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Rebecca Du   April 10, 2015

Education of the Heart and Mind: Community Service among Students at Emory

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Abstract

Education of the Heart and Mind: Community Service among Students at Emory
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Community service has long been a distinctive feature in the landscape of social life in the United States. More recently it has become incorporated into educational pedagogies, especially in secondary and higher education institutions. This study captures a snapshot of community service at Emory and examines the possible value and reciprocity of community service in higher education. Using quantitative indexes measuring emotional, social, and psychological well-being, time managements behaviors, and general self-efficacy as well as qualitative semi-structured ethnographic interviews, this study aims to gain a better understanding of the following questions: Who at Emory volunteers? Why do they volunteer? What do they gain out of volunteering? Using frequency of volunteering as the independent variable, this study examines differences between students who volunteered only once or twice an academic semester and students who volunteered on a weekly basis. All of the study participants were undergraduate students at Emory who had volunteered at least once throughout the Fall 2014 semester through Volunteer Emory. Overall, there were no significant quantitative findings; however, the qualitative findings revealed a more nuanced explanation to the lack of findings. It was observed that participation in community service was associated with psychological benefits, increased senses of social responsibility and belonging to community, and career callings. No definitive conclusions could be made, but the findings in this study do suggest the possibility that participating in community service is associated with enhanced emotional, social, and psychological well-being as well as academic development. This study provides implications for the use of community service as a tool to enrich and improve the experiences of students during higher education. Even participating in community service once or twice a semester may be associated with many of the positive benefits attributed to community service.

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Introduction

PROJECT ORGINATION

During my college career, I have struggled, as many students do, with issues of depression. I came to Emory as a wide-eyed pre-med student, ready to learn and socialize, but as time passed, I became increasingly confused about who I wanted to be and what I valued about myself. I lost my sense of self-worth and sense of meaning, and I found myself spiraling out of control, consumed by feelings of loneliness and depression. I wasn't proud of who I had become, and I began to believe that I had nothing to contribute to society.

I have many people, opportunities, and experiences to thank for my recovery from this dark period of my life, but I believe that above all, I must thank community service for pulling me out of the shadows and reminding me of my self-worth. Community service opened my eyes to the sense of purpose I had been searching for, and it saved me for a couple reasons. First, community service reinvigorated my self-confidence and my belief that I had something to contribute to society. Community service made me feel needed by people, and that feeling was incredibly comforting, especially after I had lost my sense of self-worth. Second, community service connected me with a group of compassionate, intelligent, and diverse individuals, who were united by their passion for social justice and by their determination to dismantle systems of privilege and oppression. I found meaning in the fight for social justice and a purpose in addressing issues of disparity in society. I became aware of my own privilege, and I realized that I had an obligation to take advantage of the opportunities I've had throughout my life in order to reciprocate my luck. Community service helped me overcome my depression, because through my participation in community service, I regained my sense of self-worth, and I found purpose to my ambitions and meaning in my actions.

The formative role that community service has had in my own life led me to become curious of whether or not community service has the potential to impact other students in a similar fashion. I believe that community service has the potential to change the college experience, and through this study, I hoped to investigate whether or not there is any merit in my belief.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Using an anthropological perspective, the questions I sought to answer in this study were as follows: Who were students that participated in community service? Why did students participate in community service? What did students gain from participating in community service? The goal of this study was to capture a snapshot of community service among students at Emory, with the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the value of community service in shaping the experiences, perspectives and ambitions of college students.

Chapter 1:
Background and Literature Review

COMMUNITY SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES

Community service long has been a distinctive feature in the landscape of social life in the United States. Adults in the United States are twice as likely to participate in community service activities as are adults in many European countries, including France and Germany (Ladd, 1999; Putman, 2000). Nearly two centuries ago, Alexis de Tocqueville observed the inclination Americans had toward civic service and participation in volunteer activities (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001). Although the presence of community service within American society has been a constant since the time of de Tocqueville, the nature of volunteering in the United States underwent a change within the past century. Community service was largely conducted within the context of religion; however, it gained a more secular framework as the nineteenth century came to a close. Motivations for volunteering became an extension of civic duty rather than religious obligation (Putman, 2000), and community service became integrated into the American national identity as a reflection of both American individualism and compassion.

Community service in the United States stemmed in part from the strong individualistic spirit of American people and their belief in the efficacy and of a single individual to impact change (Ladd, 1999). Additionally, Americans often distrusted the government's ability to address issues within society, and therefore, they believed it was their own responsibility to improve their communities (Ladd, 1999). In this vein, Americans volunteered because of its ability to create stronger communities. Through service, citizens were able to increase social mobility by addressing issues encountered by vulnerable communities. Volunteering also taught younger generations important skills and behaviors of generosity and altruism (Vendantam,

2014) as well as maintained the health of adults through social involvement (Grimm, Dietz, & Foster-Bey, 2006; Stanton, Dwight E. Giles, & Druz, 1999). In these ways, community service in the United States became a reflection of civic responsibility and individualism rather than religious duty.

Despite warning signs of the withdrawal of Americans from civic engagement (Putman, 2000), volunteerism has continued to increase in American society since at least 1974. According to Grimm and colleagues (2006), community service participation was at its highest in 30 years across all age groups in the United States in 2005. The surge in volunteering was mostly fueled by increased participation in community service among three age groups: adolescents, middle-aged adults, and adults 65 years or older (Grimm et al., 2006). However, the overall growth in the number of volunteers was not accompanied by the same amount of increase in the total number of hours Americans dedicated to volunteering. In contrast to the overall growth in the *number* of volunteers, the individuals who participate in community service tend to serve *less*. Especially among young adult volunteers, the nature of community service participation in America has become more episodic, which Grimm and colleagues (2006) define as volunteering less than 99 hours a year. Therefore, it seems that although volunteers account for a larger percentage of the American population, the total number of hours that Americans dedicate to community service may not have increased as markedly.

Although the trend is nuanced, there has been an overall increase in the presence of volunteering within American society. Many speculate that the more recent increase can be attributed in part to a growing sense of nationalism. Events within the past couple of decades, such as the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2011 and devastating natural disasters like Hurricanes Katrina and Ivan in 2004, have strengthened the sense of national

identity among Americans. This enhanced sense of national identity has in turn increased American commitment to community service (Grimm et al., 2006). Additionally, the increase in volunteering among Americans may also be accounted for by the rising number and diversity of nonprofit organizations and non-governmental organizations seeking out volunteers. The number of nonprofits doubled from 1989 to 2004, and approximately 81 percent of nonprofit organizations include volunteers (Boris, 2006). Hence, the overall growth of civil society may have led to an increase in the demand for volunteers, which then contributed to the overall growth of volunteerism in America (Boris, 2006; Grimm et al., 2006).

Community service also has become increasingly integrated into the educational system. Service-learning programs have become more prevalent throughout secondary and higher education institutions (Stanton et al., 1999). Although community service continues to be a mode of social engagement in both secular and religious settings, it has expanded its goals to influence the secondary and postsecondary educational experiences of students. Social movements during the 1960s and 70s shifted the purpose of many higher education institutions to realign their missions with the needs of underserved communities in the United States (Stanton et al., 1999). Hundreds of colleges have become involved in service learning projects such as the Campus Opportunity Outreach League and Campus Compact, and the federal government has encouraged the integration of volunteering into higher education through legislation such as the National and Community Service Act of 1990 and The National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 (Reed, Jornstedt, Hawley, Reber, & Dubois, 2005; Reinders & Youniss, 2006). In addition to being a tool for individuals to climb the economic ladder to seek financial security and greater job opportunities, education has begun to take on a different purpose. Higher education continues to be a pathway to job security and economic gains; however, many institutions are beginning to

emphasize the purpose of higher education as a context to help students develop ethically, examine social challenges, and forge a sense of purpose in life (Colby, Ehrlick, Beaumont, Stephens, & Shulman, 2003). Emory, for one, takes "education of heart and mind" as a theme. To facilitate a more liberal arts intensive mission, service is becoming a larger component of the learning pedagogies employed by higher education institutions.

Demographic Trends of Community Service Participation

In general, research shows that volunteering peaks during middle adulthood (Wilson, 2000); however, there are exceptions and nuances to this trend. One exception is the predisposition that younger volunteers have to engage in high-risk volunteer activities. An example of a high-risk volunteer activity includes volunteering internationally through programs such as Peace Corp. These volunteer activities generally involve younger demographics and have characteristically high attrition rates (Thompson, 1993). A second exception is the observation that older volunteers participate in more community service after retirement. Although the overall rate of volunteering decreases with age after middle adulthood, the rate of volunteering among those who already volunteer tends to increase after retirement (Caro & Bass, 1995). Despite these exceptions, the general demographic trend of volunteering remains parabolic. At a certain point old age begins to significantly erode an individual's ability to volunteer causing volunteer rates to drop dramatically (Wilson & Musick, 1997). The type of volunteer work individuals participate in also changes with age. In the transition between young adulthood and middle-aged adulthood, volunteer work becomes less oriented on self and career and more orientated towards community needs and concerns (Janoski, Musick, & Wilson, 1998).

Volunteering within religious contexts also becomes more prevalent with age (Caro & Bass, 1995).

Additionally, a gender divide has also been observed among volunteers in the United States (Jodgkinson & Weitzman, 1996; Wuthnow, 1995). There is no significant discrepancy between the amount of time male and female volunteers dedicate to community service in the population as a whole (Jodgkinson & Weitzman, 1996); however, the volunteer labor force among adolescents and young adults is disproportionately female (Wuthnow, 1995). This disparity is mostly isolated to younger age groups and can possibly be attributed to differing social constructs of genders in society. For example, females in the United States tend to score higher on measurements of altruism and empathy (Wilson & Musick, 1997) as well as feel a greater obligation to extend compassion to others and to help others (Wilson, 2000). Researchers hypothesize that the differences in these self-reported measurements between males and females are reflections of differing social constructs of masculinity and femininity in American society.

THEORIES OF VOLUNTEERING

Past literature investigating motivations behind community service participation have identified two avenues of thought to help explain why individuals choose to volunteer (House, 1981; Wilson, 2000). The first focuses on personal motivations to volunteer that are largely fostered by cultural values. Children are more likely to volunteer as adults if their parents volunteered, and if they were required to volunteer in high school (Astin & Sax, 1998). In the United States, parents and schools often teach children to value social responsibility, justice, and reciprocity. These values teach children to think positively of community service and motivate them to volunteer (Wilson, 2000). Additionally, children learn to associate positive outcomes

with altruistic behaviors (Amato & Booh, 1997; Wilson, 2000), and they learn to think of citizenship as exhibiting prosocial values and responsibilities (Janoski et al., 1998), all of which motivate children to participate in community service. Cultural values of justice, reciprocity, altruism, and prosociality motivate individuals to volunteer largely through norm enforcement (Wuthnow, 1995). In general, an individual's values are shaped by their cultural context, and if members do not have relationships or exist within communities that promote ideas such as social responsibility or reciprocity, then they lose incentives to participate in community service (Wilson, 2000; Wuthnow, 1995). People are motivated in part to volunteer because they believe community service to be an activity through which they can express prosocial orientations and altruism, characteristics that are coveted and valued by society.

The second avenue of thought that examines participation in community service uses human capital and social resources to explain who volunteers. Using a more utilitarian approach, this perspective does not illuminate why individuals choose to volunteer, but rather which individuals are more inclined to volunteer. The more human capital and social resources an individual possesses, the more likely and able they are to volunteer (Wilson, 2000). Predictors of participation in community service include being raised by parents of greater socioeconomic status (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994), having high levels of education (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994), as well as possessing greater social resources in terms of social networks and family relationship (Wilson, 2000).

Of the predictors that have been identified to correlate with volunteering, education has been shown to be the most consistent factor associated with participation in community service (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994). However, the salience of education level in predicting participation in community service differs depending on the type of volunteering (Wilson, 2000). For

example, education level is more prominently associated with community service for volunteer activities that involve utilize literacy abilities (Oken & Eisenberg, 1992) or awareness of specific political and social issues (A. M. Omoto & Snyder, 1993; Wilson, 2000). Social capital also positively correlates with participation in community service for a number of reasons. Individuals who possess extensive social networks are often more aware of volunteer opportunities and community needs (Rochon, 1998; Wilson & Musick, 1997); they also are more likely to receive personal appeals from others to donate their time and volunteer (Wilson, 2000). People who possess membership in communities also benefit from a sense of community solidarity, and therefore, they are more inclined to volunteer doing activities that will improve the communities of which they are a part of (Rochon, 1998). Because people of higher socioeconomic status are more likely to be members in organizations and communities, they are more likely to participate in community service (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Social networks also help explain why people with families and people who attend church or other religious institutions volunteer more (Wilson, 2000). Children born to parents of higher socioeconomic status also are more inclined to volunteer because parents supply resources such as education to their children, which in turn allows children to accumulate greater human capital (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994). Additionally, children of high status parents also are more inclined to develop concern for societal problems (Wilson, 2000), and they are more likely to have extensive social networks (Wilson & Musick, 1997).

Predispositions to Volunteering

Past studies also have established subjective personality-related dispositions that predict an individual readiness or likelihood to participate in community service. The most consistent

personality trait associated with volunteer service is extraversion (Bekkers, 2005; A. Omoto, Snyder, & Hackett, 2010). Although it is not clear why extraverts have a stronger disposition to volunteer, it may be explained by the possibility that extroverted people are more likely to be a part of expansive social networks (Okun, Pugliese, & Rook, 2007). Extroverts also may volunteer more because they gain energy and feel better being with others, and volunteering is an opportunity for them to be with others. Continuing from the reasoning that extroverted individuals have predispositions to participate in community service, studies have also shows that people who are less socially adept or experience social anxiety and phobia are much less inclined to volunteer (Wilson, 2012).

Additionally, previous reports have suggested that more empathetic people—those who are better able to understand the intentions and emotions of others—are more inclined to volunteer (Einolf, 2008). Einolf (2008) found self-reported empathy to be a positive correlate for participation in community service; however, results have been mixed, and some studies have found empathy to only be an indirect correlate to volunteerism (Wilhelm & Bekkers, 2010). Investigators hypothesize that the disparate findings concerning empathy may be because empathy must be complemented with a feeling of obligation in order to induce participation in community service (Wilhelm & Bekkers, 2010; Wilson, 2012). Wilhelm and Bekkers (2010) describe this as a "principle of care."

Past literature has also used attachment theory to try and explain predispositions to participation in community service. Attachment theory was developed by Bowlby (1969) to model the essential bond in human nature between mothers and their children, and it describes interpersonal relationships between human beings (Bowlby, 1969). Wilson (2012) hypothesizes that attachment theory can be used to explain why people who are self-confident and self-assured

are more likely to volunteer since they are more inclined to reach out and connect with others.

Furthermore, attachment theory also models people's avoidance of others or distrust in others'

intentions, which Wilson (2012) also hypothesizes can explain why people who avoid

attachments are less likely to participate in community service. Research using attachment theory

as a predictor for volunteerism is not very substantial; however, a study done among Dutch

undergraduate students did find that attachment avoidance inversely correlated with participation

in community service (Erez, Mikulincer, Ijzendoorn, & Kroonenberg, 2008).

DEFINING COMMUNITY SERVICE AS AN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

Service oriented experiential education opportunities can be placed on a continuum

defined by two parameters: service outcomes and learning outcomes (Sigmon, 1997). Activities

along the experiential education spectrum include both service and learning components but are

distinguished by the balance and overlap between the two (Furco, 1996). As figure 1 illustrates,

"service learning" can either comprise of a breadth of activities that integrate community service

experiences with intentional learning prospects, or it can account for two activities that occur

simultaneously but without overlapping goals.

Figure 1: A Service-Learning Typology (Sigmon, 1997)

service-LEARNING	Learning goals primary, service outcomes secondary
SERVICE-learning	Service outcomes primary, learning goals secondary
service learning	Service and learning goals completely separate
SERVICE-LEARNING	Service and Learning goals of equal weight and each enhances the other for all participants

Activities that accentuate the "learning" goals focus on the students; in other words, the service-

LEARNING experiences benefit the learning of students donating their time more so than the

recipients of the service. Activities that accentuate the "service" goals have the opposite affect,

with the recipients of the service benefiting more than the donors. SERVICE-LEARNING

activities balance service and learning equally so that the donors and recipients of service

experience equivalent benefit.

   Throughout their undergraduate careers, students can engage in a plethora of activities

along the service-oriented experiential education continuum, which consists of a series of

community engagement opportunities that can be generally sorted into five categories based on

the value they provide to the recipients and providers of the service respectively (Furco, 1996).

Figure 2 illustrates the scalar nature of experiential education activities and suggests where each

category falls in comparison to one another. Experiences that focus more on the service aspects

benefit recipients of the volunteer activities more, and experiences that focus on the learning

aspects benefit the providers more.

Figure 2: Experiential education continuum (Furco, 1996)

| *Recipient* | ⟵——————— | BENEFICIARY | ———————⟶ | *Provider* |
| *Service* | ⟵——————— | FOCUS | ———————⟶ | *Learning* |

Service-Learning

Community Service   Field Education

Volunteerism   Internship
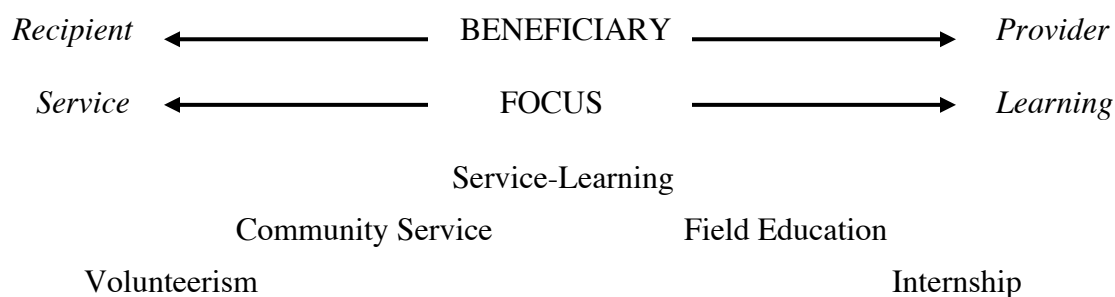
The boundaries between these categories are fluid with no clear limitations as to where specific

opportunities within each type fall on the continuum; however, each label does imply a specific

intended purpose and focus that distinguish the categories from one another. Volunteerism and community service emphasize the service aspect more than the learning aspect, and the principal beneficiaries are the recipients of the service, not the students providing the service. Field education and internships lie on the opposite end of the continuum, emphasizing the learning aspect with the principal beneficiaries being the students, or service providers. Service-learning activities place a balanced focus between the service and learning aspects with both the recipients of the service and the providers of the service benefiting equally (Furco, 1996).

