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Topic Review

A Developmental Perspective on Community Service in Adolescence

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Abstract

A substantial number of U.S. adolescents currently participate in community service and there is increased national interest in service programs. This article assesses the assumption of developmental benefits to service participants by critically reviewing 44 empirical studies. It offers a theoretical framework for understanding the findings by connecting them to identity development and delineating three pertinent concepts: agency, social relatedness, and moral-political awareness. These concepts are applied to studies that investigate: (1) the characteristics and motivations of participants, (2) the effects of service, and (3) the process of service. The findings support the conclusion that service activities which provide opportunities for intense experiences and social interactions are often associated with prosocial development. The findings also point to the need for more studies focused on particular service programs and on relationships between service providers and those served.

Keywords: *Adolescence; moral action; identity development; community service.*

A substantial number of U.S. adolescents currently participate in community service. A 1990 Gallup survey of teenagers from 14 to 17 years of age reported that 44.9% volunteered in the past month and 57.6% volunteered in the past 12 months (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1990). A national survey of high school seniors conducted annually from 1976 to 1992 (*Monitoring the Future*) revealed a historically consistent level of involvement with 22% indicating weekly/monthly participation and an additional 45% indicating yearly participation (Youniss & Yates, 1994). The National and Community Service Act of 1990 and the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 represent efforts to increase the number of people, particularly youth, engaged in service. Coinciding with this national legislation, several states and cities have put forward service learning initiatives and in 1992, Maryland became the first state to make service hours a requirement for high school graduation (Kahne & Westheimer, 1994; 'True "Service," ' 1992).

Why does community service generate so much support? One common answer

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is that everyone benefits from it. Community service is assumed not only to help the community, but also to promote prosocial development in participants. The purpose of this article is to assess the assumption of developmental benefits to participants by critically reviewing empirical research. Our second goal is to offer a developmental framework for understanding the findings. We do this by connecting service to identity development and then delineating three key development concepts associated with service experience: agency, social relatedness, and moral-political awareness. We then illustrate how these concepts apply to empirical studies which investigate: (1) the characteristics and motivations of participants, (2) the effects of service, and (3) the process of service.

This article reviews the findings of 44 community service studies conducted between 1952 and 1994 by anthropologists, educators, psychologists, and sociologists. Two studies were conducted in Israel; the rest in the U.S. The criterion for inclusion was that a study report empirical data on community service participation by youth between the ages of 12 and 24. Community service is defined as involvement in activities which help others, e.g., distributing clothing and food or supervising children at a day-care center. Service participation includes individually organized activities as well as involvement in community- or school-based programs; it may be voluntary, e.g., membership in a service club, or mandatory, e.g., required credit for a course. Our review covers research on experiential education and service learning (e.g., Conrad & Hedin, 1982, Newmann & Rutter, 1983), as well as participation in a volunteer work camp (Riecken, 1952), the California Conservation Corps (Branch, Leiderman, & Thomas, 1987; Wolf, Leiderman, & Voith, 1987), the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project (Coles & Brenner, 1965; McAdam, 1988), and mental hospital companion programs (e.g., Holzberg, Gewirtz, & Ebner, 1964). The appendix provides the definition of service and details about the sample for each study.¹

Nine of the studies reviewed did not articulate a specific theoretical perspective. Eight of these studies were program evaluations which implemented a range of standardized measures to assess the positive outcomes of service (e.g., Newmann & Rutter, 1983; Tierney & Branch, 1992) and the other study was a national survey (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1990) which identified the demographic characteristics and attitudes of teenage volunteers. The remaining studies represented a range of theoretical outlooks on service participation. Several studies focused on the personality characteristics of volunteers. They looked at whether service participants had distinctive personality traits or orientations (e.g., Hersch, Kulik, & Scheibe, 1969) and tested whether service modified these traits (e.g., Holzberg *et al.*, 1964). A second group of studies emphasized environmental factors. They proposed that service can alter youth's values and attitudes through the prosocial modeling of adults and peers and through positive reinforcement for helping (e.g., Fitch, 1991; 1987). A third group of studies interpreted service experience from a psychoanalytic perspective. They identified psychological mechanisms such as denial and projection that participants used to cope with the challenges of service (Coles & Brenner, 1965; Holzberg, 1966). A final group of studies related service to the development of autonomy (e.g., Keith, Nelson, Schlabach, & Thompson, 1990) and morality (Cognetta & Sprinthall, 1978). Accordingly, they tested whether adolescents who participated in service had a heightened sense of personal and social responsibility and higher levels of moral reasoning. Most studies in this final group did not indicate how service experience might fit within the general

context of development in adolescence. Exceptions are Hart and Fegley (1995) and Hart, Yates, Fegley and Wilson (1995) who examined moral development and self-concept among a group of adolescents involved in extensive, long-term service activities and discussed continuities and discontinuities in self-understanding during the transition from adolescence to adulthood.

This review integrates the findings in the literature according to a theoretical perspective that connects community service to identity development in adolescence. Our approach takes the outcomes of service touted by social policy makers, such as self-esteem and social responsibility, and looks at how they can be integrated within a developmental framework. In doing this, we were influenced by Erikson (1968) who emphasized the social-historical aspect of identity and depicted adolescence as a period in which youth struggle to understand themselves in relation to society. Specifically, he described identity formation as 'a process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of communal culture' (p. 22). He proposed that in this process, youth seek to identify with values and ideologies that transcend the immediate concerns of family and self and have historical continuity.

Service offers a promising context for stimulating this kind of identity development. It can put adolescents in touch with aspects of society that are not working well and give them, if only temporarily, responsibility to alleviate social problems. The findings in the literature suggest that this kind of experience can encourage youth to feel more self-competent, to discover commonalities with a broad range of people, and to reflect on moral and political issues. Youth may emerge from service experience with a more encompassing and integrated understanding of social, moral, and political traditions and with a firmer sense of the role they intend to play in preserving or changing these traditions.

Three developmental concepts. Despite the diversity of service activities and research perspectives represented in our review, we found a shared focus on three developmental concepts relevant to identity development: agency, social relatedness, and moral-political awareness. Agency bears on Erikson's emphasis of industry as an essential basis of identity formation. Service provides challenges that may expand participants' concept of what they are able to do and what they might do in the future. Social relatedness and moral-political awareness pertain to identity development as a process of situating oneself within a social-historical context. The experience of serving and working with people from different cultural and social backgrounds and age groups can promote a heightened and broadened sense of connection to other people. Addressing a social need and working for a common cause can encourage reflections on moral and political questions. For the purpose of offering a framework that encompasses the literature, we define these three concepts in a broad manner so as to be inclusive of associated findings in the literature.

