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HYBRIDIZED INTERNSHIPS AND SERVICE-LEARNING: AN INQUIRY INTO
STUDENT, COMMUNITY, AND HIGHER EDUCATION PARTNER EXPERIENCES IN A
COMMUNITY-BASED INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

by

Ben Trager

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in Urban Education

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

December 2021

ABSTRACT

HYBRIDIZED INTERNSHIPS AND SERVICE-LEARNING: AN INQUIRY INTO STUDENT, COMMUNITY, AND HIGHER EDUCATION PARTNER EXPERIENCES IN A COMMUNITY-BASED INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

by

Ben Trager

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2021
Under the Supervision of Dr. Marie Sandy

This dissertation explores a community-based internship (CBI) program, a hybridization of internship and service-learning practices. CBIs are becoming more common in higher education, but literature on the practice of integrating internships and service-learning is scarce. The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of a CBI through an investigation of student, community partner, and university staff experiences and perceived outcomes of the program. Using participatory action research approaches and a thematic analysis of interviews and student course work, this qualitative study occurred in two phases and included 31 participants. The analysis employs frames of *private vs public* in higher education, Deweyan developmental democracy, and critical service-learning to organize the findings within six themes.

The CBI included outcomes related to both internships and service-learning. Related to outcomes associated with internships, students experienced opportunities for professional and personal development, community partners experienced increased capacity for their work through the work of students as well as the new perspectives they may bring, and stakeholders described the CBI as a means for the university to fulfill its missions of preparing students for professional and civic life through a single program. Related to outcomes associated with

service-learning, some CBI students demonstrated an understanding of how their work is connected to communities and broader society, a desire to make social change, and a deepened sense of community through their work. Some students who identified with backgrounds that are typically considered marginalized because of race or poverty, described feelings of responsibility for change and confronting barriers to change, while students who identified as privileged and white were more likely to describe a recognition of their privilege and wanting to use their privilege to help. Other public outcomes, such as impacts to the common good, were not commonly described by stakeholders.

The findings of this study demonstrate the hybridization of internships and service-learning may produce outcomes associated with both, but there is a potential for goals of individual or organizational self-interest to overshadow goals related to the broader common good. Frameworks and structures borrowed from service-learning should be centered in CBIs to conserve public outcomes.

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To Marcel, Mom and Dad, and my siblings,
your unwavering support made this possible.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

In today's educational landscape, higher education institutions serve varied and multiple purposes. Higher education mission statements most frequently reference scientific research, training a qualified work force, contributing to the community, and the development of free and democratic thinking (Gaff & Meacham, 2006; Morphew & Hartley, 2006). Different types of institutions, such as community colleges, research intensive, faith-based, institutions dedicated to serving specific race and ethnic groups, private, public, and liberal arts institutions often stress one or more of these goals differently (ibid). Preparing students for their future professional roles (Coker et al., 2017; Gower & Mulvaney, 2012) and maintaining a civic mission of developing engaged citizens (Ehrlich, 2000) are two prominent objectives often related to the education of undergraduate students across institutional types.

Problem Statement

Higher education institutions pursue a number of pedagogical strategies to achieve these goals. For example, internships are a means to prepare students for professional life (Gower & Mulvaney, 2012; Silva et al., 2016) and service-learning is a means to support a university's civic mission (Nichols, 2016) and developing students' sense of civic responsibility (Benenson et al., 2017). Both internships and service-learning are considered high impact, experiential practices (Kuh, 2008), and have been shown to produce positive outcomes for students who engage in them, and these impacts have been shown to be more pronounced for historically underserved students, such as first generation college students, and students of color (Finley & McNair, 2013). Beneficial outcomes for students of high impact practices include: increased increase retention rates (Provencher & Kassel, 2017), increased career opportunity post-graduation (Miller et al., 2017), and socially responsible leadership (Kilgo et al., 2014).

Although these practices fall within the umbrella of high impact practices, internships and service-learning programs usually have their own infrastructure to support their implementation and are typically housed on different parts of higher education campuses, with internships commonly administered in offices of career services or specific academic units (Garis, 2014) and service-learning in community engagement or service-learning centers (Hinck & Brandell, 2000).

A newer form of higher educational practice has developed in the past ten to fifteen years, community-based internships (CBIs) or “civic internships” (Bringle, 2017, p. 52), which are intended as a hybridization of internships and service-learning, and may be a means to prepare students for both professional and civic life. Internships and service-learning are well understood and conceptualized in existing literature (e.g., Lopes et al., 2019; Delano-Oriaran et al., 2015), yet there is only a handful of studies regarding community-based internships or practices like it. Literature regarding these types of practices have only recently emerged (e.g., Bringle, 2017; Hastings et al., 2018; Robinson et al., 2019; Smeltzer, 2015; Snell et al., 2019). Therefore, understanding the structure and impacts of a community-based internship through an examination of stakeholder experiences is important for these reasons: (1) the relative dearth of knowledge regarding the practice, and (2) the potential for CBIs to serve as a means to meet two important goals of higher education.

Meeting Two Goals of Higher Education: A Rationale for Combining Internships and Service-Learning

Part of the rationale for combining these two programs into a single program is a matter of efficiency. In recent years, there is increasing emphasis on the private workforce development goals. Colleges and universities are faced with mounting pressure to ensure that students

graduate with practical professional skills that can be directly translated into their workforce roles. They now operate in response to the globalization of the knowledge economy (Johnston, 2011) and the lingering effects of the austerity measures that began with implementation of neoliberal policies in the 1980s (Johnson, 2018) and continued beyond the financial crisis of the late 2000s (Busch, 2017; Johnston, 2011). While preparation for future work has long been a part of the mission of higher education, particularly technical and professional preparation schools, the influence of global market forces has caused more universities to seek ways to prepare their students to be career ready and to position themselves as locations to uphold the demands of marketplace and corporate values (Giroux, 2010). As higher education institutions are faced with increasing pressure to ensure that students graduate with practical professional skills that can be directly translated into their roles in the workforce, there is a turn to provide students with work-based learning experiences through internships (Perlin, 2011).

Some scholars note that several higher educational goals are in danger of being discarded or de-emphasized in today's higher education context that places greater emphasis on job preparation that emphasizes the benefit to "individual and institutional interests and incentives" (Arum & Roksa, 2011, p. 2). Giroux (2010), for example, claims that higher education is in a state of crisis, a state in which market forces have begun to marginalize the very essence of the university as the civic and democratic values of higher education are being replaced by the forces of neoliberalism.

Two common goals of higher education that continue to appear in higher education mission statements can be broadly defined as *private* and *public*: the *private* purposes of preparing students for their future professional roles and supporting economic interests, and the *public* purposes of serving the community, cultivating citizens, and contributions to public life (Gaff &

Meacham, 2006; Kimball, 1995). While it is not accurate to say that there are only these two purposes of education, several scholars have recognized and often named the building tension related to increased market forces as the competing interests of *private* (education as an individualistic commodity) vs. *public* (education as a public good with benefits to society) (Busch, 2017). Acknowledging that this is an oversimplification but still a useful way to understand some of broader tendencies in higher education, Langdon and Agyeyomah (2014) describe this tension as the “employability versus good citizen dichotomy,” with one side of the dichotomy emphasizing personal professional advancement and skills outcomes for work, and the other emphasizing “conscientization, critical thinking to build good citizenship skills, and concern for social problems to reduce prejudice” (p. 50).

Using the lens of public and private aspects of education offers a useful way to describe goals commonly cited for experiential learning practices such as internships and service-learning. However, Langdon and Agyeyomah (2014) recognize there are other ways of describing the goals of experiential education, such as the “four villages” approach defined by Weil and McGill (1989); but the ‘villages’ that typically centered in higher education are those that can be described as personal development and professional skills (Langdon & Agyeyomah, 2014). Kincheloe (1999; 2000) noted this same dynamic with competing forces between *vocational* and broadly ‘educational’ or *academic*, describing the vocational emphasis of experiential education as a hidden intention of experiential education. With these limitations in mind, the study draws on the *private / public* dichotomy as way to understand experiences of stakeholder and outcomes of a CBI.

Internships and Service-Learning: Distinct Lineages of *Private*- and *Public*-Oriented Experiential Education Practices

The perceived conflict in experiential education about emphasizing skill outcomes for work versus critical thinking for being a better citizen is not novel. Randy Stoecker wrote, “...we can begin to understand the dynamics of a present state by looking into its past. So it is with service-learning” (2016, p. 10). Langdon and Agyeyomah (2014) state, “This flattening of debate [to a dichotomous polarity] echoes representations of educational debate occurring over the last century.” (p 50). They emphasize, “it is important to note how much of this tension, between skills outcomes for work, and critical thinking for better citizens, have been present in the educational debates going back at least to the US public school debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century” (p.53). It appears that the origins of the practices of internships and service-learning are caught up in this polarity between employability and meeting the needs of industry, and education for democracy. Therefore, it is worth considering briefly why internships and service-learning have been treated as largely separate practices so that we might better understand what is at stake when attempting to hybridize them in the current context.

While each have antecedents in earlier forms of training and education (Stoecker, 2016; Kimball, 1998), both internships and service-learning as hands-on learning practices in higher education have roots in the progressive education movement in the United States, which began as a response to major changes to the US political economy during the 19th and early 20th centuries (Graham, 1967; Seaman et al., 2017). This was the time of the ‘original’ liberal turn in the United States, which was characterized by intense immigration, urbanization, and industrialization of the economy (Seaman et al., 2017).

Many theorists and activists looked to education to solve social problems; Elias and Merriam (2005) emphasize that “progressivism has had a greater impact upon the adult education movement in the United States than any other school of thought” (p. 51). A common theme of progressive education is that it seeks to move away from a traditional curriculum that emphasized rote learning, and rather, it seeks student-centered approaches based on student needs and interest. In progressive education, learning is situated within experiential activities and responds to current social conditions, often by promoting social change and addressing social problems (Labaree, 2011).

While internships and service-learning share this hands-on, student-centered approach to progressive learning, they each can be characterized as being affiliated with different strands of progressive thought. These two strands of thought, social efficiency progressivism and deliberative democracy-oriented progressivism (Graham, 1967; Knowles, 1977), hold competing notions of progress. Social efficiency progressives sought to use educational institutions to successfully prepare workers for the existing workforce, strengthen and stabilize the current social and industrial system, and serve individuals by ensuring appropriate career fit for them. Deliberative democracy progressives sought to educate the “whole person,” prepare citizens for democracy, liberate learners to enable them to flourish in their individual lives, and critically transform the economic and society in which they lived.

The Snedden/Dewey Debate as an Example of Two Progressive Strands

The differences and disagreements between two different strands of progressivism are best characterized by the debate between David Snedden and John Dewey, which centered on how vocational education should be implemented in the new secondary schools. Kincheloe (2000) documented this debate and credited it with popularizing the vocational-critical democracy

dichotomy in experiential education. Langdon and Agyeyomah (2014) referred to this debate in international development studies with experiential service components.

Dewey himself described the relevance of this debate to higher education contexts (e.g., Dewey, 1900; Dewey, 1916; Dewey, 1980c; Dewey, 1931). He also described K-12 and higher education as an integral part of the same “unified” educational system (Dewey, 1900), and that recommendations for one part of the system would be relevant to others. In discussing the status of higher education, he quoted President Arthur E. Morgan of Antioch College in his “Way out of Educational Confusion” article: “...the inevitable trend in education is toward the rapid thinning of the traditional educational wall between vocational and cultural” (Dewey, 1931, p. 28). But this thinning of the wall had consequences, and it had led to a diminished forms of education because they were “narrowly conceived” (Dewey, 1931, p. 26), especially career training, which, Dewey warned, could become “narrow and hard, tending not merely to the ‘utilitarian’ in its restricted sense, but even toward brutal and inhuman” (Dewey, 1931, p. 26-27). Dewey felt that sharpening the distinction between the two strands of progressive education could enable us to find our “way out of educational confusion” by clarifying the vision of what the conflict was about.

To summarize the debate, Snedden and the social progressives advocated for educational reforms that were linked to economic productivity and the needs of industry. Dewey, and those supporting the deliberative democracy form of progressivism, advocated for learner-centered hands-on education designed to liberate the life of the student through the enlarging possibilities of education and enable people to shape their individual and collective destinies for the better. Progressive reforms were often conceived and implemented at the primary and secondary levels

of education, and these practices and theories extended to vocational, higher education, and other arenas (Elias & Merriam, 2005; Knowles, 1977; Kromydas, 2017).

Social Efficiency Strand of Progressivism and the Private Goals of Education

The social efficiency strand of progressivism developed first, around the mid-to late 1800s (Graham, 1967). Social efficiency progressivists argued education should be developed in response to the needs of this system and that education served as a means of social production and reproduction (Drost, 1977). They advocated for efficiency, employable skills, equal educational opportunity, and meritocracy. From this perspective, education was a means to “supply in urban communities a good part of the manual and moral training” and “the great importance in any urban population of facilities for training children to accurate handwork, and for teaching them patience, forethought, and good judgement of productive labor” (Eliot, 1909, p. 405-406).

This patriarchal approach to education was openly cited as a means to maintain the social hierarchy and social stability. Some of the earliest forms this new industrialized education were utilized with marginalized groups including Black and American Indian children, incarcerated populations, and women, with the intent of fitting them into a particular social positioning (Violas, 1978). This form was later introduced more widely to meet the needs of working-class children as defined by dominant industrial powers. In other words, students of lower status learned how to be obedient labors to support the efficiencies of the broader social system while students of higher status were trained for positions to wield power over and maintain control of this system. From the social efficiency perspective, education in its most efficient form, served to train workers for predestined roles. In a 1908 address to the National Education Association, Edward C. Elliott, a professor at the University of Wisconsin states,

Vocational industrial education for all is no more likely to yield larger social results than the traditional, pseudo-cultural, static education of the present, unless it becomes consciously selective, unless it fits the square industrial worker in the square industrial hole, the round worker into the round hole, the triangular worker into the triangular hole. (Elliott, 1974, p. 139)

In social efficiency of the time, equity in education was defined through *opportunity*, not necessarily equality.

Through wide introduction of industrial education that included vocational and technical courses, the ultimate goal of education was the preservation and support of industry. Snedden argued to place the management of vocational education into the hands of private interests entirely (Snedden & Dewey, 1977). This tradition of social efficiency solidified the relationship between education and *private* industrial and corporate interests (Dewey; 1977; Eliot, 1909; Snedden & Dewey, 1977) and helped sow the seeds for the emergence of the *private* purpose of higher education today. The social efficiency strand of progressivism has had the most impact on modern education systems (Tyack, 1974).

Developmental Democracy Strand of Progressivism and Public Goals of Education

While in agreement with social efficiency progressives on the limitations of traditional education, Dewey and the developmental democracy progressives viewed the social efficiency progressive models as narrow and stifling for the worker, one that was overly generous to the well-being of the state. Dewey (Snedden & Dewey, 1977) was “not sufficiently in love with the regime” (p. 39) to promote a form of education that adapted workers to it. So, he called for educators to “strive for the kind of vocational education which will first alter the existing industrial system, and ultimately transform it” (Dewey & Snedden, 1977, p. 39). Dewey claimed

education institutions must be recognized for their “social significance, as types of the processes by which society keeps itself going” (Dewey, 1900, p. 11). Dewey (1900) described education as means to inspire individuals to be more prepared and capable for the practical aspects of life, while achieving the broader purposes of education (1964b), even though he saw that many education institutions fall short of that goal. He emphasized that through forms of vocational education, learners engage in experiences that provide foundational tools for analyzing their own relationship to society and control their own destinies (Dewey, 1964b, Dewey, 1977). The goals of progressive education are “both individual and social. In liberating the learner, a potential was released for the improvement of society and culture.” (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 53). Collective societal well-being can flourish through this individual growth as it develops enlightened understanding through autonomy, consideration of the common good, and capacities for critique (Haack, 2012).

Dewey was the one to point out the debate between what he viewed as the democratic potential of progressive education and the perspectives of social efficiency progressives, whose vision of education had largely manifested. He warned against creating education systems that were “unnecessarily narrow” (Dewey, 1900, p. 27), such as the ones promoted by social efficiency progressives. He described the “inconsistent mixture” (Dewey, 1916, p. 301) that pervaded educational thought at that time and argued that the dichotomy between “culture” and “utility” was responsible for sharpening class-based segregation, with vocational education being assigned to marginalized and poor groups and critical learning for democracy reserved for the elites through a liberal arts, “cultural” academic-based education (Kincheloe, 2000).

Dewey was adamantly opposed to the social efficiency version of narrow vocational and career preparation education, but he was hopeful about the positive, liberating potential of

vocational and professional training in higher education because, as he cited Antioch College President Arthur Morgan, “It is rapidly becoming a fact that the study within one's vocational preparations is an important means of freeing and liberalizing the mind” (Dewey, 1931, p.27). For Dewey, all students would benefit from education that would infuse utilitarian vocational and liberal cultural components (Kincheloe, 2000; Langdon & Agyomah, 2014). His progressive ideas of deliberative democracy called for “a new vocabulary or productive and practical arts bound up with advancement of scientific knowledge” (Waks, 2019, p. 402). Dewey argued, “A truly liberal, and liberating, education would refuse today to isolate vocational training on any of its levels from a continuous education in the social, moral, and scientific contexts” (Dewey, 1989, p. 264). To do this, Dewey called for the “interrelation of subjects with one another and with social bearing and application” and project-based learning connected to the life activities as ways out of the “educational confusion” of the time (Dewey, 1931).

The Debate Persists, Maybe Unheard?

Snedden biographer Drost (1977) noted that Snedden may have never truly understood the distinctions between his own position and Dewey's, nor did he understand why Dewey was so opposed to his position. Likewise, individuals involved with promoting career development in higher education might not understand why there might be opposition to the professional development focus on their campuses. While Dewey's ideas and an orientation towards developmental democracy persist, the practices espoused by Snedden and other social efficiency progressives have been more widespread and enduring (Labaree, 2011). Labaree (2011) concludes, “if Dewey won the debate, it was Snedden who won the fight to set the broader aims of American education in the twentieth century.” (p. 163). Higher education has seen a move toward more intense workplace preparation in line with the social efficiency strand of thought

(Kromydas, 2017). While these policies aligned with social efficiency may be obdurate, pieces from both strands of progressive thought shape the educational landscape of today.

Progressive Practices Described as Experiential Education

Today, internships and service-learning practices are less likely to be associated with their progressive origins and more likely to be referred to as types of experiential learning. The fact that they have been traditionally housed in different parts of higher education campuses and supported by different types of infrastructure may be indicative that they have been supported by different “champions” with different theoretical roots within higher education.

Experiential learning encompasses a broad variety of educational practices, including internships and service-learning. David Kolb formalized experiential learning as a theory in the 1980s and draws directly on progressive education ideals and the work of John Dewey, along with other theorists. Kolb (1984) describes his experiential learning theory as “a holistic integrative perspective on learning that combines experience, perception, cognition, and behavior,” (p. 21) where “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combinations of grasping and transforming the experience.” (p.4).

Internships

In the context of higher education, internships are learning experiences that occur within work environments while a student is enrolled in a degree program. According to the National Association of Colleges and Employers (2018) internships create opportunities for students to gain work experiences in real life contexts and build professional networks. They also provide opportunities for employers develop and asses the future workforce. Students may earn credit and the work may be paid or unpaid (O’Connor, 2019; Sweitzer & King, 2013; Thiel & Hartley,

1997). Internships can be seen as a means for preparing students for a particular career or industry. As a form of vocational training, internships are closely aligned with the social efficiency strand of progressivism, as they are experiences designed to support professional and career learning, preparing students be productive members of the labor market. Internships rest more squarely with the *private* purposes of education.

Service-Learning

Service-learning, especially the most contemporary conceptions of the practice, supports the *public* purposes of higher education, as described by Ehrlich (2000), and has closer ties to Dewey and the developmental democracy strand of progressivism. Service-learning is described as

a course-based, credit bearing educational experience in which students participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs, and reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility. (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995, p.112)

Service-learning seeks to awaken civic and social consciousness within students and has overt goals of citizenship and social justice.

Emerging Practice of Connecting Internships and Service-Learning in One Program

Internships and service-learning have been coming in closer in contact in practice over the last decade. John Duley (2014), a pioneer experiential learning and service-learning, has called the scholarship of engagement movement as “parallel” to that of experiential education practices such as internships, and the two must be “fully engaged” with one another. This call for engagement demonstrates that there is a move to incorporate practices of service-learning with a

variety of other experiential learning practices, including internships. This movement is mirrored by Kincheloe (2000) who argued for the melding of academic and vocational training to better prepare students for entering the political, social, and economic realities confronting them. During the past ten to fifteen years, examples have emerged of internships and service-learning being integrated together in a single practice. This practice has been referred to as public interest internships (Smeltzer, 2015), civic internships/preprofessional hybrid (Bringle, 2017), serviceship (Hastings et al., 2018), and service-learning internship (Robinson et al., 2019; Snell et al., 2019). The integration of internships and service-learning appears to be informed by and reflects the broader social and cultural context of education (Bruner, 1996) and the shifting emphasis in higher education to include a more prominent workforce development orientation. The integration usually involves work-based learning, intentional inclusion civic educational components, reflection, and goals related to public good. These are key components of the specific program being investigated in this study, a community-based internship (CBI).

Scholarship is beginning to demonstrate a deconstruction of the traditional silos delineating internships and service-learning into distinct modes of teaching and learning (e.g., Bringle, 2017). Since these kinds of practices emerged only within the last ten to fifteen years, there is a dearth of literature about them (Hastings et al., 2018). While programs that hybridize internships and service-learning are becoming more common (e.g., Hastings et al., 2018; Robinson et al., 2019; Smeltzer, 2015; Snell et al., 2019), studies regarding this practice have only recently emerged in the literature and a common language describing this practice is lacking. A common assumption in the studies conducted on this topic is that the goals of both internships and service-learning will be achieved in a single streamlined practice. However, there is a risk that by combining the two, the goals of one or both may be weakened. Service-learning's public goals of

justice and social good could be trounced by the dominant paradigms that permeate higher education and support the private interests of individuals. Dewey (1931, pp. 29-30) emphasized that within the broadening of educational endeavors, the goals of society described by deliberative democracy should serve as a guide, rather than prioritizing vocational or career education.

It is important to consider the societal good hoped to be achieved by these practices, the purposes they ultimately serve, and to determine whether or not their integration supports the current “regime.” With regard to service in higher education, Dewey noted, “...it must be admitted that there is a deplorable absence of any statement as to *what* the colleges should serve, and just how it should serve. As long as these matters are left vague, or dressed up in conventional decorative garb, service is near to subservience, and loyalty to blind conformity.” (Dewey, 1983b, p. 206).

Therefore, the idea of what service is in higher education must be interrogated. Langdon and Agyeyomah (2014) note that simply overcoming the private employability/public citizenship dichotomy is not enough for social justice and transformation, or even service. Service-learning and internships are already being promoted for their economic benefits in line with goals of social efficiency progressives. They write, “experiential programs such as service learning and co-op programs have become a major feature of arguments made by administrations as to the economic worth of a university education (Langdon & Agyeyomah, 2014, p. 44). Stoecker (2016) and Langdon and Agyeyomah (2014) view anti-status quo experiential education programs as largely disappearing from the higher education landscape. Langdon and Agyeyomah’s warning for the international development studies could be applied to community-based internships:

What is at stake in the current experiential learning context could appear on the surface as a realignment along the lines of the more complex version of Dewey's argument – the incorporation of hands-on experiences in academic contexts. However, instead of a nuanced, class-conscious blurring of the value of the practical and theoretical knowledge, what has instead emerged in many experiential programs within universities (not just Development Studies) is a recapitulation of the simplistic binary of employability versus citizenship.

(Langdon & Agyeyomah, 2014, pp. 53-54)

To counteract this, they emphasize experiential programs must develop an intentional, active commitment to a critical anti-status quo stance for social justice, and consider implications for that stance with service placement sites and the scaffolding of reflection activities.

With these arguments in mind, the author posits that drawing on Dewey's social philosophy and ensuing theories of developmental democracy may provide a way to consider and assess conditions for how community-based internships (CBIs), as a hybridized practice, can knit internship and service-learning practices closer together to ensure they are more likely to serve broader educational purposes.

Study Significance

This project seeks to understand the experiences of stakeholders within the CBI, namely students, community partners, and university affiliates. While the current understandings of internships and service-learning are well developed and have been situated within the realm of experiential education and community-based learning, there is a need to more deeply understand the hybridization of these practices. Understanding the impacts of experiential pedagogies is essential as they have moved from the margins to the center of pedagogical practices of today (Hesser, 2014; Hesser & Gotlieb, 2014). Not only are experiential pedagogies moving towards

the center of educational practice in institutions of higher education, the hybridization of internships and service-learning is a pedagogical nexus of two of the core purposes of higher education.

Over the past decade or so, there is evidence that service-learning and internships have begun to be combined in a single program (e.g, Bringle, 2017), and it is possible that this emerging practice may become more common in the future. However, little is known regarding the impacts of the combination of these into one practice, and whether or not the goals of both can be achieved through this arrangement. It is expected that this study will make contributions to the literature by illuminating stakeholder experiences in this emerging practice in higher education. Understanding the structure and impacts of a community-based internship through an examination for stakeholder experiences may be important for these reasons: (1) to contribute to the understanding of experiences of the stakeholders involved in the workings of the practice itself, given the relative dearth of knowledge regarding community-based internships in the literature; and (2) to consider the type of outcomes partners perceive are achieved through this program, and whether or not CBIs can serve as a means to meet two common goals of higher education for undergraduates.

Research Questions

A study to understand this practice and its effects on stakeholders is needed. This study is guided by the following research questions.

1. How does participation in a CBI affect different stakeholders, namely students, community partners, and university affiliates?
2. What do stakeholders perceive as the outcomes of the CBI?

Overview of Theoretical Frame

Because this case study seeks to understand the experiences of stakeholder participants in this community-based internship, it draws on a qualitative interpretive methodological framework to “seek reality” from the narratives of their experiences. Data for the case study includes a bricolage (Rogers, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 1999) of qualitative research techniques, including a participatory action research project, community partner interviews, and an analysis of student work. A thematic analysis of their collective experiences as well as the shared perspectives of each stakeholder group will be provided and will seek fidelity in remaining “true” to the spoken and written words of participants (Herda, 1998). In framing some findings, the study will draw on an understanding of the private and public goals (Busch, 2017) associated with internships and service-learning, where appropriate, to help ensure the study is able to capture nuanced aspects of this hybridized program. Further exploration of *private* vs *public* as a theoretical frame will be discussed in chapter 3. In summary, the private purposes are related to the professional preparation of students and higher education’s response to market and corporate values supporting individual and institutional interests, while the public purposes of higher education are related to preparing students for “citizenship in a democratic society” (Busch, 2017, p. 53), supporting the common good, and addressing social problems through critical engagement.

Kuh (2008) emphasizes that intentional work on diversity is essential for all high impact practices including internships and service-learning; critical service-learning (Mitchell, 2008) provides a lens to identify findings related to diversity, equity and inclusion. As the service-learning field draws heavily on the work of John Dewey to understand the public outcomes of service-learning, this study utilizes Dewey’s description of deliberative democracy to interpret

findings that can be considered public. To correct for the weakness in Dewey's understanding of the public regarding diversity, equity, and inclusion in the public findings, critical service-learning serves as a corrective to the weaknesses in Dewey's understanding of the public.

Local Context of this Study

The CBI under investigation has existed in some iteration for over a decade at a large urban public research university in a midwestern metropolitan area. Programming structures have varied greatly; some years there were robust curricular credit bearing course components of the program while others consisted of extra-curricular non-credit bearing program meetings. At the time of this study, the CBI was evolving toward a more formalized program with all incoming students required to hold a position at school or non-profit organization partners and to enroll in a one-credit academic course aimed at developing the following competencies: critical thinking skills, intercultural competence, effective communication skills, and civic, social, or environmental responsibility. Students also engage in professional development topics in the course. This action takes place within the context of ongoing reflection exercises and students produce a culminating personal reflective narrative at the end of the course.