This research focuses exclusively on the following two categories of service-oriented experiential education opportunities: volunteerism and community service. Volunteerism is commonly used to refer to individuals who dedicate time, free of compensation, to perform community service (Toole & Toole, 1992). As a form of experiential education, community service can be defined as activities that focus not only on the service being provided but also on the students providing the service (Furco, 1996). Community service implies a sustained commitment over time, with students exhibiting greater dedication to a single cause as well as growth in their understanding of the discourse that surrounds the issue. Volunteering on the other hand often involves less investment in terms of both time and the facilitation of learning by students. Despite these differences, the inherent purpose of both activities is to help communities (Furco, 1996); therefore, the terms volunteering and community service are used interchangeably throughout the study.

The previous discussion has focused on the background of community service within American society as a cultural phenomenon and educational institution. The following section

will discuss previous findings of possible reciprocal or bidirectional correlations associated with participation in community service during college and high school.

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Students participating in service-oriented community engagement opportunities have shown an increased propensity to develop a sense of social responsibility. Social responsibility can be defined as a belief in the obligations of citizens to contribute to society. In a longitudinal study of undergraduates done by Astin and Sax (1998), community service participants showed a much greater increase in their sense of civic responsibility and commitment to serve throughout college compared to non-participants (Astin & Sax, 1998). More specifically, service participants self-reported large differential changes in the following values: "promoting racial understanding", "participate in a community action programs", and "influencing social behaviors" (Astin & Sax, 1998). Students participating in service-learning programs have shown an increased belief in their ability to have an impact. Furthermore, these students exhibited greater compassion for their service clients and felt greater responsibility for enacting social change (Giles & Eyler, 1994).

Contrary to these reports, Reed and colleagues (2005) found that students engaging in short-term community service activities during an engaged-learning course reported no increase in their sense of social responsibility. They concluded that their results suggest that community service prevents a degradation of students' sense of social responsibility rather than increases students' sense of social responsibility (Reed et al., 2005). This implies that social responsibility is a learned behavior that must be maintained through continual engagement in activities that facilitate a sense of social responsibility. Additionally, as students enter college, they often move

away from parental support systems that may have been reinforcing their sense of social responsibility. College students and young adults alike, transitioning into previously unknown independence, may be particularly susceptible to the degradation of social responsibility that Reed and colleagues (2005) hypothesized participation in community service buffers against.

Contributing to possible correlations between community service and social responsibility may be findings that service-learning programs have also been shown to facilitate prosocial behaviors, defined as actions intended to help others, and altruistic decision-making by students (Batchelder & Root, 1994). A longitudinal study conducted with high school students participating in school-based required community service found that when students were engaged directly with communities in need through service, they experienced a shift in perspective of self and society that led to increased prosocial behaviors (Reinders and Youniss, 2006). They also found that increased prosocial behaviors were associated with future civic involvement both politically and socially (Reinders & Youniss, 2006). Another longitudinal study conducted with high school seniors showed that high school volunteering led to increased prosocial attitudes among student volunteers (Janoski et al., 1998). Janoski and colleagues (1998) found tht the prosocial orientations of high school student volunteers was above average when compared to other adolescents the same age. Community service provides a unique experience for adolescents and can be a resource to facilitate the development of prosocial behaviors (Christoph, Gniewoscz, & Reinders, 2014). Additionally, the correlation between community service participation and social responsibility may be dependent on the amount of time spent volunteering. Penner and Finkelstein found prosocial personality orientation to be correlated to the length of community service and amount of time dedicated to volunteering (Louis A. Penner & Finkelstein, 1998).

The increase in students' sense of social responsibility may be connected in part to growth in moral reasoning. Service-learning and community service have been linked to greater moral reasoning in students who have participated in community service when compared to students who have not. Community service engages volunteers in real life ethical contexts which facilitate the development of moral thought and growth (Brandenberger, 2005). Following the completion of a two-month summer service project, students showed significant growth in moral reasoning compared to the nonparticipating comparison group. After participating in community service, students were more likely to evaluate moral dilemmas in a comprehensive manner without simply accepting previously established boundaries as a guideline for their decision making (Lies, Bock, Brandenberger, & Trozzolo, 2012). However, research connecting community service to moral growth is still in its earliest stages. Findings on the association of service-learning with moral growth have been mixed. Some studies involving large sample sizes report positive correlations (Boss, 1994), while other studies involving much smaller sample sizes report no correlations (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008). This pattern suggests that the effects of community service on moral growth are small and therefore difficult to measure.

Overall, participation in community service is a positively reinforcing mechanism that predicts future altruistic behavior and commitment to service. Community service participation as a student is associated with an increased and extended commitment to service in the future. Students who participate in community service also show greater intent to continue volunteering (Astin & Sax, 1998). Giles and Elyer (1994) found that students participating in community service were more likely to aspire to leadership roles and to support self-efficacy in the political system through volunteering (Giles & Eyler, 1994). In fact, both college and high school volunteering and participation in service learning courses have been shown to be significant

indicators of adult volunteering (Bowman, Brandenberger, Lapsley, Hill, & Quaranto, 2010; Janoski et al., 1998). Findings that previous engagement in service opportunities predict for future and intended commitments to volunteering suggest that community service reinforces altruistic tendencies in individuals.

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND WELL-BEING

Eudaimonic and Hedonic Well-being

Within the dialogue of average Americans and the scientific community, the notion of well-being has garnered much attention during in the past decade. The study of well-being as a measurement for psychological functioning and experience has typically followed two traditions: hedonism and eudaimonism. Hedonism refers to well-being largely defined by happiness and pleasure, and eudaimonism refers to well-being that is achieved through the fulfillment of potential (Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Hedonic well-being is often measured using subjective well-being (SWB), which uses life satisfaction as a measurement of happiness and pleasure. Life satisfaction, as a component of SWB, refers to an individual's evaluation of their current reality compared to their aspirations. SWB quantifies how people view the quality of their own life as a whole and within certain domains, like marriage or employment, and includes measurements of mood and emotion (Diener, 2000). SWB includes long-term assessment of the quality of life through measurements of life satisfaction and short-term positive or negative emotions and moods evoked by immediate life circumstances (C. L. M. Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002).

Eudaimonic theory developed as a sort of counterargument to SWB and the notion that well-being is defined by measurements of happiness, positive emotions, and life satisfaction.

Taken from Aristotle's text *Nichomachean Ethics,* eudaimonia refers to well-being that is separate from happiness. The essence of eudaimonic well-being lies in the pursuit of fulfillment and excellence in accordance to one's own potential (Ryff & Singer, 2008). The concept of psychological well-being (PWB) was developed to assess measurements of positive psychological functioning encompassed by eudaimonia that are ignored by SWB. PWB contains dimensions of self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth to capture an understanding of the well-being within individuals (Ryff, 1989).

Correlations between Community Service and Well-being

Several studies have found correlations between participation in community service and well-being; however, the direction of the correlation is unclear, and some investigators hypothesize that the relationship is bidirectional in nature (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001). Studies have tried to tease out causality by employing longitudinal paradigms in an attempt to control for the directionality of correlations between community service and well-being. Possible longitudinal correlations between community service and well-being may be facilitated by the observation that students typically enter college during early adulthood, a developmental period that many have argued to be a critical for identity development both personally and socially (Erikson, 1956). In other words, college experiences occur during a formative stage in an individual's perception of self and development of personal values. Therefore, the influence that community service has on students' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors during college may resonate well into adulthood (Colby et al., 2003).

In a longitudinal study, investigators found that participation in community service in college predicted adult volunteering and prosocial orientations thirteen years after graduation, and both outcomes correlated to increased well-being in the form of personal growth, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and life satisfaction (Bowman et al., 2010). In other words, they found that participation in community service itself did not lead to increased well-being, but rather that prosocial orientations resulting from participation in community service predicted for increased well-being. This theory is corroborated by findings that prosocial purpose orientations are more predictive of generativity, personal growth, and integrity than other purpose orientations such as creative, financial, or personal recognition (Hill, Burrow, Brandenberger, Lapsley, & Quaranto, 2009).

In addition to prosocial orientations, participation in community service has been found to facilitate increased well-being in other ways. Scales and colleagues (2006) observed that adolescents who volunteered, engaged more with nonfamily adult role models and were less likely to participate in risky behaviors, both of which are associated with increased thriving. They measured thriving using eight indicators including self-reported school grades, appreciation for diversity, delayed gratification, and helping others behaviors (Scales, Benson, & Mannes, 2006). The studies done by Bowman and colleagues (2010) and Scale and colleagues (2006) demonstrate the indirect affect that community service may have on increased well-being among volunteers.

There also have been many studies that show a more direct correlation between participation in community service and well-being, particularly in the form of a sense of meaning. Reed and colleagues (2005) found that students who participated in service-learning experiences self-reported a greater sense of meaning in college (Reed et al., 2005), which

suggests that volunteering gives people a purpose and provides volunteers with a sense of personal mission and self-worth. Participating in community service often allows people to express pride in their own personal strengths and to see value in themselves through acts of benevolence (Musick & Wilson, 2003). The sense of meaning cultivated by community service has been found to be strongly associated with increased contact with self, others, and society. In fact, studies have found that students who exhibit greater perceptions of meaningfulness in their lives are more likely to engage in extracurricular activities (Astin & Sax, 1998). Studies also have found that meaningfulness, fostered by participation in community service, is negatively associated with social alienation from self and others, and positively associated with growth in self-esteem (Astin & Sax, 1998; Debats, Drost, & Hansen, 1995). In general, individuals who exhibit a strong sense of meaningfulness also tend to experience greater well-being, and are more likely to maintain their well-being by effectively coping with stressful life events.

Volunteering also has been shown to have positive psychological benefits in reducing the risk for depression; however, results of these benefits have been shown to be mostly limited to older age groups. Volunteering has been found to have greater psychological and physical benefits among older people than younger people. Musick and Wilson (2003) found that volunteering yields social resources and mediates decreased rates of depression in people over the age of 65, but they did not find any correlation between volunteering and decreased depression in younger subsamples (Musick & Wilson, 2003). A study of the benefits of volunteering across different age groups also found increased benefits in older age groups (Willigen, 2000). The positive effects of volunteering observed in older age groups suggests that the psychological benefits of community service are connected to diminishing societal roles (Musick & Wilson, 2003).

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT

Several studies have found that participation in community service facilitates academic development among students and assists in creating a more fruitful academic experience. One investigation found that students engaging in a one-time community service activity through an engaged-learning course were more likely to hold increased belief in the meaningfulness of college (Reed et al., 2005). Furthermore, when service experiences can be directly correlated to academic materials presented in classrooms, community service experiences have been shown to improve academic performance. Students participating in service-learning courses were found to be more adept at analyzing complex social issues related to their service, and they demonstrated a more nuanced awareness for the multiplicity and complexity of social issues than their counterparts who did not participate in classes with a service-learning component (Batchelder & Root, 1994).

Service learning has also been shown to improve students' understanding of the material they learned in class. Giles and Eyler (1999) found that service opportunities followed by quality reflections led students to have not only a more nuanced understanding of subject matter, but also an increased ability to apply their knowledge in solving and analyzing complex problems (Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999). Traditional methods of teaching problem solving encounter challenges because students have limited understanding of realistic situations. As a result, students often regard a single solution as the "correct" one and exclusively seek solutions without evaluating the situation holistically (Bransford, 1993). Including community service into learning pedagogies has been shown to address many of these challenges and help students acquire problem solving skills (Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999).

Other findings that suggest positive correlations between academic development and participation in community service include a longitudinal study following undergraduates attending institutions with federally funded community service programs. This study found that students who participated in community service showed improved academic outcomes in the form of grade point averages, increased general, field, and discipline knowledge, preparation and aspiration for continued education, and time devoted to studying and homework (Astin & Sax, 1998). The most significant finding in this study was that students who participated in community service were nearly 50% more likely to interact with faculty members than their nonparticipants. The observation that community service is associated with preparation and aspiration for continued education (Astin & Sax, 1998) is supported by more recent findings that students who participate in community service are more likely to find career callings, which positively correlates with their likelihood of seeking higher academic degrees (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2010). Students who participate in community service are much more likely to develop values of social responsibility and to believe in civic duty (Astin & Sax, 1998; Batchelder & Root, 1994; Giles & Eyler, 1994), which facilitate career callings and may explain in part the increased rate at which students who participate in community service seek higher academic degrees (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2010).

However, not all studies have found positive correlations between participation in community service and academic development. In the same longitudinal study that found participation in community service to be a positive predictor for well-being through adulthood, Bowmen and colleagues (2010) also found that college GPA was negatively correlated with volunteering after graduation, which suggests that academic pursuits and community-related pursuits may be competing rather than complementary goals (Bowman et al., 2010).

Additionally, Giles and Eyler (1999) found that students who valued community service as an opportunity to engage with diverse communities were less likely to find class as intellectually stimulating (Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999).

IS ALL COMMUNITY SERVICE EQUAL?

Overall, community service is correlated with enhanced academic performance, well-being, and sense of social responsibility; however, not all community service is equal. There are many different types of community service and also many different ways of facilitating a community service opportunity for students. The following three factors have been found to enhance positive correlations between community service and positive outcomes: reflection, incorporation of diversity, and salience of community voice.

Van Goethem and colleagues found that reflection, which can be defined as the "deliberative consideration of volunteer actions of behalf of others," was essential in facilitating the positive correlations of community service with enhanced well-being, academic performance, and social responsibility (Goethem, Hoof, Castro, Aken, & Hart, 2014). Reflection is often seen as the bridge that connects the actual service experience to learning outcomes and can take many forms, including: formal group discussion, written reflections, or one-on-one discussion. Eyler and Giles (1999) found that the amount and quality of reflection was most consistently correlated with positive academic outcomes. They found reflection to be a predictor for openness to new ideas, enhanced issue identification skills, as well as problem-solving and critical thinking skills (Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999). In general, reflection has been found to be a key tool in the integration of moral growth and reasoning with service-learning.

In addition to reflection, community service opportunities that enhance students'
exposure to diversity in the form of ethnicity and culture have also been correlated with greater
positive outcomes. Eyler and Giles (1999) found diversity to be associated with greater cultural
appreciation, understanding of self, meaningfulness in service, and prosocial orientations.
Students who self-reported having opportunities to work with diverse ethnic groups through
community service showed greater commitment to social justice and sense of social
responsibility (Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999). Incorporation of cultural and ethnic diversity in
community service opportunities facilitates positive correlations between participation in
community service and academic performance, well-being, and sense of social responsibility.

The third factor that influences the quality of community service is the salience of the
community's voice. Students who reported that they believed the volunteer work they completed
met the needs of community members as defined by the community were observed to undergo
greater perspective transformation. Belief that the goals of the community service accurately
represented the needs of the community was associated with greater personal growth in the form
of tolerance, cultural appreciation, sense of meaningfulness from service, and prosocial
orientations. Students who valued community voice were more likely to have a connection with
the community and to have a sense of obligation towards community members (Eyler & Dwight
E. Giles, 1999).

In sum, community service activities that incorporate reflection, diversity, and
community voice are more likely to positively correlate with well-being, academic performance,
and sense of social responsibility among volunteers. Not all community service is equal, and
community service experiences that include one or all of the previously mentioned

characteristics are more likely to be associated with positive outcomes within the volunteers and to facilitate a reciprocal community service experience.

THE COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT

Demographic Trends in College Enrollment

The past 40 years have witnessed an unprecedented growth in the number of students enrolling in college. Four year institutions are becoming much more popular than two-year commuter colleges, and students are attending college full-time at an increasing rate. Accompanying the overall growth of enrollment in college, particularly in four-year institutions is a dramatic shift in the demographic of students seeking higher education. In addition to increased enrollment of female students, the racial and ethnic distribution of students has diversified to reflect shifts in the population of the United States. The percentage of students who identify as Caucasian has decreased from 90.9 percent to 76.5 percent, with the representation of Asian American and Asian students nearly doubling each decade since 1971. Representation of students identifying as Latino in higher education has also steadily increased, mostly due to the overall growth of Latino populations in United States. Demographic trends of Black students have had more of an inverted U-shaped pattern, increasing slightly from 1971 to 1980 and then declining slightly from 1980 to 2006. In 2006, Black students accounted for 10.5 percent of the total population of students in higher education (Pryor, Hurtado, Saenz, Santos, & Korn, 2007).

Other demographic trends include declining religious affiliations among students. Students are becoming more secular, and the proportion of students attending religious services has been on a steady decline since 1968. Students are also coming from more financially able families. The income levels of parents with incoming first-year students have been rising faster

than the average income in the United States since the 1980s, and as more individuals are

receiving higher education, the number of first generation first-year students also has been

dropping (Pryor et al., 2007). Overall, there have been dramatic shifts in the demographic

representation of incoming first year college students within recent decades and an

unprecedented growth in the overall number of students enrolled in higher education institutions.

The changing demographics of college students reflect in part the diversification of the

underlying population of the United States.

Who Participates in Community Service during College, and Why?

Several personal and demographic factors have been found to correlate with volunteering

among college students. Studies consistently have found that participation in community service

before enrolling in college predicts participation during college (Berger & Milem, 2002; Cruce &

Moore, 2012; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007) and that participation during the first

year of college predicts participation throughout college (Griffith & Hunt-White, 2008).

Additionally, students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds volunteer more than students

from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and female students participate in community service

more often than male students (Cruce & Moore, 2012; Dote, Cramer, Dietz, & Grimm, 2006).

