

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AS A PUBLIC GOOD PRAXIS: RESPONDING TO
DIMENSIONS OF THE NEOLIBERAL UNIVERSITY

by

BRANDON W. KLIEWER

Under the Direction of Daniel Kapust and Lorilee R. Sandmann

ABSTRACT

Neoliberalism describes the form of capitalism currently dominating the global economy. The administrative logics and epistemologies used to think about the public purposes of higher education and community engagement are shifting to conform to neoliberal economic models. At this historical moment, the practice of community engagement is threatened by a general commitment to neoliberalism. This project examines the ways in which systems of thought and objects of knowledge tied to neoliberalism define the boundaries of possible community engagement projects. Readers will be introduced to theoretical and practical components of neoliberalism and how the phenomenon impacts understandings of community engagement practice. This public interest theory research will give administrators and stakeholders an analytical framework to think about constructing and maintaining a community engagement practice that can effectively respond to challenges associated with neoliberalism.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Community Engagement, Public Good, Public Interest Theory

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BRANDON W. KLIEWER

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M.A., Virginia Tech, 2008

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BRANDON W. KLIEWER

Major Professors:

Daniel Kapust
Lorilee R. Sandmann

Committee:

Sheila Slaughter
Alexander Kaufman

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2011

DEDICATION

To Dad and Mom,
There are no words that capture the sacrifices you have both made for my education

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Chapter 1 – Community Engagement and the Neoliberal Policy Context of Higher Education

I. Introduction

The neoliberal university is based upon commitments to extreme economic individualism, privatization, and market fundamentalism. The purpose of this dissertation is to challenge understandings of community engagement and conceptions of the public good that originate solely from the economic sphere. This project explores the normative limits of neoliberal theory in relation to community engagement practice in higher education. David Harvey (2005) defined neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets, and free trade.” (p. 2) Community engagement is defined as a partnership “between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for mutually beneficial exchanges of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership reciprocity” (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2007). Before developing this project, I will discuss the theoretical and historical elements that have caused an epistemological shift towards the tenets of neoliberalism in higher education and community engagement. I argue that the neoliberal turn represents a departure in how the goals of the university are thought about compared to historical beliefs. Despite historical commitments to supporting conceptions of democracy, the university has become a space and agent of the neoliberal project (Pestre, 2009; Readings, 1996; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). If philosophical liberalism attempts to reconcile the social, political, and economic in order to support

general personal freedom (Shklar, 1989), then neoliberalism amputates the social and political from the economic. The neoliberal paradigm dismantles social and political structures that support general personal freedom; thus, neoliberalism uses these structures as a political tool to concentrate class power in certain segments of society (Brown, 2005a, 2006; Harvey, 2005). Neoliberal practices in higher education and neoliberalism represent a significant departure from historical understandings of the university as a space that supports democratic values and principles.

The rest of this chapter is divided into eight parts. Part II provides an overview of four generally perceived purposes of higher education in the US. In Part III, I introduce Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields of cultural production and the related idea of symbolic and exchange values. Bourdieu provides the theoretical lens, guiding this dissertation, and I will use this lens to explain the shifting role of higher education and community engagement. Part IV outlines how shifts in higher education and community engagement track movement between the respective weights attached to symbolic and exchange values in higher education. Part V demonstrates how the neoliberal project elevates exchange value at the expense of cultural production that supports symbolic value. In Part VI, I explain how shifts in emphasis between symbolic and exchange values impact the relationship between community engagement and promoting broader conceptions of the public good. The final section, Part VI, provides a general description of the chapters included in this project.

II. Context of Higher Education

By the early 20th century, four common elements supported general understandings of higher education in the United States. Historically, these four historical purposes of the university were considered in relation to supporting commitments to democracy.

Following the archaeological method of Michel Foucault (1970/1994), I will discuss the changes that neoliberalism has effected on higher education, changes which pose striking contrasts to prior understandings of the purposes of American higher education. This historical perspective focuses on how the neoliberal university represents a pronounced departure from commitments to the university as a democratic institution. Demonstrating how striking this departure is I rely upon the work of George Fallis and Amy Guttmann to highlight how each of the four purposes of the university had support democratic values and principles.

A. The assumed positive value of a liberal education. As a general practice, US institutions of higher education have traditionally supported liberal education as a way to foster citizenship. Although the commitment to liberal education that supports democratic citizenship is at an all-time low, in general most people assume that curriculum ought to support students' universal academic development (Giroux, 2011). Facets of liberal education include a varied curriculum that represents critical engagement with a variety of texts, historical periods, and disciplines. In the US, liberal arts often has connected to democracy and the development of positive civic values (Boyte, 2008; Nussbaum, 2010). The idea of being effective democratic leaders need to be well versed in a wide range of scholarly and contemporary issues. Furthermore, the idea of a liberal education can be considered as a way to build democratic leaders and citizens' capacity for complex and

sophisticated thought (Guttman, 1999). Traditionally, the practice of liberal education has been focused on classroom instruction and teaching.

B. Research and scholarship. The spatial arrangement of a university supports the creation of new knowledge, and the production of scholarly research creates and disseminates that new knowledge. The nature and purpose of research cultivated in the university has evolved over time. Early in the 20th century, in line with the land-grant tradition, many universities supported applied research related to the natural world, fledgling industries, and agriculture (McCarthy, 1912). The purpose of research was to benefit the public. Such institutions eventually supplemented their industrial research agendas with various research units covering topics relevant to national security. The federal government generally funded research partnerships between universities and governmental agencies. In most cases, funds from the defense budget framed partnerships as supporting the national interest. As such, research with military implications received a disproportionate amount of research dollars (Branscomb, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). As the Soviet threat declined in the 1980s, and a new capitalist order began its emergence, the research paradigm in the US shifted again.

The late 1980s and the early 1990s marked a time during which universities increasingly began conducting research activities funded by private commercial interests. In addition, the federal government influenced the university's research purpose by creating a policy environment supportive of research that could produce economic profit. Under the Bayh-Dole Act (1980), the federal government made it possible for universities to patent intellectual property and to maintain profits produced from federally-funded research. As a result, the Bayh-Dole Act (1980) created a policy environment that

encouraged universities to emphasize entrepreneurial research paradigms (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Currently, most research-intensive universities in the US have research policies that understand the research purposes of the university as business opportunities. Essentially, state and federal governments subsidize corporate research centers that use university and public resources to produce research results designed to create private profit. In a variety of contexts, the capital-focused, corporate environment supports research that is closer to the market, with the possible potential, or perceived potential, to produce profits for the university or individual researchers.

It is important to note that increasing and distributing knowledge across society has explicit democratic purposes connected to the public good. Not only does the distribution of scholarly research have the potential to increase the quality of democratic deliberations but it also is tied to values of transparency. The neoliberal turn undermines research agendas supporting democratic values and the public good, and promotes research for the sake of the private good. The commodification of university research moves knowledge into the proprietary realm and away from general public distribution. The neoliberal turn pushes university research to be orientated towards patents and intellectual property at the expense of transparency and democratic access.

C. Service. The articulation and application of service has varied significantly over time. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, developing an economic regime connected to the nation-state grounded the motivation to promote university service (Veblen, 1918/2004) Edwin George West argued that shifting roles of service in the American universities was tied to supporting claims of citizenship and tied to economic progress. (West, 1965/1994). More recently, the obligation to provide service to promote

the larger public good has been tied to universities' tax-exempt statuses. Within the time characterized by land-grant oriented forms of service, outreach and extension offices provided service "to" various stakeholders (e.g. land-grant outreach and the Wisconsin idea) (McCarthy, 1912). The contemporary university has renegotiated how public service is conceived in relation to community stakeholders. Partnerships and service are now considered in terms of "working with" external stakeholders, many of whom are, as noted in the prior section, private sector actors (Boyer, 1996, 1997).

Strong commitments to community are the theoretical basis of democracies. Understandings of service have tracked the neoliberal turn and have begun to be commodified. The commodification of university service is the antithesis of supporting community because it excludes and discourages access based on the ability to pay. A basic condition of effective democracy is political inclusion and recognition. As private space is increased citizens are more likely to be treated as aggregate groups of independent consumers.

D. Support the economic and/or public good. Education has been understood as a public good through much of American history (Dewey, 1916; Gutmann, 1999). Nonetheless, understandings of the public purposes of higher education also have evolved over time. Universities' methods for defining their support of the public good has overlapped, or been informed by, market activities. During the height of the land-grant institution and the Wisconsin idea, universities supported the public good through forms of public service and university outreach (McCarthy, 1912). Likewise, as the economy transitioned into a post-industrial economy, corporate research centers and associated

market-focused activities were thought about in terms of supporting the public good (Kruss, 2006).

III. Purposes of Higher Education as Defined by Fields of Cultural Production

While I have attempted to organize the general purposes of higher education in the US for this dissertation, this organization does not imply a static or even proportional relationship. In reality, these four thematic goals and purposes of higher education have evolved and changed over time, and they depend on institutional settings. Also, the four purposes previously described represent an institutional ideal. Creating meaning at the ideal level for higher education depends on dominant structures and processes operating within spaces or fields of economic and cultural production.

A theory of social and cultural production can explain neoliberalism's effect on the economic purposes of the America university as described above. Pierre Bourdieu (1983/1993) explains the shifting relationship between the various purposes of higher education. An understanding of cultural fields of production can provide a historical-theoretical perspective that contextualizes the relationships among the purposes of higher education, the public good, and community engagement (Bourdieu, 1983/1993).

Bourdieu's discussion was rooted in the activity/practice – not perspective - of artistic production. Nevertheless, applying Bourdieu's originally aesthetic theories to community engagement issues in the context of higher education is nonetheless appropriate given that cultural production accurately describes both areas of discussion. Artistic production attempts to arouse, create, and portray new forms of expression, meaning, and knowledge by producing new insights and understandings of the human condition. Although less abstract, the purpose of higher education is to produce,

disseminate, and teach new knowledge and provide insight into the human experience. At the core, both higher education and artistic production attempt to produce and disseminate forms of knowledge and understanding.¹ In a way, the cultural production of higher education is subsidized and protected by the institutional organization of the academy. I will discuss these differences in detail in the following paragraphs. Prior to explaining the relationship between higher education and sites of cultural production, I will discuss Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's theory emerged through a study of the time period that paralleled the Industrial Revolution. Before the Industrial Revolution, the funding practices of religious and political interests limited artistic freedom. The changing economic structure of the Industrial Revolution created the conditions for a perceived increase in artistic freedom (Bourdieu, 1983/1993, p. 113). Accordingly, artists became able to make a living producing works of art for private owners. Relative economic security allowed artists to pursue projects with larger degrees of freedom. Under this new economic order, artists began to feel a freedom not present any time before. Although the Industrial Revolution created the means for more cultural producers to make a living free from patrons, now artists operated within a new space of artistic production—the market.

Indeed, artists enjoyed freedom to pursue any type of artistic method or means of representation; nonetheless, if the cultural object did not fit within the bounds of the market, the artist could not make an acceptable living. Essentially, the artistic space generated by the more diffused wealth of the Industrial Revolution led to a negative

¹ An important distinction between artistic and higher education production is that faculty and staff are protected by the institution of higher education in a way that artists are not. This is not a fundamental difference; it just alters the way each operates in fields of cultural production.

understanding of artistic freedom. Accordingly, artists could apply their skill in any type of medium they desired, free from external and intentional intervention (Berlin, 1958/2002). However, in order to make a living, they needed to comply with market preferences. Bourdieu argued that reconfigured structures of art associated with the Industrial Revolution did not represent a true space of freedom in order to encourage creativity and new forms of expression. The bounds of the market limited forms of cultural production in ways that stifled creativity.² Markets have impacted artistic production in the ways political subjects think about cultural production. By which I mean the market nearly influences the political subjects use to contest and define what counts as cultural production.

The emergence of the Industrial Revolution situated cultural production in a space of absolute freedom, when in reality the associated freedom was more limited than commonly recognized. Bourdieu understood the unfreedom attached to Industrial Revolution and artistic freedom in the following way:

The ending of dependence on a patron or collector and, more generally, the ending of dependence upon direct commissions, with the development of an impersonal market, tends to increase liberty of writers and artists. They can hardly fail to notice, however, that is, liberty is purely formal; it constitutes no more than the condition of their submission to the laws of the market of symbolic goods, that is, to a form of demand which necessarily lags behind the supply of the commodity (in this case, the work of art). Bourdieu, 1983/1993 p.114

During the Industrial Revolution, artistic liberty was being conflated with economic liberty. Bourdieu's theory explains the conflation of two forms of freedom by using symbolic and

² There are some arguments that suggest market conditions actually foster artistic creativity (Cohen, 1998).

exchange values in fields of cultural production. Symbolic value refers to the idea that an object or expression represents and is commonly intangible. As a result, symbolic values represent abstract ideas and thoughts connected with the social and political consciousness of groups. Exchange value refers to the ideal price for an object, idea, or service. Supply and demand in an economic market defines exchange value. At one level, a “field of large-scale production” targets the average consumer and attempts to create products with widespread and mass appeal (Bourdieu, 1983/1993). In the field of large-scale production, the production of cultural objects is bounded at the point of market equilibrium or at the point in which the demand and supply curves intersect. Within the field of large-scale production, cultural production creates objects targeted for high levels of exchange value; subsequently, these objects generally have limited symbolic value.

Interestingly, the emphasis on cultural products with mass appeal and subsequent exchange value creates niche markets for cultural goods with high levels of symbolic value. The “field of restricted production” (Bourdieu, 1983/1993) emerges from this seemingly unmet need in the market. In the rest of the dissertation, I refer to the field of restricted production and limited field of production interchangeably. The field of restricted production strikes a more nuanced balance between symbolic and exchange value compared to the general field of production. Niche markets tend to produce cultural products with high levels of symbolic value. The field of restricted cultural production operates at points of market disequilibrium, and cultural objects with high symbolic value do not coincide with the supply and demand curves of the market.

Within restricted fields of production, cultural objects that increase in demand or gain wide acceptance lose symbolic value, but they increase in exchange value. When shifts

between symbolic value and exchange value occur, commodities within the restricted fields of production likely reposition within the general field of production.

The shift between symbolic and exchange value occurs within a variety of community engagement activities. For example, a service-learning course and university-community partnership might form to address the overlap between social and economic justice issues in a blighted community. Initial configurations of this partnership have high levels of symbolic value. The partnership is focused on creating a more just and social economic society.

However, the theory that informs conceptual understanding of fields of cultural production in the neoliberal context suggest that there are structures and forces that would slowly transfer symbolic value into exchange value. In this specific community engagement example, instead of focusing on social and economic issues connected to high levels of symbolic value, the partnership would shift and begin to discuss the organization of the partnership in terms of giving participants job skills and technical training that are attached high levels of exchange value. A more meaningful community engagement practice would find an appropriate balance between symbolic and exchange value.

In technical terms, the preferences of the market actually shift when symbolic value transfers to exchange value. Although this is not entirely consistent with economic modeling, the demand curve in the general field of production shifts to points that include cultural objects in the limited field of production. Expanding the general field of production establishes a new market equilibrium. General fields of production consume cultural objects defined in terms of symbolic value and attached exchange value whenever possible. The service-learning example described the practical elements of this theoretical process.

These changes and fluctuations are a function of the interplay between fields of production and associated balances between symbolic and exchange value.

IV. Theoretical Shift

This theoretical tension demonstrates a contradiction between symbolic and exchange value when commodities or ideas move between restricted and general fields of production. This tension not only explains artistic freedom in the context of cultural production, but informs a historical understanding of how the purposes of higher education have evolved over time.

Higher education as an institution, specifically the large multiversity, is a site of cultural production (Fallis, 2007). The large multiversity is a descriptive concept that includes universities that are emerging in response to a global post-industrial economy. Multiversities are redefining the traditional purposes of higher education in response to a historical and contemporary tension. On the one hand, the university has historically supported Westphalian conceptions of the nation-state. The university was once conceived as a place that supported democratic practice, national culture, and self—determined conceptions of citizenship. However, a contemporary tension has emerged connected to cosmopolitanism resulting from a globally interconnected economy (Fallis, 2007).³ The emergence of cosmopolitanism and a highly integrated global economy undermine national identity and the sovereignty of the nation-state.

³ Before moving forward, it is important to note that I refer to cosmopolitanism instead of multiculturalism intentionally. Cosmopolitanism as a political project that parallels the ideological preferences of capital. The theoretical outcomes of a cosmopolitan global order coincide with capitalists interest in homogenizing market preferences across geopolitical boundaries.

In light of this tension, the cultural objects that higher education produces are assigned meaning within this conflicted situation. From an applied but theoretical perspective, Fallis (2007) thinks about higher education is purposes intimately tied to reconciling historical pull associated with fulfilling Westphalian purposes of the university and the push associated with cosmopolitanism and a continuously expanding global economy. Relying upon Bourdieu as an interlocutor, we can parse out how the tension between Westphalian and cosmopolitan purposes of the university are situated within conversations of exchange and symbolic value.

V. Understanding the Shift toward Neoliberalism

Over the past 30 to 40 years, fundamental assumptions connected to relationships among the economy, the state, and the university have changed. Under the welfare state model the state and the capitalist economy arranged a compromise. The compromise balanced the social needs of citizens and the conditions supporting market economies. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was a commonly accepted and legitimate state practice for governments to provide a range of social services and social safety nets to protect citizens from harsh outcomes associated with the market.

A. The welfare state. In a well-known *Time Magazine* article, Milton Friedman tracked a general commitment to the welfare state's theoretical basis (31 December 1965).

Four components usually exist in a functioning welfare state:

- (1) government policies actively designed to reduce unemployment;
- (2) government has a legitimate role in providing citizens social insurance;
- (3) government will provide citizens a variety of social services/goods; and
- (4) the welfare-state operates with the expectation that a system of progressive taxation not only pays for elements of the government, but also is designed to eliminate large disparities of wealth (Brown, 2004; Fallis, 2007; Harvey, 2005).