The community partner student work sites represent diverse non-profit organizations and schools from across the city. Students typically work 5-15 hours per week throughout the academic year and between \$10 and \$14 per hour. These positions are partially or fully funded through federal work-study, so students must be eligible for a work-study award to participate in the CBI. Community partners who join the CBI agree to serve as co-educators to the undergraduate students, serve as the student's onsite supervisor, and sign off on student time sheets. They also provide end of the year performance assessments for each student employed.

Key Terms

This section defines key terms for this study: social efficiency progressivism, deliberative democracy progressivism, experiential learning, community-based learning, internships, and service-learning, and community-based internships.

Social Efficiency Progressivism
Social efficiency progressivism developed in response to the needs of the social and industrial system (Drost, 1977). This form of progressivism viewed education as means for vocational training and advocated for efficient and orderly society, employable skills, educational opportunity, and meritocracy (Eliot, 1909; Tozer et al., 2002).
Developmental Democracy Progressivism
Developmental democracy progressivism viewed education as a means to develop the understandings, dispositions, and skills for participation in democracy. Schools were seen as laboratories for democracy, which ultimately, would facilitate individual growth in support of a more democratic society (Tozer et al., 2002).
Experiential Learning
Experiential learning is a practice that combines experience, perception, cognition, and behavior and involves learning through reflection on doing hands-on, tangible tasks. In experiential learning knowledge is created through the grasping and transformation of experience (Kolb, 1984). Experiential learning's cyclical nature often requires longer duration time periods and may require students to leave the classroom to learn in novel contexts (Wurdinger & Allison, 2017).
High Impact Practices (HIPs)
High impact practices are defined as teaching and learning practices that are grounded in student activity, engagement, and collaboration. Students who partake in HIPs have shown gains in deep learning, a learning approach that facilitates better academic outcomes and knowledge synthesis, as well as personal development (Kuh, 2008).
Community-Based Learning
Community-based learning is broad set of experiential learning practices, including but not limited to service-learning, experiential career education, cooperative education, and internships (Karasik, 2020; Melaville et al., 2006). These experiences occurs within community settings and in partnership with the community (Mooney & Edwards, 2001) and have been associated with student career preparation and civic identity development (Karasik, 2020).

Internships
Internships are structured credit bearing and / or paid experiential learning activities that take place in work environments (O'Connor, 2019; Sweitzer & King, 2013; Thiel & Hartley, 1997). Internships support career development of students and are seen as beneficial to students, employers, and institutions of education (Stirling et al., 2017).
Service-Learning
Service-learning is an educational practice reflecting a Deweyan influence (Giles & Eyler, 1994) that meets community needs and deepens student learning in a mutually beneficial manner (Butin; 2010; Hickey, 2016). The practice incorporates intentional reflection (Hickey, 2016) and has goals of citizenship and personal development (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995; Butin; 2010), and supports connections between universities and communities (Butin, 2010).
Community-Based Internships (CBI)
Community-Based Internship is a hybrid high-impact pedagogy that intentionally integrates practices from service-learning and internships that support the personal and civic development of students while also providing pre-professional experiences (Bringle, 2017; Smeltzer; 2015).

Figure 1 Key Terms

The following chapter will explore the relevant literature regarding the broader field of community-based learning within which internships, service-learning and community-based internships rest.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This literature review will contextualize this study within the landscape of experiential learning, internships, and service-learning. It will include: some key aspects related to the development of experiential learning in the context of internships and service-learning, an overview of service-learning and internship as pedagogical practices, and a review of the current conceptions community-based internships (CBIs). Finally, Dewey's social philosophy will be described as a framework for understanding CBIs. To synthesize this primary review, I conducted a thorough search for relevant literature. I used the general UWM libraries search tool, conducted searches through the Educational Resources Information Center and used regular Google and Google Scholar searches. These searches yielded a variety of resources including journal articles, books, book chapters, organizational publications, government documents, periodical articles, and program websites. I also reviewed the archives of several prominent journals of the field, including: *The Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, *The Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, and *Partnerships: A Journal of Service-learning and Civic Engagement*.

Some key terms I used in my searches for literature are included in the following table. The language surrounding the practice of community engaged experiential learning is mutable. Use of terms surrounding the practice are not always consistent, and have been used interchangeably (Delano-Oriaran, 2015). There is a "sea of key terms" in use within the realm of service and learning (Ikeda et al., 2010, p.17) and Delano-Oriaran (2015) describes terms such as "service-learning", and "community engagement" as "community engaged, community-based learning approaches" (p. xxxvii). This variety of terms used to describe community engaged

learning led me to diversify my search terms surrounding this practice. I also used modifiers with many of the search terms to narrow results.

Search Terms		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • experiential learning • community based-learning • internships • undergraduate internship • internships in higher education • service-learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • civic internship • work-study internship • cooperative education • community-based internships • service-learning internship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high-impact practices • community university partnerships

Figure 2 Literature Review Search Terms

The Status of Experiential Learning in Higher Education Today

Some points relevant to this study on aspects of the historical origins of experiential learning in the progressive movement were discussed in chapter 1. Experiential learning in higher education, also referred to as experiential education, is a set of teaching and learning practices that “take students into the community, helps students both to bridge classroom study and life in the world and to transform inert knowledge into knowledge-in-use.” (Eyler, 2009, para. 3). Knowledge regarding experiential learning in higher education is widely available. A google search of “‘experiential learning’ and ‘higher education’” yielded about 7.2 million results and the same search in the university library system yielded just below 35,00 results. In the context of higher education, according to Wurdinger and Allison (2017),

Experiential learning entails undergoing multiple trial and error attempts and learning from mistakes is a critical component of the process. Since this process incorporates a cycle of thinking, planning, testing and reflecting, it not only requires longer periods of time to complete, but may also require students to leave the classroom in order to test out

their ideas in different contexts. This may be why educators in traditional classroom settings sometimes shy away from using it. (p. 17)

The current relationship between forms of experiential learning and classroom learning has been fraught (Moore, 2014). Ross and Sheehan (2014) note that some faculty continue to believe that internships either have no place at the university or are of lesser value than academic courses. Shulman (2005) contends, “There are those who believe that professional education is a corrupting influence that must be kept at bay in order to preserve the purity of the mission of liberal education.” (p.18). More publicly oriented forms of experiential education have been treated similarly, with Butin (2006) characterizing service-learning as “all too often positioned as a co-curricular practice, funded through ‘soft’ short-term grants, and viewed by faculty as ‘just’ an atheoretical (and time consuming) pedagogy...” (p. 474). Experiential education is often separated from the rest of the academic curriculum (Eyler, 2009), and integration of experiential education into the curriculum “remains a challenge” (Ross & Sheehan, 2014, p.32). Yet, Ross and Sheehan, and Shulman also note other educators believe experiential education ought to be integrated into the curriculum, due to the plethora of research regarding its effectiveness as a teaching and learning practice.

Despite the extant resistance to experiential learning in the context of higher education, experiential learning practices are now more widely implemented. In a cross disciplinary faculty survey sent to department chairs of Adelphi University, Rosenstein et al. found that 91% of respondents indicated “wide-spread use” (p. 143) of experiential learning in their departments. According to Hesser (2014) experiential learning has “moved to center stage” (p. 6), and since the mid 1990s “service-learning has been mainstreamed within institutions, internships have been flourishing across academic majors, and co-op education has been thriving” (King, 2014, p.

105). In 1998, The National Society for Experiential Learning (NSEE) unveiled “8 Principles of Good Practice for All Experiential Learning Activities” and in 2009 adopted seven “Guiding Principles of Ethical Practices”. These sets of principles serve as general guidelines for the practice of experiential learning in higher education.

Foundations of Experiential Learning with Public Goals

The following section highlights some of the historical developments of the public goals of experiential learning in higher education, many of which are connected to the deliberative democracy strand of progressivism. This is not intended to be an exhaustive history of higher education but highlights relevant areas to this study. Stanton et al. (1999) wrote that the origins of community engaged experiential practice have many roots, including the settlement movement, community-based race-centered self-help groups, practices at minority serving higher education institutions, the Civil Rights Movement, particularly its emphasis on student activist and organizing groups, and faith-based initiatives. Stoecker (2016) emphasized that most innovations in higher education community engagement practice were rooted first in community practice. He described the importance of the British university settlement movement of the late 1800s as well as the residential-based university settlement movement in the United States as precursors to contemporary community engaged practice, along with Civil Rights era student-initiated endeavors.

Experiential Learning with its Public Goals in the United States

Key policy that supported a public engaged orientation of higher education in the United States included the creation of land grant institutions by the Morrill Act of 1862, the cooperative education movement of the early twentieth century, the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s (Peterson, 2009; Thomas, 2000), and African American social thought of the late 19th and early

20th century, including thinkers such as Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells, George E. Haynes, and W. E. B. DuBois (Stevens, 2003). These policies and social movements strengthened the civic orientation of higher education institutions by bridging gaps between learning within and outside of institution, connecting social services and education for community enrichment. By the mid-to late-1800s, more higher education institutions began to reflect the language of a society that espoused democratic values rather than goals, Scott (2006) wrote,

there first arose as a regular mission of American higher education through the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. Henceforth, the “Wisconsin Idea” (1904), influenced many universities to elevate public service as a core mission equal to teaching and research. Today’s “urban university mission” is just one expression of the public service mission. (p. 5)

Minority-serving higher education institutions of all types, including Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Tribal Serving Institutions, and Hispanic Serving Institutions, usually promote a public-service oriented mission (Gasman et al., 2008; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD], 2003). In particular, historically Black universities and colleges (HBCUs) have shaped the culture of higher education’s approach to civic engagement through an emphasis on communalism, service, and social justice (Blankson et al., 2015). Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, established in 1837 (Cheyney University, n.d.), includes service as part of its mission and has done so since its inception. HBCUs established after the enactment of the Second Morrill Act of 1890 also typically included service as part of their missions (Scott, 2006). Albritton (2012) notes that HBCUs are rooted in the community and historically have served as locations of “resistance, empowerment, and social uplift” (p. 313), as they provided as they sought to provide “separate but equal” education for African Americans. This orientation of

“social uplift” and support of the community is also a trait of Hispanic serving institutions (HSIs) and tribal colleges, as these institutions are often community embedded and serve as centers for community culture (HUD, 2003). These institutions impart traits of community support and social justice to broader modes of community engagement and CBL in colleges and universities.

The experience and practice of service-learning type activities in Tribal Colleges and Universities is robust. The American Indian Higher Education Association (AIHEC) describes the beginning of the Tribal College Movement with Native elders such as Chiefs Sitting Bull, Manuelito, and Plenty Coups (American Indian Higher Education Consortium, n.d.). Native American veterans returning from WWII in Navajo country worked to develop the first tribally controlled colleges. The Civil Rights movement inspired the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which established a more widespread formation of Tribal Serving Institutions (Guillroy & Ward, 2008). From their inception, these institutions were conceptualized and implemented by Native American leaders and scholars and are deeply rooted in a commitment to the good of the Native American community. They sought to create education opportunities for Native American students on their own terms and included service-learning and social justice components to support missions of sustaining tribal cultures, traditions, and languages. This often involves collaborating with elders and community members to serve as co-educators and using community-based experiences as a springboard to ask critical questions about societal structures for the purposes of social change (Guillroy & Ward, 2008). The *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Education* (2005) reported on one college’s efforts with integrating service-learning in the curriculum by interviewing Michelle Vendiola, the service-learning coordinator for Northwest Indian Community College:

By creating opportunities for elders and others in the community to teach students, faculty members learn the pedagogy of service learning and its positive impact.

Addressing social issues is a major element of service learning. Students as scholars reflect on the root causes of poverty, racism, and oppression... When thinking about their service work within the context of their academic course work, Vendiola says, students are more likely to make the critical connections for social, institutional, and political change. Empowering students to make systematic change in their community is crucial to retaining tribal rights, maintaining cultural identity, and improving the social and economic conditions of our tribal community and college. People may overlook the conditions they grew up in, like poverty or racism, because they never before had words to describe the systems of oppression that marginalize them, Vendiola says. (paras. 3-6)

The civic orientation continued to evolve during the Civil Rights Movement as colleges and universities became sites social change and individuals began to connect community and campus movements (Stanton, et al., 1999). Stoecker (2016) highlights the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, initially organized by Shaw University students who convened their initial planning sessions at the Highlander Center, efforts by Native American students from UCLA and San Francisco State University to occupy Alcatraz Island in 1969, and countless other initiatives.

More formalized versions of public-oriented learning coalesced during the 1970s and 1980s (Corey, 1970), as students across the country worked in communities through programs such as the University Year for ACTION program (Kendall, 1991). Later, the formation of national organizations like Campus Compact and Campus Outreach Opportunity League helped

academize the movement in the 1980s and 1990s and it became more mainstream (Kendall, 1991).

Theoretical Foundations

While current public-oriented experiential learning practice draws on several theoretical frameworks, most scholars connect it to experiential learning theory, which is rooted in the progressive traditions aligned with deliberative democracy scholars and Dewey, rather than the social efficiency progressives. Some scholars look to other traditions as well, including critical pedagogy, which is aligned with the spirit of the deliberative democracy form of progressivism.

Kolb (1984) also suggests seven broad themes of experiential learning that can be applied to and serve as guiding principles for contemporary iterations of experiential learning. One theme, *democratic values*, moves experiential learning beyond a learning theory that simply emphasizes the outcome of those directly involved in the process. Kolb claims that social policy and action is one contemporary application of experiential learning that stems from this principle of democratic values. Although much of the theory of experiential learning emphasizes the learning process, it also calls for a recognition of the relationship between learning, learners, democracy, and society.

Scholars draw on other traditions as well, such as critical pedagogy, particularly the work of Paulo Freire (Peterson, 2009). Much of Freire's framework for understanding education illuminates societal power imbalances, criticizes traditional forms of educational practice, and posits an alternative approach to education that relies upon a problem posing pedagogy rooted in dialogue (Freire, 1970). In alignment with the developmental democracy strand of progressive education, Freire posits that educational training should be more concerned with teaching students to be flexible and curious in their thinking, rather than bound by deterministic banking

models of education (Freire 1970), which relegate learners to a fate that is not truly their own (Freire, 1998). Although experiential learning is often closely connected to educational thought of the progressive era, it is important to recognize the other underpinning theories, such as critical pedagogy, shape its implementation today.

Community-Based Learning as Place-Based Experiential Learning

Community-based learning (CBL), is a newer umbrella term that began to appear in academic literature in the 1970s, but became more common in the 1980s. CBL describes forms of experiential learning that often occurs in the community and usually within public or community settings rather than within classroom settings or other hands-on learning in laboratories. A search of “‘community-based learning’ and ‘higher education’” yields just under 600,000 results on google and nearly 2,500 results in university library system. According to Mooney and Edwards (2001), “Community-based learning refers to any pedagogical tool in which the community becomes a partner in the learning process. While all CBL initiatives are experiential, and in that way active learning, not all active learning techniques are experiential in nature” (p. 182). This definition identifies CBL as a particular form of experiential learning which occurs within community settings and through partnerships. Internships and service-learning fall beneath the umbrella of CBL as a particular kind of experiential learning.

The term CBL has a heritage of “conceptual imprecision” (Mooney & Edwards, 2001, p. 183) and a variety of experiential learning practices underly it—including work-based learning, internships, and service-learning (e.g. Melville et al., 2006; Mooney & Edwards, 2001). While there are varied manifestations of CBL, Meville et al. (2006) site a set of five “core characteristics” (p. 9), and CBL’s aims include both *private* academic outcomes and *public* community impact outcome (Melville et al., 2006; Murphy & Flowers, 2017).

While the definitions of CBL are imprecise (Delano-Oriaran, 2015), the varying conceptualizations and manifestations of CBL are organized through frameworks to better understand the practice. For the purposes of this study, two frameworks are reviewed to describe internships and service-learning in relationship to the goals of CBL and experiential learning more broadly. Through a critical review of the CBL literature Mooney and Edwards (2001) developed a hierarchy which classifies CBL in six types, starting with “out-of-class activities”, and moving up the hierarchy to “volunteering, service add-ons, internships, service-learning,” and culminating with “service-learning advocacy” (p. 184). The accumulated benefits, in order of the hierarchy are; “in community, service rendering, curricular credit, apply/acquiring skills, structured reflection, social action” (Mooney & Edwards, 2001, p.184). This hierarchy of community-based learning provides one way of understanding the diversity of CBL and its impacts on students in higher education. Although Mooney and Edwards note this hierarchy is a tool for comprehending CBL and not a steadfast definition, as the borders between the types of CBL can be “fuzzy” (p. 184), it does not demonstrate what mixing the different types might look like in practice.

Through the lens of Sigmon’s (1979) three principles of service-learning, Furco (1996b) situates “service programs” (p. 3) in higher education, essentially CBL programs, on a continuum of reciprocity. One end of this continuum is focused on the recipient and the act of service, resting with the public purposes of education. The opposite end of the continuum is focused on provider, in this case students, and the act of learning or the more closely aligned with the private purposes of education. According to this framework, internships fall to one side of the continuum, placing emphasis on the student and their learning or the private purposes. Service-learning falls in the middle of this continuum with a balance of emphasis on service and

learning, and equal benefit to recipient and provider. Like Mooney and Edwards, Furco recognizes that there is overlap between the different iterations of CBL, but still ascribes specific defining traits to the distinct forms. For example, internships are forms of learning that serve primarily for the benefit of the student and their learning. But, as the focus of internships moves more towards the community benefit of the work completed by the student the experience moves more towards the center of the service continuum, taking on traits more similar to service-learning. Furco's framework for understanding forms of CBL, although allowing for flexibility, is still rigid. Specific implementations of CBL programs could vary widely in their recipient/provider and service/learning orientations.

More recently, Bringle (2017) has challenged CBL scholars and practitioners to move beyond the use of hierarchies or continuums to understand the relationship between different CBL practices. Bringle describes the possibilities of the hybridization of high-impact practices including study away, research, internships, and service-learning, and articulates frameworks for hybridizing these forms of experiential learning into singular learning experiences, including the hybridization of internships and service-learning in what he terms "civic internships/pre-professional courses" (Bringle, 2017, p. 54). This framework for understanding community-based learning practices ignores cognitive barriers created by hierarchies or continuums and provides a framework for understanding the blending of practices; leaving space for flexibility in how these practices are blended. This is especially important for the context of this study, as it explores a community-based internship (CBI), a program which blends internships and service-learning.

Service-Learning as An Example of Community-Based Learning with Public Goals

. Service-learning as a term emerged in the 1960s (e.g., Liu, 1996) and is one prominent example of public-oriented experiential pedagogy. This section reviews the current understandings of service-learning in the context of higher education. It also includes a review of research-based outcomes on stakeholders and critiques of the practice. Service-learning literature is broad and robust. It covers impacts and outcomes for all stakeholders in the practice, including students, faculty and university staff, and community partners. A google search of “service-learning” yields about 15.3 million results while a google search of “‘service-learning’ and ‘higher education’” produced approximately 8.2 million results. A search of “service-learning” in the university library system produced almost 72,000 results and a search of “‘service-learning’ and ‘higher education’” produced more than 25,600 results. The literature related to student experiences is more developed, with less knowledge regarding the experiences of faculty and university staff, and even less regarding the experiences of community partners. A simple search of “service-learning” in the university library system yielded 71,120 results. With the addition students, faculty, or community partners, searches yielded 62,556; 31,383; and 19,721 results, respectively.

Although the definitions for service-learning are numerous, these definitions share common characteristics. Bringle and Hatcher (1995), describe service-learning as “a course-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs, and reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility.” This concept of service-learning is echoed by more current work. Hickey (2016), characterizes service-learning as “a

form of civically engaged pedagogy that takes university and college students beyond the four walls of the classroom and into the community, where the students interact with community constituents in a mutually beneficial manner while also engaging in instructor-mediated reflection” (p. vii). Felton and Clayton (2012) describe a convergence of characteristics of service-learning. These characteristics include advancement of learning goals and community purposes, reciprocal collaboration and shared goals, and critical reflection and assessment.

As service-learning has become institutionalized, best practices have emerged. After completing a meta-analysis of 62 studies, Celio et al. (2011) concluded that service-learning programs ought to link service-learning experiences with curricular goals, include choice for students, rely heavily on community needs and input, and incorporate opportunities for reflection. Although the practice and implementation of service-learning does not adhere to strict definitions, there is agreement that the practice ought to align academic curriculum, learning objectives incorporate input from partners and experience-based learning for students through reflection that is tied to course content. Service-learning is now firmly embedded in formalized pedagogical practice and, essentially, contains elements of reciprocity, mutual benefit, and civic engagement.

Service-Learning and Outcomes Related to Student Development

The knowledge regarding the impact of service-learning on students is the most developed piece of service-learning literature. Service-learning can have effects multiple facets of student development including, academic performance, civic development, and professional development. In the context of undergraduate education, a longitudinal multivariate analysis of survey responses from 3,450 students from 42 institutions by Astin and Sax (1998) concluded, “participating in service during the undergraduate years substantially enhances the student’s

academic development, life skill development, and sense of civic responsibility” (p. 251). Yet, more recent literature does acknowledge the complexity of service-learning’s impacts on student identity.

Participation in service-learning programs in higher education can have positive effects on student academic performance. Service-learning has been shown to increase retention rates of college students (Mungo, 2017), especially that of first- and second-year students (Gallini & Moley, 2016; Sax & Astin, 1997). Research also demonstrates that students who participate in service-learning are more likely to have higher grade point averages (Astin & Sax, 1998; Mungo, 2017). Battistoni (1997) suggests that students are challenged intellectually while navigating their service-learning experiences. These intellectual challenges enhance students’ critical thinking ability, indicating potentially positive academic impacts.

Student participation in service-learning also leads to impacts that are more aligned with the public purposes of education, including the development of social responsibility, intercultural competence, and civic identity. Studies also demonstrate that service-learning experiences have affected social justice orientation, political engagement, and civic responsibility. In a study that reviewed data gathered from over 1500 students at 30 colleges and universities, Eyler et al. (1997) found student participation in service-learning was positively correlated to students’ self confidence in their citizenship skills, political participation skills, and their tolerance for others. The study also showed that service-learning participation could help students see themselves as change agents in their communities, evolve their perceptions on social issues, and develop a sense of empathy. More recently, in a longitudinal survey exploring university student experiences of an academic public service requirement, Moley and Illustre (2016) found students who participated in multiple service-learning experiences had increased recognition of social

inequalities and an increased orientation towards social justice. Service-learning can also incite student participation in social and political activism (Peterson, 2009), and has been shown to increase students valuing of political consciousness (Harker, 2016) and civic responsibility (Astin & Sax, 1998; Harker, 2016). The research demonstrates service-learning can have student developmental outcomes closely related to civic responsibility and social justice.

Beyond effects on academic performance and the civic outcomes of the practice, service-learning it also has ramifications for career development. Through a qualitative interview study with 33 alumni from three service-learning programs Mitchell and Rost-Banik (2019) find sustained service-learning experiences shape how students conceptualize their career pathway. Students in these experiences had deepened awareness of interests, values, and skills; learned about a variety of career options; defined their interests and hone their work skills; and developed long-term civic commitments. Mitchell and Rost-Banik's research shows that service-learning experiences can impact student professional development as students can connect their service-learning experiences to career learning.

The benefits and challenges students experience when participating in service-learning vary, based in part on their positionality and life experiences. In a review of research, Chesler and Vasques Scalera (2000) found service-learning participation could have varying effect on students from different gender and race groups and may face “(inter)cultural challenges” (p. 21) as a result of their service-learning experiences. A comparative mixed-methods study of 244 white students and 118 students of color found service-learning assumes white normativity and it reinforces white privilege. In this study, students of color indicated a weaker sense of community compared to their white counterparts and were reluctant to engaged in conversations surrounding

race due to the naïve, inaccurate, or offensive nature of the perspectives shared by others in the class (Seider et al., 2013).

In a study of college students in a tutoring program, Green (2001) described the role of race in service-learning practice, students had different experiences of service-learning based on their racial identity. African American tutors “felt like they could ‘give something back’” (p. 24), and white tutors had opportunities to “recognize racial differences that would have been easily ignored if all of the tutors were white.” (p. 24). Further, students of color and other oppressed backgrounds experience service-learning differently because they often are more likely to identify with the communities in which they are engaging in service (Green, 2001). Green suggests that service-learning work should “trouble systemic racism by interrupting the processes that generally place white service-learning students at sites of predominantly people of color” (p. 25) and “develop pedagogies that ensure these students are not asked to ‘represent their race’ (or social class) during class discussions.” (p. 25).

In a study conducted at an HBCU that compared the civic attitudes of African American college women enrolled in service-learning courses with those who were not, Blankson et al. (2015) found that service-learning experiences did not indicate changes in civic attitudes of the students, but they did find a relationship between service-learning participation and increased civic action and political awareness. Students enrolled in service-learning courses had higher scores on measures of civic action and political awareness at the start and end of the semester as compared to students who were not enrolled in service-learning.

The literature demonstrates that service-learning’s impacts can vary depending on students’ racial or class identification. While service-learning is not a panacea for students, there is general agreement that participation in service-learning typically has positive impacts on

students. Students who participate in service-learning are more likely to have better academic outcomes, an increased sense of social consciousness, and develop a deepened civic identity. Certain long-term service-learning experiences can have positive impacts on student professional development.

Service-Learning and Diversity Outcomes.

Service-learning can be a means for students to engage in learning related to diversity. In their report on service-learning outcomes Eyler et al. (1997) found that service-learning was a significant predictor of students openness to difference and their belief that increasing social justice should be a societal priority. In alignment with these findings, a content analysis of 36 student reflection papers from a service-learning course found students became more accepting of others through their service-learning experience (Toews & Cerny, 2006). Holsapple (2012), conducted a review of 55 studies on service-learning's impact on diversity outcomes and found students confront stereotypes, learn about the population they serve, believe in the value of diversity, tolerate difference, learn to interact across differences, and recognize common ground with others.

Service-Learning and Partnering Institutions

Until recently, community partner perspectives and experiences in service-learning and community engagement partnerships were underrepresented in the literature as they were considered the “shadow players” of the realm (Boyle-Baise et al., 2001, p. 344). As interest in understanding community partnerships has grown, more attention has been paid to this aspect of service learning and community engagement. Scholars and practitioners are now interested in both community partner experiences and the nature of their community campus partnerships.

Often, through the implementation of service-learning programs, partnering organizations such as higher education institutions, public school systems, and community-based organizations have increased capacity to achieve their missions. Shumer et al. (2009) conducted a case study analysis of a major partnership between a university and public library system and found impacts on partnering organization include the development of personal relationships through service-learning programs, exchange of information that occurs when individuals from distinct organizations bring new resources and ideas to organizations, resource sharing, and increased visibility and presence of higher education institutions in the community (Shumer et al, 2009).

Other case studies also demonstrate the impacts of service-learning partnerships universities and partnering organizations. Anderson et al. (2009) indicate the reciprocal benefit for a public-school system and an higher education institutions through a service-learning partnership. The schools recognized that through partnership with the higher education institutions they could offer a high-school based service-learning program, while simultaneously, the HEI was able to provide a hands-on educational experience for their teacher candidates. Foote and DiFilippo (2009) found that middle school youth enrolled at schools with a university service-learning partnership designed at increasing STEM literacy experienced an array of benefits, including; increased excitement regarding learning, more highly developed writing skills, and more creative thinking. This partnership helped the middle schools achieve their mission of educating youth. The schools also experienced increased engagement, activities beyond that of service-learning requirements, from the college students who participated in the program (Foote & DiFilippo, 2009). Through a qualitative focus group research involving 99 community partners, Sandy and Holland (2006) describe a variety of benefits experienced by community partners engaged in service-learning partnerships, which are arranged in the

categories of direct impact, enrichment, and social justice. Echoing the findings of the previously mentioned studies, community partners experienced increased capacity, direct impact on clients, and organizational development. Sandy and Holland also describe how partnerships increase overall community capacity and social capital, creating environments oriented toward the common good seeking transformational change. The act of partnership through service-orientated pedagogical practices has been demonstrated to have potential beneficial impacts on partnering organizations.

Partnering institutions also experience challenges when seeking to implement service-learning programs. In the partnership described by Anderson et al. (2009) challenges included finding the time to implement and incorporated meaningful service-learning experiences into the curriculum, developing and maintaining open lines of communication, coordinating schedules, and navigating ownership of decision making. Foote and DiFilippo (2009) found low commitment levels from youth, incomplete tasks, low enrollment, and curriculum flaws posed challenges to a service-learning partnership. Although service-learning programs have been demonstrated to have benefit to partnering institutions, these programs are not without challenges. The implementation of such programs can surface issues related to logistics, communication, and pedagogical practice, causing strain on partners.