The literature concerning students' traits, values, and attitudes is less consistent. Astin

and Sax (1998), while analyzing five consecutive years of Cooperative Institutional Research

Program (CIRP) data and follow-up survey data, found that positive correlates for volunteerism

during college were leadership ability, religious organization affiliation, belief in community

action programs, previous community service engagement during high school, and identifying as

a woman. The only negative correlate for collegiate participation in community service found in

their study was the priority of financial gains in a student's motivation for attending college (Astin & Sax, 1998). Students who participate in community service often already have a sense of civic responsibility, and the most common self-reported reason students participated in community service during college was "to help other people." Over half of the subjects also answered personal satisfaction, to contribute to positive change within their community, and to contribute to positive change within society as a whole (Astin & Sax, 1998).

Astin and Sax (1998) also found that students who were motivated by the prospect of personal gains that come from community service, i.e. resume enhancement, skill development, academic learning, were less likely to be motivated by the desire to help others (Astin & Sax, 1998). According to the functional theory of motives, most people participate in community service due to a collection of six reasons: to fulfill personal values, as a learning experience, to gain social connections, to enhance career prospects, as a form of therapy, and as a means for personal growth or ego-enhancement (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

Additionally, Marks and Jones (2004) found that students who were socially responsible, optimistic, religious, and nonmaterialistic were more inclined to participate in community beyond high school and during their years in college (Marks & Jones, 2004). Studies have found that in order for students to exhibit sustained commitment to community service, students must feel a connection to their communities and comprehend a need within the community for their volunteer work (Hellman, Hoppes, & Ellison, 2006).

In sum, participation in community service has been an increasing but nuanced trend among citizens of the United States. Community service has become more integrated into the education system as a tool to enrich and broaden educational pedagogies. Much of the

integration of community service into educational pedagogies may have been motivated by findings supporting the reciprocity or bidirectional relationship of community service and social responsibility, well-being, and educational development. Most studies thus far have focused on long-term community service participation or service-learning programs, and the evidence has been indicative of the positive benefits of participation in community service but not conclusive. Additionally, studies have shown that not all community service experiences are equal and that certain demographic circumstances and personality traits are associated with predispositions for participation in community service among everyday Americans and college students.

Chapter 2:
Methodology

PROCEDURES

With the permission of the Office of Student Leadership and Service, Volunteer Emory's volunteer database was used to compile a list of every undergraduate student at Emory who had participated in at least one Volunteer Emory community service opportunity during the Fall 2014 academic semester. Using mail merge, every student on the list was emailed a personalized letter and asked to complete the survey. The survey was created using Google Forms. These students had engaged in a variety of disparate community service activities, including gardening in community gardens, sorting medical supplies, and tutoring high school students. A total of 667 Emory students were contacted, and 126 students completed the survey. Before completing the survey, all students were asked for their consent in being a research participant in this study. Additionally, all students consented to the possibility of being contacted in the future for a follow-up interview.

One student in the survey portion was thrown out because they were a graduate student, leaving a total sample of 125 students. The survey included four indexes: the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE), the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale-21 (DASS21), the short form of the Mental Health Continuum (MHC-SF), and the Time Management Behavior Scale (TMB). In addition to the four indexes, the survey asked students about their frequency of volunteering during the Fall 2014 semester, frequency of volunteering before enrolling in college, number of enrolled academic credit hours, and significant time commitments that require dedicating around or over 10 to 15 hours every week.

This study focused exclusively on what Musick and Wilson termed "formal volunteering." Formal volunteering can be defined as community service completed within and for communities where time and effort were dedicated towards the direct improvement of communities. "Informal volunteer activities," or activities that involve volunteering but do not have a direct impact or do not take place within communities, were excluded. In other words, belonging to a service organization or attending philanthropic or planning meetings that were voluntary but only had an indirect impact on the community (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001; Wilson & Musick, 1997) were not included as community service activities in this study. Controlling for Musick and Wilson's (1997) definition of "formal volunteering," students were categorized by the number of times they had volunteered in the Fall 2014 semester. Students were placed into the Semester group if they had volunteered one or two times during the semester. Students were placed into the Monthly group if they had volunteered between three and five times during the semester, and students were placed into the Weekly group if they had volunteer six or more times throughout the semester. Two students were thrown out while sorting the survey participants into groups because it was unclear how often they had volunteered throughout the Fall 2014 semester. Of the 123 survey participants that remained, 62 students were placed into the Semester group, 24 students were placed into the Monthly group, and 37 students were placed into the Weekly group.

Five students in each group were then emailed with a request for an in-person, 30 to 45 minute follow-up ethnographic interview. Possible interview participants were selected using an online random number generator. If students did not respond within two days, they were sent a follow-up email. If they did not respond two days after the follow-up email, another participant in their respective group was contacted concerning a follow-up interview. A total of 22 students

were asked to participate in a follow-up ethnographic interview, and 16 of the 22 students contacted responded and completed the interview. Verbal consent to use the information provided in the interviews was acquired from every students interviewed. Two students originally placed in the Monthly group were moved into the Semester group after their interviews revealed that the information on the survey was incorrect. They had only volunteered one or two times during the Fall 2014 semester. In the end, seven students were interviewed in the Semester group, four students were interviewed in the Monthly group, and five students were interviewed in the Weekly group. The two students who were moved into the Semester group for the interviews were also moved into the Semester group for the survey, leaving 64 students in the Semester group, 22 students in the Monthly group, and 37 students in the Weekly group.

The same 33-question interview script was used to conduct semi-structured ethnographic interviews with all 16 students interviewed. The interview script included questions about their academic interests, future aspirations, community service experiences, and Emory experience in general. The same outline and phrasing of questions in the interview script was used for each time; however, the follow-up questions differed between interviews as interview participants were asked to expand upon what they had said. Each interview lasted between 25 and 50 minutes, and all the interviews were recorded using the "Voice Memos" Application on an iPhone 5s. All of the recordings were then slowed down using ExpressScribe and transcribed.

VARIABLES AND MEASUREMENTS

Frequency of Volunteering. This variable was used to measure students' commitment to community service based on the amount of time they dedicated to volunteer work. Defined by the number of times a student participated in "formal volunteering" during the Fall 2014

academic semester, frequency of volunteering was used as the independent variable. Using the volunteer logs kept by Volunteer Emory and information collected in the surveys, students were placed into the following three groups: Weekly, Monthly, and Semester. Students in the Semester group had volunteered one or two times throughout the semester. Students in the Monthly group had volunteered three to five times throughout the semester, and students in the Weekly group had volunteered six or more times throughout the semester.

Volunteer activities through Volunteer Emory and outside of Volunteer Emory were both included in the "Frequency of Volunteering" variable. In the survey, students were asked to list additional volunteer activities outside of Volunteer Emory. Many students were a part of Volunteer organizations or programs that volunteered on a weekly, monthly, or semester basis, and they were placed into the groups accordingly. Volunteer service completed outside of Volunteer Emory could not be crosschecked for accuracy. Students were also asked to list any community service participation extending from engaged-learning courses in the survey; however, none of the students reported that they were enrolled in an engaged-learning course involving community service. Only community service completed while classes were in session was considered. Any service activities completed during Fall, Thanksgiving, or Winter break were not considered when categorizing students.

Academic Credit Hours. Students self-reported the number of academic credit hours they were enrolled in during the Fall 2014 semester. A standard class at Emory that meets twice a week for an hour and 15 minutes each time, or three times a week for 50 minutes each time is accredited three hours. Once a week, three-hour seminar classes are also considered to be three credit hours. If a class involves significant out of class commitments than it is accredited four hours. For

example, continued writing classes and engaged-learning classes are generally four credit hours classes. Varsity athletics are also given three credit hours. Physical education requirements, first year health classes, pre-major advising at Emory (PACE) courses, and applied music courses are considered to be one credit hour. Students must be enrolled for twelve to 19 credit hours every semester. Students who have cumulative grade point averages above 3.0 and students in their final semester are allowed to enroll in more than 22 credit hours excluding physical education classes, and students in their last semester also may under load and enroll in less than twelve credit hours. *Source: Emory University Academic Policies & Regulations*

The General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE). Self-efficacy reflects the optimistic belief in one's ability to cope with or overcome adversity. It has been shown to facilitate goal-setting behaviors, persistence, recovery from set-backs, and effort investment (Jerusalum & Swarzer, 1992). Schawarzer and Jerusalum (1995) developed the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE) as a self-reported measurement to assess the general perceived self-efficacy of general adult populations and adolescents (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995).

The GSE is a self-administered 10-item questionnaire. Participants were asked to use a 4-point scale to assess the extent to which a behavior accurately described them; answers ranged between "Not at all true" and "Exactly true." To score participants' answers, each participant's responses were coded numerically (1 = not at all true, 2 = hardly true, 3 = moderately true, 4 = exactly true) and aggregated into a single score. Overall, the participants' scores ranged from 10 to 40. No items were reverse coded.

Mental Health Continuum, Short Form (MHC-SF). The mental health continuum, short form (MHC-SF), is based off of the 40 item long form of the mental health continuum. The mental health continuum measures the six dimension of psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989) and the five dimensions of social well-being (C. Keyes, 1998). The MHC-SF is comprised of 14 items that represent each of the following facets of well-being: emotional, psychological, and social. The three items representing emotional well-being address happiness, interest in life, and satisfaction. Of the remaining 11 items in the 14-item scale, six items represent each of the six dimensions of psychological well-being, and five items represent each of the five dimensions of social well-being (C. Keyes, 2009).

Respondents were asked how often each particular phrase applied to them within the past month, and answers were limited to a 6-point scale. Each participant's responses were then numerically coded (0 = never, 1 = once or twice, 2 = about once a week, 3 = 2 or 3 times a week, 4 = almost every day, 5 = every day) and aggregated in four ways. First, a comprehensive score adding up all 14 responses was calculated; the final scores for the comprehensive score ranged between zero and 70. Then, the three items representing emotional well-being were summed, the six items representing psychological well-being were summed, and the five items representing social well-being were summed. Hedonic well-being was represented by emotional well-being and eudaimonic well-being was represented by psychological and social well-being.

A diagnosis of "flourishing," "moderately mentally healthy," and "languishing" was given to each of the study participants, using the guidelines given by Keyes (2009). If someone reported "every day" or "almost every day" for at least one of the three of the hedonic well-being items and for at least six of the 11 eudaimonic items, then they were diagnosed as "flourishing." If someone reported "never" or "once or twice" for at least one of the three of the hedonic well-

being items and for at least six of the 11 eudaimonic items, then they were diagnosed as "languishing." If participants were neither "flourishing" nor "languishing" then they were diagnosed as "moderately mentally healthy" (C. Keyes, 2009).

Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale-21 (DASS21). The Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale is used to measure negative emotional states. The DASS21 is a shorter version of a 42-item questionnaire and consists of three subscales. Each of the three subscales in the DASS21 has 7 items. The DASS21 uses a dimensional rather than categorical perception of psychological disorder, and therefore cannot be used to create direct implications for diagnostic purposes according to classification systems like the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM) (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995).

Participants were asked to read a series of statements and assess the extent to which each statement applied to them over the past week. Each participant's responses were numerically coded (0 = Did not apply to me at all, 1 = Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time, 2 = Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time, 3 = Applied to me very much, or most of the time). The items in each subscale were then grouped and aggregated accordingly for each participant. The aggregated scores were then doubled to create the final scores for each of the three subscales. A diagnosis of severity for depression, anxiety, and stress was made for each participant using the *Manual for the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress* (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995) as a reference. A participant was considered to be experiencing "normal" levels of depression, anxiety, and stress if they scored equal to or lower than nine, seven, and 14 accordingly.

Time Management Behaviors Scale (TMB). The 33-item Time Management Behaviors scale (TMB) is a shortened adaptation of the 46-item TMB developed by Macan and colleagues (1990). The TMB used in this study was an imputed version for the purposes of evaluating and comparing time management behaviors of research participants. Responses ranged from "seldom true" to "very often true" and three subscales were used to examine the responses: Setting Goals and Priorities, Mechanics of Time Management and Preference for Organization. To quantify the subscales from the self-administered survey, each participants' responses were coded (1 = seldom true, 2 = occasionally true, 3 = true about as often as not, 4 = frequently true, 5 = very often true); 11 items that were negatively phrased were reverse coded so that high scores were a consistent indicator of more positive time management behaviors (Macan, Shahani, Dibboye, & Phillips, 1990).

The items were then sorted using the three subscales and aggregated accordingly. 11 items were aggregated to form the first subscale, Setting Goals and Priorities. 12 items were aggregated to measure Mechanics of Time Management, and 7 items were aggregated to measure Preference of Organization. 3 items that referred to a fourth subscale, Perceived Control of Time, that existed in the original 46 item TMB were thrown out.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

All statistical analyses were done using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated in SPSS using "Frequency of Volunteering" as the independent variable, and Academic Credit Hours, GSE, MHC-SF, DASS21, and TMBS as dependent variables. Demographic tables presenting percentages were also created in SPSS using descriptive statistics and crosstabulations. The

acceptance level for statistical significance was established to be 0.1 for every variable and measurement used.

HYPOTHESES

Two hypotheses were made regarding the quantitative results and qualitative results. For the quantitative results, I hypothesized that higher frequency of volunteering would be positively correlated with greater well-being and self-efficacy, decreased anxiety, depression and stress, and better time management behaviors. For the qualitative results, I predicted that students in the Weekly group would be more likely to draw connections between community engagement and their future goals. I also hypothesized that students in the Weekly group were more likely to feel fulfilled in their daily life and empowered in their abilities to change the world. Furthermore, I expected students' motivations for volunteering to differ depending on their commitment to volunteering.

Chapter 3:
Results

This research study contained both quantitative data collected from a survey and qualitative data collected from ethnographic interviews. This section begins with the results from the survey followed the results from the interviews. All of the names referred to throughout this study are pseudonyms.

Quantitative Data: Survey

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

On average, students were enrolled in around 16 credit hours during the Fall 2014 semester (Table 1). Four of the 123 students did not report the number of credit hours they were enrolled in; however, on average, students in all three groups were enrolled in the same number of credit hours. The number of enrolled academic credit hours students did not significantly correlate with the frequency they volunteered during the Fall 2014 semester (Table 2).

Table 1. Self-reported number of enrolled academic credit hours during the Fall 2014 semester

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Semester	62	15.742	2.1111	.2681	15.206	16.278	11.0	22.0
Monthly	21	16.000	2.5298	.5521	14.848	17.152	12.0	22.0
Weekly	36	16.361	3.0346	.5058	15.334	17.388	4.0	22.0
Total	119	15.975	2.4888	.2282	15.523	16.427	4.0	22.0

Table 2. Analysis of variance (AVOVA), frequency of volunteering and enrolled credit hours

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.748	2	4.374	.703	.497
Within Groups	722.177	116	6.226		
Total	730.924	118			

Forty-eight percent of the survey participants reported having significant weekly time commitments, defined by any activities—including employment, sports, or other extracurricular activities—that take up between 10 and 15 hours a week. Students who volunteered more regularly were more likely to report having a significant time commitment. 59.5% of the students in the Weekly group reported having significant time commitments; 54.5% of the students in the Monthly group reported having significant time commitments, and 39.1% of students in the Semester group reported having significant time commitments. One student in the Weekly group did not report whether or not they had significant time commitments (Table 3).

Table 3. Participation in significant time commitments.

			Frequency of Volunteering			Total
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	
Do you participate in any activities that require a significant time commitment around or over 10-15 hours per week?		Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.8%
	No	Count	39	10	14	63
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	60.9%	45.5%	37.8%	51.2%
	Yes	Count	25	12	22	59
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	39.1%	54.5%	59.5%	48.0%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Not only were students in the Weekly group being more likely to report having significant time commitments, but they also were more likely to report having volunteered during the summers between academic semesters at Emory. 48.6% of students in the Weekly group reported that they participated in community service opportunities during their summers in college; on the other hand, only 20.3% of students in the Semester group and 13.6% of students in the Monthly group reported that they had participated in community service opportunities during their summers in college. One student in the Semester group, and one student in the Monthly group did not report whether or not they had participated in community service during their summers at Emory (Table 4). This correlation was most likely due to the fact that students

in the Semester group were much more likely to first and second year students and therefore, have had less opportunities to participate in community service in college or no opportunity to participate in community service in college.

Table 4. Participation in community service during summers between semesters in college

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
Did you participate in community service opportunities during your summers in college?		Count	1	1	0	2
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	1.6%	4.5%	0.0%	1.6%
	No	Count	50	18	19	87
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	78.1%	81.8%	51.4%	70.7%
	Yes	Count	13	3	18	34
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	20.3%	13.6%	48.6%	27.6%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Almost all of the survey participants had participated in community service before enrolling in college. Only five students—two in the Weekly group and three in the Semester group—reported that they had not participated in community service before Emory. Overall, only 4.1% of the survey participants had not participated in community service before enrolling in college (Table 5).

Table 5. Participation in community service prior to enrollment in college

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
Did you participate in community service before enrolling in college?	No	Count	3	0	2	5
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	4.7%	0.0%	5.4%	4.1%
	Yes	Count	61	22	35	118
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	95.3%	100.0%	94.6%	95.9%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Although almost all students, regardless of the frequency they volunteered during the Fall 2014 semester, reported that they had participated in community service before enrolling at Emory,

students in the weekly group tended to volunteer more frequently even before college. 75.7% of

the students in the Weekly group who had volunteered before college, reported that they had

volunteered on a weekly basis. 59.1% of students in the Monthly reported that they had

volunteered on a weekly basis, and 42.2% of students in the Semester group reported that they

had volunteered on a weekly basis before entering college (Table 6). Overall, it was observed

that volunteering on a weekly basis before college was indicative of volunteering on a weekly

basis during the Fall 2014 semester.