Agency refers to findings that associate service with personal directedness and increased self-understanding. Examples include differences in personal competence and responsibility and various dimensions of self – e.g., self-esteem and self-understanding – and ego – e.g., ego strength.

Social relatedness pertains to findings that address the social characteristic of service. Examples include the importance of social attitudes, family relations, and institutional affiliations.

Moral-political awareness refers to findings that relate service to morality and civic behavior. Results linking service to heightened moral feelings and reasoning and to subsequent civic activism pertain to this concept.

Literature Review

The remainder of this paper will relate these three concepts to the studies reviewed. Our aim is to show that these concepts, which are each important to identity development, pertain to a broad range of studies. In this way, we attempt to lend some theoretical coherence to a promising area of research and to point out gaps in the current literature.

In presenting such a diversity of studies, it is helpful to organize the research by its design goals. Three types of study were reviewed: (1) The first type examined the *characteristics and motivations of participants* in comparison to nonparticipants. For example, Serow, Ciechalski, and Daye (1990) compared the personal competence of undergraduates who participated in 'off campus volunteer work of a charitable or helping nature' with those who did not.² In this type of study community service was the dependent variable and aspects of participants were statistically tested for their power to predict service participation. (2) The second type of study investigated the *effects of service participation*. It utilized a pre- to posttest design with community service as the independent variable. For instance, Calabrese and Schumer (1986) measured adolescents' level of alienation before and after involvement in service activities.³ Their finding of significantly decreased levels of alienation led them to conclude that service participation can produce positive benefits. (3) The third type of study focused on the *process of service participation*. It tried to explain what occurs during the course of service experience to produce effects on participants. Often, process-oriented studies portrayed service experience as a sequence of changes and identified experiential characteristics salient to those changes. For example, Hursh and Burzak (1979) delineated the changing role definitions of undergraduates participating in an intensive 8-week service program. As the review will show, there have been far more studies of the characteristics of participants and the effects of service than of the process of participation.

Characteristics and Motivations of Participants

Studies that investigate the characteristics and motivations of participants seek to answer the question of which factors distinguish youth who participate in service from those who do not. Studies in this category include general population surveys of high school students (Magen & Aharoni, 1991) and undergraduates (Fitch, 1991; Serow, 1991) as well as studies that compare participants in hospital (Knapp & Gewirtz, 1963) and civil rights (McAdam, 1988) activities with non-participants. Overall, researchers have reported differences in personality, family background, institutional affiliations, and social and moral attitudes.

Agency. Beginning with participants' attitudes toward themselves, researchers have questioned whether people who engage in service have a stronger sense of control over their lives and their environment. Research findings depict participants as active and intense individuals who enjoy service.

Personal competence. Serow *et al.* (1990) examined the relationship between service and personal competence to determine whether service is connected to efforts at mastering one's immediate environment. They supported their hypothesis by showing that behavioral measures of mastery, frequency of engagement in goal-oriented activities and grade point average, are related to volunteering in a variety of service contexts (Serow & Dreydon, 1990; Serow *et al.* 1990). Their conclusion concurs with other findings that participants have higher internal locus of control than nonparticipants (Benson, Dehority, Garman, Hanson, Hochschwender, Lebold, Rohr, & Sullivan, 1980) and are oriented more toward achievement through independent action than through conformity (Hersch *et al.*, 1969).

Hart and Fegley's (1995) work with a group of high school students engaged in extensive long-term community activities (care exemplars) provides further insight into sense of agency and personal competence. They interviewed and surveyed 15 to 17 year olds who were nominated by community leaders as care exemplars because of their sustained community activities with the homeless, elderly, and children and their leadership in church and community organizations. Hart and Fegley argued that care exemplars appeared to be driven by their ideals to a greater extent than were comparison adolescents. They supported this contention with the findings that care exemplars expressed a close connection between their 'actual selves' and 'ideal selves'.

Motivations. When asked about motivation, volunteers often report that service makes them feel good (Fitch, 1987). The 1990 Gallup survey revealed that 'enjoy doing the work' was the second most popular reason for starting and continuing to volunteer (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1990, p. 15). Magen and Aharoni's (1991) finding that participants reported 'higher intensity of positive experience' may pertain to this survey result. These authors investigated service as an opportunity for peak experience and found that high school participants in 'activities that contribute to the welfare of others . . . [such as] working with the handicapped, elderly, and disabled children' were more likely than nonparticipants to describe positive experiences as meaningful and inspirational (p. 131). Participants appeared to be excited about or engaged in what they do. Thus, the studies focusing on characteristics and motivations offer a portrayal of adolescents who have a sense of their own competence and actively strive to be involved.

Social relatedness. This drive to act is directed toward social activities. Differences in personality factors, family characteristics, and institutional affiliations point to the salience of the concept of social relatedness in comparing participants with nonparticipants.

Personality factors. Researchers have found that standardized scales such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Scale of Values classify participants as more 'social' than nonparticipants (Knapp & Holzberg 1964; Riecken, 1952). Furthermore, participants articulate a greater desire to help others (Serow, 1980) and a greater sense of social responsibility (Benson *et al.*, 1980; Hobfoll, 1980; Magen & Aharoni, 1991). Other studies have pointed to the social characteristic of participants' personality by reporting the tendency to select college majors categorized as social (Fitch, 1991) and to emphasize the importance of personal contact in vocational choice (Gelineau & Kantor, 1964).

Family characteristics. Several studies have found that participants are likely to indicate that one or both parents participate in community service (Fitch, 1987; Keith *et al.*, 1990; Sinisi, Barnett, & Sprague, 1993; Tierney & Branch, 1992). A common interpretation of this consistent finding is that parents serve as models for their children. We believe that this does not mean that children simply imitate their parents, but rather that parents' participation helps to make service a meaningful activity for family members and to provide concrete opportunities for participation.

Providing further support for this view, several studies indicated that the quality of family relationships is important to predicting sustained service participation (Clary & Miller, 1986; Hart *et al.*, 1995; Rosenhan, 1970). Rosenhan (1970) found that long-term or committed civil rights activists described warm and cordial relations with at least one parent.⁴ Clary and Miller (1986) replicated this finding in a study of volunteers at a crisis-counseling agency.⁵ Hart *et al.* (1995) found that the 'actual selves' of adolescent care exemplars were more likely to incorporate parentally-related representations than the 'actual selves' of comparison adolescents.