Service-learning partnerships and their effects are frequently conceptualized through the lens of student or learner development. Yet, it's clear that partnering intuitions are impacted, well beyond the daily logistical implementation, by engaging in such programs. The implications of engaging in service-learning as a pedagogical practice reach beyond the realm of student learning and development. Therefore, it's important to develop holistic understandings of service-learning and other community-based learning programs, such as CBIs, as they occur

within the context of partnerships between a variety of stakeholders, all of whom are impacted by their implementation.

As described previously, engagement in service-learning and community engagement partnerships has a variety of impacts on community partners. While the understanding of how engaging in partnerships has impacted community partners in community-campus partnerships developed, so too has an interest in understanding the nature of partnerships themselves. Although variety of frameworks for understanding these kinds of partnerships now exist, for the purposes of this study I will contrast two. These two models demonstrate two related approaches for understanding campus community partnerships and provide guidance for understanding partnerships within the context of this study.

Cruz and Giles (2000) offer an approach that brings together elements of service-learning research and practice which emphasizes the partnership as the unit of analysis, consistency with good service-learning practice, use of action research, and a focus on assets. Cruz and Giles's approach has influence later scholarship on partnerships (e.g. Sandy & Holland, 2005; Worral, 2007) which focused on the partnership as the unit of analysis and thus incorporated perspectives of community partners to provide a more holistic understanding of partnership and its impacts. Yet, Bringle et al., (2009) have been critical of this "holistic" model of understanding community partnerships arguing that a more nuanced view of relationships between stakeholders allows for the diverse nature of each constituency to be considered. They assert the term *relationship* is more appropriate in the context than *partnership*, as partnership is more so an indication of the qualities of closeness, equity, and integrity within any given relationship. Further, the relationships should be considered to the degree of which they are exploitive, transaction, or transformational. Their model, SOFAR, considers students, faculty,

administrators on campus, organizations in the community, and residents in the community. It highlights the dyadic bi-directional relationships between each of these five stakeholders. While Bringle et al., model provides great detail regarding the relationships and the nature of the relationships that ought to be considered when understanding partnerships between higher education institutions and community partners, it lacks a clear directive for the consideration of community partner perspective. Although Cruz and Giles's approach predates this model by almost a decade, its emphasis on action research and adherence to good principles of service-learning assure that this approach to understanding community partnerships will not overlook perspectives of community partners. Combining these two frameworks provides both theoretical and methodological guidance for this study.

Critique of Service-Learning

Although evidence shows service-learning can have positive impacts on students and partnering organizations, research also demonstrates service-learning can be ineffectual or even deleterious (Deeley, 2010; Eby, 1998). According to Eby (1998), some academics, "question service-learning because they claim that it does not address real community problems, because it is not real learning and because it teaches students inadequate understandings of service and social issues." (p. 1).

Butin (2006) questions the assumptions that underly service learning as a "skeleton key to unlock the power and potential of postsecondary education as a force for democracy and social justice" (p. 476) and notes its pedagogical, political, and institutional shortcomings. Butin contends service-learning pedagogy assumes white normativity and ignores the needs of many students. Politically, Butin argues that service-learning is in a "double-blind" as its claims to universality ultimately constrain it from being "a truly radical and transformative (liberal)

practice” (p. 485). Finally, Butin warns, service-learning’s move towards the institutional center and the need to quantify its worth to prove its value dilutes the nature of practice. This move to quantify the value of service-learning within institutions of higher education, pushes service-learning away from its inherent and more public purposes and towards the private goals of individual stakeholders.

The framing of the service-learning experience has significance and when not implemented carefully can have deleterious effects. Eby (1998) argues that service-learning frequently emphasizes individualistic understandings of social issues (i.e., volunteering, “helping”) and can reiterate existing deficit perspectives of communities or people served by the practice. Further, it fails to “recognize the political, social, and economic factors which create the need” (Eby, 1998, p. 4) filled by service-learning. This characteristic hinders students developing an understanding of the structural nature of social problems. While Eby did lay out implications for service-learning design based on his critique of the practice, more recent scholarship has solidified approaches to service-learning to ameliorate its short comings.

Reflection and depth of experience are cited as crucial aspects of service-learning practice. Blyth et al. (1997) correlated a lack of reflection in service-learning experiences with increased expression of less socially responsible attitudes toward the environment, civic involvement, and serving others. Mitchell (2007) asserts that the usual 15-week semester service-learning assignment is simply not enough to provide depth of experience that is beneficial to the student, or to the partnering organization. Further, that imposition of service, such as in course-based service-learning, could do harm to student attitudes towards helping others, especially when reflection practices are not incorporated into the curriculum (Blyth et al. 1997; Mitchell, 2007).

More critical conceptualizations of CBL and service-learning, informed by Freire's (1970) pedagogical philosophy, have become more commonplace in practice. Critical service-learning "encourages students to see themselves as agents of social change, and use the experience of service to address and respond to injustice in communities" (Mitchell, 2008). Moreover, critical service-learning seeks to move students away from citizenship goals towards understanding social justice outcomes of their work (Mitchell, 2007). In the context of service-learning, social justice education is moved out of the classroom and provides opportunities for students to take action, particularly in contexts where they will engage with people from different ethnic, life experience, ability, or age group backgrounds (Wade, 2000). Critical service-learning also emphasizes equity in relationships and outcomes between partners and students, achieved by demanding orientations of social change, redistributions of power, and centralization of authentic relationships (Mitchell, 2008). This suggests participation in service-learning could serve as a mechanism for a critical conceptualization of one's relationship to broader society.

The legacy of ingrained colonial power structures and inculcated value systems are ever present in student experiences, and service-learning is not exempt from these influences. Service-learning has been referred to as the "Whitest of the White" (Butin, 2006) educational practice in higher education and service-learning literature is "steeped in hegemonic Whiteness" failing to acknowledge potential damages to communities of color by white students (Vaccaro, 2009, p. 120). Green (2003) asserts that the whiteness and middle-class privilege are often ignored categories that define many of those who both perform service-learning and those who write about it. Mitchell et al. (2012) builds on this concept and terms unexamined service-learning practices as a "pedagogy of whiteness—strategies of instruction that consciously or

unconsciously reinforce norms and privileged developed by, and for the benefit of white people in the United States” (p. 613). Mitchell et al. assert that these kinds of service-learning practices have little impact on the community as they are mis-educative experiences. In this context, service-learning can be harmful by allowing racism to go unchallenged by white students and isolating students of color. These unexamined practices missed opportunities for transformative instruction by educators and reify white middle-class normativity by implying that college students possess the ability and orientation to provide service and defining “ideal” service as service within institutional contexts (Mitchell et al., 2012).

Some scholars have noted intentional reflection as a means to address whiteness and its impacts on service-learning. Service-learning should include steps and structures that allow practitioners or faculty to reflect on their practice together to foster learning environments that support all students (Seider et al., 2013) and their programs should incorporate intentional and careful discussions regarding race (Green, 2001; Mitchell et al. 2012). Similarly, Mitchell et al., (2012) assert students should have opportunities to check their assumptions and take a reflective stance, community work should be framed through asset-based approaches, and other forms of service outside of institutional contexts ought be considered as potential appropriate means for connecting experience with learning.

Although the positive impacts of service-learning are well researched, scholars also warn that service-learning is not a cure all to address pressing community needs, desired student learning outcomes, and the public purposes of higher education. Service-learning should be implemented within the context of critical pedagogies to ensure that *all* students are able to benefit from its goals of citizenship and social justice and that community partners are not overlooked in the process.

Internships as an example of Community-Based Learning with Private Goals

Internships are a form of experiential learning with explicit private goals. They resonate with the current business-oriented social context of education and are ingrained within educational practice. The following section will highlight the historical and conceptual development of internships in higher education and review the impacts of internships on stakeholders. Information on internships is widely available and well developed. A google search of “internship” yielded approximately 177 million results and a search of “‘internship’ and ‘higher education’” yielded 28.8 million results. A search of “internship” the university library system yielded over 460,000 results while a search of “‘internship’ and ‘higher education’” yielded more than 70,000 results. Internships as a mode of learning are not new. Internships can be traced back to medieval apprenticeship and vocational training of the late 19th and early 20th century (Sides & Mrvica, 2017). As a form of vocational training, internships are aligned to the social efficiency or administrative strand of progressivism. This strand is closely associated with David Snedden and has “won the fight to set the broader aims of American education in the twentieth century” (Labaree, 2011, p. 2) although has disappeared from view as it has “become a part of the natural landscape of schooling.” (Labaree, 2011, p. 2). In particular, this form of progressivism called for the development of employable skills for specific careers as the goal of education (Eliot; 1898; Snedden; 1977; Tozer, Violas, & Senese, 2002). Yet, the term internship did not arise until it was used in the medical field in the 1920s (Taylor Research Group, 2014), with medical students entering internship as means to transition from classroom learning to professional practice (Wentz & Ford, 1984). In the 1960s the term was assumed by the education community, and internships took on the form recognized today—supervised educational experiences that take place in the context of work. Their prominence in higher education grew

through the later half of the 20th century, and by the end of the 1990s over 80% of graduates participated in at least one internship experience during their college career (Taylor Research Group, 2014).

There is a lack of coherence when seeking to delineate what constitutes as an internship. Despite the lack of coherence, there have been efforts to define of internships in the context of higher education and there is “significant discussion” regarding the “concept, purpose, structure and function of internships” (The National Association of Colleges and Employers, 2018).

According to Stirling et al. (2017) no clear definition of internships exists, but there is acceptance that internships ought to be structured experiences focusing on meaningful career development. Further, “Although the definition of internship remains unclear, they are viewed as beneficial for all parties—the student, institution, and employer” (Stirling et al, 2017, p. 30).

Within higher education, internships are defined as intentional learning experiences occurring within work environments while a student is enrolled in a degree program. In these experiences, the work may or may not be paid and students may or may not earn academic credit. (O’Connor, 2019; Sweitzer & King, 2013; Thiel & Hartley, 1997). The National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE) (2018) also recognizes there are no clear guidelines for stakeholders (employers, educators, and students) to define internships, they do recommend a definition to create consistency in the application of the term *internship*. According to NACE

An internship is a form of experiential learning that integrates knowledge and theory learned in the classroom with practical application and skills development in a professional setting. Internships give students the opportunity to gain valuable applied experience and make connections in professional fields they are considering for career paths; and give employers the opportunity to guide and evaluate talent. (para. 7)

These definitions of internships are important for this study for three reasons. First, these definitions acknowledge the relationship between students, educators, and students that occur through the practice. Second, these definitions, frames internships as a means of meeting the private goals of stakeholders. Specifically, the definitions emphasizes the value of internships as “beneficial for all parties” (Stirling et al., 2017, p. 30). Students “gain valuable applied experience and make connections in professional fields” (NACE, 2018) while employers have the “opportunity to guide and evaluate talent” (NACE, 2018). Although the benefit to educational institutions is not overtly stated, institutions benefit by way of providing students opportunities for experiential learning. Internships, from this perspective, are a practice that support private goals, including career and professional development and workforce development. Finally, these definitions articulate internships as educational. They connect internships to structure, classroom learning, and experiential learning theory, indicating that internships are practices which can integrate classroom knowledge with practical knowledge.

While there is variation in the conceptualization of internships, some basic structures are common. Namely, internships are experiential in nature and focus on learning that occurs in work environments outside the traditional classroom. Although internships are often framed as pedagogical practices in the context of higher education, the aforementioned definitions also recognize the conceptualization of internships must be considered from nonacademic perspectives, as the employers of interns play a significant role in the creation and implementation of internship experiences.

Contemporarily, higher education institutions incorporate internships in response to broader economic forces shaping higher education policy. Internships are a means to prepare students to better integrate into their respective fields after graduation and are cost-effective

experiential learning. Increasingly there is mounting pressure to produce highly qualified graduates for jobs in existing and emerging fields (Hora et al., 2018) and internships serve as a means to prepare students for these jobs. The cost of internship programs are supplemented by the pooled resources of multiple stakeholders; including administrative costs and labor (Coker et al., 2017). Due to increasing student debt loads, rising graduate unemployment, and budget constraints, higher education institutions are now more responsive to these forces and fill the recognized need through career preparation for undergraduate students. They now spend a considerable number of resources developing opportunities that increase students' employability (Hora et al., 2018; Silva et al., 2016).

Internships, Students, and Partnering Institutions

Research demonstrates that internships are beneficial to students, higher education institutions, and employers. Typically, the benefits of internships for students have been connected to the private goals of higher education as students who participate in internship programs are afforded the opportunities for personal and professional development. Through these experiences, students develop generalizable skills for professional work environments, such as teamwork, communication (Divine et al., 2007; Knemeyer & Murphy, 2002; Thiel & Hartley, 1997; Wilton, 2012), and broadly applicable leadership skills (Coco, 2000; Gault et al., 2000; Taylor, 1988; Thiel & Hartley, 1997). Through internships, students develop a cognizance of workplace culture (Corey & Stuart, 1973; Divine et al., 2007) and have opportunities to build professional networks (Gault et al., 2000; Taylor, 1988). Other potential benefits to students include better chances of quickly finding a job and advancing in a chosen career (Coco, 2000; Divine et al., 2007; Gault et al., 2000; Gower & Mulvaney, 2012; Kotcher & Lerner, 1990; Taylor, 1988; Thiel & Hartley, 1997; Weible, 2009), and higher starting salaries (Coco, 2000;

Gault et al., 2000; Knemeyer & Murphy, 2002; Taylor, 1988). Further, internships also mediate the transition from college to work life as they provide opportunities for students to experience work environments before they complete their studies (Silva et al., 2016). Through internships, students are afforded experiences that better situate them to enter the work force both in terms of skill development and access to opportunity.

Yet, internships have impacts beyond private goals of personal and professional development and workforce preparation. While internships are mostly associated with the private goals of stakeholders, they can be aligned with the public goals of education as well. Sweitzer and King (2013) assert that internship programs can help students become “civic professional(s)” (p. 289), by creating opportunities for students to realize their work’s “public relevance” and understand their site’s “civic stance”, while also developing and assessing their “civic readiness and competence” (p. 289-291). This civic professionalism supports students’ capacity for participation in a healthy democracy, by imbuing them with the skills, knowledge, and orientations to be a more responsible member of society as well as providing the opportunity to conceptualize how their future professional role will facilitate their own productive community participation. Although the capacity for civic development exists within internships it may be overshadowed by the more readily visible aspects of professional and personal development (Sweitzer & King, 2013). To address the potential marginalization of this aspect of internships, Sweitzer and King (2013) provide a framework for students to connect to goals civic development throughout their experiences.

Employer partners and higher education institutions also benefit from undergraduate student internships. Higher education institutions benefit by building a connection to the community through internship placements (Divine et al., 2007), attracting more diverse students

(Thiel & Hartley, 1997), and capitalizing on employer knowledge as a source for enhanced student learning (Swift & Kent, 1999; Thiel & Hartley, 1997). Employer benefits from internship programs include; reduced turn over (Knemeyer & Murphy, 2001), demonstration of social responsibility within their communities (Thiel & Hartley, 1997), strengthened ties to education institutions (Divine et al, 1996), inexpensive student labor (Coco, 2000), opportunity to develop talent (NACE, 2018), and diversification of staff (Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development, 2021).

The contemporary context of internships in higher education along with the range of impacts on students, employers, and HEIs implicate the necessity to investigate the potential for deeper integration of internships into curriculum at universities, colleges, and other post-secondary education institutions. Moreover, there is need to investigate if and how the effects of traditional internships are related to community-based internships at non-profits and other public institutions.

Critique of Internships

Research demonstrates internships offer a myriad of benefits to stakeholders who participate in internship programs. Yet, research also shows internship experiences are not universal solutions, and mode of implementation has an impact on student learning outcomes. An evaluative study of internships in Spain and Portugal by Lain et al. (2013) characterizes two forms of internships as educational and non-educational. Educational internships are work experiences connected directly to formal learning programs in secondary, pre-vocational schools, or universities. Non-educational internships are work experiences that develop necessary skills for a particular career but are not connected to formal educational programs. In the study Lain et al. found that educational internships, those that were directly connected to formal learning, lead

to better employment outcomes. They found that non-educational internships lack structures such as contracts, long duration, and partnership oversight to ensure that students are benefiting from their experiences.

Internship experiences can create challenges and negative outcomes for all stakeholders involved. In a 2014 review literature aimed to understand impacts of internships, Maertz et al. presented challenges faced by stakeholders. Students may encounter unclear job expectations and future job prospects, be denied relevant or educative job tasks, little training or feedback from employers and faculty, and logistical issues such as transportation and tuition costs (Maertz et al., 2014). Employers experience challenges such as little return on investment into interns, low commitment and professional skills of interns, difficulty in providing meaningful work experiences, and liability issues related to employment laws (Maertz et al., 2014). Educational institutions might see increased administrative loads, time lost on other projects such as teaching and research, low motivation of administrative task due to the low status of the work within institutions, and legal liability issues associated with intern placement (Maertz et al., 2014).

Beyond individual impacts on stakeholders, Maertz et al. present theoretical challenges that transcend stakeholder groups. The lack of clear definition and boundaries of internship experiences hinder discussion regarding internships. To further understand internships and their implications, there must be agreement on the essential nature of these experiences. Secondly, there has been a lack of empirical evidence to support claims of internship benefit, which is compounded by the lack of a cost benefit analysis of internship program implementation. Finally, they claim that there is a divergence of interest amongst internship stakeholders. The goals of students, employers, and educators may be misaligned, or worse unaligned, leaving the programs and participants in state of incoherence.

More broadly, and in relationship to the socioeconomic fabric of the United States, internships can be a mechanism that perpetuates inequality. In an analysis of 3,952 student survey responses from 2019, the National Association of Colleges and Employers found students of color were “more likely to be in unpaid internships and participated in more unpaid internships than their white peers,” women were less likely than men to hold paid internships, and first-generation students were also less likely to hold paid internships than students whose parents went to college (Anderson, 2020). Perlin (2011) notes that often internships are often seen as the main pathway to white collar work, creating situations where work is exploited from interns through unpaid or underpaid work, sometimes in direct conflict with U.S. laws. Further, Perlin asserts that those people who cannot afford to take on uncompensated work are then shut out of experiences that may, in the future, provide them with the skills and networks necessary to gain access to higher paying positions Internships then become accessible only to the wealthy or those who are already connected to wealth-laden social networks. Therefore, internships may serve as a means to perpetuate social and economic structures of inequity.

Community-Based Internships

As previously described, community-based internships are a hybridization of internships and service-learning. Although there is still relatively little understanding of hybridized internship and service-learning practices, programs that mix the two exist with in higher education. This study uses the term community-based internship, but the hybridization of internships and service-learning has a variety of other names in the literature. Google searches of the terms “community-based internship”, “civic internship”, “service-learning internship”, “work-study internship”, and “servicship” yielded about a total 51,500 hits, and demonstrated that the mixing of service-learning and internships is occurring a variety of institutions from

large public research universities to small liberal arts colleges in urban, suburban, and rural settings. Rehling (2000) created an early definition of the practice within the discipline of communication, “the internship must be with a nonprofit, social service organization; in addition, it must involve learning about writing within a complicated political and cultural context and, finally, it must include reflecting upon the power of communication to effect social change.” (p. 78). Later Smeltzer (2015) characterized CBIs as “public interest internships”, as embedded in the service-learning literature, and taking place in nonprofit or governmental community-based organizations. The goals of these programs are both civic and professional or *public* and *private* and their structures rely heavily on partnership and collaboration with external organizations.

Practices that resemble CBIs have been described to have impacts on students, community partners, and institutions of higher education. Students may see meaning in their work and learn to connect it with impacts in their community (Smeltzer, 2015). Through an analysis of interviews with students, faculty, staff, and host organizations involved in a communications internship program at three universities, Smeltzer (2015) found that students build professional networks and connect theory to practice. Students can also struggle with the responsibility they feel by engaging in work through political and social frameworks from service learning and can be disillusioned with the organizational structure (Smeltzer, 2015). Community partners serve as co-educators, experience increased capacity, shared knowledge, and new reinvigorating connections (Smeltzer, 2015). Institutions of higher education gain connections with community, access to learning environments for students, and increased personal fulfillment for faculty and staff who engage in the practice (Smeltzer, 2015). While there is knowledge regarding the hybridization of internships and service learning, it remains

scant. There is a need for more studies to investigate this practice in different contexts to add to the growing body of knowledge.

Common characteristics of these programs include mutually beneficial partnerships with nonprofits or government agencies, learning and leadership development for students, and community impact. While these are common traits, each program possesses its own nuanced emphasis. Some, such as the McCormick internships at DePual University, are oriented towards social justice and community benefit. Others highlight professional growth for students and increased work capacity at partnering organizations, such as community-based internships and apprenticeships at the University of North Florida. While others mix these approaches, such as the Community Scholars Program at the University of Kentucky and the Civic Internship Program at Wittenberg University. The APPLES Internship at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill combines aspects of internships and service learning. They are “intense experiences in service” and students in these internships receive funding and work at service organizations in staff roles, while also engaging in academic instruction that will help them develop as community leaders.

Beyond colleges and universities, public-oriented internship experiences that are similar to CBIs are in practice in municipalities and nonprofit organizations. In New York City, the NYC Public Service Corps, places work-study eligible college students in internships at nonprofit and government agencies across the city with goals of supporting the community through work. Similarly, Empowerment Systems, a nonprofit organization in Arizona, partners with colleges and universities to provide students with educative work experiences that also serve residents of the Phoenix metropolitan area. Its goals are both *private* and *public*, “our students help serve all residents of Pinal County and Eastern Maricopa County through a multi-

dimensional wellness approach” and “upon completion of the Empowerment Learning Collaborative Internship, interns will be ready to enter the workforce as a valuable member of any team.” While programs that combine internships and service-learning exist, this search also revealed that it remains common for institutions to clearly delineate these as distinct experiential learning practices.

There is a need for research that explores CBIs and their impacts. There is relatively little understanding of CBIs and their impacts on stakeholders. It is possible that they may become more prominent in the future, and it is important to understand this emerging practice. Research that builds on the foundational understanding of this practice could provide greater insight into development of best practices and for future iterations of CBIs and similar practices.

John Dewey’s Social Philosophy as a Frame for this Study

Although this CBI draws upon practices and frameworks from both internships and service-learning, to develop an understanding of the community-based internship (CBI) in this study, I emphasized a Deweyan framework more closely aligned with service-learning. The private purposes of higher education are deeply entrenched and closely connected to internships, which often include goals of individual professional development and broader economic development, and serve as the more dominant paradigm in the realm. Whereas service-learning frameworks serve to illuminate the often marginalized public goals of education, such as development of democratically engaged citizenry and support of local community development.

Although service-learning as a field tends to focus on practical applications rather than theoretical treatments to develop knowledge and understanding, there is need for theory to develop a systemic way of generating and organizing this knowledge and understanding (Giles and Eyler, 1994). Considering Dewey’s social philosophy makes sense for a study on hybridized

internships and service-learning, since he was, in general, critical of the dualisms in higher education, labeling learning as purely “vocational” or “cultural” (Dewey, 1980a, pp. 144-145), because they separate values of utility and culture. He was adamant about the danger of allowing the private goals of education to eclipse broader educational purposes. Drost (1977) noted that he was uncharacteristically forceful on the issue, calling out the dangers of vocational education as a vessel for propping up the current industrial regime and narrowly preparing students for specific jobs. Dewey, himself stated he was “not sufficiently in love with the regime” (Snedden & Dewey, 1977, p.39) and called for vocational education to transform society, not blindly uphold it (Snedden & Dewey, 1977). Dewey (1900) was concerned that schools, influenced by unchecked forces of industrialization, would be locations to merely prepare members of a social order rather than preparing citizens of a democracy.

Dewey asserted education could encompass both trade and liberal goals simultaneously if they were housed within a developmental democracy framework. Rather than accepting these elements of learning as perpetually separate, Dewey (1980c) argued, “The point will be reached at which professional interest and public concern coincide” (p. 155), and “we shall no longer have to consider [either] how to ward off the dangers of professionalizing all higher education.” (Dewey, 1980c, p. 157), cautioning of the ability of the private goals of higher education to displace other goals. Dewey’s philosophy calls for a dialectical understanding and permits both the *private* and *public* purposes of education to be considered together.

Dewey’s dialectical perspective opens the possibility of recognizing the varied aims of experiential learning. In his day, Dewey recognized educational practice as “largely vocational” (Dewey, 1980a, p. 144), or as a means for developing skills for the workplace (Dewey, 1980a). Yet, even so, he emphasized that this goal of education must coexist with the goal of education

as means for supporting social democracy (Dewey, 1980d). Dewey asserted this could be achieved by developing knowledge as a means for “uplifting humanity” (Stallman, 2003, p.18), and advocated for humanism to be infused into the curriculum to “teach young people the art of understanding and empathy, to teach collaboration and care, to teach tolerance and sensitivity, and to give meaning to life” (Stallman, 2003, p. 21).

Some of this study’s findings will be interpreted through the concept of Deweyan developmental democracy. Developmental democracy is a process of individual development, in which individuals critically analyze their relationship with society, and through this process societal well-being, or the common good, can flourish. According to Giles & Elyer (1994), “democracy was not really a separate category of philosophy for Dewey. It was the goal and the means that infused all his thinking” (p. 82). Dewey (1927) defined the “democratic idea in its generic social sense” (p. 147), which called for individuals to take responsibility for shaping group values and participating in activities that support those values, while groups seek the common good in concert with individual development to the fullest potential (Dewey, 1927, p. 147).

The findings are also contextualized in concepts of “citizenship” and “communal association” (Giles & Elyer, 1994). Citizenship, as described by Giles and Elyer (1994), is closely tied to the ideal of developmental democracy. Through schooling, Dewey wanted students “experience the mutuality of social life through service” (Giles & Elyer, 1994, p. 82), modeled by the school community itself. For Dewey, schools supported the development of citizenship through the creation of “social intelligence” and inquiry was “the means by which citizens became informed, communicated interests, created public opinion and made decisions” (Giles & Elyer, 1994, p. 81). This democratic idea, in practice, can be translate to a sense of civic

responsibility, “active participation in the public life of a community in an informed, committed, and constructive manner, with a focus on the common good” (Gottlieb & Robinson, 2006, pp. 1-2).

Although Giles & Elyer (1994) initially named one of nine themes for theory development in service-learning “Great Community” (Dewey, 1927, p.127), “Great Community” as discussed in this work is not an accurate term to circumscribe the goals of service-learning in the context of this CBI (D. Giles, personal communication, March 5, 2021). Dewey was concerned by the development of the “Great Society” in the industrial age as it lacked a coinciding development of a “Great Community.” Dewey notes that this newly developing society “invaded and partially disintegrated the small communities of former times” (Dewey, 1927, p. 126-127). This destruction of smaller communities and the spaces they provided for communal association resonates with service-learning and its goals of civic development, as it was “the communal association that gave rise to the moral, intellectual, and emotional aspects of life as well as the foundation of democracy” (Giles & Elyer, 1994, p. 81). It is this smaller version of community, one that is local and accessible, that is apparent to stakeholders in this CBI. Therefore, “communal association”, serves as a term to sum up the organization of the analysis around the ideas initially described by Giles and Elyer as “The Great Community”.

Yet, Dewey’s frame has limitations, especially regarding interpretations of diversity, race, and racial injustices (Sullivan, 2019). Although scholars do employ a Deweyan frame in these contexts, Sullivan (2019) finds Dewey’s lack of critical interpretations of social contexts of his time reveal “the conceptual whiteness and the lens of white American exceptionalism” (p. 268) of his work. Therefore, Dewey’s work should be used with a “race conscious eye” for his “complicity with the white colonialist domination of his time” (Sullivan, 2019, p. 268). When

interpreting practices related to service-learning, frameworks that acknowledge power imbalances and racial injustices, include critical approaches, and incorporate goals of multicultural education can be employed address the limitations of a Deweyan frame. In the context of this study, critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970) and critical service-learning (Mitchell, 2008) serve to fill in the gaps left by Dewey's lack of critical interpretations.