Table 6. Frequency of volunteering before enrolling in college

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
How often did you participate in community service before enrolling in college?	No Response	Count	2	0	2	4
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	3.1%	0.0%	5.4%	3.3%
	Every day	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
	Several time a week	Count	0	1	1	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	0.0%	4.5%	3.0%	1.6%
	Every week	Count	27	13	28	68
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	42.2%	59.1%	75.7%	55.3%
	Every other week	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
	Every month	Count	23	8	3	34
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	35.9%	36.4%	8.1%	27.6%
	Several times a year	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
	Once or twice a year	Count	8	0	2	10
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	12.5%	0.0%	5.4%	8.1%
	During the Summers	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.8%
	Randomly	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

SELF-REPORTED MEASUREMENTS

The mean scores for the Semester, Monthly, and Weekly groups for every index used (MHC-SF, GSE, DASS21, TMBS) were almost equal, with limited variation in the standard deviations and confidence intervals between the groups (Table 7).

Table 7. Descriptive statistics for all indexes

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min	Max
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE)	Semester	64	32.578	4.0700	.5088	31.561	33.595	23.0	40.0
	Monthly	22	31.409	3.5944	.7663	29.815	33.003	25.0	38.0
	Weekly	37	32.378	4.9066	.8066	30.742	34.014	18.0	39.0
	Total	123	32.309	4.2506	.3833	31.550	33.068	18.0	40.0
Mental Health Continuum (MHC-SF)	Semester	64	52.063	10.3308	1.2914	49.482	54.643	21.0	70.0
	Monthly	22	52.909	10.5646	2.2524	48.225	57.593	30.0	70.0
	Weekly	37	52.568	10.9938	1.8074	48.902	56.233	19.0	70.0
	Total	123	52.366	10.4930	.9461	50.493	54.239	19.0	70.0
MHC-SF: Hedonic, Emotional Well-being	Semester	64	12.063	2.6540	.3317	11.400	12.725	5.0	15.0
	Monthly	22	12.364	2.1054	.4489	11.430	13.297	7.0	15.0
	Weekly	37	12.892	1.8971	.3119	12.259	13.524	8.0	15.0
	Total	123	12.366	2.3653	.2133	11.944	12.788	5.0	15.0
MHC-SF: Eudaimonic, Social Well-being	Semester	64	16.844	4.4158	.5520	15.741	17.947	4.0	25.0
	Monthly	22	16.773	5.4766	1.1676	14.345	19.201	4.0	25.0
	Weekly	37	16.054	5.2225	.8586	14.313	17.795	3.0	25.0
	Total	123	16.593	4.8381	.4362	15.730	17.457	3.0	25.0
MHC-SF: Eudaimonic, Psychological Well-being	Semester	64	23.156	4.8081	.6010	21.955	24.357	10.0	30.0
	Monthly	22	23.773	4.8199	1.0276	21.636	25.910	14.0	30.0
	Weekly	37	23.622	5.0736	.8341	21.930	25.313	8.0	30.0
	Total	123	23.407	4.8584	.4381	22.539	24.274	8.0	30.0
DASS21: Depression subscale	Semester	64	6.469	5.8417	.7302	5.010	7.928	.0	26.0
	Monthly	22	9.091	7.8976	1.6838	5.589	12.593	.0	26.0
	Weekly	37	6.324	6.1376	1.0090	4.278	8.371	.0	30.0
	Total	123	6.894	6.3669	.5741	5.758	8.031	.0	30.0
DASS21: Anxiety subscale	Semester	64	6.188	6.3518	.7940	4.601	7.774	.0	28.0
	Monthly	22	6.636	5.3233	1.1349	4.276	8.997	.0	20.0
	Weekly	37	5.676	6.5746	1.0809	3.484	7.868	.0	30.0
	Total	123	6.114	6.2110	.5600	5.005	7.222	.0	30.0
DASS21: Stress subscale	Semester	64	9.719	6.8347	.8543	8.011	11.426	.0	28.0
	Monthly	22	11.909	7.7208	1.6461	8.486	15.332	.0	26.0
	Weekly	37	10.865	8.4793	1.3940	8.038	13.692	.0	38.0
	Total	123	10.455	7.5044	.6766	9.116	11.795	.0	38.0
TMB: Factor 1--Setting goals and priorities	Semester	64	24.766	7.4210	.9276	22.912	26.619	10.0	41.0
	Monthly	22	24.045	6.6223	1.4119	21.109	26.982	6.0	35.0
	Weekly	37	26.784	6.6839	1.0988	24.555	29.012	12.0	41.0
	Total	123	25.244	7.0900	.6393	23.978	26.509	6.0	41.0
TMB: Factor 2--Mechanics	Semester	64	26.266	8.6781	1.0848	24.098	28.433	2.0	48.0
	Monthly	22	26.182	8.7267	1.8605	22.313	30.051	7.0	42.0
	Weekly	37	28.054	8.3332	1.3700	25.276	30.832	4.0	45.0
	Total	123	26.789	8.5548	.7714	25.262	28.316	2.0	48.0
TMB: Factor 3--Preference for organization	Semester	64	19.719	4.6920	.5865	18.547	20.891	7.0	28.0
	Monthly	22	20.318	5.0084	1.0678	18.098	22.539	10.0	28.0
	Weekly	37	21.270	4.1005	.6741	19.903	22.637	12.0	27.0
	Total	123	20.293	4.5946	.4143	19.473	21.113	7.0	28.0

I had hypothesized that increased frequency of volunteering would be positively correlated with greater wellbeing and self-efficacy, decreased anxiety, depression and stress, and better time management behaviors. However, the data collected in the survey showed no significant correlation between frequency of volunteering and any of the previously mentioned dependent variables. The most significant correlation observed was the Depression subscale score form the DASS21 index; however the p-value was still well above the threshold of significance (Table 8).

Table 8. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between Frequency of Volunteering and all indexes

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
General Self-Efficacy Scale (SGSE)	Between Groups	22.630	2	11.315	.622	.538
	Within Groups	2181.630	120	18.180		
	Total	2204.260	122			
Mental Health Continuum Short Form (MHC-SF)	Between Groups	13.887	2	6.944	.062	.940
	Within Groups	13418.649	120	111.822		
	Total	13432.537	122			
Hedonic, Emotional Well-being	Between Groups	16.128	2	8.064	1.452	.238
	Within Groups	666.408	120	5.553		
	Total	682.537	122			
Eudaimonic, Social Well-being	Between Groups	15.482	2	7.741	.327	.722
	Within Groups	2840.193	120	23.668		
	Total	2855.675	122			
Eudaimonic, Psychological Well-being	Between Groups	8.671	2	4.335	.181	.834
	Within Groups	2871.004	120	23.925		
	Total	2879.675	122			
Depression21	Between Groups	129.762	2	64.881	1.617	.203
	Within Groups	4815.864	120	40.132		
	Total	4945.626	122			
Anxiety21	Between Groups	13.457	2	6.729	.172	.842
	Within Groups	4692.949	120	39.108		
	Total	4706.407	122			
Stress21	Between Groups	87.424	2	43.712	.773	.464
	Within Groups	6783.080	120	56.526		
	Total	6870.504	122			
Tme Managements Behavior Scale: Factor 1- - Setting goals and priorities	Between Groups	133.974	2	66.987	1.340	.266
	Within Groups	5998.709	120	49.989		
	Total	6132.683	122			
Tme Managements Behavior Scale: Factor 2- - Mechanics (Planning, scheduling)	Between Groups	84.855	2	42.428	.576	.564
	Within Groups	8843.649	120	73.697		
	Total	8928.504	122			
Tme Managements Behavior Scale: Factor 3- - Preference for organization	Between Groups	56.456	2	28.228	1.345	.265
	Within Groups	2519.008	120	20.992		
	Total	2575.463	122			

Using the diagnostic parameters included in the short form of the Mental Health Continuum (MHC-SF), 0.8% of the study participants were diagnosed as languishing overall, 32.5% were diagnosed as moderately mentally health, and 66.7% were diagnosed as flourishing (Table 9).

Table 9. Mental Health Continuum Short-Form, Diagnosis

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
Mental Health Continuum, Diagnosis	Languishing	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
	Moderately mentally healthy	Count	22	6	12	40
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	34.4%	27.3%	32.4%	32.5%
	Flourishing	Count	41	16	25	82
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	64.1%	72.7%	67.6%	66.7%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Using the diagnostic parameters included in the DASS21, the mean scores for the depression, anxiety, and stress subscales were all found to be normal. In other words, on average, students were not suffering from depression, anxiety, or stress. Overall, 70.7% of the students scored normally in the depression subscale, 61.0% scored normally in the anxiety subscale, and 75.6% scored normally in the stress subscale (Tables 10, 11, and 12).

Table 10. Depression Severity

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
Depression Severity	Normal	Count	45	14	28	87
		% within Frequency of iteering	70.3%	63.6%	75.7%	70.7%
	Mild	Count	12	1	4	17
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	18.8%	4.5%	10.8%	13.8%
	Moderate	Count	4	4	4	12
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	6.3%	18.2%	10.8%	9.8%
	Severe	Count	3	3	0	6
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	4.7%	13.6%	0.0%	4.9%
	Extremely Severe	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.8%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 11. Anxiety Severity

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
Anxiety Severity	Normal	Count	39	11	25	75
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	60.9%	50.0%	67.6%	61.0%
	Mild	Count	5	5	6	16
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	7.8%	22.7%	16.2%	13.0%
	Moderate	Count	14	4	4	22
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	21.9%	18.2%	10.8%	17.9%
	Severe	Count	3	1	0	4
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	4.7%	4.5%	0.0%	3.3%
	Extremely Severe	Count	3	1	2	6
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	4.7%	4.5%	5.4%	4.9%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12. Stress Severity

| | | | Frequency of Volunteering | | | |
			Semester	Monthly	Weekly	Total
Stress Severity	Normal	Count	50	15	28	93
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	78.1%	68.2%	75.7%	75.6%
	Mild	Count	7	2	1	10
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	10.9%	9.1%	2.7%	8.1%
	Moderate	Count	5	3	6	14
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	7.8%	13.6%	16.2%	11.4%
	Severe	Count	2	2	1	5
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	3.1%	9.1%	2.7%	4.1%
	Extremely Severe	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.8%
Total		Count	64	22	37	123
		% within Frequency of Volunteering	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Qualitative Data: Ethnographic Interviews

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Of the 16 students interviewed, 13 identified as female. The participants were randomly selected, so this observation is consistent with past findings of a gender disparity among young adult volunteers (Jodgkinson & Weitzman, 1996; Wuthnow, 1995). Additionally, the students

interviewed in the Semester group were more likely to be first and second year students. Six of the students in the Semester group were first-year students, while none of the students in the Weekly group were first-year students (Table 9).

In addition to the gender disproportion among the interview participants, there also seemed to be a disparity among academic concentrations among the groups. More specifically, only students in the Monthly and Semester group studied business. Every student in the Weekly group had at least one academic concentration in the humanities, with three of the students studying subjects in the social sciences in addition to subjects in the humanities. Half of the students in the Monthly group were studying business, and the other half were studying subjects in the social sciences. The academic concentrations of students in the Semester group were dispersed among business, sciences, humanities, and social sciences (Table 9).

Table 9. Interview Participant Demographics

Group	Pseudonym	Gender	Year at Emory	Major(s)/Minor
Semester	Kaitlin	Female	First Year	Business, and Sociology
	Melissa	Female	Third Year	Finance and Consulting, German
	Sandra	Female	First Year	Neuroscience and Behavior Biology (NBB)
	Andie	Female	First Year	Anthropology and Human Biology
	Amelia	Female	First Year	History, and Jewish Studies
	Alexa	Female	First Year	Environmental Science, and Chemistry
	Gabby	Female	First Year	Consulting, and Marketing
Monthly	Jane	Female	Second Year	Psychology, and Anthropology
	Joseph	Male	First Year	Business
	Angela	Female	First Year	Human Health
	Jeff	Male	Third Year	Finance
Weekly	Ashley	Female	Second Year	English, and Sociology
	Lauren	Female	Second Year	Philosophy, and Sociology
	Stephanie	Female	Second Year	International Studies, and Philosophy
	Emily	Female	Fourth Year	History, and Psychology
	Bradley	Male	Fourth Year	History

In all three groups, students participated in a variety of volunteer activities, ranging from outside work that involved physical labor to working directly with children living in

underprivileged circumstances. For the most part, if students volunteered multiple times throughout the Fall 2014 semester, they volunteered at the same organization, doing the same or similar tasks. One exception was Joseph, who volunteered through a service fraternity and therefore, volunteered at different organizations, doing different tasks every month (Table 10).

Table 10. Volunteer Activities during the Fall 2014 semester

Group	Pseudonym	Volunteer Activities
Semester	Kaitlin	Volunteered 1 time doing house and garden work at an organization that provides art supplies for people who cannot afford them
	Melissa	Volunteered 2 times playing with children at a homeless shelter for families with infants
	Sandra	Volunteered 1 time sorting home goods at a furniture bank
	Andie	Volunteered 1 time raking leaves and pulling weeds at a community garden that supplies produce for food banks around Atlanta
	Amelia	Volunteered 2 times playing with children at a homeless shelter for families with infants
	Alexa	Volunteered 1 time farming at a Mennonite Church
	Gabby	Volunteered 1 time mulching and clearing trails at a park
Monthly	Jane	Volunteered 3 times clearing trails and repairing facilities at an organization that uses horse therapy to help children with autism
	Joseph	Volunteered 1 time cleaning at a homeless shelter, and monthly for a service fraternity doing various activities
	Angela	Volunteered 4 times at an animal shelter, and 1 time at a community food bank
	Jeff	Volunteered 4 times as a tutor for adult refugees trying to obtain a GED
Weekly	Ashley	Volunteered 7 times gardening at a community garden that provides produce for local food banks
	Lauren	Volunteered 8 times as a tutor for a school for undocumented students
	Stephanie	Volunteered 9 times at an organization that provides therapy to men convicted of domestic violence
	Emily	Volunteered 7 times playing with children at a homeless shelter for families with infants
	Bradley	Volunteered 9 times as a SAT/ACT tutor for high school students in an underprivileged area

In the interviews, students were asked about their volunteer experiences during the Fall 2014 semester, their academic interests and future ambitions, and their experiences at Emory in general. My hypothesis was that students in the Weekly group would be more likely to draw connections between community engagement and their future goals. I also predicted that these

students were more likely to feel fulfilled in their daily life and empowered in their abilities to change the world. Furthermore, I expected students' motivations for volunteering to differ depending on their commitment to volunteering.

WHY DO STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN COMMUNITY SERVICE?

Contrary to my hypothesis, all students expressed similar motivations for participating in community service. The students interviewed in all three groups volunteered for three primary reasons. First, students participated in community service for the psychological benefits it provided; students felt more accomplished after participating in community service, and they felt that their time was being spent meaningfully. Second, students in all three groups exhibited prosocial attitudes, and their participation in community service could be linked to a sense of social responsibility. Third, students volunteered because community service provided them with a sense of community; community service provided them with a social outlet to connect and interact with others, and it also made students feel like they belonged not only to Emory, but also to Atlanta. An exception to these three reasons was that many students in the Semester groups also listed, "stress relief" as a psychological benefit from volunteering and as a reason for why they participated in community service.

Psychological Benefits of Community Service

The most common reason for students to participate in community service was the psychological benefits, or as Kaitlin said, "It just makes me feel better about myself because I know that I'm helping the community out." Students benefited psychologically from community service for three reasons. The first was that students gained a sense of accomplishment from

participating in community service. Secondly, by dedicating their time to helping others, students felt that their time and efforts were being used meaningfully. The last reason students benefited psychologically was that community service increased their confidence in their skills and capacities.

When asked why he enjoys community service, Bradley explained, "Number one, I just enjoy accomplishing things—anything really, like gardening or sustainability. Just clearing invasive species is incredibly satisfying because you see what you've accomplished in that immediate relationship between you and a garden, a student, a box of supplies. That's on the immediate level, but on a deeper level you enjoy the knowledge that you're hopefully making the world a better place." Bradley volunteers because of the immediate satisfaction of being able to accomplish something, and also because he believes that through community service, he is using his time meaningfully by helping others and improving society. He feels good after doing community service not only because he completed a task, and gained a sense of accomplishment from that, but also because he finds satisfaction from the belief that his actions had a positive impact on others. Bradley is representative of almost all of the students interviewed. Students who participate in community service feel like they have achieved something in the time they have spent volunteering, and they also gain gratification from the idea that they have helped improve society.

Additionally, students feel empowered by community service. Through community service, students often discover that they have many tangible skills to contribute to society. This discovery in turn increases students' belief in their own capacity. For example, Lauren explained how service changed her perspective of herself, saying, "I realized that I could put my skills to use, and that I actually had skills. It helped raise my confidence too." Community service allows

students to directly address issues in their communities, an opportunity that academics does not often provide. For this reason students, like Lauren, expressed that community service showed them their potential as contributing members of society. Students across all groups described a sense of empowerment from participation in community service.

With a few exceptions, every student interviewed in all three groups indicated that they benefited psychologically from participating in community service through its ability to facilitate a sense of accomplishment, meaning, or empowerment. Students in the Weekly group did not seem to express greater psychological benefits from participating in community service than students in the Monthly or Semester groups. Regardless of how often they volunteered during the Fall 2014 semester, the majority of students interviewed psychologically benefited from participating in community service.

Social Responsibility and Prosocial Orientations

The second most prevalent reason students participated in community service was a sense of social responsibility. This sense of social responsibility was engendered by prosocial orientations they had developed from religious beliefs or from gratitude for the privileges they had been afforded. In general, all students interviewed, regardless of the frequency they volunteered during the Fall 2014 semester, described feeling a sense of obligation to help others.

For some students, their sense of social responsibility was rooted in religious values. Although several students throughout the groups mentioned that they were religious, only students in the Semester group identified religion to be a reason for why they participated in community service. About half of the students in the Semester group indicated religion as a significant motivator for their participation in community service. For example, Gabby said, "I

grew up in a home that placed a premium on the idea that Christians must think of others and be selfless… I grew up thinking that that was something I needed to do. As I entered college, [community service has] become less about religion and more about helping others. Community service for me is now more focused on what it is at its core rather than what it is because of religion." Raised in a Protestant household, Gabby believed that community service was an important part of being a Christian. Religion provided her with a set of guidelines for who she should be; a part of the religious guideline was to be selfless and to serve others. Although her participation in community service is no longer centered on religion, the root of her participation in community service is planted in her faith.