Theoretically, through these four commitments, the Keynesian welfare state mediates the shortcomings associated with the capitalist system. Within the welfare-state framework, the university's general operations and purposes commonly connected to supporting democracy and conceptions of the public good. Said in another way, under the welfare state regime the institutional identity of higher education was centered within a field of cultural production with high levels of symbolic value. According to this model, public universities demonstrated a commitment to the public good by devoting a large percentage of overall resources to activities and programs with high levels of symbolic value. In practical terms, this meant supporting and funding liberal education, increasing access to the university and approaching mass education, maintaining a general commitment to academic freedom, and supporting a variety of social and public-oriented activities framed within the limited field of production. The Keynesian welfare state often leveraged resources of the university to create a social/political space that was insulated from the strict market-rationality of the capitalist system (Brown, 2005a, 2005b; Harvey, 2005; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

A shift occurred in the mid-1960s to early-1970s that concealed the theoretical grounding of the welfare state. A new form of capitalism now commonly referred to as *neoliberalism* emerged. In the United States context during the 1960s and early 1970s, the Fordist production model no longer effectively produced high rates of profit. During this time, Richard Nixon's decision to remove the United States' monetary system from the gold standard led to general inflation of the dollar. Furthermore, the United States was struggling under the burdening weight of debt accrued from the Vietnam War. In the US, these unfavorable conditions allowed a contingent of the conservative right began to dismantle the welfare state and create a regime of *neoliberal governmentality* (Harvey,

2005) Neoliberal governmentality refers to the enacted policies and legal regime that not only shifted commitments of the state, but also disciplined and reproduced larger structures supporting the logics of neoliberalism. Privatization, de-regulation, re-regulation and a general deconstruction of the Keynesian welfare state became the norm guiding government decision-making. “The financialization of everything” (Harvey, 2005 p.207) highlighted the emergence of neoliberalism as a hegemonic economic, political, and social force. Neoliberalism not only had significant social and geopolitical significance, but it began to re-shape existing social, political, and economic institutions in the United States.

B. Neoliberalism and the university. Neoliberalism has impacted understandings of mobility, higher education assessment, and even the intellectual’s role within the university (Ackers, 2008; Bruno, 2009; Slaughter, 1985). Universities reshaped to fit within the neoliberal theoretical model. Academic achievement no longer necessarily reflected learning but merely reflected degree certification. Instead, more emphasis was placed on creating an educational experience focused on certification that transferred to the economic sphere and created indirect and direct exchange value for the consumer. The student’s actual critical thinking ability related to producing symbolic value in social and political spheres became secondary to creating cultural commodities with exchange value. As such, neoliberalism began to shape the relationship between the purposes of higher education and larger conceptions of the public good.

Commitments to neoliberalism began putting public universities in forced situations in which they competed for students and resources. In this context, neoliberal competition assigned priority to assessment models that marginalize some students and

institutions (Bruno, 2009). Neoliberal commitments to ranking not only impacted forms of assessment, but also altered understandings of the professoriate (Tallacchini, 2009).

Market principles began influencing universities' general operation and administrative organization. Core elements of the university once focused on the cultural production of symbolic value were reconsidered to fit within and respond to neoliberal paradigms. As such, universities increasingly have been reconceived as a space to foster collaborative relationships between research, industry, and the state (Etzkowitz & Gulbrandsen, 1999). As a result, the relationship between the university and the economy has changed. According to Peter McLaren, the "neoliberal education policy operates from the premise that education is primarily a subsector of the economy" (2007). According to neoliberal logic, universities began to commodify research, teaching, and even service. In higher education, the neoliberal turn eliminated the borders separating the state, university, and industry (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Basic inquiry-driven research promoting general knowledge with high levels of symbolic value started receiving less public financial support than research identified as having potential commercial or exchange value. Neoliberal research policy encourages the use of public funds to subsidize private research focused on developing new commodities. Under the neoliberal paradigm, the very notion of knowledge and its relationship to the public good has become heavily commoditized and largely focused upon producing indirect and direct exchange value (Fallis, 2007; McLaren, 2007).

Despite contemporary examples of financial crisis, this logic has become so normalized and accepted that it rarely is questioned. The social and political spheres have become so diluted that they no longer can construct logics that efficiently respond to the

structures of neoliberalism. The logics of neoliberalism slowly have co-opted conceptions of higher education for the public good. The case study in Chapter 3 expands upon the ways neoliberalism has become the dominant force in defining the public good.

In many ways, institutions of higher education have embraced their new role in promoting a financial understanding of the public good. However, the neoliberal shift supports a conception of public benefit that holds financial capital over social well-being, environmental sustainability, commitments to democracy, and equality. The neoliberal turn marks the departure of higher education as a democratic institution.

C. A practice of freedom: higher education and community engagement.

Commitments and discourses regarding neoliberal capitalism operating within the university alter understandings of the public good. The roles of the professor, researcher, and student, now feature commitments to academic capitalism, neoliberalism, and shifting balances between symbolic and exchange value. Left unchecked, the university will continue to shift understandings of the public good closer to the context of the market (Hill, 2004).

If democratic ideals are practical aspirations in the new knowledge economy, democratic leaders must work through complex social, political, and economic issues as citizens rather than as consumers or employees. Forms of community engagement have the capacity to educate undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty, and members of the community in ways that prepare them to confront a variety of issues as citizens. Elements and types of community engagement have the potential to prepare citizens to respond directly to elements of neoliberalism.

Ernest Boyer identified the early- to mid-1990s as a point in which higher education hit a crossroads due to neoliberalism. In his landmark work, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*, he called universities to evaluate the types of learning, teaching, and research occurring at their respective institutions. Boyer's work brought renewed attention to the public purpose of higher education. Boyer re-conceptualized the three core elements of the university—namely teaching, research, and service—to fit within a new regime of public good for higher education (Boyer, 1996). Boyer's work has direct implications for the democratic purposes of higher education. The project promoted by Boyer looks to redefine institutions and practices of higher education that support democracy.

Compared with Boyer's position, neoliberalism pushes higher education in a different direction. Specifically, neoliberalism restricts understandings of community to the economic sphere. Current community engagement literature has not conceptualized the theoretical and normative meaning of *community*. If the field of community engagement fails to construct a robust theoretical and normative account of community, a risk emerges in which the conceptual weakness might support a complete neoliberal takeover of the practice. Social and political theory can develop concepts related to community engagement practice in a way that avoids the conflation with neoliberal objectives (Pusser, 2008).

The neoliberal university is based upon commitments to extreme individualism, commodification, privatization, and market fundamentalism. With this dissertation, I intend to challenge understandings of community engagement and conceptions of the public good that originate solely in the economic sphere. In the context of community

engagement, this dissertation explores the possibility for administrators and stakeholders to think about community engagement in ways that support a more robust understanding of citizenship, community, democratic and the public good.

VI. Organization of the Study

The rest of the dissertation will take the following form. Chapter 1 discussed the theoretical limitations of neoliberal theory as related to understanding elements of community engagement. Using the theoretical lens of exchange and symbolic value developed in Chapter 1, in Chapter 2 I discuss the shortcomings of neoliberal theory in connection with different approaches to challenges in community engagement.

Chapter 3 uses the theoretical lens of exchange and symbolic value to explain the operation of contradicting epistemological approaches in community engagement vision statements. In Chapter 3, I use postmodern resources to critique neoliberalism. In this chapter I examine Postmodern and Western Rationalistic Thought (WRT) epistemologies in the community engagement mission statements of Oregon State University (OSU) and University of Maryland - College Park (UMCP). The final portion of Chapter 3 provides an analytical tool entitled the *Public Good Regime for Community Engagement*.

Chapter 4 examines how structures of *governmentality* use foundational community engagement concepts to support a neoliberal regime. I will describe the conception of governmentality in more detail in Chapter 3. I assert that commitments to mutuality in community engagement can support a practice that produces the neoliberal subject and more generally supports the ideological formation of neoliberalism. Referring to the *Public Good Regime for Community Engagement* proposed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 provides a conception of the public good not limited to the economic sphere and exchange

value. Positive identification of structures of governmentality that produce the neoliberal subject in community engagement provide the potential to produce an affirmative conception of community engagement for the public good that balances concerns for exchange and symbolic value.

Chapter 5 posits that justice-oriented forms of community engagement are often contextualized within pursuing either radical or diluted social, political, and economic outcomes. Neoliberal logics fail to reconcile the inherent tension associated with balancing the appropriate social, political, and economic intensity in social justice-oriented forms of community engagement. In Chapter 5, I propose that a postmodern administrative logic originating outside the general field of production can resolve justice related intensity problems and support more effectively the public good.

Chapter 6 sets forth the concluding epilogue for the dissertation. There, I examine the implications of developing a theoretical account of community engagement that operates within both general and limited fields of production. I also suggest the future importance of developing normative and theoretical questions related to community engagement as a social, political, and economic phenomenon.

Chapter 2 – Community Engagement and the Limitations of Neoliberalism

I. Introduction

Both in theory and in practice, neoliberalism impacts all elements of human life including higher education and community engagement. David Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (p. 4). Neoliberalism represents a historical departure from the democratic purposes of higher education, and now shapes the institution of higher education. Beyond merely attempting to locate new untapped markets, neoliberal institutions of higher education employ the logics of neoliberalism to inform the administrative and organizational structures of the university. The research literature documents well the scope and reach of neoliberalism in higher education (Bruno, 2009; Giroux, 1999, 2004, 2011; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Even if it does not always actively attempt to push commodities onto consumers, neoliberalism shapes the way administrators and stakeholders think about higher education as an institution, organization, and administrative structure. However, articulating the theoretical relationship between neoliberalism and forms of community engagement operating within higher education has received less attention (Keith, 2005).

As described in Chapter 1, the goals of the university were once theorized to be tied to supporting democratic practices. However, the emergence of neoliberalism has reshaped the institution of higher education to fit within very specific economic structures. This chapter highlights how neoliberal theory fails to provide an adequate theoretical basis for

challenges commonly posed by community engagement administration. Part II of this chapter analyzes the ways in which shifting levels of *publicness* (to be defined in that section) impact the practice of community engagement. Part III highlights the theoretical limitations of property rights theory as it relates to community engagement partnerships. In Part III, I will also connect the discussion of property rights theory with exchange and symbolic value developed in Chapter 1. Part IV outlines the ways in which administrative techniques that rely upon logics of neoliberalism fail to resolve principal-agent issues effectively. In Part IV, I consider community engagement and principal-agent issues in two ways. First, in this chapter I offer a general context for principal-agent issues in relation to community engagement. Second, I draw up the ways neoliberal theory approaches principal-agent issues in community engagement. This sub-section outlines a normative argument regarding the inadequacy of models of cooperation based on neoliberal economic self-interest. Part V concludes the chapter by drawing upon the work of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler (Foucault, 1966/1977; Butler, 1993;2004). In the final section, I assert that shifting objects of knowledge across a reconfigured grid of intelligibility will produce a potential space to understand community engagement in a new way. I propose that reconfiguring community engagement activities as objects of knowledge along a grid of intelligibility will highlight the theoretical shortcoming of a community engagement practice driven by commitments to neoliberalism. When disconnected from the neoliberal paradigm, reconfigured understandings of community engagement more effectively support conceptions of the public good that include social, political, and economic considerations. Finally, in this section I explain the process associated with shifting objects of knowledge across Butler's grid of intelligibility as it relates to community engagement.

II. Shifts in Publicness and Community Engagement

I discuss publicness as it relates to community engagement in three ways. First, I demonstrate how a notion of publicness helps administrators and stakeholders think more accurately about community engagement organizations in the context of neoliberalism. Second, I describe how neoliberalism changes publicness levels in community engagement organizations. Finally, I assert, that the shifts in levels of publicness caused by neoliberalism limit community engagement organizations' potential to support robust conceptions of community, democracy and the public good.

Barry Bozeman (2007) developed the concept of *publicness* to describe more accurately the nature of both private and public organizations. Bozeman (2007) points out that attempting to order, categorize, and classify organizations across a binary of being either public or private is not only inaccurate, but also misleading. Identifying dimensions of privateness and publicness across a scale better represents and describes the dynamics of modern organizations.

Organizations categorized as having high levels of publicness tend to be more responsive and accountable to political authority. Accountability to political authority generally refers to transparent institutional actions that adhere to high levels of accountability tied a political structure. On the other hand, institutions with lower levels of publicness primarily are held accountable to economic authority. Institutions with lower levels of publicness have different requirements of transparency and accountability than completely public organizations. The economic authority governing institutions with lower levels of publicness is concerned with conceptions of efficiency and competitiveness

(Bozeman, 2007). In reality, most contemporary organizations are accountable to some mix of political and economic authority.

The logics of neoliberalism construct institutions, once considered collective responsibilities as private goods as private responsibilities. As a result, the logic of neoliberalism is altering the collective understanding of private and public funding responsibilities. Neoliberalism inappropriately disrupts the balance between the economic and political authority governing public institutions. Neoliberalism is altering the levels of publicness associated with higher education, and at least in theory, neoliberalism justifies the decreased public support of higher education. Furthermore, higher education is expected to accomplish more with decreasing levels of symbolic and monetary support from the state. This decrease in state financial support essentially has forced institutions to increase revenue from private sources. However, as public support of higher education decreases, accountability shifts away from political authority and toward economic authority. Public organizations with high levels of publicness should articulate their accountability in terms of symbolic value. Conversely, public organizations with low levels of publicness likely draw more support from private economic interests and articulate accountability in terms of exchange value.

A focus on economic authority challenges the considerations and discussion of social goods. As accountability to economic authority becomes the predominant focus of higher education, attaching appropriate meaning and symbolic value to elements of higher education connected to the social good and to political authority becomes difficult.

Decreasing levels of publicness have specific implications for community engagement. In the realm of community engagement, competitive-grants, private donors,

and public organizations with lower levels of publicness commonly one more likely to be the basis of an operating budget. The shifting balance between political authority/accountability and economic authority/accountability can cause community engagement organizations to lose sight of larger public interests. Shifting levels of accountability to economic authority raises concerns because it can lead community engagement organizations to support very specific private and market-oriented ends in the name of some misguided understanding of the public interest (Bozeman, 2007).

Funding schemes defined by narrow interests make misguided understandings of the public interest possible. High levels of private authority and concern for exchange value have the potential to shape very limited conceptions of the public good. The orientation to economic authority can lead community engagement organizations to emphasize projects, programs, and partnerships that benefit very specific group and class interests. As a result, the increased presence of economic authority could lead community engagement organizations to articulate outcomes and use assessment measurements consistent with neoliberal logics. Recalling Bourdieu's theoretical framework, private authority can authorize forms of community engagement that support the production of exchange value. Community engagement acts that support symbolic value have no mechanism to inform the discussion. As public authority decreases, so does the ability to frame community engagement in terms of symbolic value. Increasing levels of private authority allows exchange value to define the public good. Furthermore, decreasing levels in political authority leaves no accountability mechanisms to leverage claims of symbolic value. Neoliberal understandings of community engagement fail to provide an appropriate lexicon and value system for legitimate social and political concerns that lie outside the

economic sphere and the general field of production. Problems arise when the balance between economic authority and political authority is altered to the extent that social and political forms of accountability are rendered irrelevant.

III. Motivational Limitations of Property Rights Theory

Many of the neoliberal changes associated with public institutions also are associated with commitments to economic individualism (Bozeman, 2007). Commitments to economic individualism and larger strategies of neoliberalism have undermined public interest-oriented management and administration. This section discusses ways in which *property rights theory* (PRT) based upon motivational understandings of economic individualism and market fundamentalism fails to account for the full range of the human experience in public management settings, specifically within community engagement activities.

Most variants of PRT rest upon two foundational premises. First, PRT asserts that public organizations funded through tax dollars are inherently inefficient. PRT supporters argue that since public organizations lack both a profit motive and concern for producing exchange value, a dysfunctional relationship exists between administrators' use of public resources and standards of efficiency. The PRT perspective suggests that motivating efficient use of resources requires that public managers operate within a framework that simulates the disciplinary mechanisms of the market (Bozeman, 2007).

Second, for the most part, collective tax dollars primarily fund organizations with high levels of publicness. PRT suggests that since taxpayers in some cases are unable and in other cases unwilling to oversee all public spending, institutional inertia leads organizations with the highest levels of publicness to become inefficient. The general public

cannot coerce public administrators to act in a certain way, nor can they create proper incentives to reward positive behavior. As such, proponents of this view argue that as rational self-interested actors, public administrators pursue their individual interests at the expense of the collective. In this case, self-interested public administrators desire or prefer a strong bureaucracy (Olson, 1965/1971). Overcoming the perception that public administrators are not concerned solely about strengthening bureaucratic power is difficult because in most cases, organizational objectives do not fit with the logic of the market or the pursuit of profit incentives (Matouschek, 2004). Said in another way, public organizations often are charged with society's most difficult social, political, and economic problems.

Public organizations that struggle to achieve organizational objectives and/or fail to run at a profit are not necessarily examples of laziness or bureaucratic self-interest. In such situations, determining whether the organization's objectives merely fail to fit with the market's logic is more a meaningful way to evaluate an organization's efficiency. Neoliberal theory suggests creating a market-like condition in which public organizations compete for resources is the best way to handle this problem. Market-oriented administrative policies are thought to encourage organizational efficiency. Nonetheless, empirical research indicates that incentive structures designed to cue self-interest through external rewards can have negative impact on intrinsic motivations (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999).

Strong reciprocity theory provides an explanation for the relationship between external and intrinsic motivation. Material incentives or the artificial construction of markets that reward public organizations with profit can be perceived as a hostile act. A plethora of empirical research indicates that if attempts to induce productivity with

material incentives or markets conditions are perceived as a hostile act, strong reciprocators, in return, will respond with hostility and decrease productivity (Gintis, Bowles, Boyd, & Fehr, 2005). The relationship between material/external incentive structures and decreased productivity is tied to decreasing levels of self-discipline. In other words, the centralized and imposed incentive structure undermines social norms and informal institutional practices that encourage individuals to motivate and discipline their own performance (Olstrom, 2005).

From the PRT perspective, traditional public organizations that lack market competition do not contain essential motivational elements that lead to the efficient use of public funds. Therefore, PRT calls for the complete privatization of public organizations; when complete privatization is impossible, PRT calls for increased privatization. Privatization can be defined generally as contracting out public organizations' responsibilities to private firms more responsive to market-competition (Starr, 1988). PRT assumes that introducing forms of market competition and economic activity represents the only way to motivate humans and overcome self-interested behavior.

In community engagement, components of funding are privatized in order to stimulate a sense of competition. The competitive grant process is one-way community engagement organizations are forced into market-like activities. The competitive grant process can cause problems because it rewards community engagement organizations that conform to models of neoliberalism (Tallacchini, 2009). The implications of PRT would suggest that legitimate community engagement organizations not modeled by neoliberalism are less likely than other organizations to receive competitive grants.

The assumption that humans only will manage resources efficiently if there is private ownership and forms of competition is fundamentally flawed. Historically, many private firms with low levels of publicness have been fraught with corruption, incompetency, and inefficiency but still have maintained large profit margins. The assumption that the market will force humans to be rational, calculating, and self-interested actors is problematic (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2005). Many examples of irrational passions for glory, greed, and revenge more accurately reflect human motivations (Holmes, 1990).