Institutional affiliations. Participants also tend to be engaged in a network of institutional affiliations. They have a history of involvement in clubs and activities such as 4-H, the YMCA, and the Boys and Girls Clubs (Fitch, 1987; Newmann & Rutter, 1983; Serow, 1991; Tierney & Branch, 1992).

The institution most frequently associated with service is the church (Youniss, 1993). Participants engaged in a variety of activities attend church more frequently (Benson *et al.*, 1980, Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1990) and score higher on measures of 'religiosity' (Fitch, 1991; Knapp & Holzberg, 1964; Riecken, 1952; Serow, 1991, Serow & Dreydon, 1990) than nonparticipants. As with the role of parents, affiliation with religious and other institutions may influence youth's behavior by articulating the purpose of service and providing concrete opportunities for service (Serow & Dreydon, 1990).

Providing further insight into the association between service and religion, Benson *et al.*'s (1980) large-scale survey ($N = 8,165$) of 5th through 9th graders revealed that intrinsic religious orientation predicted volunteer participation. Based on Allport's work, this scale indicates an open and flexible religious system where internalized values guide one's behavior. It is contrasted with extrinsic religious orientation which reflects a religious system directed by utilitarian and instrumental motives. Benson *et al.*'s finding suggests that institutional membership and service activities are understood as part of a volunteer's identity.

Moral-political awareness. Several researchers have examined the association between service and moral and political factors. They have found that participants provide moral justifications for their participation and that youth who participate in service are more likely than nonparticipants to engage in political and civic activities in adulthood.

Moral motivation. Adolescents who volunteer tend to characterize their motivations in terms of moral feelings and attitudes. Using the Edwards Personal Preference Scale, Knapp and Holzberg (1964) found that undergraduate mental health volunteers were more compassionate than the comparison group. Fitch (1991) found that undergraduates who engaged in a variety of service activities

scored higher on the benevolence scale of the Survey of Interpersonal Values. While compassion and benevolence are not commonly described as moral feelings, it seems reasonable to interpret them in this way because they imply feeling socially connected and desiring to help others (Wuthnow, 1991).

Studies that investigate motivations support a moral interpretation of volunteers' actions. Sinisi *et al.* (1993) concluded that high school students who offered to volunteer for the Red Cross and United Way were more generally motivated by a concern for others than students who did not want to volunteer. Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1990) found that the most common reason high school volunteers gave for beginning and continuing service was altruism ('wanted to do something useful/help others') with egoism ('enjoy doing the work') as the second most popular reason (p. 15). For undergraduates, Fitch (1987) found that egoistic reasons ('It makes me feel good or a sense of satisfaction in helping others') ranked first and altruistic ones ('I am concerned about those less fortunate than me') ranked second (p. 426). This age associated difference in priority of motivations raises the question of whether older volunteering adolescents emphasize personal goals more than younger adolescents do. A reconciling interpretation is that the motivation to engage in service, particularly ongoing service, requires a personal investment in which the action of helping others becomes part of one's identity and, thus, is understood and articulated in terms of what makes one feel good.

Serow (1991) focused on a different distinction in his discussion of altruistic motivation among undergraduates. He concluded that student altruism reflects the desire to render personal assistance to vulnerable individuals and did not find a connection between altruism and broader social or political commitments. For Serow's sample of undergraduates engaged in a variety of service activities, this finding is not surprising. We would expect the association between service and political commitment to be more typical of participants engaged in ongoing and intense work and in direct contact with marginalized populations. For example, the care exemplars in Hart *et al.*'s (1995) study articulated broad social commitments. Additionally, longitudinal studies of civil rights volunteers indicate that service can be associated with long-term political commitment.

Political activism. McAdam (1987) found that student participants in the civil rights movement continued to be active politically 25 years later. He compared participants in Mississippi Freedom Summer with applicants who were accepted, but for a variety of reasons were unable to attend. For Freedom Summer participants, continuity of service was expressed through commitment to causes such as peace, women's rights, the environment, and local politics. These findings suggest that service in youth can lead to a growth in moral-political awareness beyond the immediate experience. Taking into account the findings on agency and social relatedness, service may be interpreted as helping to shape adolescent participants' sense of identity within a socio-historical framework.

Effects of Service

To investigate more directly the effects of service, researchers have used the pre- to posttest paradigm with service as the intervening factor. Among the most often cited works are the national high school studies conducted by educational researchers Conrad and Hedin (1982) and Newmann and Rutter (1983). Studies

testing effects have found changes in self-esteem, personal confidence, social attitudes and behavior, and moral feelings and reasoning.

Agency. To answer the question of whether participants benefit from service, researchers often include measures of participants' attitude toward themselves. It seems reasonable that participation in an experience that generates responsibility and a sense of worth will affect how one thinks and feels about oneself. A consistent finding is that service helps participants to like themselves more. Participants exhibit an increased sense of competence and efficacy both in their attitudes and actions.

Self-esteem. Using modified versions of Rosenberg's (1979) instrument and the Janis-Field Feelings of Inadequacy subscale, several researchers have reported significant increases in self-esteem (Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Luchs, 1981; Tierney & Branch, 1992).⁶ These findings indicate changes in general feelings of self-worth and confidence in social situations. Using other standardized instruments, earlier studies support this conclusion with findings of increased self-acceptance (Holzberg *et al.*, 1964; King, Walder, & Pavey, 1970) and self-confidence (Riecken, 1952; Scheibe, 1965). Of note, these studies measured self-acceptance as the level of agreement between 'perceived self' and 'ideal-self.' These findings of increased agreement after service experience concur with Hart and Fegley's (1995) earlier cited work. This suggests that not only does service attract people driven by ideals, but also participation encourages a sense of consistency between who one is and who one wants to be.

Cognetta and Sprinthall's (1978) study of 10th to 12th graders as teachers of younger children indicated that service may also lead to an increased sense of self-confidence.⁷ They found that students went from depending on 'what the leading crowd is doing' to having a sense of inner-directedness and conscientiousness (p. 61).

Personal competence. Another way that the question of changes in attitude towards self has been posed is in terms of personal competence. In a national study, Conrad and Hedin (1982) found changes in personal responsibility and competence using the Social and Personal Responsibility Scale. This scale assesses the extent to which a student feels a sense of personal responsibility to help others and feels competent to do so. Newmann and Rutter (1983) also found changes in sense of personal competence. In other studies, gains in self-competence are reflected in increased perceived scholastic competence among undergraduate mentors for at-risk youth (Tierney & Branch, 1992) and planning and career exploration behaviors among high school students engaged in various service activities (Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Luchs, 1981). Luchs (1981) and Calabrese and Schumer (1986) also found increases in grade point average after service.

