunteer work (1)
- ACT preparation help (2)
- Visit a college that interests you (3)
- Visit a work-site in a field of work that interests you (4)
- Read about possible careers using a computerized career information system (5)
- Meet with a person in a career that interests you (6)
- Talk with high school teachers or counselors about the differences between high school and post-secondary education. (7)

Q3.3 12. Would you like to receive additional help in any of the following areas? (Check all that apply.)

- Science (1)
- Math (2)

- English/Language Arts (3)
- Social Studies (4)
- Foreign Language (5)
- Computing (6)
- Reading (7)
- ACT Preparation (9)
- Other (8)

Q3.4 13. Check any school or after-school activities that you take part in or plan to take part in.

- Sports (1)
- Student council/student government (2)
- Cheerleading, poms, or dance team (3)
- Academic team(s) (4)
- Academic club(s) (5)
- Social club(s) (6)
- Community service (7)
- Arts (music, choir, theatre, photography, and other art-related activities) (8)
- Community-based activity (9)
- Community service (10)
- Participation in religious or faith-based organization (11)
- Other (12)

Q4.1 Future Planning and Aspirations 14. What do you want to accomplish in high school? (Check all that apply.)

- Prepare for education or training beyond high school (1)
- Prepare to enter the work force immediately after graduation from high school (2)
- Prepare for an apprenticeship (on-the-job training that leads to a special license) (3)
- Prepare to qualify for the military (4)
- Prepare for a religious mission or community service (5)
- Other (6) _____

Q4.2 15. How important is education to your future career?

- Very Important (1)
- Somewhat Important (2)
- Not important (3)

Q4.3 16. What is the highest level of education that you plan to obtain?

- Professional, law, or doctoral degree—usually 6 or more years of college (1)
- Bachelor's degree--usually four or more years of college (2)
- Associate's degree--usually two or more years of college (3)
- Apprenticeship completion (usually one to four years beyond high school) (4)
- Certificate in technical, business, or other areas (usually one to two years beyond high school) (5)
- High school diploma (6)
- Less than high school completion (7)
- Other: (8)

Q4.4 17. Do you plan to seek a full-time post-secondary education after high school?

- Yes (1)
- I am not sure (2)
- No (3)

Q4.5 18. Where do you plan to live during your post-secondary education?

- At home (1)
- On campus (2)
- Other (3) _____
- I am not sure (4)

Q4.6 19. How many hours per week do you plan to work (for pay) during your post-secondary education?

- 0 (1)
- 1 to 9 (2)
- 10 to 19 (3)
- 20 to 29 (4)
- 30 or more (5)

Q4.7 20. Please name the postsecondary institutions that you have considered applying to.

- Name of Post Secondary Institution (1) _____
- Name of Post Secondary Institution (3) _____
- Name of Post Secondary Institution (2) _____
- Name of Post Secondary Institution (4) _____
- Name of Post Secondary Institution (5) _____

- I am not sure (6)

Q4.8 21. Check all of the following you have done:

- Learned about the steps for going to a post secondary education institution (1)
- Visited a campus to learn more about the school and what it has to offer (2)
- Reviewed requirements for admission for an institution that I am interested in (3)
- Examined occupational or educational information to find out what high school courses would be helpful for your post-secondary education institution major or program of study (4)
- Learned about ways to pay for college, university, or other education and training that you would take following high school (5)

Q4.9 22. Have you prepared a formal career and course plan (a written plan reviewed by a counselor, advisor, or parent/guardian) for high school?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q4.10 23. Do you feel the adults in your school have encouraged you to attend a post-secondary education institution?

- Yes, I feel very encouraged (1)
- Yes, but I rarely receive encouragement (2)
- No, no one talks to me about post-secondary education institutions (3)
- No, I am discouraged by people around me (4)

Q4.11 24. Do you feel the adults in outside of school have encouraged you to attend a post-secondary education institution?

- Yes, I feel very encouraged (1)
- Yes, but I rarely receive encouragement (2)
- No, no one talks to me about post-secondary institutions (3)
- No, I am discouraged by people around me (4)

Q4.12 25. Which of the following people have been helpful with your education and career planning. (Check all that apply)

- Parent/Guardian(s) (1)
- Other family member(s) (2)
- Teacher(s) (3)
- Counselor(s) (4)
- Coach(es) (5)
- Minister, pastor, or other religious leader(s) (6)
- Friend(s) (7)
- Other (8) _____
- No one (9)

Q4.13 26. Can you imagine yourself as a successful college student?

- Yes (1)
- I am not sure (2)
- No (3)

Answer If Current Grade Level 11th Grade Is Selected And Current Grade Level 12th Grade Is Selected

Q4.14 Do you plan to fill out the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA[E1])?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q4.15 27. After you complete all of your education and training, would you like to live and work in the state?

Yes, I would like to live and work in the state after my education and training (1)

No, I would like to work in another state after my education and training (2)

I am not sure (3)

Q4.16 28. Check all of the following you have done:

Taken part in job shadowing (1)

Read about possible careers using a computerized career information system (2)

Met with a person in a career that interests you (3)

Appendix E. 2011 Formative SJEN Evaluation Questions

Purpose

Does the neighborhood have a shared vision of change? What is it?

Who serves as advocates for the Sunnydale neighborhood?

What role does SJEN play in the Community vision?

To what degree is SJEN necessary to better serve youth in the neighborhood?

To what degree is your organization and the role you serve helping to fulfill the SJEN vision?

Process

What do you think are some of the rules of engaging in a partnership in Sunnydale?