Second, the logic of PRT does not always translate effectively to the public sector. Public organizations are at times charged with tasks that lack a profit incentive (e.g. managing parks, public libraries, support community engagement activities that address social issues) or operate in an artificially constructed market (e.g. higher education, jails or prisons, hospitals). Even classically liberal, Adam Smith, recognized that the market was not appropriate for all spheres. Smith believed that the state had a legitimate role in providing common and social goods. According to Smith agreeing to form a civil association gives the sovereign:

The duty of erecting and maintain certain publick works and certain publick Institutions, which it can never be for the interests of any individual, or small Number of individuals, to erect and maintain; because the project could never repay The expense to any individual or small number of individuals, though it may Frequently do much more than repay it to a great society. (Smith, 1795/1976, IV.ix.51)

Third, economic activity cannot explain all aspects of human motivation. In other words, economic competition or profit incentives motivate most humans in some spheres of life but not in others. PRT fails to account for the forms of human action and motivation that fall outside the economic sphere or that cannot be explained by economic self-interest (Gintis et al., 2005). *Social signaling* explains some forms of human motivation and behavior. Agents' signal others that they possess the desire and ability to cooperate or more generally committed to pro-social behavior. In many cases, assumptions of self-interest or market incentives are unsuccessful because of the perception that these assumptions dilute the symbolic value of pro-social motivations and behaviors (Olstrom, 2005; Smith & Bird, 2005; Titmuss, 1971). Empirical research indicates that agents motivated by strong reciprocity will inflict harm or a cost to punish others who defect from cooperative behavior (Fehr & Fishbacher, 2005).⁴ The element of human motivation is particularly relevant in the context of community engagement. In most situations, the theoretical motivation driving involvement in community engagement comes from civic duty or moral obligation instead of economic incentives or irrational passion (Barber, 1994; Battistoni & Barber, 1999; Battistoni & Hudson, 1997).

Applying the logic of neoliberalism to forms of community engagement is problematic, because as a general practice, community engagement has many understandings and purposes. Applying the strict logic of neoliberalism to PRT and competitive grants constrains the potential of community engagement to support larger public interests. The theoretical potential of community engagement is limited by concerns

⁴ Strong Reciprocity refers to “a predisposition to cooperate with others, and to punish (at personal cost, if necessary) those who violate the norms of cooperation, even when it is implausible to expect that the costs will be recovered” (Gintis et al., 2005).

that fit the motivational concerns of PRT and neoliberalism. As a result, legitimate forms of community engagement outside of the motivational structure of neoliberalism are marginalized and in some cases eliminated.

IV. Neoliberal Theory and Principal-Agent Theory

Successful community partnerships overcome a series of collective action issues. By modifying two assumptions associated with *principal-agent theory* (PAT), the approach can analyze a variety of dynamics associated with the community engagement process.

Depending on how the terms of the partnership are negotiated, the principal and the agent can alternate between the university and the community throughout the engagement process. This relationship characterizes the first subtle difference between community engagement principal-agent issues and classic principal-agent examples. Second, managerial oversight of the agents' actions does not occur outside the community partnership. Instead, community partners and university representatives simultaneously oversee the terms of a community partnership. By accounting for these two specific variants, principal-agent theory accurately can be used to inform challenges associated with maintaining effective community partnerships.

A. Community engagement and principal-agent theory. This section demonstrates the ways neoliberal theory fails to respond adequately to principal-agent issues associated with community engagement. The first portion of this section explains the basic elements and assumptions of PAT. Secondly, I explore the relationship between neoliberalism and the emerging practice of collecting fees to deal with principal-agent problems in community engagement. Lastly, I assert that the neoliberal approach is unable to overcome effectively principal-agent issues.

Outside community engagement research, study of principal-agent issues explains the inefficiency created when a principal assigns responsibilities to an agent (Jensen and Meckins 1976; Ross 1976). The difference between the principal's task expectations and the agent's performative outcome is *agency-loss*. The study of PAT creates systems and structures that reduce transaction costs associated with agency-loss.

In the context of community engagement, principal-agent issues pose a challenge to the negotiated terms of the community partnership. PAT can help administrators and stakeholders consider a range of collective action issues. Accordingly, two questions emerge at the intersection between PAT and community engagement.⁵ The first question asks what type of incentive structure should be constructed and agreed upon to ensure compliance with the terms of a community partnership. The second question asks how the principal effectively can monitor the agent's performance and commitment to the negotiated terms of the partnership.

Answering these two questions represents a fundamental element of maintaining effective community partnerships. The core concern of PAT, as related to community engagement, involves the principal's ability to determine whether the agent is maintaining the terms of the partnership and performing at an "optimal level, despite having a difference in motive, information, and preference" (Bozeman, 2007). Depending on the manner in which involved parties negotiated the principal-agent relationship could evolve throughout the life of the university-community partnership.

Viewed from the lens of PAT, much of the engagement process ensures that involved parties uphold the negotiated terms of the partnership. Furthermore, the principal benefits

⁵ I am indebted to Barry Bozeman (2007) for informing my approach to framing these questions in the context of community engagement.

if the agent performs above the agreed upon terms of the partnership. Conversely, from the agent's perspective, the agent has little incentive to exceed the negotiated terms of the relationship. In reality, performing according to the bare minimum requirement serves the agent's best interests, in order not to trigger a response from the principal. In cases in which the agent completes the bare minimum in order to avoid retribution, the agent receives the collective good at the lowest personal cost that still supports cooperation.

In many situations, the motivations and the preferences of the principal and those of the agent conflict. An immediate response to reconcile these differences involves creating an element of supervision, and outcome assessment. However, supervision of the principal-agent relationship creates new challenges. In community engagement situations, excessive supervision by the principal can undermine the partnership's solvency and produce an inefficient transaction cost. However, with too little supervision, the agent might fail to adhere to the terms upon which both parties previously agreed. To make the element of supervision even more challenging, the principal sometimes lacks adequate or accurate information to assess the agent's behavior and performance.

In most situations the principal can evaluate the relationship's outcomes. However, the retroactive nature of this solution renders it imperfect. As such, the outcome might not provide enough information to explain the agent's failure to meet the partnership's expectations. Along these same lines, sometimes events beyond the agent's control might explain the agent's objective failure. Structures are often created to motivate agents internally to overcome the limitations of external supervision.

B. Neoliberal responses to principal-agent issues in community engagement.

Incentives and penalty structures generally are constructed to handle limitations associated with imperfect supervisory information, conflicting motivations, and conflicting preferred outcomes. Principal-agent issues in community engagement are not adequately solved by economic incentive and penalty structures. Neoliberal responses to principal-agent issues rely too heavily on economic solutions and fail to recognize the degree principal-agent challenges pose to community engagement.

The neoliberal perspective reduces and consolidates all human behavior to fit within the economic sphere. Furthermore, the logic of neoliberalism influences the manner in which community engagement approaches principal-agent problems. In an attempt to support meaningful university-community partnerships, some forms of community engagement now commonly employ incentive and penalty structures.

Community partnerships involve multiple entities attempting to achieve a common result. However, relationships among the various actors in these partnerships often experience strain because each entity can pursue contradicting short-term objectives. For example, in a community-based research setting, the university researcher could require access to the community in order to generate data, while the community partners could need the immediate resources and human power represented by the partnerships. The perspective of PAT easily understands and explains the ways in which it overcomes the short-term challenge of divergent interests in community engagement partnership. Incentive and penalty structures are put into place to discourage entities from pursuing short-term individual goals at the expense of long-term collective goals.

A phenomenon in which all entities in the partnership collect upfront money represents an emerging practice in some forms of community engagement. While this process often does not articulate neoliberal logic, indeed neoliberalism guides the financial policy. This emerging phenomenon assumes that the upfront financial obligations will ensure partners' commitment to the engagement process and the collective long-term goals rather than their own more immediate individual objectives. This particular neoliberal approach to dealing with principal-agent issues exhibits two flaws.

1. Weakness of upfront fees. First, the neoliberal logic inappropriately assumes that the cost or potential cost of losing the upfront money/fee represents a meaningful commitment to the partnership. In some cases, social and political factors, rather than the economic fee, may influence a partner's decision to adhere to the agreed-upon terms of a partnership. The decision to adhere to a partnership's negotiated elements does not originate solely from the economic sphere; as a result, collecting an amount of upfront money or a fee that truly represents a penalty for shirking collective agreements proves difficult. Instead, a more effective penalty would take into account how social, political, and economic issues influence a partner's decision to adhere to the negotiated terms of the partnership. An applied example that illustrates this point is when a university gains a sense of institutional pride from having a partnership with an important community organization. The social and political cost of losing the partnership might be more to the university than any upfront financial fee.

2. True price of defection or non-cooperation. Neoliberal logic assumes that a price can be attached to each partner's commitment to the engagement process, but this assumption exhibits fundamental flaws. In practice, large financial disparities often exist

between the various partners. As a result, the neoliberal assumption that upfront funds represent an equal disincentive for each partner to defect is incorrect. Partners with large operating budgets experience less of a penalty for leaving long-term partnerships than do partners with smaller operating budgets. In a sense, upfront money represents the transaction cost associated with achieving a short-term individual goal more effectively by participating in a partnership than pursuing said goal alone. Accordingly, economic calculations associated with neoliberalism actually undermine the ultimate goal of the upfront financial obligations.

Furthermore, the assumption that matching funds equally discourages each party from exiting the partnership can produce financial burdens that make exit impossible. In this situation, partners with smaller operating budgets experience a distinct disadvantage to negotiate ongoing terms of a partnership. In a community engagement context promoting a partnership as reciprocally negotiated and mutually beneficial, when such disparities exist it is especially alarming. If partnership negotiations reach an impasse, then the financially burdened partner may be forced to agree to unsatisfactory terms. This arrangement accounts for a large portion of the financially strained partner's budget; therefore, exiting the collective agreement proves practically impossible. This dynamic gives the partner with a larger budget significant leverage during phases in which the terms of the partnership are negotiated. Interestingly enough, administrative justifications for fees or upfront money usually are cited as demonstrating equality or commitment to the engagement process. Ironically, in theory the financial burden placed on some partners actually might undermine effective partnerships.

V. Conclusion

The way scholar-practitioners think about issues associated with community engagement reflects predominant modes of neoliberalism. Neoliberal theory and practice has become so pervasive that approaching issues associated with community engagement outside the context of exchange value and the general field of cultural production is difficult to imagine. Representing a departure from the historical democratic role of the university, neoliberalism and administrative logics tied to neoliberalism fail to respond to serious challenges posed by community engagement. The challenge for community engagement is to respond to the path that is producing the practice in relation to neoliberalism. The community engagement field needs to determine a new space of possibility by identifying the Foucauldian *unthought* (Foucault, 1994a). The Foucauldian *unthought* refers to the space and perspective just outside the bounds of existing objects of knowledge. That is the object of knowledge that is impossible to recognize within the dominant structures that inform human knowledge. Approaching shifts in thought that push the bounds of neoliberalism, community engagement stakeholders must “...shift the object and change the scale” (Foucault, 1995 p. 89). Originally discussed in the context of penal reform, shifting the object and changing the scale involves acknowledging the scope of social tactics employed to maintain a logic within the social body. Punishment was one of the objects of Foucault’s study. In the context of punishment, Foucault was able to track the way punishment was thought about over time. Foucault was able to account for the change in scope or the change in how punishment was understood by identifying the object of study over time. He tracked punishment’s perceived social need to discipline the behavior of the entire social body rather than merely to discipline individual behavior. In the context of

neoliberal community engagement, the object is the economic. Recognizing the manner in which the existing epistemological approach impacts community engagement requires tracking and expanding the scope of thought.

By relocating the object of thought, stakeholders can begin to approach ideas and solutions that exist outside the existing episteme. Butler's theory tells us that the *grid of intelligibility* bounds objects of knowledge. Therefore, by expanding the limits of the current grid, objects of knowledge, can be understood from a different perspective (Butler, 1993, 2004; Foucault, 1994b). Butler used the grid of intelligibility to describe production of the object of gender. The object—gender—is mediated and becomes an object of knowledge only when considered and located within the grid of intelligibility. Previously marginalized and unthinkable productions of gender are recognized as legitimate as the grid expands (Butler, 1993 p. 73). The theoretical process that produces gender as an object of knowledge helps to confront the production of neoliberal forms of community engagement.

Community engagement operates in a grid of intelligibility contextualized by neoliberalism. The existing neoliberal grid directly mediates community engagement as an object of knowledge. Therefore, the neoliberal grid of intelligibility binds considerations of community engagement. Response to this situation requires rejecting the limits of the grid—expanding perspectives of knowing, thought, and production. By challenging the limits of the grid, community engagement stakeholders begin to acknowledge a previously unthinkable space of knowing. The space of knowing, thought, and production created by expanding the grid addresses the shortcomings associated with neoliberalism and improves forms of community engagement.

Chapter 3 – Reconciling Epistemological Tensions in Community Engagement

I. Introduction

The goal and motivation for creating a university mission statement is multi-faceted. Chris Morpew and Matthew Hartley (2006) identify two potential benefits associated with having and developing university mission statements. First, clear mission statements help “organizational members distinguish between activities that conform to institutional imperatives and those that do not” (Morpew & Hartley, 2006, p. 457). Second, mission statements give organizational members the “capacity to inspire and motivate those within an institution and to communicate characteristics, values and a history to key external constituents” (Morpew & Hartley, 2006, p.457). Mission statements indicate how organizations consider and communicate their shared values and purposes.⁶

In the context of this study, mission statements of community engagement organizations serve as an appropriate proxy for administrative thought. Community engagement organizations are charged with collaborating “between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for mutually beneficial exchanges of knowledge resources in a context of partnership reciprocity” (Carnegie Foundation of the Advancement of Teaching, 1997).

In many contexts, especially within land-grant institutions, forms of community engagement have been tied to promoting the public interest. In the context of community engagement, “the public interest refers to the outcomes best serving the long-run survival and well being of a social collective construed as the ‘public’ (Bozeman, 2007 p. 12). The

⁶ There is a stream of literature that tracks the distinction between organization attitude and behavior (Chait, 1979; Davies, 1986; Delucchi, 1997).

challenge for community engagement organizations is to channel competing conceptions of institutional values into a unified organizational direction. For the purposes of this chapter, the term *institutional values* represents an extension and modification of Bozeman's (2007) definition. As such, Community engagement institutional values refer to (a) the obligation that community engagement organizations have to society, the state and larger institutions, and (b) the principles on which the community engagement organization's policies should be based (Bozeman, 2007).

Community engagement organizations face an obvious problem; although organizational governance requires a unified direction, legitimate conceptions of the public interest can vary and at times exist in direct contradiction with each other. This unique circumstance asks how community engagement organizations reconcile or prioritize competing conceptions of the public good in a space of epistemological tension. Answers to the previous question consider how commitments to symbolic and exchange value and the influence such questioning exerts upon the ways administrators and stakeholders think about issues of community engagement in relation to a general public interest.

In this chapter, I seek to demonstrate how the pluralistic⁷/symbolic value and western rationalistic tradition/exchange value epistemologies influence understandings of the public interest. Part II explains how epistemological difference impacts the development and construction of conceptions of the public interest. I use the term epistemology to describe the analytical process people use to think about the relationship between objects of knowledge. The concept of epistemology will be developed in more detail in the following section. Part III outlines the basic epistemological differences between WRT and

⁷ I use pluralistic as a category to include epistemologies that are not positivist. For the most part, I rely upon the resources of postmodernism to highlight tensions with WRT.

Exchange value and pluralistic and symbolic value epistemologies. Part IV explains how epistemological tensions provide an appropriate explanatory framework for considering the contested nature of articulating the public good through forms of community engagement. Part V presents a case study providing a textual analysis of the public articulations of two community engagement projects and their relationship to the public good. These two projects are connected to Oregon State University (OSU) and The University of Maryland - College Park (UMCP). In Part VI I present an analytical tool that can help stakeholders organize and identify epistemological tensions in thinking about community engagement. I refer to this analytical tool is referred to as the *Community Engagement Public Good Regime*.

II. Epistemology, Institutional Values, and the Public Interest

Thinking about the public interest is important for any elected official, administrator, or citizen (Bozeman, 2007). However, it is unlikely a variety of stakeholders automatically support a course of action that would support similar conceptions of the public good. In fact, much of the democratic process is geared toward generating shared preferences based on compromise. The contested nature of what constitutes the public interest impacts higher education in a variety of ways.

Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) fields tend to approach the public interest differently than fields such as the humanities and social sciences. As a result, academic units generally approach questions from their privileged or professionally normalized epistemological starting point. Though my analysis in this regard is indebted to George Fallis's (2007) WRT and pluralism serve as the two major epistemologies that will be analyzed. Nonetheless, using Fallis as a base, this chapter relies upon a subtly different conception of epistemology. In this chapter, I conceptualize *epistemology* as the way

humans use interpretations of truth combined with conceptions of understanding to create forms and objects of knowing (Pritchard, 2009). Said in another way, in this chapter I use epistemology to describe the analytical process used to think about objects of knowledge in relation to each other. This chapter analyzes the types of epistemologies that produce forms of community engagement. The vision statements I analyze in this chapter illustrate the way community engagement administrators combine understandings or perceived truths and connect them to interpretations of reality. As a space of interdisciplinarity, community engagement organizations often create situations in which epistemological approaches can conflict. As a result, a major challenge for community engagement organizations involves developing mission statements to account for overlapping epistemological commitments, supporting a range of institutional values, and maintaining a unified conception of the public interest.

This section unpacks two competing epistemological commitments that commonly exist within community engagement organizations. I analyze the *western rationalistic tradition* (WRT), commonly known as *scientific rationalism* and *postmodernism* as two competing epistemological approaches that inform community engagement efforts to articulate the public good. Competing epistemologies in community engagement organizations represent the tension between forms of actual thought and the possibility of thought that defines the range of understanding. Michel Foucault (1966/1970) defines episteme as “the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements which are possible those that will be acceptable within...a field of scientificity...The episteme is the “apparatus” which makes possible the separation, not of the true from the false, but of what may not be characterized as scientific.” (p. 197) For

most community engagement organizations, the challenge involves producing and agreeing upon objects of knowledge that can be used to formulate the public interest. An object of knowledge recognized in one epistemological approach might not be acknowledged or even possible in another. In this section of the chapter, I will demonstrate how different epistemological commitments in community engagement organizations interpret symbols in ways that produce varying conceptions of the public interest. Conflicting epistemological approaches create a problem of representation for community engagement organizations trying to channel various institutional values in support of the public good.

III. Postmodern Thought and the Western Rationalist Tradition

Two competing epistemologies dominate organizational and administrative thought within higher education. The first and most predominant, epistemology operating within the academy is the western rationalist tradition (WRT) and the second is pluralism, represented by postmodernism in the this study.