Summary of the Literature Review

This chapter has reviewed relevant research and theoretical conversations surrounding this study. While the current understandings of internships and service-learning are well developed and have been situated within the realm of experiential education and community-based learning, there is a need to more deeply understand the hybridization of these practices. Not only are experiential pedagogies moving towards the center of educational practice in HEIs, the hybridization of internships and service-learning is a pedagogical nexus of two of the core purposes of higher education, the private purposes or the professional preparation of students, and the public purposes or the civic mission. Understanding the structure and impacts of a community-based internship through an examination for stakeholder experiences may be important for these reasons: (1) to consider whether or not CBIs can serve as a means to meet two important goals of higher education, and (2) to contribute to our understanding of the workings of the practice itself, given the relative dearth of knowledge regarding community-based internships in the literature.

Although this CBI draws upon practices and frameworks from both internships and service-learning, to develop an understanding of the community-based internship (CBI) in this study I emphasized frameworks more closely aligned with service-learning. The private purposes of higher education are deeply entrenched and closely connected to internships, therefore

service-learning frameworks serve to illuminate the often marginalized public goals of education. A study to understand this practice and its effects on stakeholders is needed. This chapter has reviewed relevant research and theoretical conversations surrounding this study. The next chapter will describe the methodology the study that seeks to address these needs.

Chapter 3 Methods

The previous chapter has summarized, synthesized, and critiqued the existing literature that surrounds this study and demonstrates the need to understand pedagogical practices that hybridize service-learning and internships. This chapter provides an overview of the study's research rationale and methodology to understand this case. The first sections illuminate the context of the study and my epistemological and ontological stances as they relate to this project and summarize the rationale for undertaking the study before describing the methodological procedures of the study, which integrate two research phases of an action research project, including a participatory action research phase (phase 1) and a thematic analysis of stakeholder interviews and student work (phase 2).

Context of this Study

The CBI under investigation has existed in some iteration for over a decade at a large urban public research university with an access and research mission in a midwestern metropolitan area. Like many higher education institutions today, the institution has been impacted by the pressures of declining enrollments. Since this study began, it has merged with smaller satellite campuses of a statewide system and has constrained departmental and divisional budgets to address financial shortcomings. In this climate, the university, like many others, must continually demonstrate its value to external society (Suspitsyna, 2012). The university has a history of community engagement over several decades, holds the Community Engagement Classification from the Carnegie Foundation (New England Commission of Higher Education, 2018), and has a center dedicated to community engaged learning and research. The CBI under investigation is housed in this center along with service-learning, student volunteer programs, and other programs that support university-community engagement.

The CBI began as a combination of a paid federal work-study tutoring program and grant funded community-based work-study program. According to the executive director of the office in which the CBI is housed, the program developed as a response to the institution being more focused on high-impact practices, supporting student retention, and meeting student requests for working with kids. The executive director described the implementation of the CBI as an opportunity to establish programs in a newly created center for volunteers. Programming structures of the CBI have varied as it developed; some years there were curricular credit bearing course components of the program while others consisted of co-curricular non-credit bearing program meetings. In 2016, the author of this study became the program coordinator, and in 2017 the program became a more formalized. According to a student information flyer from 2017, CBI students are required to hold a paid position funded partly by federal work-study at a school or non-profit organization and to enroll in a one-credit course taught by staff housed in the community engagement office. The program goals include preparing students for future careers, building capacity at partner organizations, and facilitating “meaningful and constructive engagement between students and the community.”

Students typically work 5-15 hours per week throughout the academic year and between \$10 and \$14 per hour, and they must be eligible for work-study to participate in the CBI as positions are partially funded by work-study. Work-study is a form of financial aid awarded to students by the U.S. Department of Education. Student eligibility for work-study is determined by financial need, calculated by the university’s financial aid department based on the completion of the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA).

As part of the CBI, students enroll in a one credit course aimed at developing the following competencies: critical thinking skills, intercultural competence, effective

communication skills, and civic, social, or environmental responsibility. Students also engage in professional development topics in the course such as exploring learning pathways for internships, resume building, and engaging in identity inventory. After taking the course, students participate in co-curricular reflection sessions offered each semester to continue their engagement with program learning goals. Although the course is required, exceptions to course enrollment are allowed when students have credit load or scheduling conflicts with other courses. The students who cannot take the course participate in the co-curricular reflection sessions. Of the sixteen students in this study, only one student had not completed the course at the time of their participation.

The community partner student work sites represent a variety of nonprofit organizations and schools from across the city. Community partners who join the CBI agree to serve as co-educators to the undergraduate students, serve as the student's onsite supervisor, and sign off on student time sheets. They also provide end of the year performance assessments for each student employed. Organizations join as CBI partners through a variety of avenues. Partners may be existing partners through other university-sponsored programs, such as service-learning, and then chose to layer in students from the CBI. Others work solely with the CBI. After completing partnership requests with the university, if their needs align with CBI, the program coordinator meets with them to start the partnership process. Partnerships with community organizations also develop through word of mouth and existing relationships. Through the program, community partners gain access to a recruitment pool of work-study eligible students, either through an annual recruitment fair event or through direct connections with students facilitated by the CBI program coordinator. The partners have authority to set wages, make hiring decisions, and develop intern work schedules. Nonprofit partners are responsible for 25% of the student wage

and federal work-study funds cover the remaining 75% of the wage. Positions as tutors in schools are fully funded by federal work-study, so schools do not incur costs to host CBI students.

This CBI program differs from traditional internships at this institution as most internships are not normally associated with an attached course. The course in this CBI is central to the student experience. It is different from service-learning at the institution as most service-learning courses require a much lower time commitment from students, their work at partnering agencies is unpaid, and the student experiences with community partners are usually designed to meet course learning goals. Further, the attached course is designed for a cross section of students, representing a variety of majors and different kinds of internships. Students participate in professional development topics such as conceptualizing the goals of their CBI experience, resume building, and identity reflection. This structure differs from most other internships at the institution, which are frequently housed within academic disciplines or departments. The community partners, who host students at their organizations, represent a variety of nonprofit organizations and schools from across the city. These partners mentor and supervise students in their positions.

Researcher Orientation Towards Dewey's Pragmatism and Social Constructivism

The Deweyan underpinnings of my thinking described at the end of chapter 2, along with my professional experience in a community-based learning office, led me to want to understand how experiential pedagogies, such as service-learning and internships, affect the stakeholders who engage in them. Moreover, I wanted to understand how their experiences might relate to the production of social good within broader society. I was intrigued by the intersection of the private and public purposes of education and the potential for CBIs to meet these purposes and

impact a variety of stakeholders. I also realized that CBIs are not well articulated in the literature of service-learning and community engagement. This gap, in combination with the debates regarding the purposes of higher education, drove me to interrogate this practice.

Qualitative inquiry requires an illumination of a researcher's epistemological and ontological positions. I believe meaning and knowledge are generated through social interaction and experience; they are contextual to the individual. This individual perspective of meaning and knowledge is informed by the one's specific socio-cultural environment and shapes one's epistemological positioning. My epistemological position is most closely related to social constructivism, which describes knowledge development "as socialization, a process of acquisition of skills, knowledge, and dispositions that enables the individual to participate in his or her group in society" (Sivan, 1986, p. 211). To illustrate my understanding of this view of knowledge, I believe that the ways of knowing and interacting with the world are distinct across cultures, classes, and other social "categories". The social context of knowledge and along with the societal value ascription of certain kinds of knowledge, leads certain epistemological and ontological stances to be marginalized. This epistemological orientation leads me to seek inclusive research methodologies that highlight, uncover, and integrate knowledge from multiple sources and perspectives.

Through a social constructivist lens, I focus on the act of knowledge generation, which orients me to undertake an interpretivist paradigm in my work. I choose to forego a traditional positivist orientation, which constructs meaning through behavior, and instead seek to develop meaning through social interaction and identity development (Herda, 1999). Holding this point of view, I deeply consider my own identity, seek to understand the identity of those I work with, as well as the effect of our interactions on these identities. Herda (1999) states, "In the move

from a positivist to an interpretive paradigm, researchers understand the relationship between themselves and others not merely from a subject-object distinction, or an intersubjective phenomenology, but from an acknowledgement that the other is a critical part of their own identity” (p. 22). Taking this into consideration, I am naturally drawn to research methods that are embedded with participatory and collaborative principles.

Kelly’s (2006) view of social constructivist epistemology permits communities to determine what is “good” or “important” knowledge, creating space for diverse bodies of knowledge and places knowledge in community context, as “the locus of epistemic concern properly shifts to a relevant social group” (p. 36). Yet, this point of view can be limiting. Social constructivism asserts that knowledge is situational to and constructed by socialization. The reality of the world as a multicultural and stratified system creates an imbalanced power dynamic between different epistemological positions. The mainstream ways of knowing often determine who has power and dominance based on their individual epistemological positions. Those that do not or cannot integrate into these ways of knowing are often marginalized and subordinated. Therefore, caution must be taken in broadly applying epistemological assumptions based on social group membership. Each individual possesses a unique set of cultural dimensions (race, gender, religion, physical/mental ability, sexual orientation, citizenship status, etc.) and dimensional interactions. These dimensions and their interactions exert influence on an individual’s understandings and experiences of knowledge, power, and privilege (Hyde, 2012). Therefore, conceptualizing one’s own ideological and epistemological assumptions, and those of others, through critical self-reflection is imperative within participatory research methodologies.

A Case Study of a Community-Based Internship Program

Methodologically, developing an understanding of participants lived experiences calls for a qualitative paradigm, which allows the researcher to create complex and holistic descriptions through analysis of words and experiences of participants (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This research is a case study exploring a particular phenomenon, in this case a CBI, through various data sources and lenses to uncover “multiple facets of the phenomenon” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p.544). Case studies are not defined by a particular method, but rather a choice of what is to be studied, and emphasize what can be learned from a single case to “optimize understanding of the case rather than to generalize beyond it” (Stake, 2005, p. 443). These characteristics of case study can include the use of varied methodological procedures and data sources to answer the research questions and understand the CBI. This study employed action research methods of participatory data generation and analysis in a primary phase of research. A second phase of research, conducted to further explore the findings of the initial phase, drew on thematic analysis of student course work and interviews with community partners and a university staff person.

Action Research as Foundational to Interrogating this Case

The CBI in this study occurs as partnerships between undergraduate students, community partners, and the university. Although there are several different methods of qualitative research that could address the questions of this research study, the nature of the program and its situation within the landscape of community partnerships informed the selection of a particular qualitative framework. In a study of campus-community partnerships, Sandy (2007) found that relationships, shared leadership and authority, and mutual benefit are characteristics of effective partnerships. These characteristics directed the research to a participatory action qualitative framework, which relies heavily on collaboration (Lewin, 1946) and therefore, honors and

enhances a program based on partnerships. Therefore, I selected action research to conduct this study. After completion of the participatory research phase of the project, I engaged in second phase of inquiry to more deeply explore areas of inquiry that resulted from the first stage of the project. This second phase, a thematic analysis of interviews with community partners and university staff and student course work from the program, ensures a more comprehensive understanding of the CBI. This thematic analysis does align with certain characteristics of action research, namely emergent and responsive study design, study of local contexts, and a pragmatic approach to developing understanding of a problem to take action.

The work of Kurt Lewin is foundational to the action research methodology (McNiff, 2017; Thiollent, 2011) as Lewin (1946) called for democratic principles to be applied in research methodologies. This conceptualization of action research had begun to legitimize collaborative practices, but failed to critique the power dynamics which remained intact within this orientation. The connections between participatory research and Latin American liberation theory (Thiollent, 2011), serve as a place to confront and critique these power dynamics.

Situated within interpretivist and critical frameworks (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), action research is a form of qualitative research that is, importantly, oriented toward action and change. Entrenched in the hermeneutic tradition (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019), interpretive qualitative research seeks to understand and render meanings through thick descriptions and imbeds these meanings in larger social and historical constructs (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). According to Fine (2018), critical research aims to “destabilize what we think of as ‘normal’; and to reveal where resistance gathers and where radical possibilities might flourish” (p. 6). The critical paradigm seeks to analyze and negate the hegemonic institutions, ideologies, and social relations that perpetuate and enhance inequities (Fine, 2018).

Central to action research is its critique of the experimental approach to research inquiry. Action researchers contend that the application of scientific experimental methods found in physical sciences is incompatible with understanding human behavior and social contexts because the behavior and social world are nearly impossible to predict and control (Stringer, 2007). Action research seeks to confront the inherent power dynamic that arises through researching and ordering other's lives through research. It reconceptualizes the taken for granted ways of theorizing, researching, and writing: specifically seeking to minimize power of people and institutions in places of authority. Yet, this critical lens does not completely negate the use of external theories in action research. Action research seeks to understand local contexts and then apply this understanding to develop solutions. To do this, action research must marry theory and practice, a rationale for this praxis can be traced to its pragmatist roots (Fairlamb, 1986).

Action research, now a widely accepted form of inquiry (Bradbury et al., 2019), distinguishes itself from other forms of research by overt orientation towards collaboration and action. Stringer (2007) asserts that action research is founded upon decentralization, deregulation, and cooperativeness in execution. In contrast to positivist and postpositivist research orientations, which seek objective and generalizable truths (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016), action research focuses on specific local impacts, challenges conventional research epistemology, and blurs traditional lines between researchers and participants (Stringer, 2007).

Action Research and Pragmatism.

Scholars have aligned action research with pragmatist philosophy (e.g., Hope & Waterman, 2003; Reason, 2003). The pragmatic vein of action research establishes the interdependence of theory and practice (Fairlamb, 1986; Oquist, 1978), pushes researchers to question dualisms and orthodoxies of social science within the context of democratic

participation (Reason, 2003), and emphasizes the practical value of knowledge generation (Hope & Waterman, 2003; Oquist, 1978). In connecting Dewey's pragmatic philosophy to inquiry in higher education, Waks draws upon Dewey's *Studies in Logical Theory* and *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* to articulate a three-stage process of inquiry.

Although Waks does not overtly connect Dewey's work with action research, the Deweyan frame he describes is aligned with the basic characteristics of action research. Stage 1, the *antecedent* moment, provides a rationale for the inclusion of community perspectives within research, especially when identifying problems to solve. In this moment, inquiry is "stimulated by unsettled, problematic affairs in the community", it is "the antecedent to thinking and consists of the situations of living that evoke thought" (Waks, 2019, p. 394).

Stage 2, *knowledge production* or "inquiry proper" (Waks, 2019, p. 395), calls for judgement to be applied to make meaning of facts which are situated. Researchers can use tools, such as research methodology and theory, to "make explicit the assumption of a principle which determines connections" (Dewey, 1980b p. 345). Waks asserts that the products of this stage are "an analytic map" of parts of an experience and "a map displaying the many casual connections among them" (p. 394) In other words, the products are themes and their relationships created amongst facts. This second stage of inquiry marries the role of a researcher and their tools with context. It calls for a formal system to give order to a phenomena.

The third stage calls for an intervention or action based on learnings from the previous stages. This stage may result in the "institution of new combinations of selected, causally related elements as complex plans" (Waks, 2019, p. 396) or result in further unsettlement, which would require the cycle of inquiry to recommence. In these instances, thought has failed its external test of utility (Waks, 2019). This characteristic of Waks' Deweyan inquiry, its practical utility as the

test of its validity, aligns neatly with the orientation action research, which seeks useable solutions through formal inquiry.

Characteristics of Action Research.

The foundations of action research provide a framework for applying action research as a method of inquiry. Action research is characterized by the following criteria:

- (1) a close and collaborative relationship between the researcher and research participants (Johnson, 2017; Moss & Haertel, 2016; Stringer, 2007);
- (2) small groups that can work together to facilitate collaboration, (e.g., Kemmis et al., 2014; Ojo & Smulyan, 1989; Stringer, 2007);
- (3) a focus on action and application (Baumfield et al., 2013; McNiff, 2017; Root, 2007, Stringer, 2007);
- (4) study of local contexts such as educational programs or classroom environments (Burrows, 2019; Costello, 2003; Stringer, 2007; Vaughn, 2019);
- (5) cyclical stages of planning to achieve action and promote flexibility (Hall, 1997; Johnson, 2019; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Thiollent, 2011).

These characteristics of action research align with Waks's Deweyan approach to inquiry. Like stage one of this Deweyan inquiry, action research looks to outward to the community to confront practical problems situated within them. In action research, this second stage could provide rationale for the development of researcher roles and the contextual use of theory and method to drive inquiry. The third stage which highlights inquiry's practical utility as the test of its validity, aligns neatly with the orientations of action research, which seeks useable solutions through formal inquiry.

Case Study Structure

This case study proceeded in two phases. The first phase was participatory in nature that included all the criteria of action research. Questions emerged during the first phase that required further exploration to develop an adequate understanding of the case. The second phase, developed to further explore the findings of the first phase, includes individual interviews with community partners and university staff, as well as an analysis of student work from students enrolled in the one-credit class. Phase 1 was fully informed and guided by orientations of action research. Phase 2 drew on some characteristics of action research that were translatable to a thematic analysis of interviews and student work. All sources of data were analyzed to identify overarching themes to shed light on this case study. The overall thematic analysis for this case study drew on several criteria of action research, such as participatory analysis in stage 1 and study of local contexts with intent of action and application. It also involved compatible orientations to action research, such critical hermeneutics, to conduct comprehensive thematic analysis.

Case Study of a CBI			
Participatory Research Phase Feb 2018-Oct 2018		Interview and Analysis of Student Work Phase Nov 2019-Feb 2020	
Participant	Stakeholder Group	Interviews	
Amy	Student	Participant	Stakeholder Group
Brett	Student	Julia	Community Partner
Dawn	Student	Macy	Community Partner
Theresa	Student	Olive	Community Partner
Claire	Community Partner	Patricia	Community Partner
Emma	Community Partner	Ruth	Community Partner
Susan	Community Partner	Shannon	Community Partner
Amber	University Staff	Tyanna	Community Partner
Ben	University Staff	Vicky	Community Partner
n = 9		Community Partner n = 8	
Initial Themes from Participatory Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Mission & Fresh Perspectives• Student Learning & Benefit• Community & Civic Mindedness• Drawbacks and Challenges		Christina	University Staff
		University Staff n = 1	
		Analysis of Student Work	
		Cici	Student
		Dion	Student
		Gerti	Student
		Ira	Student
		Jaida	Student
		Katie	Student
		Lana	Student
		Maggie	Student
		Paula	Student
		Shawn	Student
		Ula	Student
		Valeria	Student
		Zoe	Student
		Student n = 13	
Combined Thematic Analysis			
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Analysis drawing on a hermeneutic orientation (Herda, 1999; Shephard et al., 2019) and referencing initial themes of participatory stage to develop a comprehensive understanding of texts.• Process of first cycle coding and second cycle coding to develop final themes within the context of internship, service-learning, community engagement, and higher education literature.			

Figure 3 Study Summary

Action Research and this Study

This section outlines how both phases of this study align, to different degrees, with the criteria of action research and summarizes the research methods.

- (1) Close and collaborative relationships. As the program facilitator of the CBI in this study, I had a close working relationship with all of the participants included in this project. My status was well known to all of participants prior to the inception of this research project, and their participation in the project, in both the participatory research phase and second interview and student work review phase, was voluntary.
- (2) Small groups to facilitate collaboration. During the first phase collaboration was a hallmark of the research process. In this phase the group of participants was kept small to facilitate this collaboration. To encourage collaboration in the second phase of research participants were invited to a final meeting to provide feedback on the findings of the study.
- (3) An emphasis on action and application. The research project sought to develop and apply practical solutions to this specific CBI.
- (4) Concern with specific local contexts. Therefore, the samples in both phases were limited to students, community partners, and university affiliates who engaged with the program.
- (5) Cyclical and iterative planning. During the first phase of the study I engaged in iterative planning and flexibility to help promote collaboration and shared authority between myself and co-researcher participants by inviting their perspectives on how to facilitate data collection and analysis meetings.

As the project moved forward, it became clear that more data collection was necessary to build on findings from the initial participatory process. This led to the planning of second phase

of research. This aspect of iterative planning in action research also draws upon the concept of qualitative research as bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999), described as an approach that acknowledges a “dialectical nature” and synergy between the disciplinary and interdisciplinary (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 683). Rogers (2012) describes bricolage as “methodological practices explicitly based on notions of eclecticism, emergent design, flexibility and plurality... and approaches that examine phenomena from multiple, and sometimes competing, theoretical and methodological perspectives” (p. 1). Bricolage allowed for an emergent research design and supported the inclusion of derivative phases of research that explored and strengthened the conclusions of the primary participatory phase. This ensuing phase included a review of student reflective work and interviews with community partners and university staff.

Although the aforementioned characteristics are common across action research and other participatory methods, Greenwood et al. (1993) advise that it is not possible to adhere to dogmatic principles in these methods as participation is negotiated through the intents and processes of stakeholders. Therefore, an endeavor to clearly circumscribe what does and does not count as participation and collaboration in the research process is antithetical to action research orientations. Rather, these methods must be informed and defined by local and situational contexts as they unfold.

Phase 1 – Participatory Action Research

Throughout this phase, I sought to engage a group of participants to understand, interpret, analyze, and share their own experiences. This was achieved through varied socially oriented data collection processes, shared raw and analyzed data sets, and co-construction of findings through participatory data analysis. Additionally, I oriented myself following the sentiments of Thiollent (2012), not as “the spokesman for one of the interlocutors, but rather an analyst of the

situation, considering the implications, actions and reactions of the actors and their effects on that given context” (p. 167), and encouraged other co-researchers to take a similar critical stance.

Participatory Action Research Sample.

The sampling strategy began by identifying key stakeholders through a social analysis (Stringer, 2007). I sought to include diverse representation amongst the stakeholder groups, seeking a representational balance of community partner sites and student job roles. According to Stringer (2007) this process of cultivating diversified representation of stakeholder groups is essential to create an environment where all stakeholders, not just those who participate in the project, feel that they have voice in the research process. A call for participants was sent to program participants representing a variety of community partners sites and student job roles and experiences. The overall population of those involved in the program during a given year is between 40 and 50 students, 15 and 25 community partners, and 4 university staff.

During the participatory stage of the study there were 42 students engaged with the CBI program, ranging in academic status from freshman to seniors, holding diverse job roles with a variety of years of experience within the program. The community partners came from non-profit organizations and schools from across this city. During the year of this study, there were 6 active schools and 16 non-profit organizations representing a range of focus areas including hunger and homelessness, environment, youth mentoring, job accessibility, disability resources, and public health. At the university there were four individuals who have regular contact with the program; the program facilitator, the HR coordinator, the HR administrator, and the executive director of the office in which the program is housed.

To facilitate a participatory process, I chose to limit the sample size to no more than ten individuals. The nine individuals who participated in the participatory research represented

approximately ten percent of the active program population. Other examples of action research projects, also focused on educational contexts, have similarly sized groups (e.g., Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2014; Oja & Smulyan, 1989; Stringer, 2007).

Participatory Action Research Student Participant Information					
Pseudonym	Job Role	Organization Type	Program Experience	Gender	Race
Amy	Assistant Pantry Manager	Food Pantry	3 semesters	Female	Native American / Latina Puerto Rican & Mexican
Dawn	Classroom Assistant	K-8 School	1 semester	Female	African American
Theresa	Classroom Assistant	K-8 School	5+ semesters	Female / Gender Fluid	Latina / Puerto Rican & Mexican
Brian	Youth Development Mentor	After School Sports Program	1 semester	Male	did not disclose

Participatory Action Research Community Partner and University Participant Information					
pseudonym	Role at organization	Organization	Time in program	Gender	Race
Claire	Executive Director	Food Pantry	1.5 years	Female	white
Emma	School Support Teacher	K-8 School	.5 years	Female	white
Susan	Volunteer Manger	Food Pantry	.5 years	Female	Did not disclose
Amber	HR Coordinator	University	5 + years	Female	African American
Ben	Program Coordinator	University	4 years	Male	white

Figure 4 Participatory Action Research Sample Tables

Participatory Action Research Data Collection and Analysis.

This following phase of the study lasted for seven months, between February and October of 2018. The research events are summarized in the table below. The data collection and analysis followed the action procedures detailed in a study by Trager (2020).

Informed by a format proposed by Stringer (2007), the co-researchers engaged with six questions¹. During the community partner and university staff meeting, I asked participants to write responses to the six questions. Following the individual time, the group split into two

¹ See Appendix C for research meeting agenda

“mini” groups to engage in conversation surrounding each individual’s responses to the questions. After these conversations, the larger group reconvened to share out regarding the six questions. During the initial student meeting, rather than following the prescribed agenda, students chose to write silently in response to the six questions, and then return together as a group to discuss their responses. After the students completed their written responses, I led a discussion regarding their responses to the questions. This meeting proceeded as a traditional focus group, as I had limited input in the data generation and served more as a facilitator.

Research Event	Date	Attendees
Community partner & university staff initial meeting	2.23.18	Amber, Claire, Emma, Susan, Ben
Student initial meeting	2.24.18	Amy, Brett, Dawn, Theresa, Ben
Student data analysis meeting	4.6.18	Amy, Dawn, Ben
Community partner & university staff data analysis meeting	4.13.18	Amber, Claire, Emma, Ben
Student data analysis meeting	4.28.18	Dawn, Ben
Community partner & university staff data analysis meeting	4.30.18	Amber, Claire, Emma
Student data analysis meeting	6.29.18	Amy, Dawn, Ben
Action planning meeting	7.9.18	Amber, Claire, Dawn, Emma, Ben
Student debrief meeting	10.6.18	Amy, Dawn
University staff debrief meeting	10.9.18	Amber, Ben
Community partner debrief meeting	10.15.18	Claire, Emma

Figure 5 Participatory Action Research Meeting Schedules

Participatory Action Research Data Analysis.

As the audio recordings were transcribed, I made notes regarding emerging themes, patterns and reflections and concept mapping was employed to organize the emerging themes and relationships. I coded all data points, including the group meeting transcriptions and the co-researcher’s written responses using In Vivo coding, process coding, descriptive coding, holistic coding, and sub-coding as described by Saldaña (2009). Some phrases from the transcripts felt as

though their essence could only be captured by the direct words of the participants, so I copied them verbatim and used them as codes. As this project illuminates the characteristics of a CBI, process coding emphasized data addressing questions of program attributes and development. I mixed process coding with descriptive coding to remain focused on the participant's perspective. Further, descriptive coding emphasizes basic topical information (Saldaña, 2009), which can illuminate the essential structures of the program and its key components. Certain ideas emerged in larger passages, so holistic coding (Miles et al., 2014) captured those ideas. Finally, sub-coding (Miles et al., 2014) was used to help clarify smaller themes present within broader codes.

I began second cycle coding with focused coding and then moved forward using a collaborative approach to theoretical coding (Johnson, 2017). I reread the codes and data and then created categories through the frame of the initial research questions and based on frequency and significance (Saldaña, 2009). These categories were then organized into a categorization table which served as a tool to organize my thoughts, responses, and the meanings I had assigned to the data. It also helped prepare me to engage with co-researchers during the analysis meetings and informed the development of a concept map².

During the participatory phase of second cycle coding, the two stakeholder groups remained separated. Before each meeting I reviewed each set of data, copied each exemplar quote from each code, and pasted these quotes into one large document. I shared this document and the raw transcripts from the stakeholder meeting with the participants.

During the student data analysis, we narrowed the data down to a single set of common themes, but ultimately decided that another meeting would be necessary to finish the process by

² See Appendix A Figure a “Facilitator Concept Map”

substantiating the final themes with data and creating on a concept map. We met two more times to read through data points and ultimately constructed a final set of themes, each supported by individual data points. I then created a thematic table to organize the data as well as a concept map³.

During the first community partner and university staff meeting we worked collaboratively to create themes. We held another meeting a week later, in which we clarified established themes, organized them into a graphic representation, and supported findings with exemplar quotes. At the end of the meeting, we discussed how the data should be translated to a concept map⁴. I then created the concept map and shared it with other co-researchers.

The two groups convened for an action planning meeting in which the initial results and the three concept maps were shared across groups and preliminary action plans were discussed. After this meeting I used the concepts maps from each group to create two thematic tables, one representing the student findings, and one representing the community partner and university staff findings.