Similarly, when asked why she participates in community service, Andie explained, "When I was younger, I went to a Jewish day school, and in Judaism, there are these concepts of Tzedakah, helping those who need help and Tikkun olam, helping heal the world, and those ideals have taken a form of their own as I've grown." Like Gabby, Andie's religious beliefs instilled within her a sense of social responsibility. Andie does community service because Judaism taught her the importance of caring for others and society. Gabby and Andie are representative of all the students interviewed who specified religion as a reason for why they participated in community service. For these students, religion prompted their prosocial orientations and engendered within them a sense of social responsibility.

With the exception of religion being unique to the students interviewed in the Semester group, the sense of social responsibility among students in the Weekly, Monthly, and Semester groups were fairly similar. Almost all students expressed that their sense of social responsibility developed from gratitude for the opportunities and resources they were fortunate enough to have access to. For example, Ashley explained, "As a person of privilege, to be able to be at Emory

and learn about all of the issues in the world, it's crazy not to be involved. You see all of these issues that you can be part of changing. To not do anything about them just seems crazy to me." Ashley's sentiments are representative of the students interviewed across all three groups. Almost all of the students interviewed described a similar feeling of privilege in relation to their identities as Emory students. They feel fortunate to have the opportunities and resources they've had access to throughout their lives at Emory, and therefore, they feel obligated by their fortune to give back through community service.

Some students realized their privilege from personal experiences living in underprivileged circumstances. From their own hardships, they understood how lucky they were in their current positions as students at Emory. As Alexa explained, "I realize now looking back, that we didn't have a lot of money. I saw how bad it could get when my Dad got laid off, and we were having trouble making house payments. I had to overcome things that other people just didn't event think about. When I realized I was comparing my life to others, I realized that there are people who are struggling even more than [my family]. There are people that have to deal with issues that I don't even think about… Relating it to my own experience, I want to help them." Alexa realized through the obstacles she had to face in her own life how difficult it is to be in a position of need. Her family's struggle to ultimately overcome financial hardships gave her a sense of social responsibility to help others who are underprivileged.

Similar to Alexa, Jeff also felt obligated as an Emory student to give back because of first hand experiences living in underprivileged circumstance. Jeff didn't realize that he grew up in underprivileged circumstances until he came to Emory, explaining, "Emory opened my eyes to what's out there in the world. I took a sociology class, and we had a lecture that was about the 30 cultural things people in the upper class, or rich people do, and I did none of them. There were

no checked boxes for me in any of those 30. It was a big realization of how differently I grew up." He goes on to explain why he does community service, saying, "I want to give back to people less fortunate, and pay it forward because coming to Emory from where I'm from I saw the wide spectrum of socioeconomic status. I just want to give people the potential, the possibility to rise from low socioeconomic status to upper middle class… There's a huge difference between the way Emory students live life, and the way my friends live life from back home." For Jeff and Alexa, as well as a couple of other students throughout the Weekly, Monthly, and Semester groups, their sense of social responsibility is derived from personal experiences. Their first hand knowledge of living in underprivileged circumstances helps them understand how fortunate they are to study at Emory. This understanding engendered a sense of obligation to give back.

For students who had no first hand experiences living in vulnerable circumstances, the realization of privilege often involved an element of guilt. After learning about issues of disparity, students developed a sense of social responsibility that stemmed in part from the guilt they felt in their own privilege. For example, Lauren expressed that visiting her family in Bosnia was the most formative experience in the development of her sense of social responsibility. She explained, "I was devastated by how bad the situation [in Bosnia] was, economically and politically… It stripped the illusion that I had. I've had a great life in the U.S. and seeing how some of my friends and cousins have been suffering, it brought up emotions of guilt, and what could have been, as well as this sense of obligation to try to help out and use the luck and privilege my family has had to help some other people." Lauren began to understand her privilege after seeing the differences between the lives of her family in Bosnia and her own life in the United States; the realization conjured within her a sense of guilt and social responsibility.

Other students did not express a direct sense of guilt. Instead, they alluded to feelings of turmoil or disbelief after realizing the disparity that exists in society. For example, when explaining the origins of his sense of social responsibility, Bradley said, "Taking classes on the History of the South and Slavery, taking classes on the New South and Jim Crow laws, taking classes on community building and social change, and learning about all the difficult neighborhoods out there, taking philosophy classes on ethics. When you take a really hard look at the way things are, and the way things should be and how they don't line up, it's very difficult to deal with." In general, the sense of social responsibility possessed by the students interviewed stemmed from a sense of privilege that evolved from a plethora of circumstances, including personal experiences and academic opportunities.

Although almost all students possessed a sense of social responsibility regardless of the frequency they volunteered during the Fall 2014 semester, the sense of social responsibility observed in the students interviewed in the Weekly group differed from the social responsibility observed in students in the Semester group in a couple of ways. First, students in the Weekly group were engaged in a positive feedback loop revolving around their sense of social responsibility and participation in community service. They began participating in community service because they were aware of their privilege, and as they continued to participate in community service, they became increasingly aware of different forms of disparity and injustice, which in turn increased the strength of the sense of social responsibility they already possessed, and motivated them to continue to volunteering even more. This positively enforcing relationship between community service and social responsibility was also present among students in the Monthly group; however, it was not seen among students in the Semester group. Second, the social responsibility of students in the Weekly group extended beyond a general feeling of

obligation to volunteer and manifested into an interest in addressing the root causes of social injustices that they had observed or become aware of through their participation in community service.

Students in the Weekly group were interested in addressing the root causes of privilege and disparity. For example, Bradley chose a service trip that addressed education problems specifically. When asked why, he explained, "You solve the education problem, you can solve so many other problems. So many problems are isolated to parts of the world that are poor and uneducated. Rich people in rich nations have been equipped to solve a lot of the problems they have for themselves, so if you fix the education problems, you equip people to solve a lot of their problems on their own." Bradley, like all of the other students in the Weekly group, was very intentional in choosing community service activities he participated in. This intentionality was not seen in students in the Semester group.

Rather than choosing the service opportunities they participated in based off of the issues they would address, students in the Semester group chose because of what they would be physically doing while volunteering. For instance, when asked why she chose to volunteer at an art studio, Kaitlin said, " I chose to [volunteer there] because they said in the description that we'd be helping to paint the studios and stuff, and I think painting's really fun." Similarly, Amelia volunteered at a homeless shelter, but she had no interests in addressing issues of homelessness. Amelia explained why she volunteered at the homeless shelter, explaining, "I missed little kids. I missed playing with them and being around them. So when I saw the children's shelter, I thought it was the perfect thing. I could run around with [little kids] for an hour, and get my little kid fill and help out Atlanta at the same time." She chose to volunteer at the homeless shelter because she would be playing with young children and infants.

Students in the Monthly group remained in a spectrum between the students in the Weekly and Semester groups. Some students were like Jeff, who explained why he chose to serve as a tutor for refugees, saying, "Primary education is really important in someone's life. It's where you build the foundation of your education, and if you're behind in third grade, then you're going to be behind in eighth grade, twelfth grade. There's a huge snowball. There needs to be a lot of emphasis on primary education, so I wanted to help refugees catch up, so they would be able to compete with everybody else." Other students were like Angela, who chose to volunteer at an animal shelter because she missed her cat at home and loved to play with animals.

Connecting through Community Service

In addition to the psychological benefits of community service and a sense of social responsibility, students also participated in community service because it provided them with a sense of community. Community service facilitated a sense of community in two ways. First, it provided students with the opportunity to connect socially with other people. Second, community service provided them with a connection or sense of belonging to Emory as well as Atlanta in general.

Students in all three groups described social benefits from participating in community service; however, the groups differed in whom the students were building relationships with. Students in the Semester group did community service because of the opportunity it provided for them to meet and engage with other Emory students. Students in the Weekly group did community service because of the relationships they have built with the community members

outside of the Emory community. Students in the Monthly group remained within a spectrum of the two.

When asked why she decided to volunteer, Gabby responded, "It was widely marketed on campus as being something that a lot of students do. A lot of my friends did it with me." All of the students in the Semester group who described a social benefit from volunteering, which was about half of the students in the Semester group, indicated that the benefit came mostly from the relationships they built inside the Emory community. Participating in community service made them feel included in the Emory community. For example, Kaitlin explained why she found her volunteer experience to be meaningful, saying, "My roommate did it with me, so it was a good bonding experience, and I got to meet a lot of cool people that I didn't know before… who I wouldn't have met otherwise because they live in different dorms and are from different friend groups." Volunteering provided a unique opportunity for Kaitlin to create memories with her roommate while meeting new Emory students. For students in the Semester group, volunteering made them feel more integrated into the Emory community, as Andie explained, "I feel like a big part of the Emory community because so many of my peers are [volunteering] too, and I've met a lot of people on these trips."

On the other hand, students in the Weekly group participated in community service not only for the relationships they built in the Emory community, but also for the relationships they built in the Atlanta community beyond Emory. For example, when asked why she keeps going back to volunteer at the homeless shelter, Emily explained, "Forming a relationship with the kids, even though they might not have perceived it as a relationship. Little things like learning their names, and starting to learn stories about each of the families every week. Even though I didn't know every kid's name or every family's story, the little bits you learn about each family

every week solidify the connection. Names to faces." Similarly, Bradley explained that much of

the enjoyment he received from volunteering was derived from the relationships he built with his

students. He elaborated, saying, "I enjoy watching them grow and develop, interacting with them

and the relationship that I establish with them. The students are looking up to me as a source of

knowledge, but it's a very reciprocal relationship as well. I learn a lot from the people I teach

both about the subject I'm teaching, and I learn a lot about them, and the kind of lives they lead,

what's important to them." Since students in the Weekly group are volunteering at the same

organization regularly and for an extended period of time, they have the opportunity to build

relationships with community members outside of the Emory community. For students in the

Weekly group, many of the social benefits they receive from participating in community service

are derived from the relationships they build and the interactions they have with Atlanta

community members, not just Emory students.

In addition to a social connection, many students reported building a connection with

Emory and Atlanta through community service. For example, when asked how volunteering had

contributed to her time at Emory, Ashley responded, "The act of doing community service makes

you realize that you're connected to more than you think…one time I went to a garden in the

middle of the city that was two or three acres at least. I was thinking to myself, 'How did this get

here, how am I here?' I was in the middle of the city. There were people marching across the

street, and there I was. You realize you're a part of the environment, but also the community

because you're also helping all those people." When asked the same question, Bradley

responded, "It's helped me get to know the Atlanta community better. It's helped me make

friends and know people in the Emory community better… It's helped me see sides of Atlanta

that I would have never seen before. For example, Oakland cemetery has always been one of my

favorite spots in Atlanta, but I've gone there twice now for days of service to mulch it and remove species and stuff like that. To actually be able to contribute to one of my favorite sites in Atlanta really deepens my connection to it. It makes me feel like a citizen to Atlanta rather than someone who's passing through." Through community service, students become more invested in not only in Emory, but also in Atlanta. Community service helps students explore and discover different parts and perspectives of Emory and Atlanta that they weren't aware of before. This more conceptual connection to Emory and Atlanta was observed among students in all three groups.

Stress Relief, Escaping from "Normal" life

The last reason students participate in community service is that community service acts as a means of stress relief. Only students in the Semester group explicitly indicated this to be a reason for why they participate in community service. Students find community service stress reducing for two reasons. The first is that they find what they're physically doing as community service to be relaxing, and the second is that community service provides them with a physical and mental escape from the academic pressure they feel at Emory. For example, Alexa explained a part of the reason she decided to volunteer at a farm, saying, "Just doing farm work, hands on work is really nice compared to all the stressful studying I have to do… my mind gets overwhelmed, so it's nice to take a break… going out and doing something that involves physical activity is quite relaxing." Another student, Andie, explained how she finds volunteering relaxing, saying, "It was a lot of hard labor. It's a way to channel your stress and anger. It's good for a stressful week. Definitely a stress reliever… [but] I find all service stress relieving. For me, petting a dog is also very therapeutic. Service can be mentally stress relieving.

Leaving your dorm or house to go somewhere and volunteer. In high school, I had to drive a good 45 minutes to get to the animal shelter. I was away from my house, away from my studies. I was just ready to focus on the dogs and that was very relaxing." Students find volunteering stress relieving, especially if it involves physical activity; however, even if the community service doesn't involve physical exertion, having a mental and physical break away from studying and academic pressure is a stress-reducing outlet.

Two of the students I interviewed in the Weekly group alluded to community service as stress relieving. For example, Bradley said, "It creates a balance to what I do in the classroom. Right now, I spend almost all day every day writing my thesis, but every Wednesday afternoon, I go tutor, and if all I was doing was writing my thesis, I'd go crazy. It contributes to my academic work by providing balance." However, none of the students in the Weekly group or Monthly group explicitly stated that community service is stress relieving for them, unlike the majority of the students in the Semester group.

THE RECIPROCAL IMPACT OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

Every student in both the Weekly group and Semester group said that they learned something from community service, or that participating in community service had contributed to their personal growth in one way or another. Although there were details that differed among the students interviewed, overall, what students had learned from participating in community service all followed a similar theme of becoming more appreciative of their lives at Emory, more compassionate towards, and more aware of the struggles that other people face. As Emily explained, "[community service] forced me to look beyond myself. Emory is on the outskirts of Atlanta, and we are in a privileged place in the surrounding Atlanta area, in this Emory bubble.

Going to the homeless shelter every week was a reality check in that the problems you're having with tests or whatever it may be, pale in comparison to where you're volunteering… It makes you more aware of what you perceive as problems versus what others perceive as problems, and my problems are not nearly as important as others' problems." The same pattern of realizing the context of their own obstacles compared to the obstacles many people in the Atlanta community face was seen throughout all of the students I interviewed in all three groups.

Melissa described her volunteer experiences to be eye-opening, saying, "Going to a homeless shelter, coming from Emory, we're really privileged to be here, whereas at the shelter, obviously they're there because they don't have a home, or a place to call home, which is really sad. It's also crazy to see these families with five or six little children, all under that age of 8, and to think if the shelter wasn't there, where would they be? How would they be able to manage that?" Similarly, when asked how community service has contributed to her personal growth, Sandra explained, "It's sort of helped my ego not get too big. It's easy to get proud of all the things that you do, and some times you just need to step back, be humble about it, and give a day for service. It's taught me how to step back and look at the bigger picture… you realize that even if somebody has a disability, you're all equal, you're no better than anyone else." Regardless of how many times they had volunteered throughout the 2014 fall semester, students all learned something from the community service work they did.

While their community service experiences were impactful in one way or another, the Weekly and the Semester groups differed in how meaningful the lessons they learned from community service have been in their lives as a whole. Every student I interviewed reported that their Emory experience has been meaningful; however, only students in the Weekly group listed their community service experiences as one of the reasons their Emory experience has been

meaningful. Not a single student in the Semester group indicated community service as one of the reasons their Emory experience has been meaningful. Additionally, while all students explained that they had learned something from community service, only students in the Weekly group expressed that their community service experiences had impacted their everyday behaviors and perspectives. For example, Stephanie's community service experiences have drastically changed her Emory experience. She explained, "Working with men who have committed domestic violence has very much redefined what I look for in relationships… I'm not going to accept someone who has a lot of privilege and engages in things like emotional abuse. I'm not going to tolerate that because I don't have to, and I know what it looks like for a lot of people who do have to… Seeing the unchallenged behavior, and hearing stories of how so many men behave with no consequences ever, made me realize the men in my life definitely don't have any consequences, and I'm not asking anything from them really. Especially in terms of going out and party culture at Emory, it's made just really not want to be a part of it."

For students in the Weekly group, community service has had a significant impact on them to the extent that the decisions they make and perspectives they have on a daily basis have changed. Another example is Bradley, who when asked how his community service experiences have impacted him, explained, "I've begun to feel a lot less guilty about my privilege and recognize that I'm very fortunate to have these certain things, and that I should enjoy them more. I shop a lot more at Whole Food than I used to, and I buy a lot more fresh fruit, and a variety of things, because I'm able to do so. I've come to value my education more… Only until you do things like community service do you become aware of how many bad things there are in the world, and you have the awareness to get the guilt. However, the more you stay involved with them, you start to realize how great your opportunities are, and if you do more work, you feel

less guilty. It's not that you do community service to assuage your sense of guilt, but you recognize that you should be grateful and use the opportunity that you have while extending those opportunities to other people."

Ever student is influenced by their community service experiences in one way or another. However, how often they volunteered appears to be related to the salience with which their community service experiences impacted and changed their daily lives. Community service affects students who volunteer on a weekly basis much more than students who volunteer one or twice a semester.

Community Service, Academic Interests, and Career Goals

There were a few connections between community service and students' academic interests among the three groups. Occasionally, the impact of community service on a student's academic experience or interests was quite significant. For example, Ashley said, "Community service has made me more conscious to think about bigger issues, and I think that's impacted my studies as well. A lot of my reasoning for wanting to study sociology came from learning about social justice." Other times, the connection between community service and academics was more limited. When asked how her volunteer experiences had contributed to her academic experience, Sandra responded, "I took a linguistics class, and for my final paper I wrote about disparities and health care, so I could draw from my volunteer experiences in volunteering in health care… my volunteer experience definitely impacted my choice of topic." However, for the most part, direct connections between students' academic interests and experiences were few and far between among all three groups. If students' academic interests or experiences were connected with their

community service experiences in any way, it was generally a compounding factor, extending from the influence that their community service experiences had in shaping their career goals.

Community service did not change what students were interested in studying; however, it did influence the career paths they intended to pursue with their studies. How strongly community service experiences influenced students' career choices or ambitions was correlated with the frequency they volunteered. Almost all students in the Weekly group reported significant connections between their service activities and future career goals. Some students described a causal relationship between their service experiences and career goals. For example, Bradley is a History major and plans to enter academia as a history professor and researcher. When asked what he has learned from community service, Bradley stated, "It's helped me see that education is the thing I'm passionate about and the field that I want to go into. If I never did community service, I wouldn't have necessarily discovered that. So much of my community service revolves around education; it's a pattern that's helped be realize that education is the profession that I want to go into." As a weekly service trip leader to an SAT/ACT tutoring program at a high school in an underprivileged area, Bradley realized his passion for education and teaching. Although his volunteer experiences did not directly affect his interests in studying History, they did influence his decision to use his interests in history to become a professor and teach the subject matter he is passionate about.