A. WRT. WRT is the predominant epistemological starting point in most STEM fields. In most academic units, different epistemologies are insular and have limited contact with each other. Proponents of epistemologies consistent with WRT argue that the rational scientific project produces accurate depictions of reality and knowledge that approach absolute truth. Three core components of WRT exist, which both detractors and proponents recognize as associated with WRT epistemologies. First, WRT is indebted to *modern realism*; as a result, WRT assumes that an actual reality exists. This reality not only exists; it is independent from human representation. Modern realism created the basic foundation for the collective belief that reality serves as the context for human experience. Second, communication of symbols, words, and meaning can articulate effectively the

independent reality that contextualizes human experience. Third, assuming an objective reality exists, truth is a product of accurate representation. This epistemological approach allows reality to become an object of knowledge. The traditional scientific method parallels the three components of WRT. The logic guiding scientific rationality can be understood as providing the support structure for neoliberal explanations of human action and behavior. According to neoliberalism, the self-regarding or self-interested behavior of *homo economicus*, is the model used to describe human motivation, behavior, and decision-making (Brown, 2005b; Giroux, 2004 Harvey, 2005; Pettit, 1995; Serles, 1993). Causal explanations of mutuality in neoliberalism are consistent with WRT epistemologies. In short, WRT serves as the epistemological basis used to inform the economic considerations of neoliberalism.

Understanding community engagement through the lens of *homo economicus* manifests in a variety of ways. Community stakeholders are thought about in terms of consumers interested in purchasing easily deliverable units of some commodity. The practice of understanding students or the community as consumers or clients as opposed to citizens represents a general acceptance of the reward system that is maintained by the WRT epistemology and neoliberalism. According to Brown, “neoliberalism produces rational actors and imposes a market rationale for decision making in all spheres” (Brown, 2005b p. 40). The ordered reality produced by commitments to WRT also creates beliefs that actors rationally respond to market preferences and self-interest in neoliberal contexts.

B. Postmodernism. As described in Chapter 1, the university’s goals were once tied to supporting elements of democracy. However, the emergence of neoliberalism has

reshaped the institution of higher education to fit within very specific economic structures, structures that are connected to WRT. The postmodern turn effectively challenges the assumptions of WRT. While, postmodern epistemologies represent a variety of understandings, but in general, the common theme of postmodern thought involves a basic doubt in the possibility of universal knowledge. The postmodern turn creates an analytical space that tracks the emergence of marginalization (i.e. across gender, race, class, LGBT status, etc.). Objects are represented or produced as objects of knowledge to support and reproduce existing ideological power structures. As a result, postmodern epistemologies argue that WRT claims to truth and universal knowledge refer only to symbolic and political interpretations of a non-existent reality (Foucault, 1966/1970; 1970/1972).

Postmodernisms fundamental critique of neoliberalism asserts that conscious and unconscious commitments to a specific form of rationalism produce understandings and interpretations of reality consistent with neoliberalism. A simple community engagement example is a university that gains a sense of institutional pride from having a partnership with an important community organization. For example,...[cite an example]. The social and political cost of losing this partnership might mean more to the university than any upfront fee or cost. The interplay between producing neoliberal theory and producing consistent reality leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy. The human condition is ordered along the lines of neoliberalism because social structures are produced in the ideological and theoretical image of the phenomenon. The postmodern critique provides a theoretical lens to recognize how neoliberalism produces false understandings of reality. Therefore, from the postmodern perspective, conscious and unconscious commitments to neoliberal

rationalism use WRT to produce an understanding of reality consistent with neoliberalism.⁸

IV. Representation, Institutional Values, and the Public Good.

The key tension between WRT and Postmodern thought is the way meaning is produced and attached to institutional values. WRT epistemologies argue that institutional values can be interpreted consistently and given meaning. Conversely, postmodern thought argues that representations of institutional values have varying meanings based upon context and social production. From a linguistic perspective, WRT parallels the *structuralist tradition*, while postmodernism correlates almost directly with the *post-structuralist tradition*. The structuralist approach assumes that the relationship between the symbol and signifier correlates directly and consistently with the production of a concept or signified. Postmodern or post-structuralist approaches deny the dichotomous relationship of semiotics. More generally, post-modern epistemologies understand symbols and institutional values as having multiple levels of meaning (Fallis, 2007; Foucault, 1966/1970). The interplay between WRT and postmodern epistemologies in community engagement organizations often is situated within a context defined by neoliberalism. However, the inherent presumption of rationality within the neoliberal context advantages WRT epistemologies. The presumption of neoliberal rationality can be seen when community engagement activities articulated in exchange value are privileged over community engagement activities couched in symbolic value.

⁸ Please note the rest of this dissertation uses *neoliberal rationalism* and *logics of neoliberalism* interchangeably. The terms describe the thought processes and objects of knowledge used to produce structures and thought patterns consistent with neoliberalism.

The shifting balance between exchange and symbolic value is altering the way the institution is organized. Adherents to the neoliberal paradigm conform to structures of governance that are defined by the market (Bessant, 1988; Currie & Newson, 1998; Giroux & Giroux, 2004; Giroux, 2004; Slaughter, 1993, 1985). The neoliberal regime marginalizes units within the university that do not accept or fit within the rational economic model. In many cases, university units with an inherently public purpose often have difficulty justifying or even considering their existence within the neoliberal university. This overwhelming commitment to the market slowly is altering how institutions think and talk about activities that support the public interest (Bessant, 1988; Giroux, 1999, 2004). A general orientation toward the market has exerted influence upon the manner in which community engagement organizations conceptualize the public interest.

Thinking about the public good as separate from the multiple epistemologies operating within the university is not helpful. Instead, it is important to contextualize the university as being informed by multiple epistemological foundations. However, as previously mentioned, WRT and neoliberalism rely upon the same understanding of rationality. Fields closer to the market rely on logics and forms similar to the logics and forms of rationality that support neoliberalism. The parallel logics and rationality authorize the production of exchange value over symbolic value in most cases. In the next section, I will analyze how symbolic value and exchange value are couched within competing epistemological understandings and articulated in terms of competing institutional values. Understanding the epistemological tension between symbolic and exchange value in an applied setting demonstrates how community engagement organizations struggle to support a robust conception of the public interest.

V. Case Study

This section evaluates the mission statements of community engagement organizations at Oregon State University (OSU) and the University of Maryland - College Park (UMCP), two land-grant institutions. At the outset, I must offer the disclaimer that community engagement organizations' generally have well-intentioned motives for their community engagement programs. As such, the goal of this theoretical analysis is not to belittle these organizations' respective efforts; instead, I intend to highlight how epistemological assumptions might create contradictory conceptions of the public interest. In reality, the institutions included in this textual analysis arguably represent models of effectively "engaged campuses."⁹ Despite a strong commitment to community engagement, UMCP has not received classification as a community engagement university. By including these model institutions, I intend to demonstrate how epistemological assumptions influence ideas about community engagement even at model land-grant institutions.

A. Oregon State University (OSU). Located in the western portion of the state of Oregon, about one hour and a half south of Portland, Corvallis is home to Oregon State University (OSU). OSU is the land-grant institution in the state of Oregon, and its public service mission is included in the university's official charter. The university's website includes an electronic brochure outlining OSU's strategic goals for community engagement. The nine-page brochure includes the community engagement mission, basic strengths, key initiatives, and strategic goals of all community engagement programs at OSU. The following section analyzes the community engagement organization's mission statement. I give specific attention to the manner in which different epistemological assumptions

⁹ Please note that OSU received the Community Engagement classification in 2010 by The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

inform the organization's institutional values. More specifically, my analysis highlights conflicting articulations of institutional values and how they relate to the organizational understanding of the public good. My analysis ultimately illustrates how points of epistemological contradiction can dilute concerns for the public interest.

1. Epistemological tensions. The OSU brochure is fraught with epistemological tensions between WRT and Postmodern thought. The main tag line for OSU's community engagement mission states, "Engaging for Excellence and Impact." Institutions have employed discourses of excellence to communicate institutional commitments to neoliberalism and market principles (Readings, 1996). The previous statement assumes that the pursuit of excellence or the strategic design to achieve excellence is the mark of value and prestige as defined within the bounds of capital (Pestre, 2009; Readings, 1996).

WRT considers excellence as an objective, attainable, and quantifiable status. The conceptual understandings of impact, however, are closer to the postmodern traditions. When applied to a political context, postmodernism refers to the manner in which arbitrary social formations impact distribution, inclusion, recognition, and representation. The different epistemological commitments that ground the concept of excellence and the concept of impact both explain and separate these ideas. Basic analysis of this initial proposition highlights how different epistemological understandings can lead to divergent conceptualizations and larger discourses of community engagement. The manner in which OSU organizes these concepts to represent its major vision of community engagement reflects an intentional effort on the part of the university.

2. Privileged status of WRT/exchange value in OSU's community engagement vision. OSU's community engagement vision primarily relied upon WRT epistemologies at

the expense of Postmodern epistemologies. The first line of the OSU strategic community engagement vision states, “The evolving *competitive marketplace* of public education *rewards* organizations that effectively respond to *critical societal needs* with new *knowledge and learning opportunities* [emphasis added] (O.S.U. webmaster, 2008, p. 1).

OSU’s mission statement, opens with a line that privileges WRT and exchange value epistemologies. This case illustrates an interesting interaction between excellence discourses and postmodern discourses. In the first line of the previous quote, the structure of the sentence contextualizes the issue of community engagement at OSU upon epistemologies of the market. The foundation of the mission statement asserts that a *common marketplace rewards* certain behaviors. *Critical societal needs* manifested in terms of *new knowledge and learning opportunities* are the outcomes of community engagement activities assumed to produce rewards under neoliberalism (O.S.U. webmaster, 2008 p. 1). This logic presents a problem and signifies a general epistemological conflict; namely, markets do not always reward critical engagement with social and political needs of society. In light of the theoretical lens developed in Chapter 1, limited fields of cultural production primarily produce symbolic value. Essentially, social and political community engagement goals are commodified to fit within the general field of production. This epistemological shift leads community engagement administrators to support commodified conceptions of the public interest. The OSU vision attempts to articulate goals with symbolic value in the general field of production. However, cultural production in the general field only supports cultural objects that produce exchange value. As a result, objectives targeted to create symbolic value but applied to the general fields of production quickly take on the character of exchange value. In many cases, market activities result in

societal issues but leave them unaddressed because they do not fit within the motivations of the general field of production and exchange value. A quick read of this sentence highlights fundamental epistemological tensions that confuse the way this strategic vision communicates the public interest. In this situation, the epistemological commitments that define rewards in terms of market incentives could influence the ways stakeholders think about the goals and objectives of community engagement. Essentially, this thought process can support a narrow conception of community engagement focused only on exchange value. According to this logic, community engagement activities justify their existence only if they fit and are thought about within the confines of the market to produce indirect and direct forms of capitalist value. Postmodern concerns of access and recognition connected to symbolic value are diluted to fit within the epistemological logic of neoliberalism and the general field of production. This paradoxical coupling demonstrates how WRT and postmodern thought creates contradictory conceptions of the way in which community engagement supports larger commitments to the public interest. The OSU approach gives meaning to postmodern concerns only if they fit within the hegemonic ideology of capitalism.

3. *WRT/exchange value diluting postmodern/symbolic value.* Before moving forward, I will develop this paradoxical relationship and the idea of dilution in detail. First, the conceptual make-up of the first sentence in the vision statement assumes that the university will benefit from engagement with critical societal issues (O.S.U. Webmaster, 2008 p. 12) To be sure; sincere forms of community engagement that addresses postmodern concerns will benefit society. Nonetheless, the epistemological understandings of rewards and benefits of engagement activities unlikely will produce direct economic

value (O.S.U Webmaster, 2008 p. 12). The statement offers no explanation of how postmodern community engagement activities designed to address critical concerns of recognition, representation, and inclusion will create exchange value in the market. According to this ideological configuration, postmodern community engagement activities gain legitimacy only when discussed and considered in terms of the market and producing exchange value in the general field of production. This logic supports a process that dilutes postmodern community engagement to fit within the market model. Commitments to market ideologies can relegate forms of community engagement that address postmodern concerns with higher levels of symbolic value as a lower form of service or charity. Land-grant institutions that treat postmodern forms of community engagement as service or charity easily can become marginalized within the organization. The motivation of charity can be based on benevolence, kindness, or “sympathy with suffering” (Wilde, 1891/1988; Zizek, 2009). This approach to charity does not consider or recognize public institutions’ moral and legal obligations to support the public interest beyond producing capitalist value. Implementing a charity model to inform some outreach activities does not present a problem; nonetheless, the charity model can erode commitments to those forms of community engagement the university has a moral, legal, and public obligation to support.

4. Failure to Express Symbolic Value. Secondly, thinking about postmodern community engagement activities through the lens of market epistemologies creates an assumption that the outcomes of engagement activities can be quantified objectively. This epistemological tension destines postmodern community engagement projects for failure, but it defines failure within and measures it by the epistemological assumptions of WRT and neoliberalism. Discourses of excellence are thought to be more effectively quantified,

assessed, and tracked. Neoliberalism and capitalism effectively attach value to measured outcomes. Discourses of impact, on the other hand, are more difficult to measure under neoliberal rubrics. Obviously, experts have attempted to measure and quantify community engagement projects and define them as having impact. However, these attempts to measure impact are contrived and fail to capture the positive changes resulting from forms of community engagement that address postmodern concerns.

The description of Strategy Goal 1 in the OSU brochure exhibits the tension produced by conflicting commitments to WRT and postmodern thought. Listed under the overall strategy of increasing access, strategy 1.3 specifies the goal of increasing access with the following: “create an easy-to-use process to access OSU’s web-based product offerings and knowledge resources” (O. S. U. Webmaster, 2008, p. 9). The fact that this goal is listed under the access strategy demonstrates how a seemingly clear goal can be torn between two competing and contradicting epistemological commitments.

Increasing access to higher education has historically been considered in the public interest, or as having large levels of symbolic value (Readings, 1996). Access has had the following two formulations in higher education: Access (1) makes “the hoard of knowledge produced or preserved within universities available to society more broadly,” and (2) opens “...the university to participation by previously excluded or under-represented groups” (Calhoun, 2006, p. 9). Increasing access in these two ways connects with higher education’s role to support commitments to democracy, active citizenship, and the public interest (Anderson, 2007; Calhoun, 2006).

The epistemological tension in Strategy 1.3 is associated with the conception of access. The vision of inclusion represented in the missions statement is not one of

embodiment; instead, this vision suggests one of (dis) embodied inclusion limited to virtual inclusion through web-based product offerings. (O. S. U. Webmaster, 2008, p. 9). The epistemological tension at an abstract level leads to an interesting paradox in two ways. First, online-distance learning has been connected to WRT/market epistemologies. Neoliberal universities value online delivery because it commodifies knowledge in ways that easily parallel the logic of profit (Giroux, 2004). As viewed from the Bourdieu's theoretical lens online forms of community engagement are consistent with logics that support capitalist value. Efforts to support exchange value subverts understandings of access that have symbolic value.

Furthermore, neoliberal universities value online delivery because it commodifies easily transferrable knowledge and fits said knowledge neatly within the market model. OSU's plan to utilize virtual technologies to distribute knowledge more widely seems to increase access. However, consideration of the types of knowledge generated through virtual forms of delivery calls such suggested increases to question. Harry Giroux (2004) argued that "on-line learning largely functions through pedagogical models and methods of delivery that not only rely on standardized prepackaged curricula and methodological efficiency; they also reinforce the commercial bent toward training, de-skilling and de-professionalization (p. 267). Most forms of online education support standardized cultural production made to produce indirect and direct forms of exchange value. The connections between online forms of community engagement and the logics that guide the capitalist market are interesting particularly when considering the practice as a way to increase the symbolic value of access. Ultimately, symbolic values shift to exchange value when objects are forced to fit within the capitalist market.

In the case of OSU, the virtual education systems, as enacted, likely will increase access to certain types of knowledge that are valued and quantifiable according to exchange value. The type of knowledge generated from online delivery systems tends to privilege pre-packaged skill-sets that encourage vocational knowledge and applied context-specific training. These forms of knowledge are not consistent with more robust understandings of access. In this case, OSU relies on a specific understanding of access that supports neoliberal forms of capitalism. OSU's conception of access as knowledge distribution is so limited that it does not support forms of participation in the public sphere. Access conceived as distributing knowledge across society, is intended to support participation, recognition, and inclusion in public spaces of democratic action. Not all political action can occur in virtual space, where difference and disagreement is reduced and mediated by the (dis)embodied experience. From this perspective, the OSU model increases access to knowledge skill sets with capitalist value, but it unlikely will produce increases knowledge with symbolic value. A critical reading of this conception of access recognizes that OSU is working towards supporting access to job skills and consumer skills, while access to skills and forms of knowledge needed for citizenship, inclusions and recognition are marginalized.

In addition, this uneasy relationship between the capitalist value and symbolic value that supports the public interest obviates the overall goal of access as inclusion and recognition at worst, and limits or qualifies the goal at best. The virtual delivery of knowledge is fundamental and informs the epistemological paradox. The virtual and (dis)embodied nature of access. The concern for recognition and access is filtered through WRT and market epistemologies. Epistemological tensions frame issues of access as

valuable in a capitalist sense only when (1) the increased access occurs over digitized space and fits within the general field of production and support exchange value, and (2) does not really pose a significant challenge to existing power structures operating within embodied space. The symbolic value of the cultural object—in this case, community engagement as access—is diluted to such an extent that it does not challenge the unjust structures of society and is prone to be redefined in terms of capitalist value. Forms of online community engagement allow universities to talk about the symbolic value of increasing understandings of access without challenging or questioning the existing structure that privileges capitalist structures that support unjust outcomes.

When pushed to the theoretical limit, OSU's understanding of access is presented as legitimate and valuable only when it adheres to logics of neoliberalism. The implications of the epistemological tensions inherent in this case calls into question the type of access the organization truly encourages. Is this a conception of access that is concerned with entry into new markets and increased capitalist value for the university? Or, is this a conception of increased access that disperses knowledge that supports the symbolic value of democracy and inclusion of historically marginalized groups? In this example, the tension between WRT and postmodern epistemologies demonstrates how postmodern concerns for increased distribution of knowledge and recognition are given meaning only when articulated in exchange value and defined within the parameters of the general field of cultural production.