Phase 2 – Individual Interviews and Analysis of Student Work

After developing an understanding of the characteristics and impacts of the CBI through the participatory phase of research, a second phase of research, informed by the themes derived from the participatory stage, was implemented to expand representation of each stakeholder group to gain a richer perspective of the experiences. The second phase of research began in November of 2019. At the time of this phase of research, 70 students had participated in the program with approximately 50 students also taking the CBI course, 35 organizations had

³ See Appendix A Figure b “Student Concept Map”

⁴ See Appendix A Figure c “Community Partner & University Staff Concept Map”

participated as program partners, and 4 university staff had been involved in the planning and daily implementation of the CBI. This phase of research expanded the sample to include;

- 8 community partner interviews,
- 1 interview of a university staff person,
- and a review of the course work of 13 students.

The community partner and university staff experiences were explored through individual interviews⁵. The experiences of students were explored through the review of a series of reflective responses that total approximately 20 questions as well as a review of a final reflective essay⁶. Although the format of interrogation was different for students, it did involve similar depth of data to that of the in-person community partner and university staff interviews. The individuals involved in the second phase of research were distinct from the individuals involved in the first participatory phase. I incorporated different community partners, university staff, and students to diversify the range of perspectives and experiences in the study.

I chose to conduct 8 community partner interviews for two main reasons. First, community partners are an integral part of the CBI. Their involvement and willingness to host and supervise students make the program possible. Without community partners the CBI could not exist. Therefore, their perspectives are important when interrogating program structures, logistics, and impacts. Second, community partner experiences are not as well understood as those of students and higher education staff in the field of community engagement and service-learning (Budhai, 2013; Sandy & Holland, 2006; Shah, 2020). Including in-depth interviews with community partners keeps their perspectives from being overlooked or overwhelmed by those that are more typically centered in these practices. I limited the university staff to one more

⁵ See Appendix C for interview protocols

⁶ See Appendix D for reflection prompts

individual for two reasons. First, a very limited number of people on campus experience interaction with the program, and only four have regular interaction with it. Second, the university holds an inevitable position of power in this process, as I, an affiliate of the university, serve as the research facilitator and author. Therefore, a smaller sample of university staff was appropriate.

Sample and Approach for Community Partner and University Staff Interviews.

I sought to create a sample of maximum variation (Creswell & Ploth, 2018) to represent a variety of work sites, student job roles at the sites, and levels of experience within the program. I first sent out a call for participation to all current community partners involved in the program as student work-site supervisors. With the intent of achieving representation from a variety of sites I invited partners from schools, other non-school-based education providers, environmental organizations, health and social services providers, and arts-based organizations. I also considered each partner's relationship with the program; including number of students at the site and length of time as a partner. I conducted and recorded 8 community partners for interviews. Concurrently, I interviewed 1 university staff person who had stake in the program, the executive director of the office that facilitates the CBI.

As the interviews occurred within the context of a participatory approach, I chose to forego complete neutrality during the interview. In this approach to interviewing, rather than limiting their reactions to interviewees responses, interviewers acknowledge the responses of interviewees in a genuine manner and engage in some self-disclosure to build rapport (Johnson, 2017). These interviews followed a semi-structured format. This openness in the structure allowed me to address relevant issues that may surface during the procedures (Josselson, 2013).

Phase 2 Community Partner and University Staff Participant Information					
pseudonym	Role at organization	Organization	Gender	Race	Time in program
Julia	Volunteer Manager	Older Adults	Female	white	3+ years
Macy	Director of Learning	Disability Services	Female	white	1 year
Olive	Assistant Principal	K-8 School	Female	white	3+ years
Patricia	Associate Director of Giving	Educational Foundation	Female	white	2 years
Ruth	Program Manager	Disability Services	Female	white	2 years
Shannon	Executive Director	College Student Development	Female	white	3+ years
Tyanna	School Support Teacher	K-8 School	Female	white	2 years
Vicky	Executive Director	Environmental	Female	white	3+ years
Christina	Director of Community Engagement Office	University	Female	white	5 + years

Figure 6 Phase 2 Community Partner and University Staff Sample Table

The community partner and university staff semi-structured interview protocols consist of broad questions that were further explored with sub questions. The interview protocols were developed to create some parity between the reflection questions in the student work. Further, these questions were developed in relation to the participatory phase of the research. For example, questions provide congruency with what students have responded to as part of their course-based reflection assignments. Further, the findings from the participatory phase directed some questions to search for more pointed information regarding the benefits and challenges of working across stakeholder groups. The final question of each protocol creates space for partner input and was included to promote a sense of collaboration.

Phase 2 Student Work.

During the first participatory phase of data collection, the students and community partners from the analysis meetings represented the same sites, therefore the data generated provide two unique perspectives regarding experiences at a single worksite. To ensure that this dual perspective was preserved in the second phase of data collection, I planned to draw the

student reflection sample to mirror the sample of eight community partner interviews. I had more responses to the call for participation from students than I had anticipated, therefore I did not have to do any intentional seeking of specific student participants to mirror community partners. The calls for participation naturally yielded a broad representation of partnership sites which allowed for parity in site type representation.

A common trait of all students in this CBI is that they are all eligible to receive federal work-study, a form of financial aid awarded based on financial need. Of the seventeen students in the full study, fourteen identified as female, two identified as gender nonconforming or gender queer, and one student identified as male. Seven students identified as white, four students identified as Latinx, two students identified as African American two students identified as two or more races, and two students did not disclose information regarding their race or ethnicity.

Phase 2 Student Work Analysis Participant Information					
Pseudonym	Job Role	Organization Type	Time in program	Gender	Race
Ula	Development Officer	Educational Foundation	1 semester	Female	African American
Paula	Volunteer Manager Assistant	Older Adults	1 semester	Female	Latina
Maggie	Classroom Assistant	K-8 School	3 semesters	Female	white
Lana	Web Assistant	Environmental	1 semester	Female	white
Jaida	Database Assistant	Environmental	3 semesters	Female	white
Valeria	Web Assistant	Environmental	1 semester	Female	Latina
Zoe	Administrative Assistant	Arts	3 semesters	Female	did not disclose
Ira	Administrative Assistant	College Student Development	1 semester	Gender queer	white
Katie	Classroom Assistant	K-8 School	1 semester	Female	white/ Native American
Dion	Classroom Assistant	K-8 School	1 semester	Female	white
Cici	Tutor	After School Tutoring Program	1 semester	Female	Latina
Shawn	Classroom Assistant	K-8 School	1 semester	Female	white
Gerti	Administrative Assistant	Arts	1 semester	Female	white

Figure 7 Phase 2 Student Sample Table

Combined Thematic Analysis of Phases 1 & 2 of the Case Study

After the conclusion of the participatory action research of phase 1, I synthesized the findings into themes (e.g., Trager, 2020). During the second phase of analysis, my theoretical orientation was supplemented by Herda's (1999) hermeneutic orientation to analyzing interview transcripts and other documents to conduct a thematic analysis. This approach has many compatibilities with action research, including its orientation toward "applied phronesis" and

emphasis on producing actionable results for local contexts (e.g., Flyvbjerg et. al, 2012; Herda, 1999).

This frame constructs meaning through social interaction and its communal orientation moves me to consider *the other* (i.e. participant) as I conduct the analysis. Drawing on Shephard et al.'s distillation (2019) of Gadamer's hermeneutic approach, I consider my analysis as a conversation with the texts I engage with and consider interpretations as products "of productive or unproductive prejudices" (p. 535). Further, a hermeneutic analysis is often employed in complex situations, especially when differing interpretations of the same phenomena are expected (Shephard et al., 2019). This is the case in this study as a variety of stakeholders with a diversity of backgrounds and perspectives are expressing their experiences of the CBI. I searched for convergence from the varying stakeholders to create unified themes that encompassed perspectives from the varying groups. If a theme does not encompass a particular group's perspectives, the lack of evidence is analyzed with the context of that theme.

I also draw on the context of the private and public purposes of higher education that were described in chapter 1. The private purposes are related to the professional preparation of students and higher education's response to market and corporate values supporting individual and institutional interests. When conceptualized as a "private good" Boyte (2015) characterizes higher education as an individual's "ticket to fame or fortune" (p. 3) and Busch (2017) refers to the phenomenon as "solely an investment in one's self... designed to enhance future earnings" (p. 49). A private "story of education" is about "individual advancement, not promotion of the general welfare" (Boyte, 2015, p. 5). More broadly a private view of education is aligned with organizational self-interest, where education leads to preparation that adapts "workers to the existing industrial regime" (Dewey & Snedden, 1977, p. 39)

The public purposes of higher education are related to its “democratic potential” (Boyte, 2015, p. 53), perhaps unleashed by providing students with critical thinking skills and preparing students for “citizenship in a democratic society” (Busch, 2017, p. 53). In other words, the public purposes are aligned with educating “citizens who can build and sustain democracy” (Boyte, 2015, p. 3). Broadly, these public purposes are connected to “concern for and engagement with worldly affairs and the public good” (Sandy, 2013, p. 307) and serve as means to potentially alter and transform the existing social system (Dewey & Snedden, 1977). In the context of higher education, Giroux (2010) describes universities and colleges as “democratic public spheres” and “core political and civic institution[s]” (p. 186), that expand knowledge and culture, support global democracy, and a means to address social problems.

The analysis also relies on critical-service learning (Mitchell, 2008) to compensate for the shortcomings of theoretical conversations that fail to acknowledge diversity, equity, social justice, and inclusion in educational practices. According to Mitchell (2008) critical service-learning “encourages students to...use the experience of service to address and respond to injustice in communities” (p. 51) and “brings attention to social change...while acknowledging how systems of inequality function in our society” (p. 55).

For the second phase of data analysis, I sought to mirror aspects of the primary participatory action research phase. To ensure that comparison of experiences between groups was reasonable, I initially analyzed the Phase 2 community partner and university staff data separate from the student data. I then reviewed the responses of all three stakeholder groups together to identify commonalities, distinctions, and unique perspectives of individuals to understand how their collective responses shed light on emerging themes. Lastly, I compared

responses from all data sources together, including the Phase 1 participatory action research and Phase 2 interviews and student work.

During the first cycle coding process for both data sets, I used the themes from the participatory research to guide the analysis and they served as provisional codes (Miles et al., 2014). I also created new codes, utilizing coding techniques employed in the earlier data analysis, including; In Vivo coding, process coding, descriptive coding, holistic coding, and sub-coding (Saldaña, 2009).

After the first cycle coding was completed, I used focused coding (Saldaña, 2009) during the second cycle to construct categories and themes and then organized the final themes into thematic table. I identified four themes with underlying subthemes that illustrated key aspects of these themes. I returned to the all the data sources from both phases of the research to check how themes were represented across the sources. I looked to see if themes were stronger or more supported by a particular type of data source (i.e., stakeholder group, community partner organization type, and participant demographic characteristics) or through data from a particular phase of the research. I also checked these themes in relation to literature describing impacts, conceptual frameworks, and approaches to internships, service-learning, and other community engaged work in the context of higher education.

Participation through Member-Checking.

As a means of incorporating collaboration into this second phase of data collection, I engaged in member checking with the community partners and the university staff person to ensure that my analysis “rings true” with interviewees (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I invited members from both phases of the research process to a group meeting to discuss the final results

and analysis⁷. To allow for more participation in the feedback process, I held two meetings in April of 2021. Two community partners and one student attended the first meeting and two students attending the second meeting. At these meetings, which followed the same agenda, I shared the final analysis including broad themes and key take-aways. I included feedback from the attendees in the final presentation of the themes in this dissertation, which produced two significant changes to the presentation of the findings. Based on feedback regarding the coherence of a single theme which encompassed the experiences of stakeholders with various program structures, I broke it into several smaller themes and more closely aligned it with findings framed as the private and public outcomes, as these were themes that were most resonant with meeting participants. I also updated language in theme related to diversity to be more reflective of the multiple dimensions of diversity beyond race, which attendees felt was lacking in the initial presentation.

Generalizability, Trustworthiness, and Limitations

The capacity to generalize findings of qualitative research to other settings is a frequent criticism of the method. The issue of generalizability is not limited to qualitative research. Generalization surfaces issues in all methods, according to Firestone (1993) it calls on researchers to make claims about the applicability of their research to other settings, and that this criticism of qualitative research is common to all forms of research. Firestone writes, “Generalizing from data is always problematic at best. Since Hume (quoted in Campbell & Stanley, 1963), philosophers and researchers have understood that generalization requires extrapolation that can never be full justified logically” (p. 16).

⁷ See Appendix D for focus group protocol

Research requires readers to engage with and assess the work that is presented. Case-to-case generalization seeks applicability within one local context and transferability to other contexts.

According to Costello (2003) qualitative researchers, and action researchers in particular, can achieve this type of generalizability if they share details of study contexts and methods with their readers so they can infer a study's relevance to their own situations. In the context of action research, researchers must confront the issue of generalizability due to the limit of their sample, as they are confined to sampling within localized specific context (Corey, 1952). Corey (1952) describes "vertical" generalizability (p. 334), where researchers are "concerned with the extent to which [his] generalizations can be extended vertically, into the future, and serve as guide for decisions and actions" (p. 334). This vertical generalizability replaces "lateral" generalizability, in which research findings are applicable to all other similar contexts. Vertical generalizability shapes how action researchers present their findings, which are often expressed as solutions to practical problems the research was designed to confront.

The methodological framework allows for other modes of trustworthiness to be employed, such as thick description and crystallization, which divulge enough information regarding the research process and data for readers to find transferability to their own situations. Thick description provides concrete details, clarifies tacit knowledge, and engages in showing rather than telling (Tracy, 2010; Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Further, providing a rich and thick description, enhances transferability of findings by allows others to assess the similarities between the study and their own contexts (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This study provides a detailed account of the context and sources of data to facilitate transferable understanding. Crystallization, a form of triangulation, "depicts the different types of knowledge produced by qualitative methods and emphasizes how they are all uniquely shaped by a researcher's partial,

embodied, and historically situated experience” (Lindlof & Taylor, 362). In this study, multiple methods of data collection and varied data sources are held together to triangulate the findings. Finally, trustworthiness in action research is supported by confirmability through audit trails (Stringer, 2007). The audit trail of this study includes meeting agendas, interview protocols, and thematic tables which illuminate the data collection, organization, and analysis procedures.

Positionality Statement.

Because I served as both the researcher and the program facilitator for the CBI under investigation in this study, my identity and my reflection upon it are relevant for this study. I am a white cisgender male, working in the professional context of higher education, community engagement, and research. I am aware that my identity carries positional power, especially when working with students and community partners of diverse identities. I consider the power dynamics that may come into play as I engage in all stages of the research process due to my identity. Moreover, I am directly involved in the program that is subject of this study. In my role I support community partners and students in all aspects of their program involvement. I have a working relationship with all community partners and serve as the primary contact person. I recruit and orient students to the program, teach the required course component, and facilitate any co-curricular reflection opportunities. The development and logistical implementation of the program are also my responsibility. I am heavily involved in the day-to-day activity of the CBI. This closeness to the program is a primary reason for using an action research methodological framework.

My situatedness within the research context case does have limitations. As the research facilitator investigating a program I am closely connected with, participants within both phases of the research would likely not view me as a neutral agent. As an individual with a stake in the

program's outcomes, I had to regularly check my bias throughout the research process. Yet, this closeness with the program and the participants in the study could have provided me with access to perspectives and stories that could have remained uncovered in environments with less trust between researcher and participants. The knowledge and understanding developed through this research is one of many stories regarding the CBI and its impacts on stakeholders.

Limitations.

Although a qualitative framework was an appropriate approach for this inquiry, it did have several limitations. Working with a wide variety of people in a collaborative way during the primary phase of research proved to be challenging. Coordinating group meetings around busy schedules took much time and effort. Ideally, the initial group of co-researchers would have been able to contribute to all stages of the research process, but two students and a community partner did not participate in the collaborative analysis and action planning meetings.

Yet, by expanding the sample to include more perspectives from a broader range of participants and experiences, the study finds balance in producing both context-specific knowledge that produces actionable steps for stakeholders and more generalizable knowledge that can be applied more broadly. Still, this study is only a single case of a phenomenon. More research is needed on other hybridized service-learning and internship programs build up the knowledge surrounding such practices and their impacts on students, community partners, and the university.

The sample was also almost exclusively female, only one student in the initial focus group and the research facilitator (me) identifying as male. As this CBI takes place in the context of nonprofit and education work, it is expected that there will more females in the sample as they are generally overrepresented in nonprofit work (Lee, 2014) and in service-learning (Astin &

Sax, 1998; Chesler et al., 2000). The sample of community partners was also exclusively white, which is reflective of the community partners in the program. This is parallel to the broader population of leaders in the nonprofit sector, which is lacking in racially diverse leadership (Suarez, 2017). Therefore, further research, with a broader sample, is needed to provide deeper insight into stakeholder experiences within CBIs and to clarify the findings of this study.

This study integrates interpretations of perspectives from three distinct stakeholder groups to create an understanding of a CBI program. This unified interpretation has strengths as it creates a fuller understanding of the program based on a variety of perspectives. I searched for themes that cut across all three groups and for what was unique for each group. When appropriate, the variations of experiences between stakeholder groups and within stakeholder groups is interrogated to produce a more nuanced understanding of the program. I searched for differing experiences of individuals across organization type, identity traits, and research phase participation. Yet, more pointed research that investigates the experiences of each stakeholder group within the CBI is needed to develop deeper understanding of differences in experiences within them.

During phase two the community partner and university staff interview data collection method yield rich data that could be explored in real time. As participants responded to questions, I could ask follow up questions to delve deeper or explore topics of relevance to the study. The student data, examples of student work, were static. In review of the course data, it became apparent that the lack of interaction, i.e. that which occurs in an interview, limited my ability to explore any issues more deeply. There were moments where probing deeper with the student data through follow up questions could have yielded further insights into their experience. While efforts were made to make the data sets from community partners, university

staff, and students congruent, ultimately, there was not complete parity. In future studies, finding ways to ensure parity between data from the vary stakeholders could create more balance and streamline analysis procedures.

Chapter 4 Findings

The following chapter is a presentation of the findings regarding the investigation of a community-based internship (CBI) program at a large urban public research university, which was guided by the following research questions:

1. How does participation in a CBI affect different stakeholders, namely students, community partners, and university affiliates?
2. What do stakeholders perceive as the outcomes of the CBI?

The history, definition, and structure of this CBI is described in local case and context in chapter three.

Throughout this chapter themes are described and detailed through corresponding subthemes and data from the qualitative research project and the strength of the themes is demonstrated in most cases by including the names and the number of participants corroborating that theme. A total of seventeen students, eleven community partners, and three university staff participated in the research project. Four students, three community partners, and two university staff participated in the first participatory phase. Thirteen students agreed to have their course work reviewed, and eight community partners and one university staff participated in the interviews of the second stage. There was no overlap of participants between the two phases of research.

Due to the nature of the participatory research methods in this study, in which participants negotiated meaning and came to consensus regarding themes and categories, assigning the level of agreement or disagreement regarding a given theme or subtheme during the participatory stage required analysis beyond reviewing quotes from individuals. I also considered frequency of topic, appearance of topic in the concept maps, and indicators of

agreement from participants to determine the support of a specific theme or subtheme presented in the final findings. quotes from students, community partners, and university staff from both the participatory stage and the interview and student work review stage are included to illuminate the themes by highlighting each stakeholder group perspective that supports a theme. Tables summarizing some themes and subthemes are included to provide overall strength of themes and clarify support of underlying differences in participants support of themes or subthemes.

The findings are organized within the following themes:

- *Private-Leaning* Community and University Partner and *Public-Leaning* Student Motivations
- Community Partners and University Staff as Educators: Actively Developing Student Workplace Skills and ‘Recognizing’ Students Engaging with Diversity On-Site
- Student Positionality Matters: Some Students of Color Describe Having Different On-Site Learning Experiences with Race and Inequality than Some Privileged White Students
- Private Purposes as Student Development and Meeting Organizational Goals
- Public Purposes as Connecting to Missions, Organizations, and Individuals: Developing Critical Capacities and Seeking to Engage in Public Action
- Work-Study Funding as a Benefit for Community Partners, and Both a Benefit and a Burden for Higher Education Partners

The findings are often contextualized within private and public goals of education to make sense of stakeholder responses. The private purposes are connected to higher education’s response to market and corporate values supporting individual and institutional self-interest. The public purposes of higher education are connected to preparation of individuals to participate in democratic society and instilling a concern for the broader public good. Themes 1, 3, 4, and 5

include specific references to the private and public goals of education. Theme 4 is also contextualized in existing literature regarding outcomes of internships, and theme 5 also draws on Deweyan frame for understanding public outcomes. While theme 3 does include references to the public goals of education, the interpretation is also guided by a critical service-learning frame to identify findings related to diversity, inequality, and power. Themes 2 and 6 draw on existing literature regarding university-community partnerships, internships, and service-learning to understand structures and practices in the CBI in relation to current practices in internships and service-learning.

Private-Leaning Community and University Partner and Public-Leaning Student

Motivations

Community partners and university staff were all asked about their motivations for participating in the CBI during the individual interviews and descriptions of student motivations were discussed in ten out of thirteen of the student course work materials, and mostly appeared in their final reflection essays or in responses to reflection questions, set two, which ask students about starting at their work sites. The motivations of all three stakeholder groups included a mixture of self-interested personal or organizational gain, support for others, or support for community more broadly. There are some distinctions within and among the stakeholder groups that are described below.

Most university staff and community partners described motivations for joining the CBI that were aligned primarily with *private* goals such as meeting their organizational missions, better quality or lower-cost interns, or supporting CBI student development.

Private-Leaning Community and University Partner and Public-Leaning Student Motivations total stakeholders describing this theme: 22 of 31 total students describing this theme: 11 of 17 total community partners describing this subtheme: 8 of 11 total university staff describing this subtheme: 3 of 3 note some individual's descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBO=community-based organization partner, k-8=k-8 school partner Dataset designations <i>[PR]</i> = participatory research participant, <i>[INT]</i> =individual interviews, <i>[REF]</i> = student reflection			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Meeting Organizational Goals			
Community Partners (6)	"So it fills a need for us that it provides people to do work that we may not otherwise be able to afford to do."	Shannon, CBO, <i>[INT]</i>	Tyanna, k-8, <i>[INT]</i> Olive, k-8, <i>[INT]</i> Julia, CBO, <i>[INT]</i> Macy, CBO, <i>[INT]</i> Patricia CBO, <i>[INT]</i>
University (2)	"I knew that focusing on high impact practices... You know, it's my job to have foresight, and I could see where the campus was heading. And so my job is to figure out how to support programs that are going to be congruent with where we're going versus where we're at."	Christina, <i>[INT]</i>	Ben, <i>[PR]</i>
Low-Cost Interns			
Community Partners (2)	"we struggle financially to bring more staff in and I think that was our initial motivation"	Macy, CBO, <i>[INT]</i>	Vicky, CBO, <i>[INT]</i>
Student Development			
Community Partners (4)	"Initially it was to get extra help that I needed, but based on the students that I've had, I could see they wanted more... I wanted to fulfill my role that I see as co-educator"	Julia, CBO, <i>[INT]</i>	Olive, k-8 school, <i>[INT]</i> Ruth, CBO, <i>[INT]</i> Shannon, CBO, <i>[INT]</i>
University (2)	"the goal overall goal [is] student learning. So really as from my perspective you know my hope is that students are really getting something out of the program."	Ben, <i>[PR]</i>	Christina

Figure 8 Motivations Table

Community and Higher Education Partner Motivations

Six of eleven community partners (Julia, Macy, Olive, Patricia, Shannon, Tyanna), representing schools and variety of nonprofits, and two of three university staff (Ben, Christina) described motivations related to meeting organizational goals through the CBI. Tyanna, a school partner, described leveraging the work of the CBI interns because she had a "real clear goal" of supporting the younger students in the school with reading. She said during an interview, "I have a specific strategy [workload for CBI students to complete] in mind every semester when they

come, based on the data that I have. So, I make those kinds of decisions and structure it that way.” Three community partners (Macy, Patricia, Vicky), all from nonprofits, also described the benefit of hiring students from the work-study program. Both Macy and Vicky cited the financial benefit to their organizations of hiring work-study students at a lower cost than other interns. One partner, Patricia described the students from the CBI as having an easier time understanding the impact of their roles, possibly because of the required reflection through the course component of the program.

A motivation described by four community partners (Julia, Olive, Ruth, Shannon) and two university staff (Ben, Christina) is supporting students in their learning or development. Shannon, a community partner, described her motivations for joining the CBI. She said during an interview, “all the work that we do at [organization] is to provide support for our students to thrive in their Jewish identity.” During an interview, higher education partner, Christina, described two motivations for starting the program. She discussed the CBI as an efficient means to help “the university fulfill its civic mission” and support “retention and student success.” One community-based partner (Ruth) described a motivation for participating in the program that could be described as related to personal development of students. When asked what motivated her to join, she said, “Huge, service learning,” and “I just believe strongly that young people should be exposed to just other things.” She continued to describe how a previous student’s experience at her agency had a “profound impact” on her future directions. Ruth includes other service-learners at her site as well, a practice with underlying public purposes as a motivation, but her description of her intentions for CBI students reveals that she may hold a conception of service learning as involving helping students develop individually. This motivation to help

students was not necessarily tied to their civic development or the common good of the community or broader society.

Student Motivations

In contrast to the predominant reference to private goals and self-interests of the community-based and higher education partners, the students were more likely to refer to goals that were aligned with both private *and* public in their written student work -- they indicated motivations for preparing for professional life as well as motivations for supporting and contributing to the community more generally through the work at their partnering organizations. Student motivations for participating in CBI were illuminated through a review of student reflective work. Although students were not directly asked about their motivations in the reflection prompts, they tended to describe their motivations for joining the CBI when asked about how they got found their position or in their final reflective essay. Of the thirteen students whose written work was reviewed for this study, one student (Ula) mentioned pay through their work-study as motivation for taking a position in the program, five students (Cici, Lana, Maggie, Paula, Ula) mentioned career or professional development, and eight students (Cici, Dion, Gerti, Jaida, Katie, Lana, Shawn, Ula) described support for their communities as sources of motivation within the CBI. A quote from Ula demonstrated student motivation connected to career development. She wrote in her reflection, "I desperately wanted a position with Metro Greenspace, it is a dream of mine to work on science research and that was exactly what they were offering." Jaida also described motivations related to career development. She said, "This year, my job is more relevant to my major, so it allows me to explore what some aspects of a future accounting career may entail." Cici described wanting to support her community through her work. She wrote in a reflection response, "As I move onto my college career which will lead

me to my... career, I want to give back to my community, especially with my cultural community.” Shawn described a motivation related to engaging with the city she lives in. She wrote in her course work, “I was excited to work as a tutor for third graders because of my love for children, and so I can help engage with [City] outside of University. The varying motivations described mostly cut across organization type and student identities.

Theme 1 summary

The motivations for implementing or joining the CBI are aligned with both private and public goals. Community partner and university staff were more likely to describe motivations aligned with a private frame, those that are related to the self-interest of the organization, and at a more “generous” interpretation of the private, supporting the individual development and education of students. Students cite motivations related to their own professional development, supporting their organization’s mission or the broader community more commonly. The difference between the community partners and students may be due to the framing of the student experience. Students are recruited to a program that is framed with a goal of “meaningful and constructive engagement between students and the community” and they intentionally reflect on the broader implications of their work through their course those beyond personal development or gain.

Community Partners and University Staff as Educators: Actively Developing Student Workplace Skills and ‘Recognizing’ Students Engaging with Diversity On-Site

Eight community out of eleven partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Macy, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon, Susan) described themselves as actively supporting learning for the CBI students and all three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) described the program as connected to student learning. Sometimes this role was named by stakeholders. Three community partners (Claire,

Emma, Julia) and two university staff (Amber, Ben) used the term “co-educator” to describe the role of community partner and two partners (Macy, Patricia) described students being coached at their site. One university staff partner (Ben) describes himself as a teacher. Three community partners (Ruth, Shannon, Susan) and one university staff (Christina) did not use a label to describe themselves or others as active educators or coaches but did still describe supporting student learning. Overall, these eight community partners and three university staff also indicated an active role supporting students’ individual growth by preparing students for their careers, workplace skill development such as tracking metrics or interviewing, learning about workplace environments, or connecting to organizational mission. Partners also described CBI students learning about intercultural competence, but they did not describe taking an active role in this learning.