These studies are important because they indicate that the benefits of service are not limited to liking oneself more, benefits also can include increased competence and efficacy. This combination of changes in attitude toward oneself supports the conclusion that service is associate to an increased sense of agency.

Social relatedness. Studies have also gauged the benefits of service in terms of changes in social attitudes and behaviors. Because service takes place in a social context, this experience may change participants' understanding of people. In working in cooperation with marginalized populations and with other volunteers

(often peers), service participants may confront their own prejudices and enlarge their understanding of social relationships. Several studies have shown significant changes in attitudes towards social relationships and in frequency of antisocial (deviant) behaviors.

Social attitudes. As with the studies describing the characteristics and motivations of participants, studies testing the effects of service indicate an association between service experience and characterizing oneself as 'social'. For example, Tierney and Branch (1992) found that undergraduate participation in a mentoring program led to increased perception of social acceptance. Calabrese and Schumer (1986) concluded that service participation led to decreased levels of alienation and isolation among high school students.

Service also can lead to greater tolerance and openness towards others. Riecken (1952) reported that undergraduates living in a volunteer work camp and serving a disadvantaged community became less ethnocentric. Studies of volunteers working in mental hospitals (Hobfoll, 1980; Holzberg & Gewirtz, 1963; Scheibe, 1965; Schlosberg, 1991) and day care centers for children with emotional problems (Cowen, Zax, & Laird, 1966) have found that service can lead to increased knowledge about and positive attitude toward people served.

Finally, service can change participants' attitudes toward their own role in helping others. Researchers have found gains in sense of social efficacy (Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Hamilton & Fenzel, 1988; Hobfoll, 1980; Newmann & Rutter, 1983).

Prosocial and antisocial behaviors. Another way to measure changes in social relatedness is by frequency of prosocial and antisocial behaviors. Exemplifying changes in prosocial behavior, Wolf, Leiderman, and Voith (1987) concluded that after participating in the California Conservation Corps, members were more likely to give blood and to spend time helping out in their community. Focusing on antisocial behaviors, Luchs (1981) and Calabrese and Schumer (1986) reported that service participants experienced significant decreases in truancy, deviant school behavior, and disciplinary problems.⁸ Based on their findings, Calabrese and Schumer theorized that service participation reduces alienation because it 'facilitates adolescent access to adult society, development of responsibility, collaborative and cooperative work, and control over planning and outcomes' (p. 675). This conclusion supports the association we have been arguing for between sense of agency and feeling socially connected.

Moral-political awareness. As volunteers change in their sense of social relatedness and understanding of social relations, service may also affect moral feelings and reasoning. Researchers have shown that after engaging in service, participants exhibit greater feelings of commitment to helping others and engage in more principled moral reasoning.

Moral feelings. Studies of service opportunities that provide contact with marginalized populations indicate that service can evoke strong moral feelings. For example, undergraduates working at mental hospitals experienced increases in empathy (Hobfoll, 1980) and nurturance (Scheibe, 1965). As another example, Riecken (1952) reported an increased emphasis on altruistic sentiment among undergraduates working on community projects in disadvantages areas.

Riecken also found that participants developed an increased desire 'to shake off restraint . . . [and] to resist coercion and restriction' (p. 110). Before the work

camp experience, participants felt that their desires for independence were often frustrated by their parents; after volunteering, participants increasingly identified social conventions as the primary source of frustration. Riecken concluded that this shift reflected an increased need to engage in 'a moral and ethical rebellion rather than a lust for unbridled impulse expression' (p. 111). Riecken's portrayal of youth who are concerned about and willing to fight against social problems such as rural poverty contradicts the typical portrayal of adolescents as concerned only with personal problems. His finding indicates that service experience may evoke strong feelings of care about the condition of others.

Moral reasoning. Understanding of social conventions and moral principles has been a more typical focus of research investigating a variety of service contexts. Holzberg *et al.* (1964) found that when volunteers were asked to judge different behaviors classified on a continuum of moral sanction to endorsement, they were more accepting of unconventional behaviors after working at a mental hospital. Cognetta and Sprinthall (1978) found that students engaged in more principled moral reasoning after teaching younger children. Conrad and Hedin (1982) concurred with these findings in their study which included several types of service and experiential programs.

Political activism. In our review, we did not find any long-term studies that tested experimentally whether adolescent service lead to political involvement. We did find that studies measuring projected political participation by adolescents did not report significant differences associated with service experience (Newmann & Rutter, 1983). Newmann and Rutter explained this finding by pointing out that most of the service activities studied were not explicitly political. As with Serow's (1991) study in which no connection between service and political commitment was found, Newmann and Rutter's (1983) study included a variety of service programs. Newmann and Rutter did report that school-by-school analysis suggested that some types of programs seemed to influence social and political attitudes (Rutter & Newmann, 1989). They recommended that for high school programs to foster civic responsibility, they must: (1) place students in activities where they are responding 'directly to a critical social need or [contributing] in some way to the general welfare,' (2) provide opportunities for student reflection, and (3) require four hours of service per week and two hours of reflection (Rutter & Newmann, 1989, p. 373). These suggestions accord with the earlier reported finding that participants in intense and socially challenging experiences do develop long term political commitments (McAdam, 1988).

Process of Service

Having evaluated the characteristics of participants and the effects of service on participants, we need to consider what occurs during the process of service. Most frequently represented in this category are studies by clinical psychologists concerned with the changing role definitions of volunteers under their supervision (e.g., Schlosberg, 1991) and anthropologists interested in service as a cultural context (e.g., Hursch & Borzak, 1979). Overall, fewer studies have been conducted examining process. Process-oriented studies portray service experience as a sequence of changes and identify experiential characteristics salient to participants' development. Studies often describe service as a process of adjusting to a new

social context and social role. They emphasize the participant's experience of intensity, dissonance, and efficacy.

Agency. Several studies have focused on service as providing the opportunity to experience a new social role. These studies find that participants report experiencing new challenges, responsibility, and success during service activities. It is these characteristics that may encourage participants to feel more competent and efficacious and encourage positive self-evaluation.

Developmental opportunities. Newmann and Rutter (1983) provide insight into the aspects of service that make it so intense that it affects self-evaluation. They investigated in which contexts high school students experience activities identified by educators as important to experiential education. These activities are termed 'developmental opportunities' and include: 'having responsibility to make decisions, identifying and reflecting upon one's personal values, working closely with adults, facing new and challenging situations, and receiving appropriate blame or credit for one's work' (p. 2). In comparing the contexts of school classes, family, job, extracurricular activities, and community service, school ranked consistently last and community service ranked consistently first. No associations between specific developmental opportunities and the dependent measures of personal and social competence were found. This study is important, however, because students characterized the experience of service in some of the same ways that we have been describing it. They associated it with responsibility, competence, and efficacy; dimensions we have related to agency.