5. Section conclusion. My intention as communicated in the previous section was not to criticize OSU's community engagement strategic vision. Instead, I sought to demonstrate how the interplay between general and limited fields of production create

epistemological tensions that limit community engagement thought. The epistemological assumptions that structure these forms of thought are insidious and often hidden, but nonetheless they reproduce existing structures of power. In many cases, structures in society produce neoliberal subjects to consider community engagement in terms of potential exchange value instead of creating a space to consider a more balance arrangement of capitalist and symbolic value. That said, characterizing OSU's entire strategic vision as fraught with such epistemological tensions is inappropriate. In a variety of cases, the epistemological basis of a goal or strategic vision is isolated upon a consistent epistemological pattern. The following excerpts from OSU demonstrates an example for WRT and postmodern epistemologies, respectively.

Market epistemologies ground Strategic Goal 6 under listed as resources. This goal focuses on maintaining revenues and furthering the economic vitality of engagement capacity at OSU. The overall presentation clearly suggests the essential nature of resource procurement and activities creating and attracting new streams of revenue in order to sustain community engagement activities. OSU announces directly that market activities will support community engagement. The following is an example of how OSU plans to develop resources:

OSU will build on a core of existing funding and participants in our programs.

Private funds, fee-based programs, and long-term public partnerships will be a more significant part of the outreach and engagement financial model in the future. (O.S.U Webmaster, 2008 p. 22)

Conversely, under "Core Service Offerings," the website dedicates an entire passage solely to connecting postmodern/impact epistemologies with community engagement activities:

Build and provide leadership for statewide programs that improve and expand cultural fluency and competence – spanning age, gender, ethnic, racial, religious, geographic and cultural differences. (O.S.U Webmaster, 2008 p. 9)

The epistemological grounding of this passage clearly includes postmodern concerns for supporting symbolic value. As demonstrated by the text, commitments to postmodern concerns of symbolic value exist independently from other WRT and exchange value epistemologies.

Epistemological approaches inform understandings of symbols and concepts in various and complex ways. However, competing epistemological commitments that operate simultaneously within the university influence the thought process that informs community engagement. The next section analyzes the strategic engagement vision for the University of Maryland – College Park (UMCP) in order to demonstrate the manner in which epistemological interplays manifest in other institutions' respective mission statements.

B. University of Maryland - College Park. Located within the Washington D.C. metropolitan area, University of Maryland - College Park (UMCP) is the flagship and land-grant institution in the state of Maryland. Although the 2008 report examined in this case study covers all aspects of university development, here I analyze only the section related to community engagement. The analysis covers several sections including those titled General Overview, Partnerships, Outreach and Engagement, and Strategic Initiatives. The scope of the theoretical analysis is limited to the manner in which WRT and postmodern epistemologies inform the overall understanding of community engagement as represented in the vision statement. In comparison to OSU's strategic vision, UMCP exhibits a more

balanced epistemological approach between WRT and exchange value epistemologies and postmodern epistemologies. Like the OSU case, UMCP accepts the overall excellence discourses.

The following section outlines how the UMCP community engagement strategic vision develops its excellence and global citizen discourses, respectively. In addition, I will demonstrate that the epistemological tensions present in the UMCP strategic vision represent a more nuanced relationship compared to that of OSU. Although both market and postmodern epistemologies inform the strategic vision, UMCP's strategic vision carefully avoids direct epistemological contradictions. However, UMCP's mission statement focuses on postmodern epistemological approaches when a tension occurs.

1. *Balancing symbolic and exchange value in community engagement.* The UMCP strategic vision clearly includes WRT or market epistemologies. Accordingly, the strategic vision lists *excellence* as its first core value. The commitment to excellence is consistent within higher education and is susceptible to the same market-focused critique as is OSU. Furthermore, the UMCP strategic vision defines excellence in terms of an objective pursuit: "the university community shall strive for excellence, from recruiting brilliant faculty and students to keeping the campus beautiful with well-groomed landscapes." (UMCP Webmaster, 2010, p. 4). The acknowledgement of excellence demonstrates a commitment and general acknowledgment to WRT and market epistemologies.

The strategic vision suggests that UMCP's flagship status helps build "excellence throughout our educational resources, and outreach progress and activities, and have fostered an unrelenting drive across the campus to achieve at the highest level" (UMCP Webmaster, 2010, p. 5). The university places value in achieving excellence motivated and

calculated in exchange value. Commitments to objective and quantifiable standards of excellence demonstrate consistence with WRT and market ideologies.

The section entitled *The Surrounding Community* in the strategic vision offers yet another example of a general commitment to WRT and market epistemologies. In this section, the strategic vision acknowledges a connection between the economic success of the surrounding community and UMCP's objectively to achieve standards of excellence. Within the document, UMCP cites a variety of economic development projects as making "the College Park area the state's center of innovation bringing economic benefits to the region and the state" (UMCP Webmaster, 2010, p. 29). This thought pattern ties the economic success of the surrounding community to UMCP's ability to achieve indicators of excellence. This assumes that economic wealth is the only indicator of success. Another, conception of excellences could measure the strength of community identity. This conception of success could track the percentage of the population involved in social organizations, crime rates, and number of activities for children, etc.

UMCP's effectively organizes its commitments to market epistemologies as distinct forms of thought, in contrast to the OSU case, which often presents WRT and postmodern epistemologies simultaneously and in tension. In the OSU case, when there is an epistemological tension, market ideologies supporting exchange value were privileged and other forms of thought were understood in relation to WRT epistemologies. As described in the previous section, Postmodern impact epistemologies were often diluted because they were understood in relation to the market ideologies and epistemologies. The UMCP strategic vision separates and controls for epistemological tensions with more success than OSU.

2. Expressions of exchange value that acknowledge symbolic value. Throughout the strategic vision, UMCP describes programs, policies, and curricula designed to develop the global citizenship idea. The grounding epistemological commitment of global citizens is postmodern. Furthermore, dominant commitment to global citizenship connect objectives and outcomes with high levels of symbolic value.¹⁰ UMCP's vision of community engagement recognizes that postmodern concerns for representation, inclusion, and recognition are connected to supporting the public good and represent a legitimate university goal. UMCP develops a complex community engagement vision designed to develop global citizens and forms of international consciousness.

UMCP emphasizes developing global citizenship as a direct objective of community engagement. The strategic vision cites the development of a "Center for Global Engagement" organizing university resources to promote commitments of inclusion, access, and representation.

The UMCP mission statement suggests that community engagement commitments of the "university will produce informed global citizens skilled professionally and prepared to engaged a global community in which the important issues of our time are international ones" (UMCP Webmaster, 2010, p. 27). This excerpt highlights an assumed value of global consciousness, both in terms of symbolic and exchange value. Indeed, a professional 21st century capitalist skill set will include global understanding in all senses of the word but UMCP does not define global citizenship solely in exchange value.

¹⁰ This statement does not suggest that global citizenship is tied to symbolic value and is not prone to a slow transference to the general field of production. Instead, UMCP effectively balances concerns for exchange and symbolic value in commitments to global citizenship.

The UMCP strategic vision mediates epistemological overlap by emphasizing postmodern concerns in other cases as well. The text suggests “these [global citizens/engagement activities] will attract students who desire serious engagement with the great social, cultural and scientific issues of our time” (UMCP Webmaster, 2010, p. 28). This excerpt assumes that engagement activities will address postmodern concerns and support symbolic value by creating knowledge and understanding valued within WRT and exchange value epistemologies. UMCP’s mission statements articulates global citizenship in terms of symbolic value and carefully separates it from exchange value. Clearly articulating separate spaces for symbolic and exchange value allows UMCP more effectively to control epistemological tensions.

The global consciousness developed from these forms of community engagement attracts students and partnerships that see potential value in postmodern modes of thought. The UMCP mission statement illustrates the relationship between postmodern symbolic value epistemologies and WRT exchange value epistemologies throughout the document. For example, the strategic vision operates under the postmodern epistemological belief that commitments to postmodern modes of thought allow the university to “aggressively recruit academically talented students from abroad” (UMCP Webmaster, 2010, p. 28). The previous statement assumes that successful recruitment of foreign students will prove a mark of prestige and create new forms of exchange value. However, the epistemological precondition to this goal creates a university environment and approaches to community engagement couched in postmodern epistemologies that have high levels of symbolic value. In a way, UMCP’s configuration of this goal assumes that in order to attract top students and faculty, the institution needs to create an inclusive

environement. UMCP's administrative point is that in order to maintain excellence discourses, the university community engagement activities must rest upon postmodern epistemologies of inclusion, recognition, and access.

The overlap of various epistemologies can be interpreted in many ways. First, the UMCP strategic vision more effectively isolates the two predominant epistemologies compared to the OSU case. It also demonstrates a more nuanced relationship in regard to the epistemological overlap. UMCP's strategic vision effectively balances community engagement issues by including both exchange and symbolic value concerns. Furthermore, the UMCP approach gives meaning to the public interest using both the Postmodern symbolic value and WRT exchange value epistemologies.

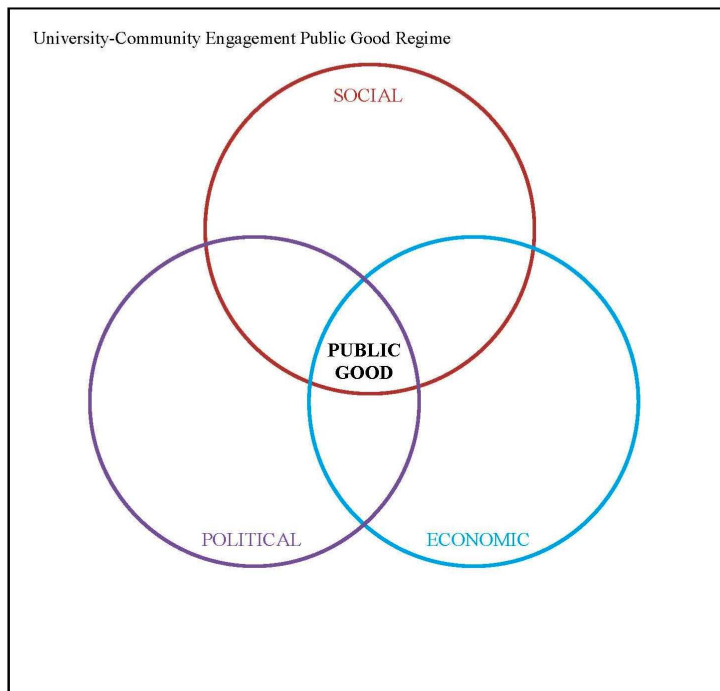
From a more critical standpoint, UMCP's postmodern concern with developing global citizenship might represent merely a form of development for global employees. Although UMCP's vision includes discourses related to global citizenship, perhaps in reality UMCP merely uses a positive conception of the idea to promote a commitment to a global employee aligned solely with WRT exchange value epistemologies. Furthermore, a secondary critique of UMCP's commitment to global citizenship can be tied to the perceived increased tuition that an influx of international students might represent. The underlying administrative logic seems to suggest that postmodern concerns are not intrinsically worthy but only valued if they track new streams of revenue. First, in the vision statement there is no clear connection between understandings of global citizenship as really representing the global employee. Secondly, more research needs to be conducted before one can determine if attracting more international students to attend UMCP is an outcome and goal of global citizenship orientated community engagement. This type of research

moves beyond the scope of this project. Although a legitimate critique, the overall analysis of the text seems to support my initial analysis.

VI. Conclusion and Implications

This chapter demonstrated ways in which overlapping epistemologies confuse administrative understandings of the relationship between community engagement and the public interest. When community engagement organizations assert that an activity supports the public good their claims are not often examined closely. As a result, broad historical understandings of the public good and/or interest have lost conceptual meaning. This theoretical exercise should lead to new directions in the community engagement literature. By considering the manner in which different epistemological beliefs color understandings of the public good, normative theoretical research can begin to attach priority to different conceptions of community engagement for the public good. The predominance of WRT exchange value epistemologies “need[s] to be analyzed in terms of wider economic, political and social forces that exacerbate tensions between those who value such institutions as democratic and those advocates of neoliberalism who see market culture as a master design for all human affairs” (Giroux, 2004, p. 277). Administrators and stakeholders need a theoretical framework for community engagement that resists the logic of neoliberalism and avoids focusing only upon exchange value operating within the capitalist market. I have developed a Public Good Regime for Community engagement. This diagram can be used to think about community engagement practice in relation to the public interest.

Figure 1:



Community engagement activities situated at the extreme edges of the respective spheres of the community engagement and the public good regime support specific sphere-related activities. However, community engagement organizations positioned closer to the center of the diagram and overlapping in multiple spheres more likely support higher degrees of the public good. The purpose of the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement is to create an epistemological tool that assists in considering the relationship between community engagement programs and the ability to support larger public interests. This case study demonstrated how conflicting epistemologies could create conflicted strategic goals for community engagement organizations. The conflicting epistemologies impacted the articulation of the community engagement visions as well as conceptions of the public good. Furthermore, the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement is a theoretical and analytical tool useful for considering the position of community engagement programs

in relation to larger public interests. The Public Good Regime for Community Engagement will help produce more effective formulations of community engagement, which not only support a general public interest or public good but also respond to logics that support the structure of neoliberalism.

In the chapters that follow, I highlight how community engagement issues and challenges can be contextualized in relation to the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement. Each chapter addresses common issues or challenges of community engagement from a different position within the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement. Chapter 4 explores the possibility of promoting a conception of the public good outside the economic sphere by illuminating the governing structures that currently limit community engagement. Chapter 5 highlights how concerns of justice can create discussions that move community engagement beyond the economic sphere. Chapter 6 is a concluding chapter that highlights under theorized areas within the normative foundations of community engagement administration.

Chapter 4 - Community Engagement, Commitments to Mutuality, and the Production of the Neoliberal Subject

I. Introduction

University-community partnerships have emerged as the predominant form of community engagement (Janke, 2009). The structural relationship of community engagement situates the way administrators and interested stakeholders think about the practice. Studies typically discuss the best practices associated with community engagement in terms of reciprocity, mutuality, and sustained commitment between partners (Benson & Harkavy, 2001; CCPH, 1999; Mintz & Hesser, 1996; Points of Light Foundation, 2001; Royer, 1999;). The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching defines *community engagement* as a “collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership reciprocity” (2007). *Mutuality* describes the type and quality of outcomes associated with a university-community partnership. In other words, the concept of mutuality is used to indicate when a university-community partnership creates outcomes and outputs that are mutually beneficial for both partners. This chapter examines community engagement mutuality or mutual benefit in the context of neoliberalism. My study looks at how conscious and unconscious social organizations produce power structures that undermine common goals of community engagement. I ultimately argue that commitments to mutuality can create a regime of governmentality in community engagement that supports logics of neoliberalism. The previously cited concepts will be described in more detail in time.

The normative assumption associated with effective community engagement asserts that reciprocally negotiated relationships between university-community partners are more likely to produce mutually beneficial outcomes and outputs for all partners involved. However, this normative account of community engagement does not recognize how unconscious and conscious structures govern and define outcomes considered mutually beneficial. In other words, no current, theoretical account identifies the structural and social implications of defining community engagement outcomes in terms of mutuality or mutual benefit. In the context of community engagement, commitments to mutuality create a social structure and governing apparatus that defines the conduct of effective university-community partnerships. In other words, unexamined commitments to mutuality can undermine larger goals of community engagement.

Usage of the term *subject* and *subjugated* in this chapter represents an extension of the work of Foucault. The subject is produced as an object of knowledge, recognized as fitting within or categorized within a social order (Foucault, 1994b; 1970/1966; 2005/1969). Incidentally, I will describe the difference between *the subject* and the *subjugated* in detail in the following paragraph. The theoretical analysis of this chapter highlights how community engagement discourses of mutuality and produce the neoliberal subject.

Power is inherent in all community engagement relationships. In Foucauldian terms, all community engagement relationships feature power and the production of the subject and subjugated (Foucault, 1982). Foucauldian understandings of power do not focus upon oppression, disempowerment, or net-loss exchanges between different actors. Instead, according to Foucault, power is everywhere and contextualizes the human experience.

Foucault's theory provides a language that allows us to think and talk about structures that produce power. Power is a social production that results from the organization of the social, political, and economic spheres. The term "subject" is a way to capture the production and distribution of power throughout society. From a Foucauldian perspective, tracking a social relationship and claiming that one group of persons has an excess of power when compared with another group of people makes little sense. Instead, the Foucauldian tradition examines the ways power produces both the subject and the subjugated. The subject is unconsciously produced as an object of knowledge in relation to social structures, while the subjugated consciously accept behaviors consistent with dominant social practices and structures. Michel Foucault (1977/1995) argued that:

we must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes,' it 'represses,' it 'censors,' it 'abstracts,' it 'masks,' it 'conceals.' In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (p. 194)

In order to move beyond theoretically inadequate accounts of power, community engagement partnerships and scholars must understand the practices and processes that produce the subject and subjugated in university-community partnerships.

University partners and community members are produced as subjects based upon the categories by which they are labeled. Persons labeled as members of the university create expectations based upon social norms and structures. Likewise, being labeled a community member in a community engagement context creates a whole other set of assumptions based upon social structures and norms. This process of labeling produces the *subject* in the context of community engagement. Second, depending on the category by which a person is labeled or perceived, a set of ascribed bounds of conduct defines proper

behavior for the various members of the partnership. When produced as an object of knowledge, social structures and norms assert various forms of pressure to perform and conduct behavior in line with larger expectations. In the context of community engagement, humans labeled as university members perform a conduct consistent with the social structures and norms of their respective professions. Alternatively, community members perform roles informed by social structures and norms. The *subjugated* is produced in community engagement by performing within the boundaries of social structures. The categories that are assigned to university representatives and community partners track the production of the subject and the subjugated. All associations, whether affiliated with the community or the university are bound and constructed within dominant social hierarchies. Once a person is identified as being ordered within a particular social structure, they begin to immediately unconsciously, and sometimes consciously, produce themselves to fit in that order. This process can be seen in community engagement when students feel obligated to defer to a professor's authority. Students unconsciously know to defer to the authority ascribed to a professor because of the structures that create the institution of higher education.

Generally, the conscious and unconscious commitments to behaving within prescribed ranges of conduct explain order that emerges through civil association. However, the same elements that support social order undermine the theoretical objective of community engagement partnerships based on equality, fairness, and mutuality. The natural order creates consensus that is based on uneven relationships between ordered and classified groups. Being labeled as a community partner indicates that you are not a university representative and vice versa. These groupings create consensus but are not

based on equality, fairness, and mutuality. The ordering is based on ideological configurations that structure institutions in society. This chapter explores in more detail how the ideological formation of neoliberalism produces university members as subjects. However, the specific focus of this chapter does not mean that community members are not operating within the same bounded structure nor should it be understood as suggesting that university members are not produced as the subjugated in other social formations. Producing successful community engagement relationships presents a challenge because of the manner in which the subject is produced. Each entity in the community partnership is “subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by conscience and self-knowledge” (Foucault, 1982 p. 212). Community members and university representatives are produced when attempting to form a partnership. The production of partnerships depends upon the expected behaviors ascribed by their determined category.