Another example of the correlations found between community service and future ambitions among students in the Weekly group was Lauren. Throughout the Fall 2014 semester, Lauren volunteered at a school for undocumented students who cannot access higher education due to restrictions created by the Georgia legislature. Although Lauren has not yet decided exactly what she would like to do post-graduation, she does have a couple of paths in mind.

When asked what her career goals were, she said, "I'm considering working in law as an immigration lawyer, which is directly stemmed [sic] from working with [undocumented students]." Lauren has no concrete plans for her future, but volunteering influenced her to consider a career path that she had not thought of before.

Other students in the Weekly group described a more indirect relationship between their service experiences and career goals. For example, Emily explained the connection between her community service experiences at a homeless shelter and her career goals to be products of a common interest in inequality. Emily wants to work in education policy, which stems from her goals to reduce inequality. Although volunteering did not directly inspire Emily's interests in social justice, her volunteer experiences have played a role in her journey to realize these passions, and her continued engagement in community service is a product of her ambitions to address injustice. Ashley also described an indirect relationship between her service experiences and career goals. Ashley is not sure what she wants to do exactly post-graduation, listing a myriad of ambitions from research to environmental conservation, writing a book of poetry, and working for non-profit or non-governmental organizations; however, the common thread among all of her ambitions is the desire to lessen the inequality that exists in society and culture. Similarly, her awareness of inequality is what drives her to participate in community service, explaining that as a person of privilege, she feels that do not do anything to address social injustice "just seems crazy."

Although they differ in their specific career aspirations, students in the Weekly group all drew connections between the community service they participated in throughout the Fall 2014 semester, and what they would like to accomplish in their careers. Whether the relationship was

causal or correlative, the students shared a commonality in that their community service experiences were formative in one capacity or another towards the creation of their career goals.

For the most part, students in Monthly and Semester groups reported no connection between their career goals and the volunteer activities they engaged in during the Fall 2014 semester. Except for one, all students in the Monthly Group placed their community service experience and career goals in separate categories. Jeff, a third year student studying Finance, is representative of this group. After graduation, he plans to become an investment banker, and has already procured a summer internship in the field. During the Fall 2014 semester, Jeff volunteered at a tutoring program for adult refugees trying to obtain a GED four times. When asked if his community service experiences and interests in entering the world of business were related in any way, Jess responded, "I have both of those pretty divided—my interest in community service and goals in business… I don't want to do [investment banking] forever, but it's the easiest way to become successful, to become pretty wealthy. It will give me the resources to go anywhere I want, but you kind of have to slave away your life for a couple years." Jeff expresses a clear delineation between his interests in participating in community service and his career goals; his community service participation aligns much more closely with his personal interests in life, which he lists as becoming a teacher or starting a social entrepreneurship.

The one student who did identify a connection between her career goals and volunteer experiences in the Monthly group was Jane. Jane is a second year student who wishes to enter graduate school after graduation to eventually become a clinical psychologist. In the Fall 2014 semester, she volunteered at an organization that provided horse therapy for children with autism. While the trip was offered every week, Jane only went three times throughout the semester. When asked why, Jane said, "I wasn't committed because I didn't really interact with

the kids." At the service activity, Jane did not work directly with the kids. Instead she indirectly facilitated the therapy by clearing trails and repairing facilities. Although the work the organization does is directly related to her goals of becoming a clinical psychologist, the actual community service work that Jane engaged in didn't.

In the Semester Group, none of the students described a significant relationship or connection between their community service activities during the Fall 2014 semester and their career goals, like the students in the Weekly group. Two of the students in the Semester group, Melissa and Gabby described a similar relationship between their interests in participating in community service and their career goals as Jeff. All three students are studying business; however, it is unclear whether this is a confounding or correlative factor. Melissa, a Junior, has been volunteering at a homeless shelter for families with infants since her first year at Emory. As a finance and consulting major in the Business School, Melissa wants to go into consulting after college. When asked to what extent she would like to continue volunteer work, Melissa replied, "Maybe once a week type thing, in whatever city I end up." Melissa uses community service to escape from her academic pressures and the stress that comes with what many participants have described as "figuring out life." Community service provides an oasis for Melissa to avoid her career goals and the steps she must take to achieve them. Like Jeff, she sees them as two completely different aspects in her life, unrelated. Gabby, a first year student, would like to work in marketing or consulting after graduation. Like Melissa, Gabby also explained that she would like to continue participating in community service in one form or another throughout her life, but only as an extracurricular activity, secondary to her career. Gabby's volunteer experiences have not informed her career goals in any way.

Some students in the Semester group did describe a dubious connection between community service they completed in the Fall 2014 semester and their chosen careers. An example of this was Andie. Andie described a balance between seeing her career path as a continuation of her belief in the importance of giving back, which she expresses through community service, and using community service to escape her chosen career path. On one hand, Andie loosely associates community service and becoming a physician as methods to "share her love" in a hands on manner. On the other hand, Andie, actually identified the opposite pattern, using community service as a way to escape her chosen career path, saying, "I have to remember sometimes that I'm at Emory and I'm a student, but I'm also interested in so many other things too. That's also why working at a pet shelter [in high school] was a really good outlet. It was an outlet from my academic life, and this idea that I want to be pre-med. I like volunteering that's not aligned with the pre-med track." Rather than her volunteer experiences reinforcing her choice of career path, Andie chooses community service activities that will make her forget about career choice. The second, inverse relationship between her career path and community service participation is more dominant throughout her interview, as she often describes community service as an "outlet" or form of "stress relief." Although Andie did draw some connections between her career path and community service experiences, the connections were contradictory and circumstantial.

WHAT PREVENTS STUDENTS FROM VOLUNTEERING?

When asked what prevented them from participating in community service, students listed variations of the same set of reasons: academic obligations, the desire to socialize in casual settings, and laziness. If students had work-study jobs or played a varsity or club sport, they also

listed those as inhibitors of increased community service involvement. In addition, about half of the students interviewed in the Semester group listed lack of knowledge of volunteering opportunities and resources, or lack of access to transportation. This may be explained by the fact that they have on average spent less time at Emory, and therefore, they have not been as exposed to the plethora of service opportunities offered at Emory that include transportation. The latter explanation is supported by the observation that several of the students in the Weekly group said the opposite. Several students in the Weekly group reported that they volunteered more in college because transportation to service opportunities is more readily available at Emory than in high school. Another reason students gave for why they didn't participate in community service was a lack of emotional capital. As Stephanie explained, "if I'm feeling really anxious or bad about things that are unique in my life, it can be hard for to go out and volunteer." Regardless of how often they volunteered, all the students I interviewed very similar factors that limited the amount of volunteer work they could complete.

Chapter 4:
Discussion

The primary question this discussion addresses is why none of the indexes used significantly correlated with the frequency students volunteered during the Fall 2014 Semester. Possible explanations include:

1. Community service and the indexes used are independent from one another or are confounding factors.

2. Community service and the indexes used have correlative relationships mediated by other factors, and the correlative relationships are independent of the frequency of volunteering.

3. Community service and the indexes used have causal relationships, and the causal effects are independent of the frequency of volunteering.

4. Community service and the indexes used have correlative and/or causal relationships that are dependent on the frequency of volunteering; however, the differences that exist between the three groups are too minute to be statistically significant.

Although none of the previously mentioned possibilities can be definitively proved or disproved, past literature in conjunction with the qualitative findings in this study do suggest a more nuanced result than the quantitative findings..

PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING: DEPRESSION, ANXIETY, AND STRESS

When comparing the depression, anxiety, and stress scores of the students in this study to past studies measuring depression, anxiety, and stress in general populations of undergraduate students, the rates of depression, anxiety and stress of the students in this study are relatively

lower or equal. In a study conducted on 1,617 undergraduate students at Uludag University in Bursa, Turkey, researchers used the DASS42 index and found 51.8% of the students scored normally on the depression subscale, 40.2% scored normally on the anxiety subscale, and 51.8% scored normally on the stress subscale (Bayram & Bilgel, 2007). In this study, 71.4% of the students scored normally in the depression subscale, 61.1% scored normally in the anxiety subscale, and 76.2% scored normally in the stress subscale. A recent study that used the DASS21 index to measure depression, anxiety and stress among 374 undergraduate students at Franciscan University found that 62% of the students in their study scored normally for stress, 60% scored normally for anxiety, and 67% scored normally for depression (Beiter et al., 2015).

Compared to one study of 508 undergraduate students from a large southeastern public university, the students in this study reported relatively equal percentages of depression and stress and a greater prevalence of anxiety (Mahmoud, Staten, Hall, & Lennie, 2012). Mahmoud and colleagues (2012) used the DASS21 index as well and found that 29% of the students were depressed, 27% were anxious, and 24% were stressed. Using the same thresholds for depression, anxiety, and stress in this study, 29.3% of the students were depressed, 39.0% were anxious, and 24.4% were stressed. The study done by Mahmoud and colleagues (2012) is the only study found where students reported lower or equal rates of depression, anxiety, and stress than the Emory sample in this study.

In general, the students in this study showed smaller proportions of depression and stress, and about equal proportions of anxiety compared to past literature. The previously mentioned studies were general surveys of undergraduate students, unlike this study, and overall, the students in this study self-reported lower depression, anxiety, and stress scores than the

undergraduate students surveyed in preceding studies, suggesting the possibility that the students in this study on average suffer less from depression, anxiety, and stress.

Although the observation that students in this study possibly suffer less from depression, anxiety, and stress than other students can be attributed to several explanations, one factor may be that all the students in this study participated in community service. If there is a relationship between community service and depression, stress and anxiety, the relationship is most likely bidirectional. Past studies have found possible causal relationships between volunteering and decreased depression, particularly in older age groups, suggesting that the benefits of community service, if any, are related to saliency of roles in society (Musick & Wilson, 2003; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Willigen, 2000). The qualitative findings of this study also suggest that community service had some beneficial affects on students' depression, anxiety and stress.

It is evident from the interviews, that regardless of how often students volunteered, they received some psychological benefits. Past studies have found risk factors and reasons for depression, anxiety and stress among undergraduate students to include: loneliness, low life satisfaction, maladaptive coping, academic performance, pressure to succeed, post-graduation plans, and transitioning into college (Beiter et al., 2015; Dyson & Renk, 2006; Furr, Westefeld, McConnell, & Jenkins, 2011; Mahmoud et al., 2012). Additionally, belonging to social organizations has been found to be inversely correlated with depression among college students (Mahmoud et al., 2012), and students who exhibit an increased sense of meaningfulness have been shown to cope more effectively with stressful life circumstances or events (Astin & Sax, 1998; Debats et al., 1995). Many of the previously mentioned risk factors for and buffers against depression, anxiety, and stress among college students are addressed by the benefits the students in this study said that they experienced through participating in community service.

From volunteering, students reported that they felt more accomplished and confident in their own abilities; they also felt that their time was being spent meaningfully. Furthermore, community service provided them with a social network and a sense of belonging in the Emory and Atlanta communities, and for students in the Semester group, it provided them with an outlet to cope with academic pressures or any other stresses they felt in their "normal" lives at Emory. Community service also provided clarity for many students in the Weekly and Monthly groups regarding what they wanted to do with their lives and their post-graduation plans. From the qualitative findings from this study, it seems that the benefits students receive from participating in community service help them cope with and protect them against depression, anxiety, and stress.

An interesting result found in this study was the exclusivity of stress relief to students in the Semester group. Almost all of the students in the Semester group described community service as an escape from the academic pressures of their daily lives, while none of the students in the Weekly group indicated this. I suggest that this is because students in the Weekly group view community service as an obligation, a previous commitment that may actually add to stress. This explanation is supported by a number of students in the Weekly groups who voiced the sentiment that they feel if they do not volunteer every week, then they would be letting their communities down. In a way, community service adds additional pressure to their "normal" lives. By contrast, participation in community service is an exception to the "normal" weekly lives of students in the Semester group.

Overall, possible correspondence between the community service experiences of students in this study with enhanced psychological well-being may have been facilitated by increased senses of accomplishment, capacity, meaningfulness, connection, and belonging, as well as

career callings and effective coping methods for stress. This interpretation is supported by previous studies, mentioned in the literature review, that have found more conclusive evidence for positive correlations between collegiate volunteering and psychological well-being (Astin & Sax, 1998; Debats et al., 1995; Musick & Wilson, 2003; Reed et al., 2005).

The lack of correlation between frequency of volunteering and depression, anxiety, and stress may be explained by the ubiquity of previously mentioned benefits among all students interviewed. Students in the Weekly, Monthly, and Semester groups all described similar psychological benefits from volunteering. The two exceptions were that only students in the Semester group found community service to be an outlet for stress relief and that only students in the Weekly and Monthly groups found community service influential or clarifying in regards to their future ambitions and aspirations. It is possible that students in the Weekly group do not report stress relief benefits from community service because they perceive community service as a previously established commitment. It is likely that students in the Semester group did not find their community service experiences influential in their career interests because they have not invested enough time in community service to receive such benefits. The lack of correlation may also be attributed to a ceiling affect. In other words, possible correlations between frequency of volunteering and the psychological well-being of students in this study may have been negated by unusually low rates of depression, anxiety, and stress among the students in this study, all of whom were volunteers.

Qualitative findings in this study also suggest a selective relationship between community service and psychological wellbeing. Some of the factors that students said had prevented them from participating in community service were physical illness and lack of emotional capital, indicating that a reserve of physical and mental wellbeing is needed in order to

initiate participation in community service. This suggests that students who participate in community service are more likely to experience lower rates of depression, anxiety, and stress to begin with, because before students engage in community service and reap psychological benefits from their participation, they must already have a certain amount of mental well-being. Past studies have found that students who have greater personal wellbeing, physically and mentally, are predisposed to volunteer (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001), and observations in the qualitative findings support the hypothesis of psychological well-being as an antecedent of participation in community service.

While no definitive conclusions can be drawn from this study, comparisons between the quantitative findings in this study and previous studies regarding depression, anxiety, and stress among undergraduate students do suggest that the students in this study suffer less from depression, anxiety, and stress than other college students. If this trend is true, it could be due to a myriad of extraneous factors; however, the qualitative findings, supported by past literature, suggest that there is a relationship between community service and depression, anxiety and stress, and that this relationship is reciprocal in nature. Students who volunteer not only are more inclined to be less depressed, anxious, and stressed to begin with, but they also receive psychological benefits from community service that help them cope with and prevent depression, anxiety, and stress. This bidirectional relationship is apparent regardless of the frequency students volunteer, and the lack of quantitative findings using the DASS21 index may be explained by a ceiling effect or observations in the qualitative findings that students psychologically benefited from participating in community service irrespective to how often they volunteered.

GENERAL SELF-EFFICACY

General self-efficacy can be defined as a belief in one's ability to manage and overcome a diversity of challenging or stressful demands. While specific self-efficacy is more immediate, constrained to particular tasks, general self-efficacy involves a greater sense of personal competence. Efficacious people are generally more optimistic in their capacities and action-orientated (Luscoczynska, Scholz, & Schwarzer, 2005; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995). Self-efficacy is derived from the idea that unless people believe that their actions will create the desired results, they will have no motivation to engage in such actions to begin with (Bandura, 2000).

In a study done on 101 undergraduate students at a Northeastern public liberal arts university, the mean General Self-efficacy score was 32.06 (Cerino, 2013). In another study on college students, the mean self-efficacy score before any intervention was 28.7 (Lockwood & Wohl, 2012). The mean score in another study consisting of undergraduate students studying psychology was 31.36 (Feldman & Kubota, 2015), and a study conducted among college students in the United Arab Emirate's found the average general self-efficacy score among research participants to be 27.88 (Khatib, 2012). By comparison the average general self-efficacy score for the students in this study was 32.309, only marginally greater, if at all, than past studies, suggesting that the average general self-efficacy of the students in this study is about equal to that of other college students.

I had hypothesized that frequency of volunteering would be positively correlated with self-efficacy as a reflection of human agency; however it does not seem that students who participate in community service more frequently are generally more efficacious. It is not apparent from the qualitative or quantitative findings that students participate in community

service because they believe they have an ability to make a significant impact in their communities. The interviews revealed that in general, students participate in community service because they have a sense of social responsibility and believe it's a good thing to do, because of the psychological benefits they gain from participating in community service, and because of the sense of belonging and connection that community service facilitates to both the Emory and Atlanta communities.

It is possible that community service may lead to an increase in the specific self-efficacy of volunteers rather than general self-efficacy. Many students did describe gaining a sense of accomplishment and confidence in their abilities from doing community service, and a few students in the Weekly, Monthly, and Semester group also said that from community service, they learned what a large impact just a few hours of their time could have. No decisive conclusions can be drawn, but these qualitative observations do suggest the possibility that community service has an enhancing effect on specific self-efficacy, meaning participation in community service may facilitate development of greater self-efficacy within the context of immediate individual tasks.

Ladd (1999) made the observation that Americans participate in community service because they trust their own abilities to solve their community's problems more than they trust the government's abilities to address these issues, implying that participation in community service is derived from both a sense of social responsibility and sense of general self-efficacy, as well as individualistic rather than collective orientation. However, the lack of correlation between general self-efficacy and community service in this study may reflect a shift in motivations behind community service. It could be possible that although the practice of community service as a characteristic of American social life originated in part from a sense of

general self-efficacy among American citizens, the role of general self-efficacy may have faded with the continued and increasing presence of community service within American culture and as prosocial behaviors became a norm in society. It is quite common for individuals, especially students to participate in community service, and as community service became a more prevalent practice among individuals, the role of general self-efficacy may have become a less relevant antecedent to community service. Perhaps norm enforcement has become a more prominent motivator for participation in community service, thereby negating to some extent the role of general self-efficacy in creating a disposition for service.