In what ways are SJEN partners sharing resources? for example, human, financial, other?

How could partners improve upon sharing resources?

What organizations do you envision as the funding sources for the SJEN initiative?

How does your participation in SJEN enhance the capacity of the other organizations in the partnership?

Do other organizations in SJEN enhance your capacity? If so, what are some examples?

How do you characterize the trust across SJEN partners?

Can you give an example of trust developing within the SJEN coalition?

Impact

What services do the youth in the neighborhood need that they can't access?

How many youth are you serving through school programs in 2010-2011? What age?

How many youth are you serving through other programs in 2010-2011?

What has changed in your organizational practice as a result of SJEN?

What do you anticipate changing in the future?

Sustainability

How do parents and youth get information about programs in the neighborhood?

What can be done to get more youth and parents shaping and participating in SJEN?

How would community service coordination programs, such as SJEN, enhance the services for youth in the neighborhood?

What barriers might you anticipate to increasing coordination?

What programs and services could be most easily coordinated in the community?

What do you imagine the role of SJEN coalition will be in five years?

Appendix F. Email Tabulation and Characterization

	2007		2008		2009		2010		2011	
	#	Topic	#	Topic	#	Topic				
Jan	0	X	5	Journal submission Internal Scheduling	29	New Student joins Sunnydale Team Scheduling neighborhood development tour in Pittsburg Student sends funding possibilities Conor finding ways to strengthen faculty work in Sunnydale	4 8	Rallying and connecting with partners to get MOU signed Working with Johnson Connecting and reflecting on meeting with Ted Faith Coalition meeting	64	Other higher education institution in Detroit gets involved
Feb	0	X	2	Ctools site is up	21	Scheduling a committee meeting Ted is connected to the group (email intro by Mark)	2 1	Attempt to get interest from Dean at Midwest	14 2	Access Grant goes out
March	2	Announcement of relevant University presentations to the Sunnydale Group	11	Mid-west involvement SLC Involvement	11		1 2		16 0	Access Grant Conditionally approved
April	0	X	13	Working through a budget for the study and workshop Putting together summary of partners	13		3 1	PNI applications announced Meeting scheduling EN Conference Registration Philanthropy Course grant opportunity Community-	13 8	

								organization questionnaire for SJEN planning Meeting Planning 4.15.		
May	0	X	72	Subcommittee Meeting Research coordination	12		89	Interim SJEN Report Exploring community programs Meeting with Ted BB Meeting Planning 5.26 Exploring PNI Still	152	Research Report Complete
June	5	Emails to other Midwest Partners to explore connections Email from Mark identifying partners	67	Institutional Engagement Research Coordination drafting and piloting protocol Scheduling – internal and committee meeting Directory Gathering Highlander information seeking Research Chapter Submission (grassroots-Kezar)	8		67	BB June 29 Meeting I invite brandy to the meeting Business and other Directory (planning) CEO Gets involved in conversation	190	
July	9	Carpenter grant identified by Conor Letter of Intent description and	39	More Institutional engagement Research – contacting partners for interview Reigniting College Access Programming Scheduling SC Aug Meeting	10	Sunnydale on CI Webpage	61	National Corps Application Working with Midwest Ed Org Community Meeting 7/19/2010		

		drafts Conferenc e Submissio n								
August	24	Conferenc e Submissio n Semester Planning Detroit Education al access informatio n Communit y Meeting Letter of Intent (sk)	44	More institutional engagement research Directory information, and Lynn mentioned as a contact SC Meeting reschedule from Aug to Sept Conversation begins about Sunnydale course proposal Workshop Planning			41	MEN Final Report Orientation Planning Grant Approval Connecting to National EN for resources (data?)		
Septem ber	7	Notes from Communit y meeting Semester orientatio n meeting (8 students; 1 prof) Communit y Meeting for Lol Mark sends Conor Carpenter grant cfp	37	Workshop Planning Questions about project priorities of national funding relationships internal work (not Sunnydale) SC Meeting minutes and Scheduling for October Over extended student hours Sunnydale Coalition community conversation (9/18) and presentation coordination Research coordination	13	Shifting responsibilities	35	Hiring Service Member Reapply for startup		
October	15	Midwest Grant	32	Directory Workshop planning	42	Removal of Sunnydale from Website	81	Contact with BCS counselors		

		suggested Carpenter Proposal sent and full proposal invited Conference reflections from me Anchor Institutions Convo scheduled		and execution SC Meeting planning				Official Name chosen Midwest Funding drafts Several Survey iterations Tanya Starts Tanya expenses challenges Putting together an email list Counselor Contract MLK gets press Draft National Research Funding Conversation Business student contact		
November	3	Mark Sends email about conversation with Carpenter Scheduling	46	Workshop follow up Patting self on back from workshop Reorganizing priorities Community meeting Erin is Leaving HCZ influence noted MB takes over; presentation bumped indefinitely SLC Proposal	32	MEN Planning announcement	78	Meeting planning and rides Coordinating attendance at SJEN meeting North-Sunnydale partnership announced through Carpenter Scheduling interviews for Research Composing partnership document with high school for Tanya Wilhemina		

								coordinating with Outreach.		
December	4	Research talk with Community Anthro people Research Contract	21	Course proposal grants Research contract closes Proposal approved from SLC for Research (through June)	79	MEN Planning Grant Interactions with MEN Connection from MEN to MLK Several from MEN	88	CPC grant announcement Interview transcripts Tom connect to multi-cultural affairs MEN connects to State Ed Planners Kevin arranging Carlson position at Coalition		

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