From this postmodern perspective, the parties associated with community engagement are locked into a structure that bounds and guides the ranges of behavior. Both community partners and university representatives perform along socially prescribed roles, and their attempts to work cooperatively track dominant social expectations of conduct and behavior. However, normatively, community engagement attempts to construct institutions and informal arrangements to account for structures that limit the range of conduct between university and community partners.

A fundamental challenge of community engagement, based upon equality and fair terms, involves overcoming the process that produces the subject. Effective community

engagement partnerships blur the boundaries between, expert and layperson, expert knowledge and indigenous knowledge, and university and community.

The rest of the chapter takes the following form. Part II introduces the general idea of governmentality and begins to connect the theoretical understanding to a practice of community engagement. Part III examines how structures of governmentality support neoliberalism through operations within community engagement. Part IV outlines specific examples of how forms of governmentality produce the neoliberal subject in the context of community engagement. Part V explains how commitments to mutuality in community engagement actually can support structures of governmentality that maintain neoliberalism. Part VI draws implications regarding how the manner in which identifying forms of neoliberal governmentality in community engagement can support more robust conceptions of community and the public good.

II. Governmentality and Community Engagement

When community engagement administrators and stakeholders discuss power differentials between partners, they are trying to overcome the mechanisms of subject production that prescribe ranges of conduct for each partner in the community engagement relationship. The social structures and social norms that bound the behavior of the subject operate within a web of governmentality. Forms of governmentality bound the conduct of university-community partners to fit within the dominant social order. Without acknowledging the social structures and forms of governmentality that order university-community partnerships, establishing a community engagement practice based upon equality, neutrality, and fairness remains impossible. Social structures and social

norms produce power relationships that can undermine effective community partnerships within community engagement.

Recognizing that a fundamental part of the community engagement process involves working through social structures sheds light on normative questions previously unacknowledged by the community engagement field. Acknowledging the ways in which levels of social differentiation and order operate allows the community engagement field to understand more clearly the implications of defining partnerships in terms of mutuality. Before examining how governmentality structures social order; a basic understanding of Foucault's conception of governmentality is necessary.

For Foucault, the art of government is not limited to the political institutions associated with the state. Foucault (1982) argued for a conception of government that includes:

the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed. It does not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection, but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others. (p. 221)

These forms of governmentality represent the pre-condition to forms of civil association and social order. Humans create conscious and unconscious structures that create order. Civil associations based on consensus are maintained because people recognize the order as natural and perform within the bounds of social, political, and economic expectations. Humans who do not recognize these social structures and performative requirements are punished and ostracized by others to coerce compliance. The forms of governmentality present in community engagement represent an extension of a disciplinary and governing regime, which makes other forms of civil association and general social order possible.

Overlapping elements of governmentality have an impact on what they termed “double conditioned essentialist concepts” (Miller & Rose, 1990). Double conditioned concepts produce objects of knowledge. Once identified within an order or classification, people expect a person to produce herself in a certain way. In community engagement, double conditioning can be seen as the assumptions attached to being labeled a community partner or a part of a university. Collective association is maintained by strict adherence to the code of conduct prescribed by the dominant forms of governmentality (Miller & Rose, 1990; Rose & Miller, 1992). Processes of governmentality dictate, define, and bound collective or common ways of thinking about personal and collective conduct. Although, the process of governmentality bounds behavior at a collective level it also informs individuals’ conduct. Human relationships begin to conform and fit within the bounds of existing structures and discourses of governmentality.

In the context of community engagement, universities attempt to govern themselves in ways that adhere to the best practices and accepted structures of the field. In the field of community engagement, mutual benefit and mutuality has achieved the status of guiding principle. Producing mutually beneficial community partnerships has become the gold standard in community engagement practice. Furthermore, self-governance creates internal standards and external expectations centered on concept of mutuality. Of course, mutuality can describe community engagement partnerships. However, the point of this research is to tease out the theoretical implications of mutuality in a context of power and neoliberalism.

III. Neoliberal Governmentality in Community Engagement

As the previous chapters have already alluded, neoliberalism refers to a form of capitalism that has significantly affected social and political consciousness. The logics of neoliberalism have become so dominant that they seem natural to the contemporary human condition. However, the success of the neoliberal project depends upon the governing structure that produces power. Before outlining a form of neoliberal governmentality that has emerged in community engagement, a concise understanding of neoliberalism is necessary. David Harvey (2007) defined neoliberalism as:

the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices...Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security or environmental pollution) then they must be created by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. (p. 2)

At the center of the neoliberal turn is a conception of the human condition entirely consumed by the economic sphere (Brown, 2005b; Foucault, 1994a; Pettit, 1995). An assortment of literature has tracked the ways in which commitments to neoliberalism have altered public and government institutions (Brown, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). As discussed in previous chapters, very little attention has been given to creating a theoretical and empirical explanation of how neoliberalism impacts forms of community engagement. I have described the impact of neoliberalism on community engagement in terms of shifting levels of symbolic and exchange value. Shifting levels of symbolic and exchange value provide an effective way to describe how neoliberalism impacts specific administrative logics within community engagement. The theoretical lens of symbolic and exchange value provides an effective meta-analysis of the way

neoliberalism impacts community engagement; however, it fails to capture the inherent structure that affirms and produces neoliberalism as a natural order.

Acknowledging the shifting understandings of symbolic and exchange value does not explain the internal structure of governmentality that presents neoliberalism as a natural reality. Forms of rationality and logics consistent with neoliberalism do not automatically become the dominant organizing principle of the human condition. Forms of neoliberal governmentality operate through a multitude of social structures and social performances. Community engagement can reproduce the logics of neoliberalism through conscious and unconscious commitments to mutuality. A commitment to mutuality has created a structure of governmentality that supports neoliberalism. The commitment to mutuality represents one way community engagement affirms structures of neoliberalism.

Dion Dennis (2009) argued that service-learning in the public university supports a neoliberal governmentality. Bringle and Hatcher (1995) defined service-learning as:

A course-based, credit-bearing, educational experience in which students (a) participate in a organized service activity that meets identified community needs and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciate of the discipline, and enhanced sense of civic responsibility. (112)

Dennis claims that service-learning, as practiced in his case study, was merely an instrument to justify and legitimate the new role of the neoliberal state. Furthermore, Dennis asserts that that service-learning programs support a governing logic across student populations and community stakeholders that legitimize neoliberal social, political, and economic outcomes. The governing message Dennis describes is that the neoliberal state has no role in supporting various social and political institutions. The implication of Dennis's argument is that the service-learning curriculum can support and create practices

that legitimate expanded notions of private spheres of economic responsibility. Responsibilities once considered collective are now private under the neoliberal regime. Furthermore, the logic of responsabilization supports the neoliberal assumption that providing assistance to people deemed irresponsible, in the form of service-learning, represents a private choice or act. As an outcome of these forms of service, Dennis asserts that universities unintentionally create structures of governmentality that contribute to the myth of individual responsibility, supporting the practice and guiding the logics of neoliberalism (Bousquet, 2008; Dennis, 2007; Lavin, 2008). From Dennis's perspective, the true, broadly conceived purpose of community engagement involves not promoting an ethic of service or commitment to the public good, or even maintaining historical purposes of the university; rather, the purpose of community engagement involves creating a governing structure that encourages students and stakeholders, to claim as individual responsibilities, the fulfillment of unmet social and political needs abdicated by the neoliberal state.

Overall, Dennis (2009) provided an interesting critique of one service-learning example, but failed to provide a general theoretical account of how structures of governmentality can use community engagement to support neoliberalism. Dennis argued correctly that essentialist claims fail to acknowledge how the historical context and arbitrary factors determine levels of responsibility. Nonetheless, Dennis demonstrated the manner in which service-learning can support the myth of neoliberal responsibility in a powerful way. He acknowledges the ways neoliberal governmentalities discipline economic subjects into accepting the outcomes of neoliberalism. However, Dennis' theoretical account falls short in that it fails to discuss or identify a space in community engagement

that can support a practice of freedom. Said in another way, Dennis's theoretical account negates the practice of community engagement. For Dennis, community engagement involves only discipline and producing neoliberal subjects. Although, sometimes misguided and confused by commitments to reciprocity and mutuality, the practice of community engagement nonetheless should attempt to move beyond being a pedagogical tool that maintains the current organization of dominant structures in society.

IV. Neoliberal Subject and Community Engagement

As a field, community engagement has failed to recognize how essentialist commitments to mutuality undermine larger strategic goals of the practice. Identifying points of negation and understanding how commitments to mutuality can affirm a positive account of community engagement is paramount. This section examines three in which understandings of mutuality in community engagement can produce the neoliberal subject. First, I examine how competitive grants produce neoliberal subjects. Secondly, I analyze the implications of negotiating the terms of community partnerships in relation to mutuality. Last, I argue that economic development projects do not always represent high levels of mutuality. Furthermore, in the last section, I claim that the conflation of mutual benefit with economic development programs can be understood as a mechanism that produces the neoliberal subject.

A. Competitive grants. Acceptance of and active participation in the competitive grant process contributes to the production of the neoliberal subject. Obviously, in the current financial climate, funds associated with the grant process are an essential reality for many university-community partners concerned with community engagement. Regardless of necessity, the process associated with obtaining grants produces the

neoliberal subject. The following subsection examines how forms of neoliberal assessment, outcomes of the grant process, and tacit acceptance of the funding decisions of the neoliberal state produce neoliberal subjects.

1. *The logic of neoliberal assessment.* The competitive grant process forces partnerships to articulate community engagement projects in ways that neoliberalism can define and measure. As a result, neoliberal assessment rubrics manipulate how outcomes of community engagement programs are understood. The competitive grant process coerces community partnerships to speak and think the language of neoliberalism. If community partnerships and understandings of mutuality do not demonstrate market success, conceptions of market efficiency, and an assortment of other neoliberal concepts, the community partnership will not receive grant money.

The theoretical lens of symbolic and exchange value can explain this tension. When applying for competitive grants, community engagement organizations must articulate how their proposed plan will produce some combination of symbolic and exchange value. However, because neoliberalism dominates the context of community engagement, activities that support symbolic value quickly lose meaning as they operate within the neoliberal context. The bias towards logics of neoliberalism leads to three outcomes for community engagement activities with high levels of symbolic value. First, community engagement activities focused on symbolic value shift to exchange value so they can be valued under assessment rubrics of neoliberalism. Second, the symbolic value of the community engagement activity is maintained, but it cannot compete successfully for competitive grants because forms of assessment consistent with neoliberalism fail to register symbolic value. Third, community engagement activities that cannot shift

symbolic value to exchange value are the first programs to be eliminated (Nussbaum, 2010). The language of mutuality and the incentive of the grant money limit partnerships to fit within assessment structures consistent with neoliberalism. Grant proposals that include elements consistent with exchange value achieve a privileged status. As a result, a neoliberal assessment rubric defines success and failure. Grouping and ordering community engagement organizations according to neoliberal measures slowly contribute to the co-optation of the concept of mutuality. Over time, as the logic of neoliberalism sets, understandings of mutuality within community engagement become almost entirely infused with the logics of neoliberalism and exchange value.

2. Neoliberal outcomes: winners and losers. As indicated in a variety of contexts, the outcomes of neoliberalism tend to concentrate wealth and resources into privileged spaces, organizations, and institutions (Brown, 2005; Harvey, 2005b; Pestre, 2009). In community engagement, higher education institutions and community organizations organized most closely to reflect principles and logics of neoliberalism are more likely to receive a disproportionate amount of grant money. Therefore, the constructed meaning of mutuality is oriented disproportionately toward neoliberal-leaning organizations and institutions. As a consequence, both in theory and in practice understandings of mutuality are given very specific neoliberal connotations. In other words, the successes of neoliberal institutions and organizations have contributed to specific understandings of mutuality that fit within the framework of neoliberalism.

The consequences of neoliberal rationality's influence on community engagement are compounded as a result. First, organizations favored under the neoliberal regime disproportionately construct meaning around the concept of mutuality. These

organizations receive more funds and recognition to pursue community engagement programs. Therefore, the conception of mutuality produced in these types of organizations becomes the normative and dominant understanding across the field. Second, organizations and institutions that aspire to obtain competitive grants must adhere to the dominant neoliberal understandings of mutuality. If an organization desires competitive grants, then they must submit to the parameters created by neoliberalism and community engagement organizations that historically have succeeded in obtaining grant money. As a result, organizations are left with the choice of either submitting to neoliberal standards or not being considered for the competitive grants. The decision to submit to the competitive grant process and attempt to quantify terms of mutuality using logics of neoliberalism produces the neoliberal subject.

Neoliberal organizations and institutions maintain their privilege by receiving a disproportionate amount of grant money. The efficiency claims often made by grant process supporters are inconsistent with the systematic outcomes associated with neoliberalism. One line of argument espoused by supporters of the competitive grant process asserts that the merit-based selection process identifies organizations more likely to use the grant money effectively and efficiently. However, community engagement organizations already arranged in ways consistent with neoliberalism have a competitive advantage in the grant application process. As such, efficiency claims are conflated with organizational structures consistent with neoliberalism. As a result, neoliberal assessment rubrics likely attract and reward organizations structured in ways consistent with neoliberalism as opposed to identifying organizations that will use grant funds the most efficiently. Therefore, the grant process does not necessarily evaluate the elements of

efficiency and effectiveness. Instead, the competitive grant process identifies community engagement organizations that support and heed principles of neoliberalism.

Institutions and community organizations vigorously compete for grant dollars. The competitive grant process implies that if an organization or partnership desires to be successful, it must govern its conduct by neoliberalism's established rules. Due to historical disadvantage and/or arbitrary circumstances, some organizations will never measure up to neoliberal forms of evaluation. The dominant structures in society reproduce neoliberal outcomes in two ways. First, neoliberalism favors historically advantaged institutions with pre-existing traits, and these institutions likely will receive disproportionate amounts of grant money. Second, the neoliberal structure informing the grant process cannot exist without under-achieving organizations. The persistent exclusion of under-achieving community engagement organizations naturalizes the governing logic of neoliberalism. Ordering and assessing community engagement organizations produces neoliberal understandings of efficiency, competition, and effectiveness. The competitive grant process disciplines and governs community engagement organizations to produce policies and programs consistent with logics of neoliberalism.

Common assessment rubrics co-opt commitments to mutuality, and mutuality becomes a governing concept that produces neoliberal subjects. Institutions waste resources chasing competitive grants, which they are unlikely to receive because of structural elements associated with neoliberalism. This wasteful process can undermine larger strategic goals of community engagement. Assuming the goal of building and sustaining viable community partnerships, distributing public and grant funding equitably across the field of community engagement makes more sense.

3. Tacit acceptance of the neoliberal state and public funding decisions.

Institutions and organizations with high levels of publicness are accountable to political authority through transparent political structures (Bozeman, 2007). Community partnerships and community engagement organizations that actively acquire private funds from organizations managed by private boards but with public-oriented vision tacitly accept the state's justified role in underfunding elements of higher education. When larger portions of private money fund public institutions they become less accountable to public authority and supporting the public good. The trade-offs associated with being held accountable to public and economic authorities are nuanced. Normatively, finding a balance between public, semi-public, and private funds might represent the best way to support conceptions of the public good and maintain an appropriate balance between different forms of accountability.

Finding the appropriate balance between economic and political authority is especially important considering the significance of mutuality in community engagement. If a community partnership is accountable primarily to economic authority and private funding sources, the promotion of the public good, in the context of a mutual relationship, can be limited and narrow in scope. Therefore, in situations heavily informed by economic authority, community partnerships can have high levels of mutuality but a low level of public interest. Commitments to mutuality can govern and limit the terms of a partnership in order to support very limited neoliberal interests in producing exchange value. In this way, commitments to mutuality in the community engagement process can support and legitimate outcomes of neoliberalism.

V. Implications of Mutuality Regimes

The terms of mutuality are negotiated throughout the community engagement process. This section discusses two ways the negotiation process associated with community engagement and centered on conceptions of mutuality can produce the neoliberal subject.

A. Financial obligations and service fees. Upfront financial commitments in community partnerships can produce neoliberal subjects. The upfront money frames the relationship from the start in economic terms. The initial financial obligations represent the economic loss associated with leaving the partnership prematurely. As a result, upfront money fails to effectively ensure that the high quality of the substance of a partnership. Instead, the upfront money creates a situation ensuring that the partnership will persist throughout the terms of the contract. The upfront money represents the perceived economic value of the partnership. Ensuring that partnerships are maintained for duration of the contract connects with the objective standards of assessment valued according the neoliberal evaluation process.

B. Joint grant proposals. The success of community partnerships often hinges on the ability to secure funding from competitive grants. The competitive grant process has drawbacks. Some of the drawbacks of the grant process have been previously addressed. However, a partnership's existence often depends on grant money as a required element. Working elements of mutuality into the grant writing process now represents an informal practice. Conceptions of mutuality that produce the neoliberal subject can inadvertently be written into grant proposals.

The economic and fiduciary obligations created by accepting grant money often determine commitments to mutuality, and the relationship between mutuality and the collaborative grant do not present inherent problems. In reality, grant proposals and the grant process have the potential to represent an effective forum in which to discuss the terms of a partnership. However, the logic of neoliberalism can limit discussion of mutuality in the grant process. An exaggerated focus on outcome, objective standards of assessment, and neoliberal conceptions of efficiency can alter conceptions of mutuality included in the grant process to reinforce commitments to neoliberalism. In other words, when used as a vehicle of partnership negotiation, the joint grant proposal can lead to a relationship limited to the confines of the logic of neoliberalism. As a result, definitions of mutuality included in the grant can bind partners to produce outcomes and outputs that support the potential development of direct or indirect exchange value. Articulating forms of mutuality in relation to exchange value eliminates the possibility of negotiating a partnership defined by producing symbolic value. Neoliberal assessment rubrics used in the grant process only recognizes outcomes of mutuality in terms of exchange value.

C. Mutuality and the presumptions of economic development. In the neoliberal context, partnerships explicitly focusing on economic development have a presumed legitimacy that other programs do not. This perceived legitimacy of economic development connects with the assumption that partnership represents high levels of mutual benefit between partners. Interestingly, meta-narratives concerning concepts like mutuality and mutual benefit are used to represent the presumed importance of economic development. Tracking the themes of this section, I assert that conflating mutuality and economic development contributes to the creation of a neoliberal subject. Furthermore, because the

concepts of mutuality and economic development have been coupled so successfully, partnerships risk focusing on outcomes that directly or indirectly support socio-structural outcomes that community engagement organizations often attempt to address.