THE MENTAL HEALTH CONTINUUM: EMOTIONAL, SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

To provide some context for the proportion of students observed to be flourishing, moderately mentally healthy, and languishing in this study, in a previous study surveying 5,689 American students, both undergraduates and graduates, 3.6% were diagnosed as languishing, 44.6% were diagnosed as moderately mentally healthy, and 51.8% were diagnosed as flourishing (C. Keyes et al., 2012). In another study conducted on adolescent students in Delhi, 2.4% of the students were found to be languishing, 51.2% were moderately healthy, and 46.4% of participants were flourishing (Singh & Junnarkar, 2015). In both studies, measurements of well-being were taken before any sort of intervention was implemented. In comparison, 0.8% of the students in this study were diagnosed as languishing, 32.5% were moderately mentally healthy, and 66.7% were flourishing. Although the comparisons provide no definitive conclusion for how community service is connected to well-being, they do provide some context for the mental

health of students surveyed in this study. In general, the students in this study seem to be above average in terms of well-being when compared to preceding studies.

Past literature investigating community service and well-being have found connections between volunteering and positive well-being, although most of the studies have been longitudinal, and it is unclear whether the relationship is causal or correlative in nature (Bowman et al., 2010; Thoits & Hewitt, 2001). The Mental Health Continuum investigates positive well-being in the form of flourishing, which can be defined as being filled with positive emotion and functioning well psychologically and socially (C. L. M. Keyes, 2002). Although no definitive conclusions can be made, previous reports from aforementioned literature in conjunction with the qualitative findings in this study suggest that there is a relationship between participation in community service and flourishing well-being in this study, and it most likely exists within a bidirectional paradigm, similar to the previously discussed relationship between volunteering and depression, anxiety, and stress.

Researchers have found predictors of flourishing mental health, characterized by emotional, social, and psychological well-being, to include: supportive college environments, students' sense of belonging, professional confidence, civic engagement, and social relationships (Fink, 2014; Singh & Junnarkar, 2015). Additionally, prosocial behaviors, sense of meaningfulness, sense of purpose, and self-worth have all been found to be predictors of greater well-being, especially later in life (Astin & Sax, 1998; Bowman et al., 2010; Debats et al., 1995; Musick & Wilson, 2003; Reed et al., 2005). The students in this study expressed many of these predictors as they accounted their community service experiences.

The most common factor associated with of flourishing well-being expressed by students in this study was a sense of social responsibility facilitated by their prosocial orientations.

Several students expressed a feeling of obligation to give back to society for the opportunities and privileges they have been afforded in their lives, and almost every student interviewed in this study was motivated by a sense of social responsibility to volunteer, suggesting that well-being resulting from feelings of social responsibility and prosocial orientations is an antecedent for participation in community service. The interviews indicate that students who participate in community service are inclined to have more positive well-being because they possess a fundamental sense of social responsibility and prosocial attitudes that motivates them to volunteer to begin with.

However, the relationship between community service and prosocial attitudes was also reciprocal in nature for some students, suggesting that community service also enhances the well-being associated with prosocial orientations. Although many of the students in the Semester group were taught a sense of social responsibility from their religious upbringings, other students in the Weekly and Monthly group found that community service generated and enhanced their sense of social responsibility. Furthermore, many students in the Weekly group described an initial sense of social responsibility that was augmented as they continued to participate in community service. This finding parallels a past study that found prosocial personality orientation to be correlated to the length of community service and amount of time dedicated to volunteering (Louis A. Penner & Finkelstein, 1998).

In addition to the correlation between community service and prosocial attitudes observed in the interviews, students also reported that community service provided them with a sense of meaningfulness, a sense of belonging, greater self-worth, and a social outlet. Students in all three groups said that they participated in community service because it was a productive, meaningful use of their time, through which they gained a sense of accomplishment and value.

Students felt that volunteering was a way they could contribute to and improve their communities, and by doing so they believed they were more valuable citizens of society. Many students said that community service increased their self-esteem and made them realize aspects of their own worth that they had never recognized before, and almost all students expressed that community service was a social outlet that allowed them to build relationships with other people and that facilitated a sense of belonging in the Atlanta and Emory communities. These observations from the qualitative findings suggest that participation in community service facilitates increased flourishing, and possibly even protects students against languishing.

For students in the Weekly group, community service also enhanced their sense of purpose or career calling. The community service experiences of students in the Weekly group greatly influenced their future ambitions and goals. Even if their career goals were vague, every student interviewed expressed a clear connection between community service and their career goals, as well as the desire to use their careers and studies as a way to continue contributing to and improving society. Students in the Weekly group showed greater intentions to continue engaging in prosocial behaviors post-graduation. These findings suggest that there is a differentiated connection between frequency of volunteering and well-being, although the correlation is most likely too minute to be statistically significant in the Mental Health Continuum index. The lack of statistical correlation may also be explained by the possibility that the association between community service and flourishing well-being exists longitudinally.

TIME MANAGEMENT BEHAVIORS

The lack of correlation between the attributed time management behavior scale (TMB) and frequency of volunteering may be because community service is not a significant enough

time commitment for students to measure time management behaviors, or because community service is just not a significant enough part of students' lives at Emory to be correlated to their time management behaviors. Whether or not a student participates in community service is more likely determined by their priorities rather than by whether or not they have time. Time management is not a zero sum game in which students are directly trading slots of time they allocate to one activity for another. Students manage their time by prioritizing their interests, such as academics, social activities, sports, leisure activities, etc., and they make time for the activities that are important to them. Even if they do adopt better time management behaviors, they are most likely going to dedicate the additional time they have accrued to activities based on their priorities and on what they are feeling at any particular moment. I suspect that many students with extra free time would rather relax—doing things such as watching television, sleeping, or catching up with friends—than participate in community service. Even for the students in the Weekly group who participated in community service the most, community service was often not their top priority, reflecting the possibility that for most students, community service comes after more important priorities such as academic obligations.

Previous studies have found that students' self-reported perception of time control was correlated to greater academic performance, work and life satisfaction, and less academic stress (Macan et al., 1990; Misra & McKean, 2000), and I propose that discrepancies in time management behaviors among students at Emory are more closely correlated with academic performance, measured by things such as grade point average or preparedness for class, total number of extracurricular involvements, anxiety, and stress. I also hypothesize that participation in community service is more closely related to initiative or action-orientation that time management behaviors.

One observation may suggest that frequency of volunteering may positively correlate with better time management behaviors. Students in the Weekly group were more likely to report that they had a significant time commitments than students in other groups. However, this could also be an indication of personality or priorities rather than time management behaviors. It is possible that students in the Weekly group are more engaged and involved individuals, and rather than investing time in leisure activities or social activities, they are more likely to invest time in formal extracurricular activities. Additionally, of the students who reported that they had significant time commitments, students in the Weekly group were more likely to list community service activities as a significant time commitment in their weekly lives. This is most likely because they volunteer on a weekly basis, at a much greater frequency and for more hours than students in the Monthly and Semester groups.

VOLUNTEERING AT EMORY

Dean Latting, the Dean of Undergraduate Admissions at Emory, describes the ideal applicant as, "engaged, talented, and energetic." He explained in an interview with me that when evaluating applicants, the admissions office is looking for mutually beneficial relationships between students and Emory as an institution. When assessing applicants, they first evaluate whether or not students will benefit from attending Emory, mostly in an academic sense, which they estimate through academic preparation, interest in learning, and skills in learning, and second, they evaluate where or not students can contribute to Emory through "concern for others and energy level." Although concern for others can be reflected in a variety of disparate activities, the admissions office at Emory often looks at how students spend their time as well as patterns of decision-making within their applications. As a result, Emory often selects for

students who have participated in community service; in 2014 almost 90 percent of first year students at Emory reported having participated in community service during high school (Emory CIRP data, 2014).

As Emory selects for students who exhibit attributes such as concern for others and engagement in society, applying for higher education in general, especially at selective private liberal arts institutions such as Emory may in itself select for a specific population of students more likely to have participated in community service for a couple reasons. First, students applying for schools like Emory are more likely to come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds and have parents who have obtained higher education degrees. Second, students applying to schools like Emory are well aware of the value colleges place on community service experiences and therefore are more likely to have participated in community service in high school to increase their odds during the college admissions process.

With an annual tuition price tag of over 44,000 dollars, not including housing, food, books, or travel costs, the experience of attending Emory often requires deep-pocketed parents. This means that the demographic of the Emory student body is skewed towards the middle and upper classes. As previous studies have found, students who come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to volunteer (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994), which suggests that students at Emory have a predisposition to participate in volunteer service from the start. Additionally, students at Emory are also more likely to have parents with higher education levels (Davis-Kean, 2005), children of parents with high levels of education are more likely to volunteer (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994), suggesting again that students at Emory are predisposed to participate in community service.

Furthermore, in order to matriculate into a selective school, students must have been prepared for the college application process and know to an extent strategies to put themselves at an advantage over other students. Students at Emory were most likely told by high school counselors, teachers, and their parents to volunteer because it was something college admissions offices look for in applicants. This is consistent with observations that every student I interviewed, and over 95 percent of the students surveyed, began participating in community service in high school. Many were required to volunteer by their respective secondary schools; others were a part of organizations that required participation in community service as a part of their membership.

It is possible that students at Emory are motivated in part to participate in community service because they have been taught that community service provides social capital that will allow them to advance through rounds in application processes. In this way, it is possible the context of Emory changes the purpose of community service. Although there is always some aspect of altruism involved in volunteer work, community service in high school and at institutions of higher education has in some ways become a line on a resume, a tool for students to use to prove their merit to others.

Another reason students at Emory may have a predisposition to volunteer is because Emory is a privileged environment. A pattern found throughout the qualitative findings was that the sense of social responsibility felt by the students who volunteered stems in large part from the privilege they feel as students at Emory. It is likely that students already had an awareness of their privilege before coming to Emory; however, the Emory environment most likely exacerbates the sense of obligation they feel to use the resources and opportunities they have access to at Emory to contribute to society.

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT

If there is a positive correlation between community service and the academic performance of students, it seems to exist within a parabolic paradigm. Students in the Semester group describe community service as stress alleviating, with several students describing a direct relationship between their academic experiences at Emory being enhanced in one way or another by their community service experiences. However, the qualitative findings also suggest a threshold in which this relationship flattens out. Almost every student stated that the primary reason they do not participate in more community service is because of academic obligations. This suggests that in addition to the positive effects that community service may have on academic performance, academic performance and community service are also competing goals. The complementary relationship between community service and academic performance or experiences exists only to a certain extent, and once the amount of time students dedicate to community service passes a certain threshold, the relationship becomes antagonistic. This may be why past literature has found both positive (Astin & Sax, 1998; Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999; Reed et al., 2005) and negative (Bowman et al., 2010; Eyler & Dwight E. Giles, 1999) correlations between academic experiences and participation in community service .

The qualitative findings in this study also support past reports that community service is positively correlated with career callings among students (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2010). However, the findings in this study suggest that the correlation may only exist after a certain threshold of participation in community service has been reached. Every student interviewed in the Weekly group reported connections between their community service experiences and future ambitions. On the other hand, none of the students in the Semester group reported significant intersections between their future ambitions and community service experiences. This suggests that the

correlation between community service and career callings is strengthened by participation in community service, or that the relationship between community service and career callings holds only beyond a certain threshold of community service participation.

The disparity observed in career calling may be explained in part by the demographics of the groups. Most of the students in the Weekly Group were upperclassmen—juniors and seniors—while most of the students in the Semester Group were first and second year students. Older students, who have spent more time at Emory, generally have more developed ideas of their career goals and interests, and they have had more time to discover their individual interests and passions. They also have been exposed to a greater variety of career paths and therefore, have a more informed idea of what can constitute as a career path. Entering college, first year students have a limited understanding of different employment opportunities post-graduation. They also have not had as much time to develop their goals, which is apparent in their broad, un-specific descriptions of their career goals during the ethnographic interviews. However, this explanation is countered somewhat by the observation that in the Weekly group, students were able to draw connections between their community service experiences and future ambitions even if their career goals were vague.

Community service also may have a more abstract impact on the academic development and experiences of students. Much of the current critique surrounding higher education, other than its cost, points out that the education system has become consumed by grades and the idea of making students employable. Although there are higher education institutions with unique ethos and learning pedagogies, the role of higher education within American society as a whole has been pigeonholed into creating employable students, and students have often been trained to value their grades over the substance of their education. In American society, college is generally

seen as a time to develop the set of skills needed to succeed economically after college (Selingo, 2015). As a liberal arts institution, Emory may be exempt somewhat from these societal pressures (Samuelson, 2014); however, many students like Jeff still see obtaining economic success and stability as the priority in college. Personal passions and interests are often seen as less important. It is possible that the cultural perception of higher education as a stepping-stone to economic prosperity leads students to prioritize activities that are traditionally thought to improve career prospects over activities such as community service.

Participation in community service may help students escape this utilitarian perspective of higher education. As the qualitative findings revealed, students in the Weekly group were more inclined to pursue career paths motivated by academic interests. They are also more likely to pursue career paths of prosocial orientations. Students interviewed in the Weekly group pursued academic concentrations motivated by their personal passions, which may reflect their ability to reject societal pressures to become traditionally employable. However, there is no clear evidence that this is correlated with community service. They may be confounding factors. In other words, it is possible that students in the Weekly group have predispositions to defy the cultural norms of higher education in order to prioritize participation in community service over other extracurricular activities or interests and to pursue less economically lucrative career paths and academic concentrations.

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND HUMAN EVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

The findings in this study, supported by past literature, provide possible proximate explanations for the development of community service as a human social behavior. Immediate explanations for why students participate in community service may include the following: a

sense of social responsibility, feelings of accomplishment, self-worth, and meaning derived from volunteering, as well as more utilitarian reasons, such as advantages in the college admissions process. However, there may be an ultimate reason for the origins of community service. Participation in community service is an example of human cooperation, and as such it is possible that the practice of community service is derived from many of the same evolutionary mechanisms—such as generalized altruism and mutualism—proposed to explain the development of cooperation among humans. Through its intersections with processes of generalized altruism and mutualism, the development of community service as a cross-cultural example of human cooperation may be rooted in human evolutionary history.

In evolutionary theory, generalized altruism has been used to explain how helping unrelated individuals may provide evolutionary advantages (Luois A. Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). According to some theorists, generalized altruism derives evolutionary benefits through the idea that after helping others, they will repay the favor (Trivers, 1971). Evidence supporting this hypothesis include findings that players will respond in kind during zero-sum Prisoner's Dilemma games and that reciprocating generosity is actually the most lucrative strategy for players in such games (Axelrod, 1984). Furthermore, Schroder and colleagues (1995) have found that generalized altruism exists cross-culturally (Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, & Piliavin, 1995), which suggests the possibility that generalized altruism is genetically encoded and may also explain why it has been observed as a norm in human social behavior (Gouldner, 1960).

In addition to the observation that people respond in kind to generous actions, altruistic behaviors also provide advantages in increased social status. People are more likely to help others if they have offered help themselves (Boster, Fediuk, & Kotowski, 2001), and exhibiting

altruistic behaviors increases an individual's reputation within their community (Wedekind & V., 2002). This is especially advantageous for males, as higher social status has been shown to be correlated with reproductive advantage in the form of more desirable mating partners (Buss, 2003). Fundamentally, community service is the act of helping others, and as such, it is possible that the paradigm of community service involves aspects of generalized altruism. Additionally, past studies have suggested that community service is correlated with higher socioeconomic status and higher education (Davis-Kean, 2005; Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994), both of which suggest an association between community service participation and increased social standing.

Another aspect of cooperation observed in human social behaviors is mutualism. Generalized altruism often refers to a direct exchange between two individuals. In the paradigm of generalized altruism, one actor incurs a loss, while another actor benefits and returns the favor at a later time. Mutualism involves a simultaneous benefit, in which both parties involved directly benefit from a single interaction (Thomas & DeScioli, 2014). Mutualism is often observed in human social behavior through cooperative hunting, which is the key to successful obtainment of food sources and therefore survival for many hunter gatherer societies (Stevens, Cushman, & Hauser, 2005). As this study has shown, community service is a platform of exchange in which volunteers donate their time and energy for the purpose of helping others in their community; however, while volunteers are incurring this cost they are also reaping benefits, such as enhanced psychological and flourishing well-being. Community service is a mutually benefiting exchange between those providing the service and those receiving the service. Therefore, it is possible that an ultimate explanation for the continued and cross-cultural existence of community service as a human social behavior can be derived from ideas of

mutualism. Community service is a social behavior that results in simultaneous benefits among participants of the interaction, and it contributes to the overall success of communities at large.

Mutualism and generalized altruism in conjunction with several other theories are often used to explain human cooperation in human evolutionary theory. Cooperation among humans is unique because of the breadth of collaboration observed among kin and non-kin folks alike (Bowles & Gintis, 2003). Community service is a form of cooperation among non-kin human beings; therefore, it is possible that the practice of community service may have evolved in part as a result of the benefits derived from generalized altruism and mutualism—concepts that have been used to explain the nature of prosocial human cooperation. Although this theory cannot be definitely proven, it is possible that community service exists within the paradigm of generalized altruism and mutualism, and as such, participation in community service may exist within a similar human evolutionary context as altruistic behaviors and cooperation.

Chapter 5:
Conclusion and Limitations

As a well-established feature of the landscape of social life in the United States, community service has shifted away from a religious framework within the past century to enter the context of civic duty. More people are volunteering, and community service has been integrated into educational practices and pedagogies across all levels of education. The purpose of this study was to evaluate community service among students at Emory, and gain a deeper understanding of who is volunteering, why they are volunteering, what students are gaining from volunteering, and whether or not the answers to these questions differ among students who volunteer at different frequencies.

The findings in this study suggest that participation in collegiate volunteering not only selects for students who have a sense of social responsibility, prosocial orientations, and higher rates of psychological and flourishing well-being, but it also has a reciprocal affect on the participants, facilitating psychological and social benefits in the form of a sense of meaning, self-worth, belonging, and purpose, stress relief, career callings, and social connections. Participation in community service may also be correlated to positive academic experiences and performance; however, it is likely that the positive correlation exists only up to a certain threshold of volunteering.