Community and University Partners as ‘Educators’ total stakeholders describing experiences this theme: 11 of 31 total community partners describing this theme: 8 of 11 total university staff describing this theme: 3 of 3 note some individual’s descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBO=community-based organization partner, k-8=k-8 school partner Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Stakeholder Group (n)		Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Community Partners as Educators			
Community Partners (3)	“They wanted more leadership and I wanted to fulfill my role that I see as co-educator,”	Julia, CBO, [INT]	Claire, CBO, [PR] Emma, k-8, [PR]
University Staff (2)	See Figure c – Community Partner & University Staff Concept Map “Co-educator” role of community partners identified by all co-researchers, including two university staff	Amber, [PR] Ben, [PR]	
Career Preparedness			
Community partners (2)	“Because when she’s there she does she does a great job with almost everything and just kind of pick out like what more can we give her to challenge her?”	Susan, CBO, [PR]	Claire, CBO [PR]
University Staff (1)	“One is to provide students with meaningful learning and career professional skills...just real world experience that will help them be successful in their careers someday”	Christina, [INT]	

Workplace Skills			
Community Partners (4)	“And if there's experiences here within the organization that they would like to have the opportunity to learn about, whether it's interviewing staff or participating in different programs that we have here, I definitely want them to speak up and let me know what they need. I love to offer those opportunities.”	Julia, CBO, [INT]	Macy, CBO, [INT] Patricia, CBO, [INT] Ruth, CBO, [INT]
Learning Work Environments			
Community Partners (2)	“it's a little bit of mentoring, a little bit of guidance, and a little bit of recognizing where they are and providing them with structure and work that we need in order to move, like I said, what our needs are along in the process, but also helping them to grow and understand how a work environment operates.”	Shannon, CBO, [INT]	Ruth, CBO, [INT]
Learning Organizational Mission			
Community Partners (3)	“So, we plugged her into many different... kinds of programming...so we had her experience all of those so that she could really see what was happening here.”	Macy, CBO, [INT]	Julia, CBO, [INT] Ruth, CBO, [INT]

Figure 9 Community and University Partners as Educators Table

Most community partners and university staff discussed their role in supporting student learning. Related to career preparedness, Christina, from the university, described wanting CBI students to develop “meaningful learning and career professional skills” to be “successful in their careers someday”. Two partners from the same organization (Claire, Susan) described want to help a student getting to that “next step” in career by challenging the CBI student in her role. Workplace skills are more related to professional skill development that is either general or specific to the role. Patricia discussed students meeting specific goals in their roles, “I coach them through their stats and make sure that they're reaching the metrics that we want them to reach.” Ruth described general workplace skill development through staff modeling. She said, “And then they were also always surrounded by staff members who hopefully modeled appropriate skills for them.” Three community partners (Julia, Macy, Ruth) also indicated that they seek to facilitate the students learning about and connecting with organizational mission.

Julia, a community partner, described creating experiences for her CBI students to develop an understanding of the experiences of older adults. She said during an interview,

I want them to walk in the shoes of a senior and know what it's like to experience needing help, experience someone in the aging process facing all kinds of loss, understanding the...needs of an aging population without relegating them off to the side and figuring that they're a population that doesn't matter. And that's a big goal.

While community partners may largely view themselves as educators, it is not clear that the students do. Although all but one student in the study (Brett) did take the corresponding course and many students referenced learning through the course, they did not describe community partners or university staff as educators.

Community Workplace Context, Rather than Active Teaching, is Expected to Educate Students about Intercultural Competency at Partner Sites

Nine out of eleven community partners seven from the interviews (Julia, Macy, Olive, Patricia, Ruth, Tyanna, Vicky) and two from the participatory research project (Claire, Emma) noted that students “learned about diversity” at their sites through direct interaction with people from different backgrounds or by navigating job duties in a multicultural environment. However, no community partner stakeholders discussed actively educating students about diversity, in contrast to their descriptions of actively facilitating learning experiences for students about workplace skills or organizational missions.

When asked about the CBI’s goal of intercultural competence, community partner Patricia described the intern’s roles, “There’s like economic diversity, racial diversity, gender diversity. You’ll meet people that are not necessarily like yourself when you work in that job.” There were distinctions in how community partners identified what type of diversity was

emphasized in their particular context during the research project. At organizations that support specific communities (e.g., older adults, people with disabilities) partners described students engaging with diversity through working within those specific communities (Julia, Macy, Ruth). When asked about what CBI students learn at her organization, Ruth responded, “I think that they just evolve by having an opening of their eye about how prevalent it is in the community that it affects every socioeconomic group out there as far as having disabilities or family members with disabilities.”

The two partners from public schools with high rates of poverty and serving predominantly Black students described CBI students, likely more privileged students, experiencing “culture shock” through their work, when interacting with people experiencing adverse social problems caused by intersections of poverty, education, race, and trauma. Tyanna, a public-school administrator, described CBI students’ initial entry into the school culture. When asked about students developing intercultural competence she said,

So, I think that when they come here, they're really truly seeing a part of the city that is poverty stricken... I don't think I've had anybody that's actually been from this area in the city. So, I think pretty much all of them that have come through have had kind of a culture shock.

Olive, another school partner, also described “shock” for students. She said, “I think probably the biggest shock for some of them would be more of the poverty rate and how some of the kids come to school or some of the things the kids might say go on in their home.”

Two university staff describe the program goal of intercultural competence during the participatory research project (Amber, Ben) and one staff person (Christina) described these outcomes during an interview. It can be expected that higher education staff teaching a course

would be expected to actively take responsibility for teaching this content, but other staff might view a more limited role for themselves. One described intercultural competency being met through engagement with the context of the CBI. When asked about goals of social justice in the CBI, Christina, described engaging with economic diversity as students in the CBI work with “low-income men, women, children and also just marginalized communities in general.”

Intercultural competence was highlighted during participatory research project as an important program outcome and was included in the concept map and summative analysis.

Theme 2 Summary

Community partner and university staff described their role as educators or as supporting students in their learning regarding overall career preparedness, developing students work-place skills, and supporting students in learning about work environments. While they described the kind of intercultural competency that students might develop at their sites, no community partner described specific ways they actively facilitated this learning. Context appeared to be the primary educator. The community partner role of educator is documented in previous research on community partnerships in higher education (Darby et al., 2016; Sandy, 2007; Sandy & Holland, 2006) and supporting students in their learning has also been described as a role of community engagement professionals in higher education (e.g. Benenson et al., 2017). This finding sheds some light on the educator roles these partners perceived themselves as performing.

While they were not asked this specifically, students did not describe their supervisors at their CBI sites or university staff as educators in their written reflections. While partners recognized students engaging with diversity by working with people from different backgrounds, they did not take an active role in educating students about diversity, as they did with educating about workplace skills or organizational mission. In the context of this CBI, where CBI students

are working in diverse contexts, engaging with people from different backgrounds, and have defined goals related to intercultural competence, there may be a need to collaborate with community partners to ensure that their role of educator encompasses topics related to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Student Positionality Matters: Some Students of Color Describe Having Different On-Site Learning Experiences with Race and Inequality than Some Privileged White Students

Fourteen of seventeen students in the study (Amy, Brett, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Jaida, Katie, Lana, Maggie, Paula, Shawn, Theresa) described encountering issues related to different forms of diversity including race, unequal access to resources, trauma, interacting with others who are different, language, gender, religion, and age within the context of the CBI internship sites and the city within which it takes place. These descriptions appeared most commonly after students read and completed an identity inventory (e.g., Hyde, 2012) and then reflected on their identity (reflection questions set six) and through responses to the final reflection essays⁸ which ask them to identify issues and needs in the communities they work and how they could potentially be addressed. The prompt questions include: “Describe your personal culture and identity.”; “Has your role in CBI challenged any assumptions or beliefs you held previously? If so, in what ways?”; and “What are some steps you can take to be more critically aware of your identity?” from reflection set 6. They also include prompts from the final reflection essay: “What did you learn about the public school system and/or non-profit sector?”; “What are some of the pressing needs/issues in the community?”; “How does what you do/did address those needs? What seem to be the root causes of the issue addressed?”

⁸ See Appendix D for student reflection prompts and final essay prompts

Experiences with Diversity			
total students describing experiences with diversity: 14 of 17			
note some individual's descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description			
Participant type: CBOi=community-based organization partner intern, k-8i=k-8 school partner intern			
Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Race			
Students (7)	"I don't necessarily agree with a lot of things that are being done in schools, and you get to see under-represented people, people of color, being treated different ways than other students."	Theresa, k-8i, [PR]	Brett, CBOi, [PR] Cici, CBOi, [REF] Dawn, k-8i, [PR] Katie, k-8i, [REF] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Shawn, k-8i, [REF]
Unequal Access			
Students (4)	"One of the pressing issues that was recently discussed in the office, was job opportunities for many of the residents of the North City neighborhood. We discussed how challenging it is for them to get jobs, because they do not have the skillset or necessary training to get the job done. Employers stop looking there for employment since they are ill equipped for the workforce,"	Jaida, CBOi, [REF]	Dion, k-8i, [REF] Katie, k-8i, [REF] Maggie, k-8i, [REF]
Trauma			
Students (2)	"I've also seen the effects, now, that watching classroom violence has on the other kids present. These kids are clearly shaken up and disturbed by fighting, something I didn't consider before where my only concern would have been the two or more actually engaged in an altercation."	Katie, k-8i, [REF]	Dion, k-8i, [REF]
Interacting with Different People			
Students (2)	"It's really nice meeting people that you wouldn't normally come into contact with if you didn't have this opportunity."	Amy, CBOi, [PR]	Lana, CBOi, [REF]
Language			
Students (1)	"I think that seeing these students overcome the language barrier, or watching them switch between Spanish and English, for example is something remarkable and makes me think about all of the opportunities they will have once they are older."	Maggie, k-8i, [REF]	
Gender			
Students (1)	"My work site is filled with smart, educated, empowering women who have worked to get where they are and continue to do so. It nice to see this positive outlook especially in a professional place of business, where it's not always easy for women"	Gerti, CBOi, [REF]	

Religion			
Students (1)	"In this time of rising anti-semitism, holocaust denial, and hatred of the Jewish people, [organization] serves to provide a level of safety and security that many Jewish students lack.	Ira, CBOi, [REF]	
Age			
Students (1)	"Being 19, I'm starting to learn more of the importance of family and staying connected because I see the residents at Applause who receive more visits from staff and volunteers than their family members."	Paula, CBOi, [REF]	

Figure 10 Experiences with Diversity Table

Three students (Valeria, Ula, Zoe), of varying identity backgrounds, did not describe encountering issues related to diversity through their CBI job in their reflective writings. While Valeria and Ula did reflect on their identities and challenges they faced, these were not directly associated with their CBI experience. Ula described herself as "African American, female, millennial, introvert, and poor" and continued,

I notice that I struggle with accepting negative events and I am quick to think that bad things happen because I'm black, a female, 'too quiet', too young to understand, or because I don't have even money. Now my view of the world is not that narrow, these traits allow me to see the world as a challenge, every day I must wake up to face issues I was born with.

Valeria who identified as "female", "not white, but Latina", "straight", and as "citizen" described her dominant identity traits. She wrote,

My dominant traits are sexual orientation, citizenship, and physical/mental. Because these are the dominant traits, I am exposed to the privileges of them, and thus it is sometimes viewed that the 'others' are not as important or equal to the majority, because they are the minority. I have become aware of this and has helped me shape my views that, that is not morally correct to view one as such.

Yet, both Ula and Valeria indicated that their CBI experience did not lead to changes in assumptions and beliefs. Ula wrote, “My CBI site has not directly changed my beliefs, I have not had an epiphany regarding myself while working,” and Valeria wrote, “It hasn’t really.” Zoe, only described herself as a “student” when asked about her identity, and did not respond to the prompt that asked about changes in assumptions or beliefs. In contrast, the majority of students who did describe experiences related to diversity did so when connecting organizational mission to issue areas or when asked to reflect on their identity in the context of their work. Ula, Valeria, and Zoe worked at organizations with missions that are less concerned with issues related to diversity. Valeria and Ula worked for environmental organizations and Zoe worked for an arts-based organization. This could indicate that the type of organization or position may have impact on how students experience issues related to diversity in the CBI.

Diverse Students Describe Different Orientations to Action Based on Program Experiences

A small set of students described how they were inspired to take action as a result of their experiences in the program. In their writing, responding to prompts such as “What are some of the pressing needs/issues in the community?” and “How does what you do/did address those needs? What seem to be the root causes of the issue addressed?”, or within the participatory research process, ten students did emphasize different aspects of their CBI experiences based in part on their different life experiences. Six students who identified with backgrounds that are typically considered marginalized because of race or poverty: Amy, Cici, and Theresa described themselves as Latinx; Dawn described herself as African American; Dion described herself as “poor”; and Ira described themselves as lower middleclass and “formerly homeless”, described a more advanced understanding of taking action in relationship to issues or needs in the communities they work in. They described how their experiences at their service sites deepened

their sense of urgency of acting to make change for the individuals and communities with whom they identify. They were also more likely to articulate the bureaucratic barriers in place in settings like K-12 schools to making change. Four of eight students identifying as white (Jaida, Katie, Lana, Shawn) and also as privileged, often described developing a greater *exposure* to social problems rather than a specific call to action in that setting. This privilege that students identify with is relative, as all are eligible for federal work-study, which does requires students to demonstrate “financial need”(U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). Seven students did not articulate orientations towards change or a greater exposure to social problems through their experiences. This is a significant challenge for a program that seeks to imbue growth regarding multicultural competence and social reseponsibility andcould be related to their type of job placement, as described earlier, or the structure of the course and reflection prompts. The final essay prompts elicited most student reflections related to diversity and intercultural competence. But, there are many prompts for the single assignment and students were not directed to respond to all the prompts.

Differing Aspects of Student Experiences with Diversity total students describing this sub theme: 10 of 17 note some individual's descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBOi=community-based organization partner intern, k-8i=k-8 school partner intern Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
A Sense of Urgency and Responsibility			
Students (6)	“I am putting my social worker in the making skills to the test, by fighting for what I believe is racial injustice.”	Cici, CBOi, [REF]	Amy. CBOi, [PR] Dawn, k-8i, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Theresa, k-8i, [PR]

Exposure to Social Problems			
Students (4)	“It is hard to say for sure, but I think the root cause of the food scarcity in [neighborhood] is the effect of an economic downturn that the community has yet to recover from”	Jaida, CBOi, [REF]	Katie, k-8i, [REF] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Shawn, k-8i, [REF]

Figure 11 Differing Aspects of Student Experiences with Diversity Table

A Sense of Urgency and Responsibility for Some Students of Color and Students from Backgrounds of Low Socioeconomic Status

Four students (Amy, Cici, Dawn, Theresa) identifying as students of color and two students (Dion, Ira) identifying as having a background of low socioeconomic status, wrote about the pressing need for change and their sense of personal responsibility for making that happen. During the participatory research meeting Dawn stated,

being in my own community, with my own people, and seeing it run by people who aren't my people . . . and to see that my people are treated, I don't . . . that has taken a . . . I don't want to say negative effect on me, but it's given me . . . it's made me want to hurry up and get into my profession. . . There's a need for more teachers of color. . . So I don't want to say that's a negative thing, but in a way, I think the negative aspect of it has created a drive or a need to get it done right now, and I don't necessarily know if that's good either.

Dawn described a “drive” or a sense of responsibility to get in her profession to meet a recognized need for more teachers of color so she could make a difference for her own community. She recognized that the sense of urgency she felt could be a burden to her own well-being. In a related but not identical sentiment, Dion, a white student who described herself as “poor” revealed that she had personal experiences with childhood trauma that she saw the children at her school site may have been experiencing. Like her, there was little support for these K-12 students. She described her look into the public school system in the city as

“terrifying,” and she emphasized that there is a “great need for improvements in our education system,” and “fears for the children that are struggling and without assistance at home.” Like Dawn, Dion described the urgent need for change, and as a survivor herself, hoped to serve children in these circumstances. She wrote,

It doesn't help that at that age 6 years old, I myself was experiencing many struggles that were not addressed. As a result, I was pushed through the system as a shell of a human.

One of my therapeutic recreation book states 6-7 years old is a critical age emotional age.

If this is not realized, children are at risk for a reduction in their overall wellbeing. This evokes a sense of pressure for me, wanting to advocate for the children.

Dion did not indicate a downside for her drive for advocacy.

Differences in understanding power dynamics involved with making change.

Along with a greater urgency for action expressed by these students, they also described an awareness of the steep challenges of making lasting change, especially in the face of large bureaucratic structures. The experiences of three students in K-12 settings, two identifying as people of color (Theresa, Dawn) and one as white and “poor” (Dion) described experiences confronting barriers to change in more detail than students identifying as white and privileged. Theresa and Dawn confronted the realities of becoming educators and the structural forces that shape how she can engage in her future profession. In recounting her experience working in a school, Theresa, who identifies as Puerto Rican and Mexican, remarked,

I don't necessarily agree with a lot of things that are being done in schools, and you get to see under-represented people, people of color, being treated different ways than other students. I don't know, you get to see a lot of different aspects in education. Some you

like and some you dislike, but you kind of have to maneuver through, because you aren't in charge of that classroom, you aren't in charge of that school, you only have a certain say in the things that go on.

Dawn indicated that she too struggled with power dynamics at her school. During the participatory stage of research she said,

There is technically a hierarchy, and kind of gets you prepared to know, okay, there is an order, and you kind of have to follow it to a certain extent. So, I am thankful that I was able to see it here [in the CBI], so that when I'm in my own classroom I'm not like 'This is my classroom and I'm going to do things completely different', because I know that I don't have the capability to do that.

It is possible that their acute awareness of these problems can be a precursor to identifying how change in these systems might eventually happen. It is also possible that these experiences could lead to negative emotional responses identified in service-learning such as source of anxiety, distress, and burnout (e.g., Priesmeyer et al., 2016). Left unaddressed, these experiences could lead to withdrawal from the program.

Another student's experience highlights this same commitment to purpose. Dion, wrote in a reflection, "wanting to advocate for the children." Yet, she continued, "However, it seems like this largely falls upon deaf ears. With this broken angled lens, I saw the struggles of children and had a deep concern for their futures. Unfortunately, there seems to be little that can be done." She, like Dawn and Theresa, noted a sense of pressure and responsibility to make change, including her plan to be an advocate for children, even though she concluded in one written response that "little can be done." Dion's identification with oppressed identities could possibly explain the congruency of experience in the CBI she shares with Dawn and Theresa.

These experiences with power dynamics and their frustration with existing systems are complex. Students noted that they recognized that these challenges can be productive. Theresa had experiences that, in her words, “really put me off to being an educator,” but the struggles she faced also provided opportunities to grow. Theresa discerned what kind of educator she wants to be and learned how to “maneuver through” a work environment. Dawn recognized that confronting these issues in the CBI has prepared her for her future career as it has provided her a preview of what to expect as a professional educator. Dion also learned more about her career path. Regarding her CBI job, she wrote “I certainly did not think... [my] job would change my outlook on my current educational path and lead me to reassess my career choice... While that may sound a bit upending, it’s been an honor and true benefit.”

White and Privileged Students Reflect on Their Privilege, Racism, and Inequality

The written responses of four of the eight white students (Jaida, Katie, Lana, Shawn) who participated in the study often described developing a greater *exposure* to social problems rather than a specific call to action in that setting or an indication of a sense of responsibility for affecting change regarding racial injustices. Two of these students (Jaida, Shawn) wrote about how racism is reified in social inequalities and indicated a growing awareness of the power that comes from their privileged social position. Both described wanting to use that power for social good in a more general sense.

Based at the same school as Dawn, Katie who identified as white, part Native American, and from a more privileged “middle-class” background, had a reaction that was less a call to action as Dawn’s and Dion’s, but more of a personal reflection on awareness of broader social inequalities impacting communities that she found “disheartening.” She wrote,

I have learned that the neighborhood in which [North] is located in is overwhelmingly underprivileged, as most families lack basic educational standards to which I am most accustomed... [the] two connecting bus lines were the ultimate illumination of my own privilege. Going to a [suburb] coffee shop on a Sunday, surrounded by people with skin white like my own and money to spend on frivolous baked goods balanced on their MacBooks, then waking up on Monday, taking a relatively short bus ride into a predominantly African American neighborhood overcome with children lacking coats or even paved sidewalks, is disheartening to say the least.

Through her role in the CBI, Katie experienced a segregated environment, articulating a drastic racialized and economic difference between the community in which she lives and the community in which she works.

In another example, Lana, a white student from a lower middle-class background who worked at an environmental organization, described the connection between environmental justice and the impacts of racism. Lana expressed institutionalized racism—manifested as stereotypes, segregation, and resource deprivation—negatively impact communities of color in the city, and she juxtaposed this realization with experiences of “upper-class white” people. In a response to a course reflection question that asked in what ways her role in the CBI has challenged any assumptions or beliefs she holds; Lana described a change. She wrote,

I never realized that issues like environmental protection, and the level of community education and involvement that one would think is needed with [environmental protection are] mostly reserved for white people, when in fact these issues are mostly affecting communities populated with people of color.

Lana connects this issue to place in her writing. She continued, “For example, some more diverse neighborhoods in [city] are the ones who suffer from having old lead pipes in their water systems...”. She also described this as an issue regarding the availability of and access to educational resources that vary by race. She wrote, “Mostly upper-class white Americans get the information because it is assumed that people of color are seemingly uneducated.”

Four students (Jaida, Katie, Lana, Shawn) who described themselves as white and “privileged” in their course work discussed wanting to have a positive impact or help others. In response to reflection prompts that asked students to critically reflect on their identities in the context of their work, two (Jaida, Shawn) explicitly discussed this privilege and its power. In her reflection, Jaida stated, “I realize that in some aspects of my life I have a large amount of privilege. I think at this point it is important to use my privilege to help those who are underprivileged. I need to be more of an ally to them and stand up for them, so others understand as well.” Shawn shared a similar perspective to Jaida. Shawn reflected in her written work, “Some steps I can take are to acknowledge how all parts of my identity intersect with each other, and to recognize my privileges based on my identity. I should also use my privileges to help produce social change in this world.” Jaida and Shawn describe their privilege and its power, both describing using their privileged positions to “produce social change” or help those who are “underprivileged.”

Although the identities of students are varied, it does appear that students in this study who described themselves as students of color or as from lower socioeconomic status grappled with feeling a sense of responsibility or a call to action to confront social issues related to race and inequality. This finding does overlap with findings related to students developing a sense or responsibility for making change in their communities, but here is distinct due to its specific

relation to race and inequality. The participating students of color and white students with low socioeconomic status also wrote about their awareness of the steep climb that might be involved with actually making change, such as confronting entrenched hierarchies and power dynamics that exist within bureaucratized systems such as K-12 schools. The sense of urgency to make change and a personal commitment to do so has been reported in studies centering on the experiences of students of color in service-learning programs. Green notes that this sense of a personal charge can serve as both a source of inspiration and burn-out (Green, 2001). If service-learning programs are not designed with intention, these practices may further alienate students and color and reinforce white normativity as has occurred in service-learning (e.g., Green, 2001; Green, 2003). While on the surface it could appear that these students expressed frustration through their assessment of the likelihood for change at their community-based workplaces such as the K-12 settings, it seems like they had a clearer, more critical view of what they were up against. More work is needed to explore perceptions of how all students involved in these programs perceive the power dynamics involved with making change happen and to consider what kind of tools might be needed to help them leverage change processes to address areas of injustice if they choose to do so. For students with more advanced understandings of these issues, in this study most commonly students of color, this may call for incorporating more rigorous exploration of topics of race and social justice to support them in their experiences.

Theme 3 Summary

The findings demonstrate some students in the CBI have experiences related to diversity, race, and inequality. These findings align with existing literature regarding other community engaged pedagogies (e.g., Latta et al., 2018; Mitchell, 2008; Santiago-Ortiz, 2019). Service-learning may have goals related to deepening understanding culture and diversity

(Butin, 2005; Eyler, 1997; Holsapple, 2012; Toews & Cerny, 2006), and internships can also have learning outcomes related to diversity (e.g., Simons et al., 2012).

Yet, the experiences of some students demonstrated that there may be a difference in how individuals experience the CBI based on their identity. Students identifying with backgrounds that are commonly oppressed tended to recognize structural barriers and articulate a personal responsibility or urgency for making change. These experiences align with theories of critical service-learning (e.g., Mitchell, 2008), which call for programs to consider diverse students working in diverse contexts. Students identifying with more privileged backgrounds tended to discuss their privilege and wanting to use that privilege to help. The recognition of privilege could be merely performative and not necessarily be a call to challenge structures that uphold it (Heron, 2005). This manifestation of “White identity and White privilege” can be counterproductive to the stated goals of service-learning and actually be harmful to communities of color (Vaccaro, 2009, p. 120).

Most students who participated in the research and interrogated racial inequality through their CBI experience were employed in public schools or organizations that intentionally incorporate racial justice into their missions. These schools and organizations are situated within a city that has broad racial disparities in income, education, health, and incarceration rates (Watson, 2019) and many schools underperforming and facing “hypersegregation” (Files, 2020). The findings demonstrate there is a relationship between student’s identities, personal experiences, and broader social contexts. Place in the context of this CBI matters, as it does in all forms of service-learning programs (Sandy & Franco, 2014), and could impact student experiences related to racial inequality and disparities.

A core activity described by all stakeholder groups centers on diversity, equity and inclusion. Intercultural knowledge and competence are designated learning goal of this CBI, which are also common goals of service-learning. These goals can be connected to aspects of public outcomes of educational practice, especially through the contemporary lenses of critical pedagogy and critical-service learning in which individuals are encouraged to interrogate their relationship to existing social structures and, potentially, transform them. However, it is recognized that these same learning outcomes can occur through participation in internship programs as well, (e. g., Simons et al., 2012), and therefore, diversity, equity and inclusion can be considered foundational to both the implementation of internships and service-learning and associated with private and public learning goals.

Private Purposes as Student Development and Meeting Organizational Goals

Stakeholders described the program as addressing *private* goals—those that are mostly aligned with outcomes of internships. These private goals include the professional and personal development of students, increased capacity and new perspectives at community partner sites, and meeting administrative needs and broader missions at the university. The private goals for students have been framed around their individual development.