The language of mutuality allows the partnership to avoid larger questions associated with the negotiated limits of the relationship. Goals focused directly or indirectly on producing exchange value are considered decisive while other relevant concerns originating in the limited field of cultural production are not considered. This theoretical miscue can create a partnership that, at its start does not include all relevant concerns and interested stakeholders. In applied terms, this limited concept of mutuality can occur when a group of interested business owners represent the community and partner with a university to improve a blighted downtown and commercial area. In this specific context, in the name of economic development and under the pretense of mutuality, social and political elements that contribute to the blighted area can be neglected. Essentially, important elements that inform community issues are left out because forms of community engagement that produce symbolic value are not included under neoliberal rubrics. In this case, the concept of mutuality is limited to business leaders and the university; nevertheless, in no way do the interests of business owners represent the community at-large. This example demonstrates how commitments to a limited conception of mutuality can provide a community engagement practice that produces neoliberal subjects.

VI. Conclusion

The words that administrators and stakeholders use to describe community engagement are significant. In practice, not using the language of mutuality can signal to others a general incompetency associated with the current practices of the field. The same

process that normalizes the significance of mutuality has led it to become void of substantive meaning in a variety of community engagement contexts. The unconscious dilution of the concept of mutuality has attached forms of neoliberal governmentality to the symbolic meaning of the word. Michel Foucault (1970) accurately captured the relationship between power and language:

Having become a dense and consistent historical reality, language forms the locus of tradition, of the unspoken habits of thought, of what lies hidden in a people's mind; it accumulates an ineluctable memory which does not even know itself as memory. Expressing their thoughts in words which they are not the masters, enclosing them in verbal forms whose historical dimensions they are unaware of, men believe that their speech is their servant and do not realize that they are submitting themselves to its demands. (297)

In community engagement, practitioners and stakeholders use mutuality language as if the concept has extreme importance and represents a transcendent form of community engagement. Nevertheless, with every community engagement success story, a case can be cited in which the commitment to mutuality was conceptually empty and used as an unexamined vehicle for forms of neoliberal governmentality.

The first portion of this chapter outlined the theoretical aspects of governmentality, neoliberalism, and how the two concepts inform understandings of the production of neoliberal subjects. The chapter concludes by highlighting three common practices of community engagement that operate under the pretense of mutuality but actually produce the neoliberal subject. The rejections of the self and the subsequent substitution of the neoliberal subject do not necessitate significant coercion. The commitments to mutuality

can produce the neoliberal subject—at times directly, and at other times, indirectly. Community engagement administrators and stakeholders should acknowledge the power of language and ensure that concepts used to guide community engagement are theoretically and substantively robust. Without proper considerations, these fundamental concepts can be co-opted and create a life of their own. Community engagement administrative and community partnership should avoid structures that co-opt foundational concepts of the practice. Recognizing forms of governmentality represents the space of resistance, the affirmation of community engagement, and the pathway to improve the practice of community engagement for the public good.

Chapter 5 – Postmodern Administrative Logics for Community Engagement

I. Introduction

In the United States, the study of community-university partnerships and forms of community engagement has proliferated during the past 10 to 15 years. The focus of the research on community engagement can be divided into three distinct groups. The first group sought to define how the community engagement practice related to teaching, research, and service (Boyer, 1996). The second major group within the community engagement literature focused on the mechanics and processes associated with institutionalizing community engagement practice within higher education (Sandmann, Thornton, & Jaeger, 2009). A third direction in the community engagement literature involves developing the normative foundations and theoretical implications of community engagement practice in relation to larger social, political, and economic concerns.

Neoliberalism impacts not only how we think of the state as a structural institution, but the phenomenon also alters many of the fundamental premises that support public institutions, including higher education and community engagement. In this chapter I advance a theoretical discussion that pushes the community engagement scholarship in a new direction. I explore the relationship between neoliberal administrative logics and community engagement. More specifically, I develop a theoretical account of how neoliberalism influences the administrative decision-making process of community engagement. By accounting for structures of neoliberalism or dominant administrative logics in community engagement, I can provide an alternative administrative discourse that respond to the limitations of neoliberalism and supports a more robust conception of the public good.

In order to achieve the previously discussed objectives, the chapter takes the following form. Part II contextualizes the problem of finding the proper intensity for social justice-oriented community engagement by reviewing the contemporary literature on sufficientarian approaches to justice and the difference between metaphysical essentialism and internal essentialism. Furthermore, I outline the potential to reconcile tensions between internal essentialism and postmodernism in order to frame the challenge associated with developing community engagement that promotes accurate conceptions of justice. Next, I describe the meaning and significance of intensity problems in community engagement in the section. Part III outlines the theoretical limitations of neoliberal administrative logics. Furthermore, I demonstrate the failure of neoliberal logics to account for the intensity problem in community engagement by using a theoretical thought experiment. The theoretical thought experiment describes two potential community engagement projects and suggests how a neoliberal administrative logic would give priority to a case that does not adequately resolve social justice-oriented intensity problems. The subsequent administrative logic that informs the decision in the theoretical administrative epigraph highlights the ways in which neoliberal administrative logics fail to resolve intensity problems in community engagement. In Part IV, I argue that an administrative logic combining elements of Postmodernism and human capabilities can more effectively resolve intensity problems and support a conception of community engagement for the public good originating outside the economic sphere. Section IV A identifies the particular strengths of a postmodern approach to community engagement. Section IV B demonstrates why postmodern approaches to community engagement can effectively resolve intensity problems. Part V concludes the chapter by demonstrating, that

postmodern administrative logics more effectively resolve intensity problems in social-justice related community engagement. Postmodern administrative logics more effectively resolve intensity problems in social-justice forms of community engagement than neoliberal administrative logics, and provide a more viable basis to support the public good. By outlining an administrative logic that incorporates elements of human capabilities defined by internal essentialism, a new understanding of community engagement can be recognized outside neoliberal paradigms. Part V B. outlines two strengths of the postmodern approach. The strengths of the postmodern approaches are couched in a critique of neoliberal administrative logics. I premise my argument by outlining two shortcomings of neoliberal administrative logics. Furthermore, I explain how neoliberal administrative approaches fail to recognize the inviolability of all persons and support an odd epistemological coupling with forms of utilitarian cost-benefit analysis. After acknowledging these two weaknesses of the neoliberal approach, first I demonstrate that postmodern administrative logics more effectively respect the inviolability of all persons. I also argue that postmodern administrative logics create objects of knowledge unrecognizable under neoliberal approaches, which avoid the pitfalls of neoliberal cost-benefit/utilitarian analysis.

II. Negotiating Tensions between Essentialism and Postmodernism

Discourses of social justice are often tied to the practice of community engagement (Mitchell, 2008; Cipolle, 2010). A fundamental challenge for the field involves recognizing how administrative logics produce community engagement outcomes as either diluting commitments to justice or creating undeserved entitlements (Butin, 2007). Past research has described the process of community engagement activities creating underserved

entitlements as radicalizing community engagement (Butin, 2007; 2010). In the rest of this chapter, I refer to the problem of social justice-oriented forms of community engagement, finding the appropriate balance between radicalization and dilution, as the intensity problem in social justice-oriented community engagement. Supporting robust conceptions of the public good requires that community engagement practitioners rely on administrative logics balanced between these two extremes. If community engagement is tied to some conception of justice, then administrative practice must exist in relation to larger theoretical and philosophical discussions. Before examining the intensity problem in detail, a basic understanding of the contemporary philosophical literature on justice is necessary.

John Rawls (1971/1999) created a structural and procedural account of justice that revolutionized philosophical discussions of justice. Rawls's initial philosophical account of justice is so influential that many contemporary scholars work within Rawls' philosophical method. I will later argue that one philosophical branch of Rawls's work has the potential to address intensity concerns in community engagement, a branch that is commonly referred to as the *sufficientarian* approach to justice (Nussbaum, 1992; Sen, 1993). Accordingly, once the threshold of justice is met in practice, requirements of justice are fulfilled. In very specific terms, sufficientarian baselines of justice require that essential human capabilities and functioning be maintained.¹¹

Defining the standard of justice that not only protects the inviolability of persons but also supports human capabilities represents the point at which sufficientarian claims

¹¹ Please note that I am not suggesting that the sufficientarian and capabilities approaches are consistent philosophical understanding of justice. The point of this research is to introduce two common philosophical understandings of justice to the community engagement field.

often are lost in the back and forth of political contestation. From the sufficientarian perspective, defining human capabilities and creating guarantees that protect the inviolability of all persons is the point where the administrative objectives of community engagement either create a radical political project or dilute commitments to justice. Excessively rigorous standards of human capabilities likely create undeserved entitlements and produce requirements exceeding baseline obligations of justice or create an imbalanced relationship between symbolic and exchange value. Using theoretical language developed in Chapter 2, excessive standards of justice create high levels of symbolic value within the limited field of cultural production, but have significant negative implications for exchange value in the general field of production. Conversely, if the standard is not rigorous enough, administrative logics that drive community engagement will support outcomes with higher levels of exchange value but low levels of symbolic value. Community engagement activities informed by weak standards of justice can create many opportunities to produce high levels of exchange value within the general field of production but also can lead to an unjust level of symbolic value in limited fields.

The sufficientarian model of justice assumes that essentialist claims organize and define the requirements of justice. From an essentialist epistemological standpoint, assumptions about universal elements of the human condition develop structures that define justice. However, from a postmodern epistemological perspective, essentialist claims of justice create a variety of problems in theory and in practice especially considering specific intensity problems associated with community engagement.

Before discussing the tension created between essentialist claims of justice and postmodernism, identification of the two major forms of essentialism is necessary.

Metaphysical and internal essentialism are two epistemological forms relied upon when making structural claims of justice. Furthermore, metaphysical essentialism assumes that an object reality not only exists as an object in one's mind and thought but also exists materially. Epistemological approaches committed to metaphysical essentialism assume that forms of reason, observation, and interpretation can identify Universalist principles that determine the human experience. Although, the sciences commonly utilize an epistemological basis that informs metaphysical essentialism, supporting this conception of human understanding in a more general way is difficult. Empirical scientific measurement assumes that a consistent reality exists. Without this assumption, scientific measures might have high levels of reliability but researchers would not be able to make claims about the validity of a measurement. Therefore, when social scientists make claims about a measurement's reliability and validity they tend to be committed to Metaphysical Essentialism.

WRT, scientific rationalism, and many forms of rationalism consistent with neoliberalism have some commitments or ties to metaphysical essentialism. Postmodern thought has rejected the salience of metaphysical essentialism in the social and political realm (Foucault, 1971/1972; Derrida, 1976/1997). Reality, operating within the social and political spheres, represents predominant social structures as defined by powerful group interests and bounded by the limitations of human cognition (Foucault, 1971/1972). On the other hand, internal essentialism responds more effectively to postmodern critiques. Internal Essentialism assumes that some biological and historical human needs approach universal elements of the human condition. The idea supporting internal essentialism asserts that the "the deepest examinations of human history ... reveals a more or less

determinate account of the human being, on that divides its essential from its accidental properties” (Nussbaum, 1992 p. 207). Furthermore, internal essentialism exhibits a commitment to the epistemological belief that a close survey of historical and biological realities demonstrates characteristics universal to the human experience. Thus, the existence of an independent reality is not necessary in order to define appropriate standards of human capability and functioning under internal essentialism. The challenge, however, for proponents of internal essentialism involves separating accidental properties of the human condition from required properties (Nussbaum, 1992). For example, complex government structures, advanced technology, and a post-industrial economy likely are accidental properties nonessential to the human condition. However, access to food, water, and shelter fulfills basic biological and material needs. Therefore, in this very limited example, internally essentialist claims of justice support access to clean water, but not to a post-industrial economy. The previous example proves rather simple, but separating accidental properties from internally essential properties becomes more difficult as the circumstances become more nuanced. Unlike metaphysical essentialism, internal essentialism can respond to postmodern critiques (Nussbaum, 1992).

Although, no uniform account describes the complexity of postmodern thought, the category is suspicious of essentialist claims. As a conceptual grouping, postmodernism generally rejects forms of essentialism on three grounds. First, postmodernists argue essentialist and universal claims never can truly grasp reality. Either the interpreted reality does not exist, or due to the limits of human cognition, the perceived reality is not represented correctly. Second, because representing and interpreting reality is not possible, essentialist claims really represent the subjective beliefs of dominant groups in a

specific culture and time. Third, but related to the second point, essentialist claims fail to account for historical and cultural differences. Specific characteristics of the human condition are promoted by essentialist claims. (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Foucault, 1971/1972; Nussbaum, 1992).

Understandings of Postmodernism, as I argue in the next section, need not prove incompatible with all forms of essentialism. An understanding of internal essentialism, combined with a general postmodern approach to justice that serves as an effective basis for community engagement logics. The standard of justice produced from this combination can refer to forms of community engagement positioned outside of the economic sphere and resolve initial problems of intensity in social justice-oriented forms of community engagement.

III. Reconciling Internal Essentialism with Postmodernism

Postmodern forms of justice avoid being produced by structures of power. For more information on the production of the subject and the subjugated, see Chapter 4. From an epistemological perspective, postmodernism deconstructs the ways dominant ideologies produce social, political, and economic structures that define the bounds of knowledge and conduct.

A. Relocating administrative thought associated with community engagement.

Postmodern administrative logics guided by standards of human capability have the potential to create new approaches to community engagement that originate outside the ideological structure of neoliberalism. In community engagement practice, often discussions exist regarding what type of partnerships and projects should constitute an organizations' focus. Some legitimate community engagement activities and partnerships

are never developed because they are not favored under dominant administrative logics and structures (e.g. no profit motive or exchange value, partnership is with a marginalized group that might be difficult to maintain, activity or research not understood as directly supporting economic development etc.). Administrative decision making couched in postmodern concerns for human capabilities and functioning can account more effectively for community engagement projects that are not privileged because of a neoliberal slant.

In many administrative structures, stakeholders lack the language to articulate concerns for human capabilities, particularly concerning forms of social justice-oriented community engagement facing intensity challenges. As objects of knowledge, human capabilities and care for the self do not resonate within neoliberal administrative logics. Neoliberal administrative logics cannot balance supporting exchange and symbolic value; as a result, these logics often fail to achieve proper levels of the requirements of justice. In order to demonstrate the inability of neoliberal logics to consider human capabilities as an object of knowledge and resolve intensity problems, in this section I will develop a theoretical thought experiment, designed to demonstrate the themes running throughout neoliberal and postmodern administrative logics.

B. Theoretical thought experiment. Urban areas within the United States of America face a series of social, political, and economic issues. However, most experts consider economic issues the primary concern for the city. Once a beacon of finance and industry, the urban center of this city, formerly stood as a symbol of modern economic and social success. However, with shifts in trans-national capital, the same industry that once supported the area was no longer viable. As a result, the life plans of the people living in the area were impacted. The wealthiest segments of the community relocated and maintained

meaningful lives elsewhere. Lower and middle class groups with limited mobility were forced to remain in the area. In many cases, these population groups relied upon the spending habits of the wealthiest to support their livelihoods. The least advantaged class segments of the population no longer could sustain meaningful lives. The community members of this urban area faced dire times.

In the midst of this confusion, a series of relationships developed between leaders of the community and the leaders from the local university. The university and community historically had not worked with each other, but both parties saw the current crisis as a way to develop a sustained relationship based on reciprocity and mutuality. After one formal meeting, the community and university collectively identified two immediate issues a community-university partnership could address effectively. The first issue focused on the growing number of people without homes in the area. The second issue connected to revitalizing the downtown economic center. In this theoretical thought experiment, the combined resources of the community and the university would allow leaders to address only one issue at a time. Such a qualification was not unrealistic, since community engagement administrators and community partners already prioritized the development and maintenance of community engagement activities on a variety of factors. The point of having the theoretical thought experiment choose one issue over another highlights the themes and administrative logics used to prioritize community engagement activities. As a result, the community-university partnership needed to produce a shared administrative logic in order to determine which project would be addressed first. A brief description of the two community issues follows.

Issue 1. A large segment of the community is homeless due to chronic unemployment. Budget cuts and a decreased tax base have forced the local government to cut a variety of public services focused on poverty reduction and homelessness issues. The homeless population lacks basic life essentials. While most of the people in the homeless population have the capabilities to develop job skills, they lack the food, clothes, and shelter necessary to secure steady employment. If the Homelessness community engagement project is chosen, a series of service-learning courses in combination with community-based research focused on economic revitalization, education/job training, and poverty reduction programs will be employed. The partnership plans to use the results of the research and service-learning courses to develop a transition house, in which people without access to necessary amounts of food, clothes, and adequate shelter can live while developing job skills related to the recovery economy. If the community-university partnership designates resources to this issue, the project would create no additional economic revenue or direct exchange value. All exchange value produced from this project would be indirect, but the project would produce high levels of symbolic value.

Issue 2. The economic downturn has left the city's business center dilapidated. Community and university partners emphasize downtown business revitalization as key to community redevelopment. Furthermore, the community-university partners assert that downtown revitalization is important for business and claim that the increased tax revenue will support social service programs.

The university has identified two internal resources they can leverage in order to improve the downtown business environment. A faculty member from the Department of Geography has completed extensive research on urban re-development. This professor is

willing to incorporate research projects related to community-articulated needs in one of her senior seminars. As part of this initiative, students would visit the business area and create a redevelopment plan based on the information they gained from the course. After completing their research, students present their work to a panel of local politicians, government officials, and business leaders. The best plan potentially could be chosen and implemented by the city council and local chamber of commerce.

In addition to the senior seminar presentations, a community engagement/outreach office at the university supports commercialization of undeveloped university patents. With this initiative, graduate student assistants and research faculty would work in collaboration with local industry and local government in order to connect the urban redevelopment plan to support emerging industries tied to undeveloped university patents. State funds are allocated specifically from the budget to this branch of the university in order to conduct economic development, community outreach and community engagement activities. However, policies of the university organization require that the engagement and outreach components of the university collect a fee for their services. The fees are designed to cover expenses associated with the project and symbolize the communities' consent to conform to the terms of the university economic development organization. The outreach/engagement organization uses the fee structure to demonstrate a level of efficiency to state budget boards. In this particular context, the local chamber of commerce has offered to cover the costs associated with the university fee schedule. University policy requires that fees and any subsequent profit from a project only be used to replenish the budget within the economic development organization. Collecting the fees and then utilizing monies for projects outside the economic development

organization's operating mission deviates from University policy. While this project likely will produce high levels of direct and indirect exchange value, it will produce only limited levels of symbolic value.