Newmann's (1983) qualitative analysis of the same data supports this conclusion. Interviews revealed students felt more able to use their own judgment and face something new and challenging at their field placement than in school classes. As another example, high school students interviewed by Gross (1991) described participation in a school-based service program as an opportunity for responsibility and success. In this study, Gross conducted weekly observations, interviews and supervisory meetings with four 7th to 10th graders who served 3 hours per week as day care assistants. She found that the themes of responsibility and success were continuous over the school year.

Self-understanding and personal competence. Qualitative data provide evidence that service is a vehicle through which adolescents develop in their self-understanding and personal competence. Conrad and Hedin's (1989) analysis of journal reflections indicated that service can inspire students to articulate fundamental questions of meaning including: who am I? Students also revealed that they believe they learn more from service because it enables them to take on a new role, provides 'a sense of connection with a wider range of people, places, and problems', and stimulates new knowledge about themselves and others (Conrad & Hedin, 1989, p. 26; see also Conrad & Hedin, 1991).⁹

Hursh and Borzak's (1979) study, which used interviews, questionnaires, observations, and journal analysis, also identified changes in self-understanding. Program participants working with a service agency and attending weekly reflective seminars changed in their self-perception from more passive to more active. Emphasizing the salience of role definition, the authors interpreted this change as a response to the tension created by the ambiguity and newness of service.

Studies from the 60s also described service as a process through which participants develop in their understanding of their role in affecting change. Two studies of companion programs at mental hospitals described an evolving sensitivity in undergraduates who first feel anxiety toward the patients, then fear of responsibility, and finally a realistic appreciation of their own contributions and abilities (Holzberg *et al.*, 1969; Umbarger, Dalsimer, Morrison, & Breggin, 1962). Holzberg *et al.* related this change to the participants' experience of emotional intensity, growth in personal competence, clarified self-definition, and expanded personal construct.

Coles and Brenner's (1965) study of volunteers on the Mississippi Summer Project delineated four psychological stages in negotiating the new role of volunteer. They observed students' progress from naivety and awkwardness, to isolated and determined sophistication, to self-examination accompanied by depression and despair, and finally, to effective confidence. These stages highlight that service can be psychologically straining. Mississippi volunteers had to face the frustrations of their own lack of knowledge and resources and ability to affect instant change. Having faced these frustrations, they emerged with a sense of long-term purpose.

Social relatedness. As indicated by Newmann and Rutter's (1983) study, service provides opportunities to form new relationships. When participants are asked about their experiences they describe encounters with the people they work with and serve (Conrad & Hedin, 1989; Gross, 1991). Unfortunately, little has been reported about the forming of relationships between volunteers and those served and also between volunteers themselves. Schlosberg (1991) provided a very brief description of the development of relationships between volunteers and patients in a psychiatric hospital. Focusing on the perspective of the volunteers, he described a process of adjustment characterized initially by reserve and awkwardness and eventually by enthusiasm and satisfaction.

How does this change in relationship occur? Clearly, a microanalytic study examining service relationships at several points in time would help to answer this question. We found no such studies in our review. Some insight, however, was offered by Holzberg *et al.* (1966) who described the interactive process of expanding one's personal construct and enlarging the range of people with whom one might establish friendships. Holzberg *et al.*'s account of companionship with schizophrenic patients suggests that part of understanding the process of service experience entails understanding the process of forming new friendships. This idea supports our argument that service helps to shape the understanding of one's role in relation to others.

Moral-political awareness. As service affects one's understanding of social connectedness to specific individuals, it may also encourage reflections about one's place within a more general social framework. Unfortunately, we found just one study which investigated this issue and as it is a preliminary study that we conducted, we describe its findings only for their suggestive value.

Yates and Youniss (in press) found that the majority of essays written by high school students after serving at a soup kitchen included evaluations of social stereotypes and inequity and the student's role in affecting change. We were able to parse these evaluations into three levels: (1) articulating social stereotypes, (2) comparing one's situation in life to another's, and (3) reflecting on justice and responsibility. Finding that students who made evaluative statements at time 1

tended to make 'higher' level statements at time 2, we concluded that service stimulates reflection on society's political organization and moral order as well as one's agency in relationship to these domains.

Implications

Our review indicates that service participation in adolescence can be associated with developmental benefits for participants. We will now discuss the theoretical, methodological, and programmatic implications of our review.

Theoretical. Our review supports the need to investigate community service from a developmental perspective. Studies need to place service experience within the general context of development in adolescence. We exemplified this approach by applying Erikson's (1968) theory of identity formation and then relating the findings in the service literature to the concepts of agency, social relatedness, and moral-political awareness. Taken together, the findings suggest that the experiences of service pertain to the process of trying to understand oneself within a social-historical reality.

The three selected concepts help to provide a more coherent view of service experience because they are theoretically interrelated. Agency refers to a sense that one can play an active role in society's making. Social relatedness pertains to being part of society, which entails political and moral dimensions and acting to preserve or reform societal ideologies. Finally, moral-political awareness represents an effort to fit oneself into a social-historical tradition. Such an effort bears on one's emerging understanding of self and social relationships. Recent work in the area of moral development supports the view that self-understanding (including sense of agency) and social-moral understanding are closely related (Colby & Damon, 1992; Davidson & Youniss, 1993; Hart *et al.*, 1995). For example, adult and adolescent moral exemplars interviewed by Colby and Damon and Hart *et al.* did not distinguish personal goals from moral ones and articulated their moral actions in terms of who they understood themselves to be. Future research on community service may provide further insight into the interconnections of self-understanding and morality.

Our review also supports investigating service as a process of forming and maintaining relationships. Most service experiences occur within a social context that includes those served, supervisors, and peers. Service may inspire participants to ask not only 'who am I?', but also 'what is my relationship to others?' While there is research on participants' understanding of generalized relationships (e.g., questions about social responsibility and moral tolerance), little attention has been given to the particular relationships formed in the service context. It seems that this area would provide important insight into the process through which generalized understandings develop.

Methodological. From a methodological perspective, there is a need for increased attention on process and the use of more diverse methods of data collection. Our review indicated that there are far more studies of the characteristics of participants and the effects of service, than of the process of participation. Additionally, a brief survey of the appendix shows that questionnaires with standardized scales are much more frequently used than any other method of data collection.