Private Purposes as Student Development and Meeting Organization Goals total stakeholders describing this theme: 31 of 31 total students describing this theme: 17 of 17 total community partners describing this theme: 11 of 11 total university staff describing this theme: 3 of 3 note some individual's descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBO=community-based organization partner, k-8=k-8 school partner, CBOi=community-based organization partner intern, k-8i=k-8 school partner intern Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Student General Professional Skills			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Students (14)	"My CBI positions relate to my career goals because they both teach me how to be adaptable and creative."	Ula, CBOi, [REF]	Amy, CBOi, [PR] Cici, CBOi, [REF] Dawn, k-8i, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Gerti CBOi, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Jaida, CBOi, [REF] Katie, k-8i, [REF] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Maggie, k-8i, [REF] Paula, CBOi, [REF] Valeria, CBOi, [REF] Zoe, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (7)	"Hopefully, confidence in their ability to organize something and take a leadership role in things that are going on here."	Julia, CBO, [INT]	Claire, CBO, [PR] Emma, k-8, [PR] Olive, k-8, [INT] Patricia, CBB, [INT] Ruth, CBO, [INT] Shannon, CBO, [INT]
University Staff (3)	"provide students with meaningful learning and career professional skills, networking, just real world experience that will help them be successful in their careers someday."	Christina, [INT]	Amber, [PR] Ben, [PR]

Student Career Specific Skills			
Students (14)	“I am also seeing how having database skills can be really useful for future jobs. I enter and manage contacts, run reports, and create campaigns and these are valuable skills because they are a bit more specific than say, ringing up at a cash register.”	Lana, CBOi, [REF]	Amy, CBOi, [PR] Brett, CBOi, [PR] Dawn, k-8, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Gerti, CBOi, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Katie, k-8i, [REF] Maggie, k-8i, [REF] Paula, CBOi, [REF] Shawn, k-8i, [REF] Theresa, k-8i, [PR] Ula, CBOi, [REF] Zoe, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (6)	“She was a film student and she really asked a lot of questions and got to see what happens in a creative design space that she didn't know about before. And I think that's true for the one we have now”	Macy, CBO, [INT]	Julia, CBO, [INT] Macy, CBO, [INT] Olive, k-8, [INT] Ruth, CBO, [INT] Tyanna, k-8, [INT] Vicky, CBO, [INT]
Career Discernment			
Students (14)	“My database position helped clarify that I want to work with data much like accounting in the future.”	Jaida, CBOi, [REF]	Amy, CBOi, [PR] Cici, CBOi, [REF] Dawn, k-8i, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Katie, k-8i, [REF] Maggie, k-8i, [REF] Paula, CBOi, [REF] Shawn k-8i, [REF] Theresa, k-8i, [PR] Ula, CBOi, [REF] Valeria, CBOi, [REF] Zoe, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (2)	“And then you know the students fell really inspired you know maybe they are thinking about teaching or maybe they're like nope, I want to go down a completely different direction or you know they really”	Emma, k-8, [PR]	Claire, CBO, [PR]
University Staff (3)	“You know, again, it's kind of like a blessing and a curse because it can create such incredible transformative experiences for our students that can be life changing because they can experience things through the program that make them do a 90-degree pivot on their career goals.”	Christina, [INT]	Amber, [PR] Ben, [PR]

Networking			
Students (5)	"I agree with the networking, not only with the people that are in charge of your site, but with just the community members that utilize,"	Amy, CBOi, [PR]	Brett, CBOi, [PR] Dawn, k-8i, [PR] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Zoe, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (2)	"That would be something to write down... access to professional network."	Claire, CBO, [PR]	Emma, k-8, [PR]
University Staff (3)	"students who demonstrate financial need are having an opportunity to have access to this professional network in a way that they may not normally have access to."	Ben, [PR]	Amber, [PR] Christina, [INT]
Student Personal Development			
Students (4)	"I tend to think of myself as a relatively passive person. However, this job has made it necessary for me to be more direct at times. This is a skill I would like to continue to build upon."	Dion, k-8i, [REF]	Ira, CBOi, [REF] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Ula, CBOi, [REF]
Increased Capacity at Community Partner Organizations			
Students (7)	"I personally found it a more enriching experience to work in a non-profit where you know that you are directly affecting the process of this publishing company, rather than just feeling like a very very small cog in the wheel."	Zoe, CBOi, [REF]	Cici, CBOi, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Jaida, CBOi, [REF] Paula, CBOi, [REF] Ula, CBOi, [REF] Valeria, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (11)	"Well, what happens at other schools we're getting too. Other schools that might be lacking in a certain area. They have no problem or they have the money or the means to call in reinforcements of tutors and whatnot, where we don't. And so it kind of sometimes feels equitable, we're getting some extra help too."	Tyanna, k-8, [INT]	Claire, CBO, [PR] Emma, k-8, [PR] Julia, CBO, [INT] Macy, CBO, [INT] Olive, k-8, [INT] Patricia, CBO, [INT] Ruth, CBO, [INT] Shannon, CBO, [INT] Susan, CBO, [PR] Vicky, CBO, [INT]
Meeting Administrative Needs at the University			
Community Partners (1)	"Like its filling an actually requirement... for the university to receive the federal funds to do work study."	Claire, CBO, [PR]	
University Staff (3)	"we need the America Reads funding to get the bonus money for the university. So that's kind of a from my perspective, we're meeting an administrative need for the university."	Ben, [PR]	Amber, [PR] Christina
Meeting University Mission			
Community Partners (4)	"the university, has students then going out and representing their mission."	Emma, k-8, [PR]	Claire, CBO, [PR] Olive, k-8, [INT] Ruth, k-8, [INT]

University Staff (3)	“You know, hopefully what that [expanded program] would do would increase student retention, increase student satisfaction and success”	Christina,	Amber, [PR] Ben, [PR]
New Perspectives at Partner Sites			
Students (1)	“My role at [organization] helps their mission because I will be providing new ideas and creativity to aid in the advancement of [organization]’s sales.”	Ula, CBOi, [REF]	
Community Partners (5)	“It’s definitely helped me personally. Being a department of one where I have a lot of responsibilities, it really helps to have someone to bounce ideas off,”	Julia, CBO	Claire, CBO, [PR] Emma, k-8, [PR] Ruth, CBO, [INT] Vicky, CBO, [INT]
Hiring Students for Staff Diversity			
Community Partners (2)	“We try to have as much diversity within our own staff and I just think bringing a 20 year old in is a new idea, a new face.”	Ruth, CBO	Vicky, CBO, [INT]

Figure 12 Private Purposes as Student Development and Meeting Organizational Goals Table

All students, community partners, and university staff who participated in the research described the CBI as a means to support the career and professional growth of the students in the program. Relatedly, five students (Dion, Gerti, Ira, Katie, Lana) also described their own personal growth through their participation in the CBI. Private goals for community partners and the university are framed through an institutional lens, including increased capacity and new perspectives from students to meet community partner’s missions, and meeting administrative needs and fulfilling the university mission of community engagement. These stakeholders spoke about the benefits of reciprocity and demonstrated an awareness of the benefits to other partner groups. All community partners, all university staff, and eight of seventeen students (Brett, Cici, Ira, Jaida, Paul, Ula, Valeria, Zoe) described impacts on community partner organizations, indicating the program might bring new perspectives or increase overall capacity to complete the work of their organizations. All three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) and five of eleven community partners (Claire, Emma, Olive, Ruth, Susan) described the CBI as means to support goals of the university. They indicate the university meets an administrative need or fulfills the

institutional missions of preparing students for the workforce and connecting with the outside community through program implementation.

Student General Professional Skills and Career-Specific Skills

Stakeholders described the development of general professional skills, such as learning to be flexible, practicing workplace communication skills, and developing time management skills. They also described the development of career-specific skills like gaining experience in particular professions. Stakeholders also reported student having opportunities for discerning whether or not a career might be an appropriate fit for them and building career networks.

Fourteen students (Amy, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Jaida, Katie, Lana, Maggie, Paula, Ula, Valeria, Zoe), seven of eleven community partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Olive, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon) and all three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) described students developing general professional skills that can be translated across work contexts. Paula, described her time management skills. In a course reflection she wrote, “While working at Applause I’ve further developed my time management skills.” Patricia noted the interns’ role in the CBI as a means for students to develop communication skills as she responded to question asking what students learn in the program. She said, “Communication skills probably is like the number one... like really strong verbal communication to be able to get your point across.” During the participatory research stage, Ben and Amber agreed with the community-partner co-researcher participants that students develop “professional skills” through their CBI experience.

Community partners and students also indicate students in the CBI develop career specific skills through their experience in the program. Fourteen students (Amy, Brett, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Katie, Lana, Maggie, Paula, Shawn, Theresa, Ula, Zoe) and six community partners (Julia, Macy, Olive, Ruth, Tyanna, Vicky) described students developing skills that are

specific to their role. For example, aspiring teachers get first-hand classroom experience when they work as tutors. Theresa, a student, described how her role facilitated her professional development during a participatory research meeting. She said, “It does have a lot of advantages to be exposed to a classroom very often, because you do get a sense of classroom management.” Macy, a community partner, described what the CBI intern learns about managing a social media account. She said during an interview, “our social media intern now is learning a lot about writing for the organization.”

Student Career Discernment and Networking

Fourteen of seventeen students (Amy, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Ira, Jaida, Katie, Maggie, Paula, Shawn, Theresa, Ula, Valeria, Zoe), two of eleven community partners (Claire, Emma), and all three university staff members (Amber, Ben, Christina) described the CBI as a means for career discernment. A conversation during the participatory stage of research between two students, Theresa and Dawn, also demonstrates the CBI as a means to facilitate career discernment. Theresa said,

I wrote down just two words: career defining, because a lot of times students that go into placement sites...and sometimes they define, ‘Yes, this is something that I am interested in, this is something that is related to what I want to do, or this is what I want to do.’ And sometimes you get the students that are like. ‘Nope, this is definitely not what I want to do’, and either way it’s a clarifying moment for the student.

In response, Dawn said, “Yeah, I agree with that...because that’s a big part of what [the CBI] does...because if you’re in your field, just like you said, ‘career-defining’ and you decide ‘yes, this is what you want to do.’” During the participatory stage of the research, community partners and university staff also noted career discernment as a part of the CBI in their conversations.

Five students (Amy, Brett, Dawn, Lana, Zoe) two community partners (Claire, Emma) and three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina), discussed students accessing and building professional networks through the CBI, which has also been described as an outcome of internships (Gault et al., 2000; Taylor, 1988). The five students and the one university staff person from the interview phase discussed building networks generally. All the community partners and university staff from the participatory stage described about the opportunity for building professional networks for students who may not normally have access to these networks. During the participatory phase, Amy commented on another student's perspective. She said, "I agree with the networking, not only with the people that are in charge of your site, but with just the community members that utilize, like the students or like... the patrons that use our pantry." From the university perspective, Christina shared the mission of the program. She said during an interview, "The mission in my mind is...to provide students with meaningful learning and career professional skills, networking, just real-world experience that will help them be successful in their careers someday."

During the initial participatory research meeting, the two community partners (Claire, Emma) and the two university staff (Amber, Ben) who participated discussed building professional networks in the context of financial need. Claire, a community partner discussed the potential networking opportunities for students. She said, "often times families of more means have more connections to help their children when they first get out of college to land that first job [*agreement from the group*]," she continued, "and the reality is if your family is not coming from an economic means like that, those connections may not be as thick. Where this [CBI] is giving those connections." In response, Ben said, "students who demonstrate financial need are

having an opportunity to have access to this professional network in a way that they may not normally have access to.”

Student Personal Development

Through their course reflective writing, four students (Dion, Ira, Lana, Ula) described some form of personal development in their CBI experience. These students described experience of personal growth, such as overcoming fears, building self-confidence, or a deepened understanding of their own needs for selfcare. Ula described personal change. She said, “I’ve learned to step out of my comfort zone and adapt, accept myself, and enjoy the little things.” Ira wrote about confronting fears of inadequacy through their experience. They recalled,

I would get super scared that if I wasn’t doing two times the work expected of me, or if I took a moment to breathe, I would be fired... I have been learning how to beat that fear and assert myself as someone who can be relied upon.

Community and University Partners: Meeting Goals, New Perspectives, and Students

Diversifying Partner Sites

Stakeholders frequently described outcomes of the CBI in terms of how they believe it impacts organizations and institutions rather than the individual community partner and university staff connected to them. All community partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Macy, Olive, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon, Susan, Tyanna, Vicky), all the university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina), and eight students (Cici, Ira, Jaida, Lana, Paula, Ula, Valeria, Zoe) described the CBI as way to increase work capacity of their organizations or as means to fulfill specific needs. The program fills “actual need in nonprofits” by increasing overall capacity to complete the work of their organizations and also brings new perspectives in their organizations. Two partners (Ruth, Vicky) described these new perspectives coming through employing “diverse” or young interns

to diversify the staff at their organizations staff. All the university staff participants (Amber, Ben, Christina) and six community partners (Claire, Emma, Macy, Olive, Ruth, Susan) spoke about how the university benefits from the CBI by meeting administrative needs, such as meeting works-study regulations, or supporting the institutional missions of civic engagement and student learning through program implementation.

Meeting Goals.

Stakeholders described the CBI as a means to support the work of partnering organizations through an increase in work capacity and new ideas brought by students. All community partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Macy, Olive, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon, Susan, Tyanna, Vicky), all the university staff (Amber, Ben), and seven students (Brett, Cici, Ira, Jaida, Paula, Valeria, Zoe) described increased capacity and support for mission-related goals at community partner organizations in relation to the CBI. Shannon described the benefit of the CBI to her organization. She said during an interview, “We’ve benefited greatly from the CBI program and being able to hire interns over the years that have really added to the success of our programming, from helping with fundraising efforts to everything in-between.” In a course reflection, Valeria, described how her role supports the organization she works with. She wrote, “My job at CEG is to curate their site and make sure that everything is current. Through making sure that the site content is up to date, enables for better spread of information, thus contributing to their mission of promoting their values.” The university perspective on meeting goals at sites is not as pronounced. Ben and Amber did acknowledge the outcome of increased capacity with community partners during the participatory research, and Christina described increased capacity as goal of the CBI, but did not describe outcomes related to increased capacity at partner sites.

All the university staff participants (Amber, Ben, Christina) and one community partner (Claire) described the CBI as helping the university meet an administrative need of using work-study funds in community service settings. During a group conversation in the participatory stage of research, Claire, the executive director of a food pantry, said, “I do believe isn’t there something the federal government requires of a university when they have work-study? Like it’s filling an actual requirement . . . for the university to receive the federal funds to do work study.” Ben, the university program facilitator, clarified “the university has to use a percentage of our work-study off-campus every semester in order to keep the money flowing . . . we’re meeting an administrative need for the university.” Current literature suggests that universities may perceive internship programs to be resource intensive (Maertz et al., 2014), and the work of running such programs may carry little cachet. Yet, the funding structure of this particular program fulfills an administrative need through its implementation. This characteristic of the program could help ameliorate resistance from university stakeholders and other administrators when developing and implementing policies that govern such programs.

Four community partners (Claire, Emma, Olive, Ruth) and all university staff participants (Amber, Ben, Christina) described the CBI as a means for the university fulfill two institutional missions: an educational mission of developing preparing students for careers, and the civic mission of engaging with the broader community. Macy spoke about the CBI as means to achieve the educational goals of the university, particularly career development and learning beyond the university. Macy described the CBI during an interview,

I think it provides opportunities that are likely not available in other internships because of its emphasis on a nonprofit or getting to do work that is unique... I think it's a great

way to give them, again, meaningful experiences and help them see that there's more to their world at that moment than their university environment.

During the participatory stage of research, Emma and Claire noted the benefit to the university that comes along with representation in the community when discussing the effects of the CBI. Emma said, “I think the university has students then going out and representing their mission”. Later, Claire responded, “I will emphasize that one that she [Emma] said...the university wants to be represented in the community because it represents the university. It’s beneficial to the university to be present.” Christina’s perspective highlights how the university can move towards meeting these missions through the CBI. She noted in an interview,

[the CBI’s] got this exponential power. Because it's got the high impact practice, it's got the career and professional soft skills piece, it's got the community engagement pieces. It's a lot of bang for the university's buck when it comes to being a program that's well aligned with strategic directions that the campus is heading.

New Perspectives and Increasing Workforce Diversity at Partner Sites.

Seven partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Macy, Ruth, Shannon, Vicky) and one student (Ula) described new ideas, or as Emma said “fresh perspectives”, brought by students to their organizations as a beneficial outcome of the CBI. Julia’s perspective on CBI students highlights this sentiment. She said during an interview, “if they [students] have ideas that are outside of the box of things that I can do to make the program better, I'm super happy to know about that.” She continued, “Being a department of one...it really helps to have someone to bounce ideas off.” Ula connected her new ideas to supporting sales. She wrote in a reflection, “My role at Recycled Solutions helps their mission because I will be providing new ideas and creativity to aid in the advancement of Recycled Solutions’ sales.”

Two partners (Ruth, Vicky) also described the opportunity to hire students to diversify their organizations either racially or by age. Ruth described diversity related to age. She said, “In our organization... We try to have as much diversity within our own staff and I just think bringing a 20-year-old in is a fresh idea, a fresh face.” Vicky also commented on the diversity that CBI students bring to organizations. She said, “I think it’s cool that we have diverse candidates here.” While Vicky did not mention race or background explicitly, she did describe her organization as “white led” in a “hyper segregated” city aspiring to be an asset to the majority Black neighborhood in which it is situated. These partner perspectives could indicate a turn towards this university and its student population to create diversity within organizations, whether by age, race, or other characteristics. While diversification of staff through internship programs has been framed as benefit to organizations and business, this can be problematic as it could perpetuate an exploitive perspective on interns and the diversity they bring, especially impacting students of color and other commonly marginalized identities.

Theme 4 Summary

Stakeholders who participated in the CBI reported the program as a means to support *private* goals, those aligned with self-interest or supporting the development of individualistic commodity (Busch, 2017), of individuals and organizations. As in other community-based experiential pedagogies, such as internships and service-learning, students may have opportunities to develop professionally and personally through their experiences in the CBI. The recognition of the CBI as a program to support this type of student development was nearly universal amongst participants, indicating that this private purpose is a prevalent component of the CBI. This finding aligns with past research which indicates internships provide opportunities for students to develop job related skills; both career specific and generalizable professional

skills (Coco, 2000; Divine et al., 2007; Gault et al., 2000; Knemeyer & Murphy, 2002; Taylor, 1988; Thiel & Hartley, 1997; Wilton, 2012). As with learning experiences in traditional internships (e.g. Silva et al., 2016) and service-learning programs (e.g. Mitchell & Rostbanik, 2019) this CBI creates opportunities for career discernment.

Beyond student development, stakeholders also described the benefits to organizations and institutions. The CBI is described as a means for the university to meet administrative needs like using work-study funding as well as fulfilling missions of preparing students for the workforce and civic engagement. Although the mission of civic engagement does have underlying public purposes, in this context the CBI is described as a tool to support the private purpose of actualizing the university's mission. Benefits to community partner organizations are described as increased capacity for daily work, "fresh perspectives", and diversifying partner organizations by hiring students who are younger than the staff or from different racial backgrounds. Meeting the self-interest of individuals, organizations, or institutions is an expected outcome of a program that aligns with principles of internships. While these outcomes themselves are not problematic, a combination with a lack of more public facing outcomes could indicate that private outcomes dominate CBIs that seek to meet both private and public goals.

Public Purposes as Connecting to Missions, Organizations, and Individuals: Developing Critical Capacities and Seeking to Engage in Public Action

Some of the experiences described by partners included learning and actions that are typically associated with the public outcomes of education. Overall, these findings were not as pronounced as the private findings, in terms of frequency of mentions and depth of description in the participatory research project, interviews and analysis of student work, but the majority of students, community partners, and all higher education partners discussed topics that could be

considered related to public outcomes of education at least once during the study. In this study, sixteen of seventeen students (Amy, Brett, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Jaida, Katie, Lana, Maggie, Paula, Shawn, Theresa, Ula, Valeria), all eleven community partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Macy, Olive, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon, Susan, Tyanna, Vicky) and all three the university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) described different aspects related to subthemes of public outcomes. These subthemes involve: 1) students' deepening connections to the broader organizational missions of their work placement sites and beginning to develop a critical understanding of social structures through reflections in the course; 2) developing calls to action that included a continuum ranging from desires to "help out" and "fight for social justice;" and 3) deepening empathy and association with others. While there were no direct mentions of work for the greater good during the participatory research phase, the term "community support" was frequently described by community partners and university staff and seemed to imply this broader impact.

Deepening Public Relationships to the Broader Society through Connecting Critically to Organizational Missions

Included in this subtheme, thirteen students (Amy, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Jaida, Lana, Paula, Shawn, Theresa, Ula, Valeria), five community partners (Macy, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon, Vicky), and one university staff person (Amber), described students developing an understanding of how their work is connected to communities and broader society. Seven students (Gerti, Ira, Jaida, Paula, Shawn, Ula, Valeria) described a deepening of their understanding of and the contribution of their organization's mission. For example, the student Shawn connected parent involvement, community involvement, and student learning at her school. In a response to a reflection prompt that asked her how her CBI site is connected to its

neighborhood community, she said, “The mission of my site is to use technology, communication, parent engagement to help children learn. This adds to the community by creating a relationship between parent and school, which in turn helps the kids get involved in their community and the parents get involved in their child’s school.”

In addition to connecting with the organization missions through their on-site participation, the course sought to anchor students in a critical understanding of how this work was connected to broader social structures through the course reflection prompts. Student reflection prompts asked them to consider the following questions, “How is your CBI site connected to its neighborhood community? How is it connected to the city?” (week 4); “Has your role in CBI challenged any assumptions or beliefs you held previously? If so, in what ways?” (week 6); and “What did you learn about the public school system and/or non-profit sector? What are some of the pressing needs/issues in the community? How does what you do/did address those needs? What seem to be the root causes of the issue addressed?” (final reflection).

Seven students (Amy, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Ira, Lana, Theresa) engaged in critical reflections on social structures through their work. In one example, Cici wrote about an experience at work in which she encountered a client survey that she described as “unjust” due to assumptions about ethnicity and immigration status. She wrote, “Just because a person is Latino they automatically get asked if they are citizen? It comes off as racist, and makes it seem as if Latinos are the only group of immigrants in the U.S.”

Community partners and university staff described this relationship as students understanding organizational impact and students seeing “more to their world” than the university environment. Community partner Macy described how an intern engaged with the

mission of her organization through her work. She said, “She, I think then, is realizing the importance of the organization. I don't think you can do social media without really understanding the mission.” University staff person Amber described her perspectives regarding students’ understanding of their work and how that can lead to an ethic of concern for wanting to make positive social contributions more broadly. She said during the participatory phase of the research, “it [CBI] helps them [students] be more engaged in their work and it becomes more meaningful and personal to them and drives them to want to make a difference.”

Deepening Public Relationships with the Broader Society through Connecting Critically to Organizational Missions total stakeholders describing this subtheme: 19 of 31 total students describing this subtheme: 13 of 17 total community partners describing this subtheme: 5 of 11 total university staff describing this subtheme: 1 of 3 note some individual’s descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description note some individual’s descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBO=community-based organization partner, k-8=k-8 school partner, CBOi=community-based organization partner intern, k-8i=k-8 school partner intern Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Deepening Understanding of Organization Mission as Connecting to the Broader Society			
Students (7)	“My experience has helped me to better understand how non-profits run more as well as what they do to impact their community. City Farm’s mission is to create food sustainability in the area. They do this is a variety of programs they offer.	Jaida, CBOi, [REF]	Gerti, CBOi, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Paula, CBOi, [REF] Shawn, k-8i, [REF] Ula, CBOi, [REF] Valeria, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (3)	Well, our mission is to change perception about people with autism and about perceptions of self. And, I think she probably is having both of those things happen to her as she experiences us.	Macy, CBO, [INT]	Patricia, CBO, [INT] Shannon, CBO, [INT]

Critically Reflecting on Social Structures			
Students (7)	“It is important to recognize why [organization] is important for the university campus to have. [organization] offers a safe place where any student can receive a hot meal or support, regardless of religious background. While it primarily serves the Jewish community here, that doesn’t mean that it doesn’t help the larger community. In this time of rising anti-semitism, holocaust denial, and hatred of the Jewish people, [organization] serves to provide a level of safety and security that many Jewish students lack”	Ira, CBOi, [REF]	Amy, CBOi, [PR] Cici, CBOi, [REF] Dawn, k-8i, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Theresa, k8i, [PR]
Seeing More to the World			
Community Partners (3)	And they get to meet different people. They're coming into neighborhoods that like, I know for our students that they might never have stepped foot in [neighborhood].	Vicky, CBO, [INT]	Macy, CBO, [INT] Ruth, CBO, [INT]

Figure 13 Deepening Public Relationships with the Broader Society through Connecting Critically to Organizational Missions Table

Students Describe a Desire to Make Social Change Ranging from ‘Helping Out’ to ‘Fighting for Change’

Related to the findings on the calls to action described in theme 3, students and some community partners also described a student desire to contribute or change their world through their participation. The following subtheme involved twelve out of a total of seventeen students, seven out of eleven community partners, and all three university staff. Some students expressed desires to “help out,” and in a related vein, community partners also described a similar charitable or service-oriented mission to serve or contribute to the community that could be achieved through student action. As noted earlier, a smaller number of students described a desire or “fight” for social justice or confronting inequalities.

Students Describe a Desire to Make Social Change Ranging from ‘Helping Out’ to ‘Fighting for Change’			
total stakeholders describing this subtheme: 22 of 31 total students describing this subtheme: 12 of 17 total community partners describing this subtheme: 7 of 11 total university staff describing this subtheme: 3 of 3 note some individual’s descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBO=community-based organization partner, k-8=k-8 school partner, CBOi=community-based organization partner intern, k-8i=k-8 school partner intern Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Call to Action as Helping Out			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Students (7)	“It has been very cool to see how nonprofits work and see how even the small work that I do helps make an overall big difference.”	Lana, CBOi, [REF]	Brett, CBOi, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Gerti, CBOi, [REF] Katie, k-8i, [REF] Maggie, k-8i, [REF] Shawn, k-8i, [REF]
Call to Action as Service to Community			
Students (2)	“Although I do not want to teach when I graduate college, I do think this position is right for me because of my interest in serving my community and promoting equity and justice.”	Shawn, k-8i, [REF]	Ira, CBOi, [REF]
Contributing to the Broader Community			
Community Partners (7)	“I just hope that the students feel really inspired and understand the positive effects that they’re having as a mentor on our students”	Emma, k-8, [PR]	Claire, CBO, [PR] Macy, CBO, [INT] Shannon, CBO, [INT] Susan, CBO, [INT] Tyanna, k-8, [INT] Vicky, CBO, [INT]
Call to Action as Fighting for Urgent Change			
Students (6)	Dawn: “It’s made me want to hurry up and get into my profession, just because I see that there are more ... There’s a more need for teachers of color.” Theresa: “I kind of agree with that”	Dawn, k8i, [PR] Theresa, k-8i [PR]	Amy, CBOi, [PR] Cici, CBOi, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Dion, k-8i, [REF]

Figure 14 Students Describe a Desire to Make Social Change Ranging from ‘Helping Out’ to ‘Fighting for Change’ Table

Seven students (Brett, Dion, Gerti, Katie, Lana, Maggie, Shawn) articulate wanting to “make a difference,” “help,” or “give back.” Maggie’s experience serves as an exemplar of the student perspective of this idea. She said, “teaching and tutoring are careers that would allow me to give back and contribute to the betterment of the community, and I think that alone would be something that I would enjoy doing.” Two students (Ira, Shawn) describe this call to action as serving the community. Ira wrote in a reflection, “What’s truly import about my work at [organization] is that I am serving a community that I belong to.”

Seven out of eleven community partners made statements that appear to provide encouragement for the student sentiment for ‘wanting to make a difference,’ or other forms of social action. These community partners (Claire, Emma, Macy, Shannon, Susan, Tyanna, Vicky) referred back to students and their growing connection to the broader community when asked to describe how the CBI impacts the community. The community partner perspective is more closely aligned with student perspective of “helping” or “making a difference”. For some community partners, they may view their support for students as contributing to the broader community. Shannon said “it gives them [CBI students] a sense of pride and ownership in the work that they're doing and knowing that they're taking pride in the work that they're doing that's helping to move and support the Jewish community.” Tyanna, a community partner, described students as being “willing to help out with whatever needed... Just for the greater good.” The community partner perspective is more closely aligned with student perspective of “helping” or “making a difference”.

Six students (Amy, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Ira, Theresa) described a determination to counteract the status quo. Cici wrote, “I have learned how to use my voice, and voice my opinion. I am putting my social worker in the making skills to the test, by fighting for what I

believe is racial injustice.” During a conversation in the participatory stage of research, Amy described an “urgency” in her call to action. She said,

I like how you brought up that it's kind of like a driving force and a motivator for you to get into your profession, to start working, because you're kind of shown the problems in the system and what you're working with... there's like this sense of urgency and this sense of a concern for our community now that this is going on.

Students and some community partners who described student intention to engage in various forms of calls to action, from ‘wanting to make a difference’ and ‘serving my community,’ to ‘fighting’ for social change, could be considered a form of civic engagement from a Deweyan perspective that aims to participate in the shaping of the broader society and trouble the status quo, to varying degrees. Students did not use the term civic engagement, however, nor did most community partners who offered supportive statements regarding students who want to help and make a difference. Only community partners who participated in the participatory analysis (Claire, Emma) used the term to describe an outcome of the CBI on the partner concept map. It is not surprising to find that university partners used the terms such as civic identity and community engagement specifically since civic responsibility is part of the service-learning lexicon. For example, Christina, from the university, said, “students develop a civic identity... that allows them to engage in community-based work.”