Obviously, both issues facing the university-community partnership are pressing. However, under the hypothetical administrative and budgetary constraints, the university-community partnership can only address one issue at a time. This hypothetical scenario highlights a tension generally emblematic of community engagement activities. Current neoliberal administrative logics are ill-equipped to identify and evaluate community engagement activities that do not fit into the economic sphere. As it currently stands, administrators lack appropriate administrative language and forms of analysis necessary consistently to choose community engagement projects that successfully resolve intensity problems associated with social justice-oriented community engagement. Administrative logics couched in neoliberalism fail to resolve intensity problems. Logics of neoliberalism do not account or capture all relevant considerations of justice. Structural bias for economic issues in community engagement demonstrates the potential of postmodern administrative logics to improve the ability of community engagement administration to consider more relevant considerations of justice. Postmodern logics register objects of knowledge in administrative calculations that neoliberal logics would not recognize. Before discussing the potential of postmodern administrative logics, I will outline the limitations of community engagement activities supported by neoliberal logics.

IV. Neoliberal Administrative Logics and Resolving Intensity Problems

Neoliberalism finds its theoretical basis from the social-political project of liberalism. As a theoretical project, liberalism attempts to reconcile social, political, and

economic spheres in the interests of promoting personal freedom (Shklar, 1989).

Neoliberalism offers a reformulation of the liberal project. Furthermore, it amputates the economic sphere from the social and political spheres (Brown, 2005b; Harvey 2005). As a result, the neoliberal project understands all elements of the human condition in terms of the economic sphere.

In community engagement, neoliberal administrative logics reduce decision making to a form of economic rationality. The neoliberal framework favors community engagement projects deemed to support increased levels of exchange value. Legitimate community engagement activities that support higher levels of symbolic value do not register within neoliberal logics. A focus of community engagement projects that originate within the economic sphere severely limits larger public interests.

Community engagement often is couched in supporting the public good or promoted as addressing issues of social-justice. However, neoliberal community engagement logics are extremely susceptible to fall back on a form of economic rationality that focuses on producing indirect and direct exchange value. Without a conscious vigilance, neoliberal administrative logics can devolve quickly and fail to resolve the intensity problems in social justice-oriented community engagement.

Under neoliberal cost-benefit analysis, Issue 2 is more likely to produce large levels of direct and indirect exchange value compared to Issue 1. This administrative calculation likely would support choosing Issue 2. Administrators committed to neoliberal calculations suggest that the small financial contribution from the community in Issue 2 represents a strong enticement for administrators to build a community engagement relationship. On one level, the payment of fees from a community might represent an act of good faith to the

engagement process. Some community engagement administrators might identify this act as increasing the possibility of maintaining a long-term, sustained, and committed engagement relationship based on reciprocity and mutuality.

Nonetheless, this perspective fails to recognize that the act of payment has enhanced importance according to dominant neoliberal structures. In terms of positive social and political impact, the symbolic value generated from Issue 1 could prove much greater than the small level of exchange value generated from the fee and potential to increase other levels of exchange value related to the actual community engagement project. However, neoliberal logics lack a mechanism to make these subtle distinctions. Under neoliberalism, the collection of fees and their relation to exchange value attaches a heavy weight in determining community engagement activities. Furthermore, the neoliberal logic that supports choosing Issue 1 fails to resolve the intensity problem in community engagement. The potential to develop a net-gain of exchange value by developing a community engagement activity around Issue 2 dilutes claims to justice. Obviously, respecting the human dignity of the persons in Issue 1 creates large levels of symbolic value. However, as discussed from a variety of different perspectives, increasing levels of symbolic value does not register with logics of neoliberalism. Due to this deficiency in neoliberal administrative approaches, intensity problems related to social-justice orientated community engagement remain unresolved. In this case, neoliberal administrative logics dilute forms of community engagement from meeting basic conception of the requirements of justice. Before proposing a more effective administrative logic, I will describe three specific shortcomings of the neoliberal administrative approach

that contribute to the approach's inability to resolve reliably the intensity problems in community engagement.

First, neoliberal administrative logics that are used to support selecting Issue 2 over Issue 1 fail to protect the inviolability of all moral persons. Human dignity is not supported under the current social, political, and economic state of Issue #1. Not only are the people involved unable to support their basic biological and material needs, but also their ability to maintain a minimum level of functioning consistent with pursuing a meaningful life is severely hampered. Utilitarian and neoliberal cost-benefit analysis fails to consider or protect the inviolability of persons in Issue 1.

Secondly, neoliberal administrative logics cannot guarantee that production of an economic greater good produced from choosing Issue 2 over Issue 1 will benefit the least advantaged. In the specifics of this narration, if the administrators and community partners decided to pursue Issue 2, they cannot ensure that the economic good created would support the human capabilities of the least advantaged persons. A specific class interest might benefit by developing a community engagement partnership around Issue 2. Although Issue 2 supports an improvement in the greater economic good, the life chances of people without homes do not change. As a result, this situation does not respect the inviolability of persons, nor are homeless persons ever guaranteed that they will achieve basic levels of human functioning. The neoliberal calculation focused on producing exchange value could be used to justify continuously foregoing projects designed to support the human capabilities of the least advantaged persons. Claims of producing a economic greater good will act as a trump card against future inviolability claims tied to symbolic value.

Third, neoliberal logics only can evaluate community engagement activities using considerations that recognize indirect and direct exchange value. An administrative decision making process that understands all community issues as originating directly from the general field of cultural production is limited in two ways. First, it is paramount to understand the theoretical origins of neoliberals before developing the weakness of community engagement activities that originate solely from the economic sphere.

Neoliberalism has become so normalized in the collective psyche that conceptions of the public good have been reduced to support indirect and direct exchange value originating from the general field of cultural production. Community engagement organizations charged with supporting conceptions of the public good naturally falls into an analytical trap. Neoliberal administrative logics express objectives in terms of the economic sphere, community engagement organizations lack the administrative language to support conceptions of the public good that originate outside the economic sphere or have meaningful levels of symbolic value. As previously stated, no administrative logic or language in neoliberalism that can account for symbolic value.

V. Administrative Logics and Postmodern Approaches to Justice

Postmodern administrative logics create administrative approaches that support an appropriate rationale for choosing Issue 1. Postmodern administrative logics can assess considerations that do not registrar under neoliberal logics.

A. Postmodernism, human capabilities, and community engagement.

Compared to neoliberal administrative logics, postmodern approaches are more effective than administrative logics on two grounds. First, administrative logics that focus on promoting human capabilities can include social, political, and economic considerations. As

previously discussed, administrative logics guided by neoliberalism fail to consider all relevant factors that contextualize most community engagement projects and partnerships. Postmodern administrative logics can support administrative decisions that include calculations of symbolic value. Administrative logics focused on human capabilities recognize that human functioning connects to a complex interplay between social, political, and economic factors. Administrative logics that only consider ways a community engagement activity will create direct or indirect forms of exchange value fail to consider how elements of human capabilities move beyond the economic sphere. Therefore, postmodern approaches force administrators to think of the ways symbolic value can be created in the social and political spheres that translate to supporting human capabilities.

Supporting human capabilities as an objective community engagement goal will support administrative logics that can identify the core social, political, and economic elements informing community based problems. Human capability-centered administrative logics have the potential to free community engagement from the grips of neoliberalism.

Second, postmodern administrative logics that account for human capability effectively create new objects of knowledge not attainable under neoliberal administrative logics. Community engagement activities consistent with neoliberalism are favored compared to activities that have high levels of symbolic value. As an epistemology, neoliberalism reduces all forms of thought to the general field of production and only considers economic considerations of exchange value. Postmodern approaches create objects of knowledge that more accurately support and recognize human capabilities. Furthermore, postmodern approaches define levels of human capabilities by balancing

levels of exchange values and symbolic value. Neoliberal administrative logics cannot establish an appropriate balance between exchange and symbolic value.

B. Postmodernism, human capabilities, and resolving the intensity problem in social justice-oriented community engagement.

Administrative logics based on human capabilities more effectively guide community engagement activities that resolve the intensity problem described earlier in the chapter as compared to neoliberal logics on two grounds. First, postmodern administrative logics concerned with promoting human capabilities support a more holistic approach to community engagement than do neoliberal administrative logics. Administrative logics designated to support human capabilities must consider how complex structures interact within the social, political, and economic spheres. Furthermore, neoliberal administrative logics often dilute community engagement activities designed to support justice because of the privileged status of exchange value. A concern for supporting human capabilities creates administrative logics that encompass broader social, political, and economic considerations. Therefore, when community engagement administrators consider projects from a postmodern perspective defined by human capabilities, the administrators likely will consider more of the relevant factors that support a balance between exchange and symbolic value compared to neoliberal logics. Furthermore, the human capabilities approach does not create such a rigorous standard that community engagement administrators likely will activities that go beyond the requirements of justice. Working around material and biological necessities of food, water, clothes, and shelter can provide a proper framework for justice-oriented community engagement to avoid exceeding the basic requirements of justice.

Second, neoliberal administrative logics communicate and understand the public interest as an object of knowledge within the economic sphere and defended by direct and indirect exchange value. As a result, community engagement practices that adhere to neoliberal logics communicate the public good in terms of supporting economic objectives. Solely economic understandings of the public good are limited and unlikely to be an adequate basis for considering the larger public interest. Postmodern administrative logics, on the other hand, more likely support robust notions of the public good that balance concerns for symbolic and exchange value. Supporting human capabilities and functioning is a broad administrative standard, but as such, the approach can include social, political, and economic considerations. Postmodern administrative logics likely capture intangible elements in the public interest but not necessarily identified as objects of knowledge under neoliberal administrative logics.

VI. Conclusion

Neoliberal logics do not inform only general administrative practices in higher education; instead, they also have a direct impact on how administrators and community stakeholders think about community engagement. As this chapter suggests, neoliberal administrative logics privilege certain forms of community engagement. Neoliberal administrative logics are biased towards projects that support the production of direct and indirect exchange value. The challenge involves reconsidering the neoliberal project as it relates to community engagement in a way that allows for production of new objects of knowledge, which can account for a more robust understanding of the public interest and effectively resolve intensity problems related to social justice-oriented community engagement.

This chapter developed neoliberal administrative logics, demonstrated how neoliberal administrative logics privilege certain community engagement activities, and highlighted the limitations of the neoliberal approach. In response to neoliberal logics, I demonstrated that postmodern administrative logics, guided by human capabilities, could create an appropriate challenge to neoliberal administrative approaches. Postmodern administrative logics can offer a more viable epistemological approach to community engagement activities. Postmodern approaches to community engagement more likely recognize and consider relevant objects of knowledge originating within the political, social, and economic spheres. The postmodern approach not only provides a satisfying alternative to neoliberal logics, but it also creates a dynamic community engagement practice that can support the public interest and resolve intensity problems associated with social justice-oriented community engagement.

Chapter 6 – Concluding Epilogue and Future Theoretical Directions for Community Engagement Theory

I. Concluding Epilogue

In this dissertation, I explored the ways commitments and governing logics of neoliberalism intersect with the practice of community engagement. When community engagement is promoted as supporting commitments to the public good, in the context of neoliberalism, conceptions of the ideal can be inappropriately commodified by commitments to the market. In these pages I set forth a normative theoretical framework in order to understand better the manner in which community engagement relates to larger conceptions of the public good, including social, economic, and political considerations.

In Chapter 1, I highlighted the general theoretical limitations of neoliberal theory and practice. Also, I presented the theoretical lens of exchange and symbolic value that served as the theoretical basis of the dissertation. Chapter 2 connected the general limitations of neoliberal theory to the practice of community engagement. I highlighted how neoliberalism fails to provide an adequate response to a variety of normative critiques. Using the theoretical framework of exchange and symbolic value in Chapter 3, I outlined how commitments to neoliberalism create odd epistemological tensions. The case study demonstrated processes associated with epistemological conflict present in the community engagement strategic visions of Oregon State University and The University of Maryland-College Park. Also, in Chapter 3, I presented the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement.

Using the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement as a new foundation, the final two chapters of the dissertation explored the possibility of creating a normative conception of community engagement for the public good that does not originate from the economic perspective of neoliberalism. In Chapter 4, I illuminated the structures of governmentality that currently produce the practice of community engagement within the economic context of neoliberalism. Highlighting the structures of negation in community engagement creates the possibility of developing a theory that affirms the practice. Said in another way, before a normative account of community engagement can affirm the practice, the existing governing structures that negate the theoretical possibility of community engagement for the public good needs to be identified and understood. Chapter 5 contextualizes a common challenge in social justice-oriented community engagement. In many situations, social justice-oriented community engagement must find a balance between creating a radical political project and becoming diluted and undermining commitments to justice. In Chapter 5, I referred to this challenge as the intensity problem in social-justice orientated community engagement. In relation to the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement, I developed an alternative postmodern administrative logic that can more effectively respond to intensity problems than can neoliberal administrative logics.

Throughout this dissertation I pushed the current normative foundations of community engagement practice in a new direction. However, by no means does this dissertation represent a comprehensive normative account of community engagement as a practice. The community engagement literature still presents a variety of normative questions that need to be addressed. The final section of this chapter highlights new

directions in the normative foundations of community engagement practices in the social, political, and economic spheres.

II. Community Engagement and the Political Sphere

The theoretical approaches developed by Seyla Benhabib (1996) and Amy Guttmann and Dennis Thompson (2004) would understand the practice of community engagement as supporting “practical discourses,” values, and practices consistent with deliberative democracy. From the perspective of the political sphere, a series of normative questions emerge at the point at which community engagement intersects with conceptions of democracy. I highlight only one general theme of questions; however, the nature of the question should demonstrate that the normative and theoretical elements of community engagement are highly under-developed. Accepting the premise that processes of community engagement can be understood as supporting conceptions of democracy, what is the proper scope of community engagement as it relates to political action? Said in another way, at what point does community engagement processes, that indirectly support values, skills, and commitments to deliberative democracy inappropriately transfer into the realm of direct political action in public space?

Defining the line between indirect development of democratic skills and direct political action is of significant normative importance for the community engagement field. A hypothetical example better illustrates the inherent tensions that can emerge in forms of community engagement operating within the political sphere. Service-learning courses organized around social cooperation and social movements pose unique problems. Obviously, exposure and an applied experience related to a social and/or political movement would enhance theoretical understandings of the course material. However, the

current community engagement literature fails to develop a normative theoretical account of the proper bounds between forms of community engagement and political action. Would it be within the acceptable bounds of community engagement practice to support a student's decision to actively participate in direct political action and earn university credit related to a service-learning course? Is the normative response to this question dependent on the type of political action involved? Would forms of political action that are connected to the theories of course and enhance the service-learning component be considered legitimate? Who is to determine if a form of political action will enhance the learning objectives of a service-learning course? The student? The instructor? The service-learning coordinator? As it stands now, the community engagement field has failed to develop a normative theory addressing these types of questions. Meaningful community engagement theory would develop the normative boundary of the practice as it relates to indirect and direct forms of political action. Referring back to the Public Good Regime for Community Engagement diagram, the proper scope of political action related to community engagement would be situated toward the center of the public good regime. The central location of the activity in relation to other social and economic issues likely would moderate forms of political action.

III. Community Engagement and the Economic Sphere

As I have discussed in detail and from a variety of perspectives, economic commitments to neoliberalism have overly defined community engagement. Nonetheless, this statement does not suggest that the practice of community engagement has no place in the economic sphere. From a normative perspective, the degree to which community engagement organizations interfere with economic- and market-oriented activities must be

clearly outlined by the community engagement field. With no regulative or theoretical basis, the practice of community engagement risks creating inappropriate relationships with the market that undermine larger commitments to the public interest.

From a basic level, normative theory needs to establish the bounds of the market as related to community engagement activities. As publically funded organizations, at what point does community engagement activities become an inappropriate or unjustified interference and/or bias in the market?¹² An example will highlight the implications of the previously cited question more clearly. Many research-intensive universities produce such a large amount of patents that the rate at which they are translated to commercialization cannot keep pace. Universities are exploring the possibility of community engagement and economic outreach organizations creating structures and programs that could assist private firms commercialize university patents. This emerging community engagement practice raises serious normative questions.

How does a community engagement organization choose which firms deserve their support? Furthermore, if the selection process is arbitrary, then the selected firms have an unfair competitive advantage compared with other private firms that lack the public support and subsidy represented by the community engagement organization. If community engagement organizations are not careful, they can undermine principles of the free market and affirm structural inequalities that perpetuate disadvantage for marginalized groups.

¹² Private institutions that accept Federal Student Aid should be considered institutions with a certain degree of publicness. Categorizing private institutions that indirectly accept federal money as having levels of publicness is consistent with the theory developed in Chapter 2.

Private firms from historically privileged groups might have the social capital to acknowledge and seek out community engagement activities as a way to subsidize their private enterprise. As such, penalizing private firms, even those owned by historically marginalized groups that lack the social capital to take advantage of public subsidies represented by community engagement organizations is against the principles of the free market and principles of fairness. This discussion demonstrates the normative importance of creating a community engagement theory to account for these problems.

IV. Community Engagement and the Social Sphere

At its core, community engagement is a social phenomenon. The structure of the partnership connects distinct elements within society to pursue collective goals. Community engagement, as a social phenomenon has been tracked and documented primarily through descriptively studies. As such, the community engagement literature has focused primarily on the particular elements constituting effective university-community partnerships. This type of research approach fails to capture the way community engagement practice connects and relates to larger social and anthropological dynamics.

The interests of the community engagement field demand an exploration of the normative and theoretical elements that maintain the practice as an object of knowledge within the social sphere. As an academic field and practice, scholar-practitioners need to explore the ways university-community partnerships, and community engagement in general, connect to social practices that make up everyday life.

Is community engagement a uniquely stabilizing force that maintains societal structures that perpetuate the status quo? Or, is community engagement practice a component of destabilizing social movements that potentially lead to radical social change.

Furthermore, if community engagement can be understood as a radical social movement, is it appropriate for this type of collective action to originate within public institutions? The other side of the coin, is it even possible to conceive of a radical social movement originating within a public institution? Regardless of the normative response, the community engagement field must develop these types of questions. By strengthening the normative basis of the practice, it will support a more coherent conception of the public good.

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Appendix A – Oregon State University – Outreach and Engagement Strategic Vision

Go to: <http://outreach.oregonstate.edu/oe-council-members> - Click on “O&E brochure” for document

Appendix B – University of Maryland – College Park – University Strategic Vision (Note: only sections related to outreach and engagement were analyzed)

Go to: <http://www.sp07.umd.edu/> - Click on icon to download pdf

Appendix C: The Public Good Regime for Community Engagement