Hamilton and Fenzel (1988) discussed the weaknesses of large-scale studies for

community service research. They argued that the tendency of these studies to generalize across a variety of programs and service activities may partly explain why these studies find only modest effects. Furthermore, researchers' focus on measuring general changes rather than specific gains may help to account for modest effects. This point is exemplified by Wolf, Leiderman, and Voith's (1987) evaluation of the California Conservation Corps (CCC). The authors found that while general attitudes, such as tolerance, altruism, and the nonphysical aspects of self concept, were not positively affected by CCC participation, attitudes and behaviors related to specific program activities were positively affected. Participants changed in their physical self-concept as well as 'their attitudes toward women in nontraditional work, recycling, littering, promoting awareness of environmental problems, and their behavior in donating blood and spending time in informal community service work' (pp. v, 86–87).

These findings reflect the importance of a research approach that accounts for the particular characteristics and goals of a program and service context. Methodologically, we are suggesting that researchers may have been too quick to treat service experience as a uniform entity and that researchers interested in the developmental implications of service need to focus their investigations on particular programs and service contexts before trying to generalize across them.

Programmatic. Research on the process of service participation can have substantive benefits for programs under investigation. Such research can help organizers to set up mechanisms of ongoing evaluation in which participants can provide feedback and organizers can further define program objectives. One effective way to collect data at several points in time is to make data collection a program activity. Two types of activities which provide valuable data are group discussions and journal writing. These activities serve the dual purpose of stimulating reflection among participants and providing organizers and investigators with insight into participants' understanding of their experiences. Regarding the first purpose, several studies (e.g., Cогнетта & Sprinthall, 1978; Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Hamilton & Fenzel, 1988; Newmann & Rutter, 1989) have advocated the educational value of reflective opportunities such as discussion groups.

Our review of the literature also suggests that programs that are intense and promote social interactions are more commonly associated with changes in sense of agency, social relatedness, and moral-political awareness than other programs. This finding is germane to program organizers who sometimes try to equate the benefits of a variety of activities. It seems to us that there may be pivotal differences in the developmental benefits derived from serving at a soup kitchen or visiting at a hospital in contrast to doing office work such as preparing mail. We do not make this point to devalue the necessity of administrative tasks serving social causes; we make it to emphasize that different service tasks may have different effects on participants. In developing a program to promote prosocial development in adolescents, an emphasis should be placed on service activities that provide opportunities for (1) intense experiences in which participants are given responsibilities and the change to feel efficacious and (2) social interactions, particularly with marginalized populations.

Conclusions

Community service studies have been conducted by researchers from a variety of disciplines including anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology, throughout much of this century. The current social and political climate has heightened the need to develop a theoretical framework with which to assess this interdisciplinary literature. Community service is an exciting topic for developmental research because it directly addresses both theoretical and applied issues. It answers moral theorists call for the study of people in 'real' moral situations (Bruner, 1990; Killen & Hart, 1995). At the same time, the findings from this research may help to shape social legislation and improve programs for youth.

This paper focuses on a positive aspect of contemporary youth's everyday lives. Our review illuminates a historical trend of service participation by adolescents in the U.S. This trend is at odds with the popular perception of both adults and adolescents that youth today are less involved and less interested in public life than previous generations (People for the American Way, 1988). The findings from this review indicate that this negative perception may be more a product of anecdotal impressions, than of actual changes in youth's community involvement. We make this final point to emphasize that over many decades, a sizable number of youth have shown through their actions that they care about their communities and wish to take an active role in society. It is the responsibility of researchers, educators, social policy makers, and the media to recognize and encourage the societal contributions of youth.

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Notes

1. Sixty-one percent ($n = 27$) of the studies provided no demographic information beyond gender. Single sex studies are noted in the appendix. Of the remaining 17 studies, information was provided regarding socioeconomic status (SES) and race/ethnicity. For SES, 9 studies came from nationally representative samples, 4 from middle class samples, and 4 from lower class or economically disadvantaged samples. Studies conducted among low income populations are Hart and Fegley (1995), Hart, Yates, Fegley, and Wilson (1995), Luchs (1981), and Wolf *et al.* (1987). Of the 27 studies with no SES information, 20 were drawn from undergraduate samples which may imply that these are mostly middle class samples. For race/ethnicity, 6 came from national samples, 5 came from majority White samples, and 6 came from majority Black and Latino samples. Studies conducted with minority populations are Gross (1991), Hart and Fegley (1995), Hart *et al.* (1995), Luchs (1981), Tierney and Branch (1992), and Yates and Youniss (1995).

2. Personal competence was operationalized using three variables: grade point average, time allocated to goal-oriented behavior, and perceived efficacy of helping behavior.

3. Alienation was measured using the Dean Alienation Scale.

4. Subjects ranged in age from 17 to 58. Although the subjects are beyond the age of those included in this review, this study is cited because of its conclusions on the role of family socialization during childhood and adolescence. Rosenhan compared 25 fully committed civil rights activists who participated extensively in freedom rides or educational and organizational activities with 21 partially committed activists who participated in similar activities once or twice.

5. Subjects ranged in age from 17 to 49. Again, subjects were older than those included in this review, but the study is cited because of its relevance to early family socialization. Clary and Miller compared 49 volunteers who completed a 6-month commitment to work one 4-hour shift per week at a crisis-counseling agency with 55 volunteers who worked less than 6 months.

6. Using Rosenberg's scale, Switzer, Simmons, Dew, Regalski, and Wang (1994) found increases in self-esteem for 7th grade boys, but not girls. They also found that boys had significantly higher pre-service levels of self-esteem than girls. They concluded that these gender differences were consistent with research on the impact of puberty on girls' self-esteem and that while service promoted boys' self-esteem, it did not have the same effect on girls. In our review, the strongest finding of gender differences came from studies of participant characteristics. These studies found that more females than males volunteered (Fitch, 1987; 1991; Gelineau & Kantor, 1964; Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1989; Keith *et al.*, 1990; Sinisi *et al.*, 1993; Tierney & Branch, 1992). Switzer *et al.*'s finding supports the need to investigate gender differences in the effects and process of service.

7. Self-confidence was measured using Loevinger's Test of Ego Development.

8. Switzer *et al.* (1994) found decreases in school problem behavior for 7th grade boys, but not girls. The authors pointed out that the boys in the sample displayed more pre-service school problem behavior than the girls.

9. Conrad and Hedin included their journal analysis as part of an educational report, and later an article, commenting on programs and curricula (Conrad & Hedin, 1989; Hedin & Conrad, 1991). While they indicated that the journals were written by high school students who 'volunteered in schools and social agencies 4 days a week as part of their social studies curriculum', they did not detail the number of participants or other sample characteristics (Conrad & Hedin, 1989, p. 26). Although their journal analysis is not empirically presented, we included it in our review because it illustrates the potential of process-oriented research on community service.