Contrary to my hypothesis, the frequency of volunteering was not found to be significantly correlated with self-reported psychological well-being, general self efficacy, flourishing well-being, or time management behaviors as measured by DASS21, GSE, MHC-SF, and imputed TMB indexes respectively. However, qualitative findings revealed more nuanced explanations to lack of findings in the quantitative data. The lack of correlation is possibly a

reflection of the observation that all students, regardless of how often they volunteered, benefited from their participation in community service.

Additionally, the interviews suggested some qualitative discrepancies between groups that may have been too minute to be statistically relevant. Participants in the Weekly group expressed significant connections between their community service experiences and future ambitions, while participants in the Semester group were more likely to use community service as a tool for stress relief. Students in the Weekly group formed social connections with community members outside of Emory, while students in the Semester group formed social connections with community members inside Emory.

The context of Emory also may provide a unique paradigm for the practice of community service for a couple reasons. The purpose of community service is changed within the context of selective liberal arts institutions such as Emory, as students are trained to view community service as a tool to prove their merit to selection committees. Additionally, Emory is an environment of immense privilege and may exacerbate established senses of social responsibility among students. Overall, the findings in this study support past literature expressing the reciprocal affects of community service on providers. The practice of community service as a manifestation of human cooperation and prosocial orientations may be rooted in evolutionary theories of generalized altruism and mutualism.

In general, this research study provides implications for the use of community service as a tool to enrich the experiences of students at Emory and possibly at other higher education institutions as well. Past studies have focused almost exclusively on long-term community service experiences or formal service-learning programs; however, this study provides implications for the value of even one-time community service experiences in facilitating

positive benefits associated with volunteering. In addition to the formal integration of community service into educational pedagogies such as service-learning programs, community service as a stand-alone practice also may provide benefits such as improving the sense of belonging students feel not only to the Emory community, but also to the Atlanta community. Community service may contribute to the education of heart and mind in a way that classrooms and lectures are not able to by engaging students directly with tangible issues in their communities. Although this study cannot make any definitive conclusions concerning the correlations and benefits of community service, the findings do suggest that participation in community service is connected to realizations of privilege and social responsibility, psychological benefits, and increased appreciation for the present. Even participation in community service once or twice a semester may lead to more a more meaningful college experience.

LIMITATIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

Limitations include the inability to confirm the self-reported frequency of volunteering beyond the community service opportunities that Volunteer Emory provided. As the interviews revealed after it was discovered that two students originally placed in the Monthly group had actually only volunteered once or twice during the Fall 2014 semester, self-reported accounts of frequency of volunteering are not the most reliable, especially when asking students to estimate the frequency at which they volunteered. To an extent, this unreliability was corrected for by using Volunteer Emory's volunteer logs, but it is possible that discrepancies between reported participation in community service and actual participation in community service remained. In general, there is always ambiguity associated with self-reported measurements, as it is possible

that self-delusion or social desirability distorted student answers to questions. Past studies have suggested that self-reported measurements of well-being may be particularly susceptible to delusion as human beings are not very accurate when self-reporting their own well-being (Brown, MacDonald, Samanta, Friedman, & Coyne, 2014).

Limitations also include the lack of control over the type of community service students participated in and the variability in the impact and influence that different types of service—ranging from gardening work to medical supply sorting—might have had on them. It is likely that different community service activities differed in their effects on students, especially if they involved physical activity, which is known to increase mental well-being (Weir, 2011). Additionally, this study focused exclusively on extracurricular community service and volunteerism activities and failed to include participants involved in formal service-learning programs. The inclusion of a broader spectrum of community service opportunities and experiences, such as service-learning programs, may lead to more definitive or nuanced findings. Service-learning programs often involved established outlets for reflection after community service experiences, an aspect of community service that was not controlled for in this study. With future studies examining the reciprocity of community service or service-learning programs, the inclusion of a control or measurement of the impact of reflection in facilitating the associations or benefits of community service would be useful.

Another limitation to the study was that it only included a post-survey. Due to time constraints, I was not able to administer a pre-survey before any students had participated in community service. Future studies should include both pre and post surveys in order to help control for directionality of correlations relating to community service and to observe possible changes in measurements of psychological well-being, general self-efficacy, flourishing well-

being, or time management behaviors amongst students before and after they participated in community service. I would also add a measurement of extraversion to gain a better understanding of the students who are choosing to volunteer. Additionally, this study did not include any Emory students who did not volunteer. Comparing volunteer populations to non-volunteer populations at Emory, while ideally controlling for all other characteristics expect volunteerism, also may lead to more comprehensive and insightful findings. Other extracurricular activities beyond community service also may facilitate similar findings among student participants. Future studies comparing volunteer groups to other activities such as sports, debate, or advocacy groups may lead to a better understanding of the specific value of community service in higher education.

Future studies should include a longitudinal study, observing students as they transition between high school and college. Frequency of volunteering in high school did seem to predict frequency of volunteering during the Fall 2014, suggesting that many of the observations in this study may exist longitudinally through adolescence and early adulthood. Furthermore, including measurements on the development of moral reasoning among students who participate in different frequencies of volunteering would be useful. Indexes of moral reasoning would facilitate a better understanding of students who participate in community service and of the impact that varying frequencies of community service may have among volunteers.

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Appendix I: Survey

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

TITLE: Community Service among Students at Emory

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Rebecca Du, Anthropology Department, Class of 2015

INTRODUCTION
You are being asked to be in a research study. This form is designed to tell you everything you need to think about before you decide to consent (agree) to be in the study or not to be in the study. It is entirely your choice. If you decide to take part, you can change your mind later on and withdraw from the research study.

Before making your decision:
   • Please carefully read this form or have it read to you
   • Please ask questions about anything that is not clear

You can request a copy of this consent form, to keep. Feel free to take your time thinking about whether you would like to participate. By signing this form you will not give up any legal rights.

STUDY OVERVIEW
The purpose of this study is to understand college student perceptions of and experiences with community service.

PROCEDURES
1. Study participants are drawn from students who have participated in community engagement activities.

2. Potential research participants will be emailed an invitation to participate in the study one week after the service activity. The message requests their agreement to taking the survey and includes an online consent form that informs them of the purpose and use of the survey and the possibility of future contact for an ethnographic interview. Each person who agrees to participate will be assigned a study number. After the consent forms are collected, they will be stored on an external hard drive that will be locked away in a cabinet for safety. The original files will be deleted.

3. Research participants who consent to being a part of the study will then fill out an online survey. No personal/identifying information will be attached to the survey except for the study number. The only connection between study number and participant identifying information will be kept on a master sheet that will be stored away separately in a secure place. This file will be destroyed once data collection is complete.

4. All of the data collected will be entered by study numbers only.

5. The entered data will be analyzed for trends and correlates of community engagement activity.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORT
This study does involve self-evaluation of eudemonia, self-efficacy, and mood, and therefore may involve some discomfort.

BENEFITS
This study is not designed to benefit you directly. This study is designed to learn more about the correlation between community service and well-being of students. The study results may be used to help others in the future.

COMPENSATION
You will not be offered payment for being in this study.

ADDITIONAL CONTACT
You may be contacted for a follow-up ethnographic interview in the weeks following the completion of this survey. Participation in this follow-up interview will depend on your consent at that time. The ethnographic interviews will be recorded, but any identifying information will be omitted, and pseudonyms will be given to all research participants.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Certain offices and people other than the researchers may look at study records. Government agencies and Emory employees overseeing proper study conduct may look at your study records. These offices include the Office for Human Research Protections, the Emory Institutional Review Board, the Emory Office of Research Compliance and the Office for Clinical Research, and the Emory Anthropology Department. Emory will keep any research records we create private to the extent we are required to do so by law. A study number rather than your name will be used on study records wherever possible, and any documentation recording the correlation between study numbers and personal identification will be destroyed once the study is over. Your name and other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results.

Study records can be opened by court order. They may also be produced in response to a subpoena or a request for production of documents.

We will do everything we can to keep others from learning about your participation in the research.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPANT AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE STUDY
You have the right to leave a study at any time without penalty. You may refuse to do any procedures you do not feel comfortable with, or answer any questions that you do not wish to answer. If you choose to withdraw from this study, you may request to have the information you submitted thus far be no longer included in the study.

The researchers also have the right to stop your participation in this study without your consent if:

- They believe it is in your best interest;
- You were to object to any future changes that may be made in the study plan;
- or for any other reason.

CONTACT INFORMATION
Contact Rebecca Du at (469) 877-6838:
- if you have any questions about this study or your part in it,
- if you have questions, concerns or complaints about the research

Contact the Emory Institutional Review Board at 404-712-0720 or 877-503-9797 or irb@emory.edu:
- if you have questions about your rights as a research participant.
- if you have questions, concerns or complaints about the research.
- You may also let the IRB know about your experience as a research participant through our Research Participant Survey at http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/6ZDMW75.

CONSENT
Please, electronically print your name and sign below if you agree to be in this study. By electronically signing this consent form, you will not give up any of your legal rights. We will give you a copy of the signed consent, to keep.
Ethnographic Interview Script

_____   _____

Name of Research Participant   Date

_____

Signature of Research Participant

THE GENERAL SELF-EFFICACY SCALE (GSE)

The General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE)				
1. I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.	1	2	3	4
2. If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want.	1	2	3	4
3. It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals.	1	2	3	4
4. I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.	1	2	3	4
5. Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations.	1	2	3	4
6. I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort.	1	2	3	4
7. I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities.	1	2	3	4
8. When I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions.	1	2	3	4
9. If I am in trouble, I can usually think of a solution.	1	2	3	4
10. I can usually handle whatever comes my way.	1	2	3	4
1 = Not at all true 2 = Hardly true 3 = Moderately true 4 = Exactly true				

MENTAL HEALTH CONTINUUM, SHORT FORMT (MHC-SF)

Please answer the following questions are about how you have been feeling during the past month. Place a check mark in the box that best represents how often you have experienced or felt the following:

During the past month, how often did you feel …	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	ABOUT 2 OR 3 TIMES A WEEK	ALMOST EVERY DAY	EVERY DAY
1. happy						
2. interested in life						
3. satisfied with life						
4. that you had something important to contribute to society						
5. that you belonged to a community (like a social group, or your neighborhood)						
SEE BELOW 6. that our society is a good place, or is becoming a better place, for all people						
7. that people are basically good						
8. that the way our society works makes sense to you						
9. that you liked most parts of your personality						
10. good at managing the responsibilities of your daily life						
11. that you had warm and trusting relationships with others						
12. that you had experiences that challenged you to grow and become a better person						
13. confident to think or express your own ideas and opinions						
14. that your life has a sense of direction or meaning to it						

Note: The original wording for item 6 was "that our society is becoming a better place for people like you." This item does not work in all cultural contexts. However, when validating the MHC-SF, test both versions of item 6 to see which one works best in your context.

DEPRESSION, ANXIETY, AND STRESS SCALE-21 (DASS21)

DASS21

Name: *Date:*

Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2 or 3 which indicates how much the statement applied to you *over the past week*. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:

0 Did not apply to me at all
1 Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time
2 Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time
3 Applied to me very much, or most of the time

1	I found it hard to wind down	0	1	2	3
2	I was aware of dryness of my mouth	0	1	2	3
3	I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all	0	1	2	3
4	I experienced breathing difficulty (eg, excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)	0	1	2	3
5	I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things	0	1	2	3
6	I tended to over-react to situations	0	1	2	3
7	I experienced trembling (eg, in the hands)	0	1	2	3
8	I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy	0	1	2	3
9	I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself	0	1	2	3
10	I felt that I had nothing to look forward to	0	1	2	3
11	I found myself getting agitated	0	1	2	3
12	I found it difficult to relax	0	1	2	3
13	I felt down-hearted and blue	0	1	2	3
14	I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing	0	1	2	3
15	I felt I was close to panic	0	1	2	3
16	I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything	0	1	2	3
17	I felt I wasn't worth much as a person	0	1	2	3
18	I felt that I was rather touchy	0	1	2	3
19	I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (eg, sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)	0	1	2	3
20	I felt scared without any good reason	0	1	2	3
21	I felt that life was meaningless	0	1	2	3

TIME MANAGEMENT BEHAVIOR SCALE (TMB)

TO WHAT EXTENT DO EACH OF THE STATEMENTS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES ACCURATELY DESCRIBE YOU ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES IN YOUR WORK? Indicate how accurately each statement describes you by choosing ONE of the alternatives in the scale below and circulating the corresponding letter on the blank line next to each item. Mark all you responses directly on the form. THIS IS NOT A TEST THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. Please respond to all the items.

A = Seldom true
B = Occasionally true
C = True about as often as not
D = Frequently true
E = Very often true

A B C D E   1. I underestimate the time it will take to accomplish tasks.
A B C D E   2. At the end of the workday, I leave a clear well-organized workspace.
A B C D E   3. I carry a notevook to jot down notes and ideas

A B C D E   4. When I decide on what I will try to accomplish in the short term, I keep in mind my long-term objectives.
A B C D E   5. I review my goals to determine if they need revising.
A B C D E   6. I schedule activities at least a week in advance

A B C D E   7. When I make a things-to-do list at the beginning of the day, it is forgotten or set aside by the end of the day.
A B C D E   8. I feel in control of my time.
A B C D E   9. I can find the things I need for my work more easily when my workspace is messy and disorganized than when it is neat and organized.

A B C D E   10. When I find that I am frequently contacting someone, I record that person's name, address, and phone number in a special file.
A B C D E   11. I break complex, difficult projects down into smaller manageable tasks.
A B C D E   12. I set short-term goals for what I want to accomplish in a few days or weeks.

A B C D E   13. I block out time in my daily schedule for regularly scheduled events.
A B C D E   14. The time I spend scheduling and organizing my workday is time wasted.
A B C D E   15. I must spend a lot of time on unimportant tasks.

A B C D E   16. My workdays are too unpredictable for me to plan and manage my time to any great extent.
A B C D E   17. I write notes to remind myself of what I need to do.

A B C D E   18. I set deadlines for myself when I set out to accomplish a task.

A B C D E   19. I make a list of things to do each day and check off each task as it is accomplished.

A B C D E   20. I have some of my most creative ideas when I am disorganized.

A B C D E   21. I find it difficult to keep to a schedule because others take me away from my work.

A B C D E   22. When I am somewhat disorganized I am better able to adjust to unexpected events.

A B C D E   23. I carry an appointment book with me.

A B C D E   24. I look for ways to increase the efficiency with which I perform my work activities.

A B C D E   25. I finish top priority tasks before going on to less important ones.

A B C D E   26. I keep a daily log of my activities.

A B C D E   27. I find that I can do a better job if I put off tasks that I don't feel like doing than if I try to get them done in the order of their importance.

A B C D E   28. I find myself procrastinating on tasks that I don't like but that must be done.

A B C D E   29. I review my daily activities to see where I am wasting time.

A B C D E   30 I use an in-basket and out-basket for organizing paperwork.

A B C D E   31. During a workday, I evaluate how well I am following the schedule I have set down for myself.

A B C D E   32. I set priorities to determine the order in which I will perform tasks each day.

A B C D E   33. I find places to work that will allow me to avoid interruptions and distractions.

A B C D E   34. If I know I will have to spend time waiting, I bring along something I can work on.

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCES AND EXTRACURICULLAR ACTIVITIES

Are you an undergraduate student at Emory?

YES   NO

Have you been participating in any weekly community service opportunities through the Fall 2014 semester?
Opportunities do not have to be affiliated with Emory in any way and can include engaged-learning courses. Examples include: Volunteer Emory weekly service trips, academic courses that engage you in the community, etc.

YES   NO

If yes, please list your activities:

Did you participate in community service opportunities during your summers in college?
Possible opportunities include: EASL, SAS, internships, etc.

YES   NO

If yes, please list your activities:

How often did you participate in these activities?

        a.   Every day (or most days each week)
        b.   Once or twice a week
        c.   Once or tice a month
        d.   Other: _____

Did you participate in community service before enrolling in college (i.e. during high school, middle school, etc.), including engaged-learning courses/programs?

YES   NO

If yes, how often?

        a.   On a weekly basis
        b.   On a monthly basis
        c.   Once or twice a year
        d.   Other: _____

Have you ever taken an engaged-learning course or taken part in an engaged-learning program?
i.e. any academic courses that have engaged you in the community

YES   NO

How many credit hours are you enrolled in this semester?

Do you participate in any activities that require a significant time commitment around or over 10-15 hours a week? i.e. athletics, employment

YES   NO

If yes, please list below:

Appendix II: Ethnographic Interviews

ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW SCRIPT

1) What year are you?
2) What's your major/minor?
    a) Why did you choose your major/minor?
    b) Do you enjoy the classes in your major/minor? What do you enjoy about them?
    c) Do you enjoy your classes in general?
    d) What would you like to do with your major?
3) Can you tell me about your experiences at (insert Volunteer Emory activity)?
    a) What did you do there?
    b) Why did you decide to volunteer there?
    c) What did you gain from the volunteer experience?
4) Have you had any other volunteering experiences in college?
5) Why do you participate in community service?
    a) Is it an important part of your life?
6) How has volunteering contributed to your time at Emory? Your journey at Emory?
7) Are your volunteer experiences connected to your academic experience/growth or have they contributed to your academic experience/growth in any way?
8) Are your volunteer experiences connected to your personal growth or have they contributed to your personal growth in any way?
9) Do you think community service an important part of the culture here at Emory?
10) What prevents you from doing community service?
    a) What do you think prevents other Emory students from participating in community service?
11) Did you participate in community service in high school? Can you tell me about that?
    a) More or less than in college? Why?
12) What have you learned from participating in community service?
13) Have you ever done reflection as part of the community service experience?
14) Have you taken an engaged-learning course before?
15) How would you define community service?
16) What extracurricular activities do you do?
    a) Why do you do them?
    b) What do you gain from doing them?
17) Has your Emory experience so far been meaningful?
    a) In what way? What has made your experience meaningful?
    b) What could make it more meaningful?
18) Ideally, what would you like to do after graduation?
19) What are your pronouns?