Appendix*Community Service Studies*

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Benson (1987)	5th–9th graders	5389 CSG 2776 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	Hours devoted ‘to helping the sick, aged, poor, or handicapped’ (p. 125).
Benson <i>et al.</i> (1980)	Undergraduates (<i>M</i> = 19.8)	21 CSG 92 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	Hours spent annually in 14 helping categories: ‘tutoring, teaching (giving free swimming lessons to children, etc.), leadership in youth organizations (Girl Scouts, boy Scouts, etc.), counseling, visitation (visiting prisoners, the aged, etc.), giving companionship to persons in need, crisis intervention work, disaster relief, soliciting for charity, doing volunteer work for organizations which help people, doing errands/handiwork for persons in need, acting to reduce social inequalities (working to promote more socially just legislation, etc.), raising public consciousness about social inequities (communicating information about poverty, racism, sexism, etc.), and “other things you have done in the last year which have positive, helpful consequences for others” ’ (p. 90). Students volunteered an average of 136.69 hours per year.
Calabrese & Schumer (1986)	9th graders	25 CSG 25 CG	Effects	Questionnaires	Participation in group that ‘planned, developed, and implemented community service project’ with limited adult intervention (p. 679). Data collected after 10 and 20 weeks.

^a Mean age of subjects indicated when provided by authors.

^b CSG: community service group; CG: comparison or control group.

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Cognetta & Sprinthall (1978)	10th–12th graders	17 CSG 26 CG	Effects	Questionnaires Interview	Participation in school-based program in which students tutored 6th–8th graders twice a week for academic credit. Seminar required.
Coles & Brenner (1965)	Undergraduates	400 CSG	Process	Interviews Observations	Participation in 1964 Mississippi Summer Project involved in 'schools, libraries, food and clothing distribution centers, efforts at voter education and registration, research into ways of making federal programs in health and agriculture more available to people most in need of them, cultural activities such as drama classes or music hours, . . . instruction in sewing as well as in history, writing and spelling, science or foreign language' (p. 919).
Conrad & Hedin (1982)	12–19 year olds	4,000 (no % CSG given) ¹	Effects	Questionnaires Observations Student journals	Participation in school-based community service program.
Cowen et al. (1966)	Undergraduates	17 CSG 17 CG	Characteristics Effects Process	Questionnaires	Participation in 'day-care volunteer program for primary grade children with manifest or incipient emotional problems' twice a week for 70 minutes for 11 weeks (p. 319). Discussion group required.
Fitch (1991)	Undergraduates	285 CSG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	'Involvement with on-campus service activities . . . [including] service fraternities and organizations (i.e., Circle K, Alpha Phi Omega), tutoring, and Communiversity (an umbrella organization in the institutions' Department of Student Activities that coordinates student involvement in service activities) . . . Some students were involved in service organizations through other organizations such as social fraternities or sororities and religious groups' (p. 536).

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Fitch (1987)	Undergraduates	45 CSG 31 CG	Characteristics Motivations	Questionnaires	'Members of registered student organizations whose primary aims are to provide service to the community . . . [such as] affiliates of national service fraternities . . . volunteers are involved in such activities as fundraising for the local chapter of the American Cancer Society, Big Brother or Big Sister programs, and Adopt-a-Grandparent programs. Generally, the target populations are less fortunate segments of the surrounding community, although some work is done with individuals on campus (e.g., tutoring)' (p. 425). Members volunteered an average of 7.5 hours per week.
Gelineau & Kantor (1964)	Undergraduates	645 CSG	Characteristics Effects	Questionnaires Interviews (48 CSG)	Membership in the Mental Hospital Committee of the Phillips Brooks House Association with goal of interacting with and advocating for patients.
Gross (1991)	7th–10th graders	4 CSG	Process	Interviews Observations	Participation in school-based program meeting once a week for 3 hours work during one school year. Service entailed volunteering as day care classroom assistants.
Hamilton & Fenzel (1988)	11–17 years old	66 CSG	Effects	Questionnaires (35 CSG)	Participation in one of two programs: (1) community improvement projects (such as rehabilitation of low income housing, fundraising, decorating church, caring for animals at shelter) and (2) child care (e.g., 4-H club work with younger children). Mean duration of program was 8 weeks.

^a Mean age of subjects indicated when provided by authors.

^b CSG: community service group; CG: comparison or control group.

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Hart & Fegley (1995)	15–17 year olds (<i>M</i> = 15.5)	15 CSG 15 CG	Characteristics Interviews	Questionnaires	Participation in sustained community activities such as work with the homeless, elderly, and children as well as leadership in church and community organizations. Subjects nominated by community leaders as 'care exemplars.'
Hart et al. (1995)	15–17 year olds	15 CSG 15 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires Interviews	See Hart & Fegley, 1995
Hersch et al. (1969)	Undergraduates	151 CSG 142 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	'Students who served in the 1965 and 1966 Connecticut Service Corps . . . [Students volunteered at a mental hospital and experienced] 40 hours a week of interaction with chronic patients for 8–10 summer weeks' (pp. 30–31). Stipend provided.
Hobfoll (1980)	Undergraduates (female)	23 CSG 28 CG	Characteristics Effects	Questionnaires	'Participation 'in 10 weekly sessions at 2 inner-city preschools requiring approximately 4 hours during which tutors picked up the children in their homes, worked with one to three children for a 3-hour session, and participated in training and discussion groups' (p. 504).
Hodgkinson & Weitzman (1990)	14–17 year olds	173 CSG 128 CG	Characteristics Motivation	Questionnaires	Working in some way to help others for no monetary pay (volunteering) in the past 12 months and in the past month: Health; Education; Religious organizations; Human services; Environment; Public/society benefit; Recreation-adults; Arts, culture, & humanities; Work-related organizations; Political organizations; Youth development; Private and community foundations; International/foreign; Informal-alone; Other.

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Holzberg et al. (1964)	Undergraduates (male; 18–21 years old)	32 CSG 24 CG	Effects	Questionnaires	Participation in Companion Program at mental hospital requiring 1 hour/week for one school year. Weekly supervision groups also required.
Holzberg et al. (1966)	Undergraduates (male)	no # given	Process Effects	Questionnaires Observations	See Holzberg et al. (1964).
Hursh & Borzak (1979)	Undergraduates	31 CSG	Process Effects	Questionnaires Interviews Observations Journals	Participation in one of two unpaid internships for academic credit: San Francisco community service agency for 20–24 hours per week for 8 weeks or legal aid or civil rights agency for 35–40 hours per week for 10 weeks.
Keith et al. (1990)	10–14 year olds	118 CSG 50 CF	Characteristics	Questionnaires	Average number of helpful activities for which no pay was received . . . [Adolescents were asked] 'to list activities in which they were involved during the prior year to help people in their community, state, country, or the world' (p. 403).
King et al. (1970)	Undergraduates	16 CSG 400 CG	Effects	Questionnaires	Membership in campus organization known as Volunteers for Mental Health and typically volunteer 1 evening a week as companion to chronically ill patients.
Knapp & Holzberg (1964)	Undergraduates (male)	85 CSG 85 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	Participation in Companion Program involving 'weekly visits to mental hospitals throughout the academic year for the purpose of bringing comfort and human companionship to mentally ill patients' (p. 89).

^a Mean age of subjects indicated when provided by authors.

^b CSG: community service group; CG: comparison or control group.

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Luchs (1981)	15–18 year olds	136 CSG 126 CG	Effects Interviews	Questionnaires (10 CSG)	Participation in 'experiential community-based learning activities' for 30 hours during 10 weeks (p. 89). Reflective seminar and discussion group required. Random assignment used.
Magen & Aharoni (1991) (Israel)	11th–12th graders	134 CSG 126 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	Participation in 'activities that contribute to the welfare of others . . . [Examples included volunteering] in youth movements (e.g., the B'nai B'rith Youth to Youth program, neighborhood Scouts clubs, or in other programs (e.g., Big Brother/Big Sister, working with the handicapped, elderly or disabled children)' (p. 131)
McAdam (1988)	Undergraduates ($M = 23.2$)	162 CSG 109 CG ²	Characteristics	Questionnaires Interviews (20 CSG; 20 CG)	Participation in 1964 Mississippi Summer Project including such activities as tutoring and voter registration. See Coles & Brenner (1965).
Newmann (1983)	9th–12th graders	20 CSG 20 CG	Process	Interviews Observations	See Newmann & Rutter (1983).
Newmann & Rutter (1983)	9th–12th graders	157 CSG 157 CG	Characteristics Process Effects	Questionnaires	Participation in one of eight school-based service programs meeting the following criteria: 'program established for a minimum of 4 years, academic credit awarded for participation, minimum of 20 students enrolled in programs, average of at least 4 hours on-site community service per week, minimum of 2 hours per week in school class connected to the program, a socially diverse student body in the school and the program' (p. 4).

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Umbarger et al. (1962)	Undergraduates	334 CSG	Process	Observations Journals	Participation in student volunteer program at mental hospital making at least 3 visits of 1.2 to 3 hours during a school year (66% of the sample made 10 or more visits).
Riecken (1952)	Undergraduates	89 CSG 100 CG	Characteristics Effects	Questionnaires Observations	Participation in 2 month summer work camp program of American Friends Service Committee serving disadvantaged communities.
Rutter & Newmann (1989)	9th–12th graders	157 CSG 157 CG	Characteristics Process Effects	Questionnaires	See Newmann & Rutter (1983)
Scheibe (1965)	Undergraduates (<i>M</i> = 20)	99 CSG	Effects	Questionnaires Interviews	Participation in Connecticut Service Corps serving at mental hospital for one summer. See Hersch et al. (1969).
Schlosberg (1991) (Israel)	12–15 years old	280 CSG	Process Effects	Observations	Participation in a school-based volunteer program at a psychiatric hospital with focus on social and recreational involvement with patients for 1 afternoon/week during school year. Weekly discussion group also required.
Serow (1991)	Undergraduates	260 CSG 499 CG	Motivations	Questionnaires Interviews (42 CSG)	'Unpaid off-campus work of a charitable or helping nature' (p. 547).
Serow (1900)	Undergraduates	714 CSG 252 CG	Characteristics Motivations	Questionnaires	'Unpaid off-campus community service or volunteer work' (p. 200).

^a Mean age of subjects indicated when provided by authors.

^b CSG: community service group; CG: comparison or control group.

² Study also used census data (*n* = 4264) as a comparison group controlling for age and education level.

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Serow (1989)	Undergraduates	745 CSG ³ 1349 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	'Off-campus volunteer work or unpaid community service work' (p. 113).
Serow & Dreydon, (1990)	Undergraduates	706 CSG 1254 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	'Unpaid community service or volunteer work' (p. 558).
Serow et al. (1990)	Undergraduates	504 (no # CSG given)	Characteristics	Questionnaires	'Off-campus volunteer work of a charitable or helping nature' (p. 161).
Sinisi et al. (1993)	High School	32 CSG 88 CG	Characteristics	Questionnaires	When asked by graduate student posing as recruiter, student expresses willingness to volunteer for United Way and/or Red Cross.
Switzer et al. (1994)	7th graders (<i>M</i> = 12)	85 CSG 86 CG	Effects	Questionnaires	Membership in 'Helper House' requiring service activity during the school year. 23% as tutors to younger students or companions to elderly. The rest selected projects in family, school, or community. Random assignment used.
Tierney & Branch (1992)	Undergraduates (<i>M</i> = 19.7)	84 CSG	Characteristics Effects	Questionnaires Interviews (<i>n</i> = 49)	Participation in one of six mentoring program of at-risk youth involving approximately 3 hours/week one-to-one interaction during school year. Periodic program meetings also required.
Townsend (1973)	Undergraduates (1st year)	65 CSG 200 CG	Effects	Questionnaires	Participation in volunteer activities (though campus Office of Volunteer Programs) for 2 to 4 hours/week during school year.

Study	Sample ^a	# of Subjects ^b	Research Goal	Method	Definition of Service
Wolf et al. (1987)	18–23 year olds (<i>M</i> = 20.3)	491 CSG 742 CG	Characteristics Effects	Questionnaires Interviews	Participation in the California Conservation Corps for an average of 5 months. After 12 day training program, corps members work 40 hours/week on projects sponsored by public resource agencies such as 'fire prevention and suppression, emergency response and disaster relief, energy conservation, park development, historic preservation, salmon restoration, wildlife habitat improvement, and urban and rural reforestation' (p. 14).
Yates & Youniss (in press)	11th graders	132 CSG	Process	Journals	Mandatory school-based program involving service at a soup kitchen at least 4 times (20 hours) during a school year.

^a Mean age of subjects indicated when provided by authors.

^b CSG: community service group; CG: comparison or control group.

³ Author collapsed four categories into a dichotomous variable: seldom/not at all (64%) and monthly/often (36%). This dichotomous variable was used in subsequent analysis.