In total, twelve students (Amy, Brett, Cici, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Katie, Lana, Maggie, Shawn, Theresa), seven community partners (Claire, Emma, Macy, Shannon, Susan, Tyanna, Vicky) and all three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) described sentiments in relation to students cultivating capacities that could be considered examples of civic engagement using the Giles & Eyler (1994) definition of citizenship. It is not possible to understand what kind of

citizenship might these students aspire to, but this could be an area for future exploration. There may be indicators that the seven students who described a desire to “help out” and the additional one student who describes a desire to “serve” might be considered to be leaning toward what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) described as *participatory citizens*, where individuals develop capacities to be more active in the community like sitting on the school board, organizing food drives, neighborhood watch or other local group. For Westheimer and Kahne, students may gain skills for change or see where inequalities exist, but they do not necessarily indicate that they are intent on making social change. The seven community partners also expressed sentiments related to what Westheimer and Kahne described as participatory citizens. Westheimer and Kahne reference Dewey when they describe the goals of participatory citizens. They write, participatory citizens are “those who actively participate in the civic affairs and the social life of the community at the local, state, or national level.... [and] participation in collective endeavors” (p. 241). The six students who described a more definite commitment to fight for social change might be described by Westheimer & Kahne as indicating they are more inclined toward *justice-oriented* social reformer-minded citizens that try to focus on eradicating the root cause of social problems. Again, it is not possible to understand what kind of citizens these students might aspire to be, but it could be an area for future exploration.

Strengthening connections to others by giving and receiving support through the CBI

Eleven students (Amy, Brett, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Jaida, Katie, Lana, Shawn, Theresa, Zoe) and seven community partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Olive, Ruth, Shannon, Vicky) described experiences that involved students strengthening their connections to others through their participation in the CBI.

Students Strengthening Connections to Others total stakeholders describing this subtheme: 18 of 31 total students describing this subtheme: 11 of 17 total community partners describing this subtheme: 7 of 11 note some individual's descriptions may align with than one underlying theme description Participant type: CBO=community-based organization partner, k-8=k-8 school partner, CBOi=community-based organization partner intern, k-8i=k-8 school partner intern Dataset designations [PR]= participatory research participant, [INT]=individual interviews, [REF]= student reflection			
Student Empathy for Others			
Stakeholder Group (n)	Quote	Stakeholder	Others Sharing Perspective
Students (3)	"Frequently immerse yourself in other people's perspective. On one hand, this sounds like a futile thing because you can never really detach yourself from your perspective, but just imagining another side will hopefully make you become more tolerant"	Zoe, CBOi, [REF]	Gerti, CBOi, [REF] Jaida, CBOi, [REF]
Community Partners (2)	"To not underestimate them [people with disabilities], but that being a caregiver can also be very stressful. I mean, and that's the whole point of respite care is to acknowledge those primary caregivers who do this day in and day out...So these parents, every day. I think that he got to a better understanding of that, that stress level on the parents."	Ruth CBO, [INT]	Julia, CBO, [INT]
Students Connecting to Communities They Work Within			
Students (9)	"Sometimes you're not tutoring, but it's still important for you to be there because you're kind of building that community and that background with the people that are surrounding this place."	Theresa, k-8i, [PR]	Amy, CBOi, [PR] Bret, CBOi, [PR] Dion, k-8i, [REF] Dawn, k-8, [PR] Gerti, CBOi, [REF] Ira, CBOi, [REF] Lana, CBOi, [REF] Shawn, k-8i, [REF]
Community Partners (5)	"And then I think Lily's been enjoying it just because I think she really likes being a part of the mission."	Vicky, CBO, [INT]	Claire, CBOi, [PR] Emma, k-8, [PR] Olive, k-8, [INT] Shannon, CBO, [INT]

Figure 15 Strengthening Connections to Others

These students and community partners described a strengthening connection to others as developing a sense of empathy for others and connecting to communities they work in. Three students (Gerti, Jaida, Zoe) and two community partners (Julia, Ruth) described experiences related to empathy. Jaida described learning empathy, she said, "Working in a school within a lower-class neighborhood, I learned a lot, mainly empathy." When asked about how the CBI affects the communities and people served by her organization, Julia replied "They're [students]

willing to...have direct contact with residents so that they can see what it's like to be in their shoes and experience what it might be like to be a senior in a continuum of care.”

Students (Amy, Brett, Dawn, Dion, Gerti, Ira, Lana, Shawn, Theresa) and community partners (Claire, Emma, Olive, Shannon, Vicky) more frequently described students connecting to the communities they work in. Shawn emphasized wanting to build stronger connections to her community and recognized the impacts of her work. In a reflective writing she stated, “I would like to learn more about the lives of the students I work with because it is important for me to make that connection in my community.” Brett discussed feeling at home during the participatory research meeting, “I always had the perception that [neighborhood] was a terrible place, there's gun shots all the time or something, and it's ... I feel as if I'm home and perfectly fine.” Olive, a school partner, described CBI students becoming a part of their school. When asked about what kind of values CBI partners and students have, she said, “they [students] kind of morph into like our school vision and mission and values and things like that. They really become a part of the school, almost like an employee.” While students from a diverse set of backgrounds described connecting to their communities, only white students described a developing sense of empathy in relation to strengthening connections to their communities. The sense of empathy was also only described by CBO partners, whereas partners from CBOs and schools described students connecting to the communities they work in.

One community partner, Shannon, noted that she believed at least one student received support from working at the partner site. She said in an interview, “he [CBI student], might be lacking in community support in his personal life. And I feel like he's really been grounded here because of the work that we've been able to give him and the community here that supports him.” At least one student noted the satisfaction they felt by expressions of gratitude extended to

them by the people they worked for. Zoe wrote in a reflection, “People will thank me often for giving my time.”

A sense of deepening connections was not as commonly described as an experience of community partners and university staff in the CBI. It was only described by the community partners and university staff during the participatory stage of the research. During the analysis, this group, including two community partners (Claire, Emma) and two university staff (Amber, Ben), described a connection to the program through the concept map development. They indicated both a personal connection and investment in the CBI. For example, Amber said during the participatory research meeting, “And I feel more invested in CBI now. And I feel like I’m part of this process instead of just...just process things. It’s just more engaging it’s more involved, so you feel a deeper commitment to the cause.” This sense of connection could be due to the participation in the participatory research process.

This subtheme could be considered related to a sense of communal association from a Deweyan perspective. A smaller and accessible community can engender communal association which nurture moral, intellectual, and emotional life and serves as a foundation for democracy (According to Giles & Eyler, 1994). A developing sense of empathy for others or feeling more connected to a community is akin to this sense of communal association, and the habit of association is considered a precursor for democratic action.

While not related to the regular structure of the CBI program itself, the community partners and university staff discussed the act of working together in the participatory research project to create solutions for program improvement as drawing them closer to the project goals and building their sense of ownership to it. When discussing about the purpose of the action research meeting, Claire said, “I wanted to give back to a program that's giving back to the

community and so coming to say you know your students are helping us and our community all the time. What can we do to give back to the program?” In their concept map, community partners and university staff indicated “investment in the process” as part of their personal connection to the program. The design of action research is intended to mirror democratic principles (Stringer, 2007) and might be considered be an example of supporting “public work” (Boyte, 2015, p. 1) in higher education—work that prepares students and educators to engage in democratic processes.

Theme 5 Summary

During the member-checking session with community partner stakeholders, partners resonated with the description of these findings as related to the “public” goals of the program. When asked what findings make sense or ring true, Claire responded, “especially that private and public part at the end, that like encapsulates... that’s like the so what.” And Julia later responded, “I agree the last two areas [private and public]...the public engagement and democracy are really key here.” The majority of students and community partners corroborated some aspect of the public findings. The public outcomes described in this theme can be understood in the context of Deweyan developmental democracy in education adapted from Giles and Eyler’s (1994) Deweyan theoretical frame for service-learning, including concepts of critically connecting to a broader social good (related to subtheme 1), citizenship for action (related to subtheme 2), and communal association (related to subtheme 3). Dewey’s dialectical vision for vocational education, learning about society and democracy through the professions, called for more than a recognition of the status quo and working within it. It sought this form of education to be a vehicle for social transformation. The study’s other findings that are commonly connected to the public purposes of education, those related to stakeholder experiences with diversity, race, and

inequality, were described in a previous section, as a Deweyan frame lacks critical interpretations of these social contexts (Sullivan, 2019).

Overall, most students, partners, and university staff describe the CBI as a means for students to develop the kind of public capacities we expect from a service-learning program with civic engagement learning goals (e.g. Tufts University, n.d.). Less apparent were descriptions of student orientations towards or actions seeking social change, especially from the community partner and university perspective. The CBI is also described as a way to build a sense of communal association for students. While community partners and university staff did articulate these kinds of public outcomes for students, they did not frequently report that they also experienced them. Only the community partners and university staff who participated in the participatory research reported experiencing this kind of outcome, describing a sense of communal association through their participation in the CBI.

Work-Study Funding as a Benefit for Community Partners, and Both a Benefit and a Burden for University Partners

An important trait of the CBI is its connection to federal work-study funding sources, which is a unique aspect of this CBI. In the analysis of student work, students did mention being paid or having a job, but only one student mentioned being paid specifically through work-study (Zoe) and one other student (Amy) used the term “work-study” to describe the CBI. Community partners were more loquacious on this topic. Ten of eleven community partners (Claire, Emma, Julia, Macy, Patricia, Ruth, Shannon, Susan, Tyanna, Vicky) and all three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) described federal work-study as a characteristic of the CBI and this appeared to be a popular benefit for them. While none of them described the work-study benefit, where they receive a subsidized employee from the university, these community partners

described the opportunity to work with students whose wages are supplemented by work-study funding as a program characteristic that facilitates their participation in the CBI and supports the work of their organizations. Vicky from an environmental organization, said during an interview, “Well, the economics of it are amazing. I mean, I don’t know where else you can have work-study. You can have young people who are working at the wages that then we’re responsible for. So that’s huge right there.”

Four partners (Claire, Emma, Patricia, Shannon), all non-profit community-based organizations, also asked for an expansion of the CBI program in particular. Patricia stated, “I would love to be able to hire more of them (students), so that’s a challenge... There just wasn’t like a lot to work from this year, so that was a challenge in hiring additional students.” These comments are notable, since (Stoecker, 2016) found that community partners often indicate they do not view there is much difference, from their perspective, what particular program, part of the higher education institution, or even which particular higher education institution students come from, have emphasized that they all tend to ‘blend together’ and do about the same thing. It may be that there are particular characteristics or incentives, such as the amount of time these students spend at their workplaces, and gaining a subsidized employee, that make this CBI attractive to community partners.

While the work-study component is described by community partners as means to facilitate their participation in the program, university partners describe the administration of federal work-study at the university as a potential barrier to increased scale of the program. Amber described the administrative process of managing federal work-study payroll as “so much work,” and both Christina and Ben indicated a desire to look for alternative sources of funding sources, such as grants, to increase student participation, as only students who meet federal

work-study guidelines are able to participate in the CBI, limiting the number of students who might participate. All three university staff (Amber, Ben, Christina) described recruiting students to the CBI as a challenge during the research project. During an interview, Christina also described recruiting students as a challenge. She said, “I just wish there was more students in it [the CBI]...Because right now it's so on the periphery because there's so few students.”

Theme 6 Summary

Community partners described the federal work-study component of the program as valuable and indicated a desire to hire more students because of it. While it is a key piece of the program, university staff described it as a potential barrier due to administrative challenges. The federal work-study funding source of this particular CBI does serve as an incentive for community partners to join the program, but it is also a barrier at the higher education level for growing the program as it limits the recruiting pool to students who are eligible for work-study. For the future, more research is needed to better understand the student perspective related to this theme.

Chapter Summary

The findings indicate experiences in the CBI mirror stakeholder experiences in service-learning and internships, but the hybridization might shape these experiences in unique ways. Community partners and university staff described motivations aligned with private concerns, while students articulated motivations related to both private and public concerns. In alignment with current understanding of community partner and university staff roles in other community engaged learning programs, the role of educator and an emphasis on supporting student learning about organizations, professional skills, and career preparedness was common amongst community partners and university staff in the CBI. Yet, partners did not take as active a role in

supporting students learning regarding intercultural competence, one of the programs designated learning goals.

Some students discussed their experiences related to diversity, race, and inequality. Individual students experienced the CBI in distinct ways, and this difference could be connected to the intersection of their background, their CBI position, and their local environment. Students who identified with backgrounds that are typically considered marginalized because of race or poverty describing feelings of responsibility for change and confronting barriers to change, while students who identified as privileged and white were more likely to describe a recognition of their privilege and wanting to use their privilege to help. This finding aligns with current understandings of diverse student experiences in service-learning practice. Most community partners and all university staff described students engaging with “diversity” through their job roles, typically through interacting with people from different backgrounds, at the partner organizations. Two community partners indicated they look to hire CBI students to bring age or racial diversity to their organizations.

Related to *private* or self-interested outcomes more commonly associated with internships, students in the CBI have opportunities for professional, personal, and career development, community partners experience increased capacity at their organizations through work of students, and the university fulfills its missions of preparing students for professional and civic life through a single program. Related to the *public* outcomes more closely associated with service-learning, students may develop an enhanced sense responsibility for making change, or a deepened sense of community through their work. Some students also engaged in critical interpretation of their experiences, describing need for broader social change through their work experience. Community partners and university staff who participated in the participatory stage

of the research identified feeling a deepened sense of community through their participation in the CBI and noted “community support” as an outcome of the CBI. Yet, these experiences and outcomes were not described by community partners and university staff who participated in the interview stage. The publicly leaning outcomes are more frequently associated with student experiences, with less description regarding the experiences of community partners and university staff and concrete impacts to the common good. While all stakeholders describe aspects of the program that are aligned with both private and public purposes, goals, or outcomes of the CBI, there is not complete agreement or congruence on how these purpose, goals, or outcomes are understood. This dissonance could be related to stakeholders trying to meet goals aligned with both internships and service-learning.

Related to the action research framework and a phronetic orientation towards producing actionable steps to incite change, stakeholders also described program structures that impact the program’s sustainability. The situatedness of the program on the periphery of the university, outside of professional training schools and in a community engagement office, could have impacts on student recruitment and the ability to meet partner need. Program funding through work-study could be a major incentive for community partner participation and fulfills an administrative function at the university, but this funding can be a logistical barrier for program implementation and student recruitment.

The stakeholder descriptions of their program experience indicate that three stakeholder groups benefited from participation in the program. Students experienced opportunities for professional and personal development that may support their future career aspirations. They also experienced opportunities to confront social issues and build connections to the communities within which they worked. Many students were also described as developing

orientations toward making change. Students appeared to have experienced outcomes related to both the private and public purposes of higher education. Community partner sites may gain increased capacity and new perspectives and the university is described as addressing two of its core missions while also meeting an administrative need of using federal work-study dollars in community service positions through the CBI. The stakeholder descriptions of these outcomes are clearly connected to private purposes related to organizational and institutional self-interest but are were not as clearly connected to the more public purposes of higher education by. While it is possible to induce some of the more public outcomes, such as the university building connections to and supporting the broader community or the community partners increased capacity as a means to support their missions oriented towards the public good or making change, stakeholders did no described them as such. Students in the CBI may be the primary beneficiaries of the program, as they are described as experiencing more robust outcomes related to the goals of the CBI. Further research on understanding the outcomes of the CBI associated with the public purposes of the partner organizations and the university is needed.

Stakeholders experience benefits, opportunities, and challenges through their participation in the CBI. Although these experiences often mirror those of stakeholders in traditional internship and service-learning programs, a hybridized program may have unique effects. Further discussion of these findings and implications for future practice and research will proceed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 Discussion & Conclusion

Community-based internships may be becoming a more prominent type of program within higher education, therefore it is worthwhile to understand more about how they are experienced by students, community partners, and the university. The first chapter of this study began with a discussion of the varied goals of higher education and as they related to community-based internships practices. Preparing students for future professional roles and maintaining a civic mission of developing engaged citizens are two prominent goals of undergraduate student education and can be broadly defined as *private* and *public*: the *private* purposes of preparing students for their future professional roles, and the *public* purposes of serving the community, cultivating citizens, and contributions to public life. Higher education institutions often seek to attain these two purposes through experiential learning practices, internships and service-learning, whose roots can be broadly traced to differing strands of progressive educational thought. While both types of programs are housed in higher education institutions and have their roots in experiential learning, they are often developed separately and are often housed in different parts of these institutions. In the current context, internships and service-learning have been shown to have outcomes related to self-interest or the public good. More recently, hybridization of these practices has emerged, and along with this emergence a need to understand the effects of these practices on students, community partners, and the university. Understanding a hybridization of internships and service-learning, in this case a community-based internship, could illuminate how these kinds of practices could support the private and public purposes of higher education.

A two-phase qualitative study using participatory research methods and a thematic analysis of community-partner and university staff interviews, and student work was conducted

to address research questions that seek to understand how a CBI effects these stakeholders and what these stakeholders consider the outcomes of the CBI.

To address the research questions, it was necessary to synthesize the analysis in a discussion regarding stakeholder experiences in the CBI. The following discussion will further interrogate the intricacies and implications of the hybridization of internships and service-learning, stakeholder experiences in the program, and the perceived program outcomes as they related to existing literature in the fields of internships and service-learning and the theoretical and philosophical frameworks guiding this inquiry. The implications of these findings for CBIs, other community-based experiential learning practices in higher education, and future scholarship are discussed, and future directions for study are also offered.

Discussion of Findings

The questions guiding this case study were focused on investigating the experiences of students, community partners, and university staff who participated in the CBI with the intention of developing an understanding of the practice. A summary of the research questions and their connection to the findings are available in Figure 8. First, I discuss the findings regarding students, community partners, and university staff in relation to the research questions. Following this, the findings are situated with the private and public goals of stakeholders, and then I provide a commentary on the research methods of this study.

Research Question	Corresponding Findings
RQ1) How does participation in a CBI affect different stakeholders, namely students, community partners, and university affiliates?	<p>F1) The motivations described by community partners and the university are more self-interested, whereas students tend to describe more motivations connected to self-interest and the broader common good.</p> <p>F2) Partners described actively supporting student learning through developing workplace skills but described a recognition of student learning through student engagement with diversity.</p> <p>F3) Some students of color and some students of low socioeconomic status articulated stronger orientations towards making change and deeper understandings of issues related to race, inequality, and power through their work than white and privileged students.</p>
RQ3) What do stakeholders perceive as the outcomes of the CBI?	<p>F4) Stakeholders described outcomes of the CBI related to private interests such as student development and organizational goals.</p> <p>F5) Stakeholders described outcomes of the CBI related to public interests such as development of civic responsibly and a sense of community.</p> <p>F6) Work-study funding is described as a benefit for community partners, but both a benefit and a burden for university.</p>

Figure 16 Summary of Research Questions and Findings

The analysis indicates participation in the CBI may affect the university, community partners, and students in a variety of ways, with many of these effects mirroring those of non-hybridized internship and service-learning programs. These outcomes suggest the hybridization of service-learning and internship frameworks in the CBI could potentially be a more streamlined approach to implementing internship and service-learning programs. Yet, the complexity of mixing these frameworks could also create challenges for program implementation.

While the professional or *private* development of students along with the civic or *public* development of students are common goals of higher education, these goals have frequently been

described as distinct or even opposed. Dewey's description of higher education in 1923 foreshadows the current "neoliberal turn" (Tight, 2019, p. 274) in higher education. He offered,

a great number of persons are deeply concerned about present tendencies in education, especially in the higher schools, for they seem to see everywhere an irresistible movement to professionalize teaching and learning...Disinterested love of inquiry and idealistic devotion to the things of the mind in science and art are not flourishing in our high schools, colleges, and universities as are the studies that prepare for what is called practical life. (Dewey, 1983a, p. 193)

Dewey was concerned that "love of thought and its products" (p. 193), products that could be tools for active citizenship, could be "buried under modes of training that prepare students for their future vocations." (p. 193). Yet, this study shines light on a practice that may bring these goals of education closer together. The incorporation of a course whose content is the experience and reflection on that experience is an attempt to encourage inquiry in the context of professional learning may be means to not just learn professions themselves but to learn through them. The findings demonstrate that some private and public purposes of higher education, especially those related to student development, could be addressed through a hybridization of internships and service-learning. Yet, the confrontations of power and inequality described by many students of color and students of lower socioeconomic status demonstrates a need for more intentional critical engagement to support these students in their experiences in the CBI.

Related to diversity, equity, and inclusion. Some students in the CBI also described a more critical awareness of race, poverty, and inequity in their community. Students grappled with these issues and confronted their manifestation through their CBI experience. While these

experiences were acknowledged by several students in the CBI, they seem to be more apparent in students who are working in public schools or in organizations that have overt social change orientations tied to their missions, where partners are intentionally orienting their students to these issues through their work. Students working at organizations that do not necessarily emphasize social change or in organizations where there is not a direct connection to issues connected to race, education, or poverty, do not exhibit the same depth of connection to the social impacts of their work.

While the space for students to confront broader social problems through their work is a structure borrowed from service-learning, in this CBI students are translating these critical perspectives into work experiences. The work experiences, which require substantially more time and commitment from students than shorter duration service-learning experiences, could provide more depth and space for students to confront these issues through the real-world context of work and professional life. These confrontations of social issues no longer take place in the abstract classroom or even in the relative safety of a service-learning context as students confront such issues in the reality of work.

For many students who identified as students of color, or who described themselves as having low socioeconomic status, the struggles related to race, inequality, and power hit closer to home. They described a sense of responsibility for changing what they experienced in ways the students from privileged white backgrounds in this study did not, and they were more likely to describe their drive to work for the benefit of the communities with which they identify. The literature indicates that the students of color who choose to participate in service-learning programs like this were likely already highly motivated to make a difference (e.g., Blankson et al, 2015), and these CBI experiences may have galvanized this commitment in ways that other

scholars researching the experiences of students of color in service-learning have found (e.g., Green, 2001). These students were also more likely to identify the many challenges for making change than their white privileged peers. The students' experiences and reflections demonstrate that they are likely more advanced in their understanding of critical issues such as the relationship between race, socioeconomic status, power, and inequality than other students in the CBI. This aspect has not been discussed as much in the service-learning literature. Students who identified as white and privileged in this study were more likely to describe their empathy and growing understanding for the problems others face, rather than a specific call to action. The plight of the people they work with was something that engendered a sense of concern for others, and some students articulated that their privileged status should be used for the good of others. The varied experiences of students in the CBI, which for some is related to their racial or socioeconomic background, is akin to current understandings of service-learning practices.

Like service-learning, which can assume white normativity in its implementation (Butin, 2006; Green, 2003; Mitchell et al., 2012), the social context in which the activity takes place within the CBI matters. Critical leanings in service-learning have already established structures and practices for community-based experiential learning to avoid the assumption of white normativity (Green, 2001; Mitchell, 2008). The experiences of students in this CBI indicate these structures and practices—such as incorporation of intentional writing and dialogue surrounding social context, social justice, and social change, and building community within the classroom through shared facilitation and teacher modeling (Mitchell, 2007)—should be transferred to pedagogies that hybridize internships and service-learning. This is especially resonant in the contexts similar to this CBI, where students with a range of life experiences and identities are engaging with diverse communities. This study strengthens previous findings related to the

experiences of students of color in community-engaged learning as students of color in the CBI may feel the burden for making change and a sense of urgency for fixing the issues they encounter through their experience.

In terms of the *private* and *public* development of students, the findings suggest students in the CBI have opportunities for learning experiences that supports their professional and civic development. Students may learn about a given career field or what it means to be a professional, and through reflection, describe how their job has broader social impact. Stakeholders described students experiencing beneficial outcomes of the CBI that have align with current understanding of service-learning and internships (e.g. Divine et al., 2007; Gault et al., 2000; Harker, 2016; Mitchell & Rost-Banik, 2019; Moley & Ilustre, 2016). These outcomes include professional skill development, networking, and opportunities to conceptualize career pathways. They also include developing critical capacities, seeking to make social change, and building a sense of community.

Stakeholders described students cultivating skills that can be considered “public” through their participation in the program. These skills include deepened understandings of society by building connecting with the organizational missions of their partner sites or through critical engagement with social issues addressed by the work of the organizations. Students also had experiences that demonstrated their desire to make social change. Community partners and students identifying as white and privileged more frequently described this orientation towards change as helping or serving, an orientation towards citizenship that is more aligned with participatory citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Students of color and white students who described themselves with lower socioeconomic status described an orientation towards change as an urgent fight, an orientation that is more aligned with justice-oriented citizenship

(Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Students also strengthened connections to others and described experiences of growing sense of empathy or connecting to the communities they work in. Through their work and engaging in critical analysis of their work experiences, some students in the study articulated a sense of “civic professionalism” (Boyte & Fretz, 2010, p. 67) and as citizens who may be able “to work with others to solve problems and build thriving communities in ways that enhance democratic capacity” (Boyte & Fretz, 2010, p. 67). The structure of the CBI—students working in the nonprofit and educational sectors and engaging in service-learning pedagogy—could provide the context and tools for students to make connections between their work and society. This finding builds on previous research which indicates the power of service-learning to facilitate career conceptualization amongst students (e.g., Mitchell & Rostbanik, 2019), and in particular, its power to open students to the possibility of considering careers with service or civic orientations.

The following section will concentrate on the experiences of community partners and university staff who participated in the program. The CBI is an example of an experiential learning program that supports students in paid work at little financial burden to partnering organizations. The study reveals federal work-study funding of student wages was a motivation for community partners to join the CBI. Many experiential learning programs in higher education occur through partnerships with external organizations. If these programs can be implemented with little to no financial burden for these organizations, such as this CBI, those organizations with limited budgets to support interns or those that may to increase their baseline work capacity may have incentive to participate. This not only facilitates equity in distribution of university resources, such as student labor and university access, it also helps to create diversity in the types of roles students can take on through university-based programs.

The CBI's institutional impacts on the university stand at the nexus of private and public interests. While the university addressed private goals of meeting the institutional mission, preparing students for the workforce, and fulfilling administrative needs, it also supported public interests by engaging in meaningful partnerships with community organizations and providing experiences for students to develop a deeper sense of community and citizenship. The CBI, as a possible means to efficiently support university mission and goals, could serve as a rationale for marrying vocational training with service-learning and community engagement, whose relationship has been characterized as “A troubling dichotomy challenging postsecondary education” (Otto & Dunens, 2021). More broadly, this CBI serves as an example of one way to meet both the private and the public purposes of higher education in a single practice.

Community partners did experience outcomes such as increased capacity and inculcation of new perspectives through their participation in the CBI, outcomes more closely associated with private self-interest and associated with internships. While the outcomes and the organizational benefit of these outcomes could be connected to the broader common good as they are a means to support their missions aimed at public good, they were not frequently described as such. This suggests a need to understand and track how the CBI may support public purposes associated with the common good more clearly. The goals related to private outcomes and community partners were more clearly articulated by stakeholders in this study. To ensure that public outcomes, those associated with civic engagement or social justice, are not lost or dominated by the more apparent private outcomes, structures to document and disseminate these public outcomes may be necessary.

Community partners also partners discussed several challenges that are similar to challenges described in the service-learning literature (e.g., Sandy, 2007; Stoecker, 2016). The

complexity of the CBI could enhance the burden of program implementation on community partners. At partner sites, the additional workload and responsibility for managing students can be an obstacle to implementation, as site supervisors described tension when trying to balance their role of serving as a mentor or supervisor with the need to ensure that the organizational needs are being met through the work of interns. This tension could have negative consequences. Seeking to uphold their responsibility to the CBI and students, community partners may overextend themselves, spending more energy and resources on supervising and mentoring CBI students than the benefits program participation may warrant. Some community partners noted that the CBI is one of many partnerships they have with this university and with others throughout the metropolitan area, and these programs often get lumped together when they think about them. The particulars of a single program can get lost, which is in line with what other researchers have found (e.g., Stoecker, 2016), and this could impact how this work is conducted. The work-study component of the CBI is a distinct feature, however, and some partners requested that this program be implemented on a broader scale. From the higher education perspective, the administrative burden of internships and the administrative burden of service-learning may be a hinderance to their wider implementation. The CBI can be time and resource intensive, maybe more so than stand alone service-learning and internship programs, and may not produce enough impact to be worthwhile.

Overall, the CBI seems to be a place for students, community partners, and the university to address goals related to private and public interests. Descriptions of motivations related to these private and public interests was common amongst stakeholders. Student motivations more commonly aligned with public purposes and outcomes, whereas community partner and university staff motivation were more commonly aligned with private purposes and outcomes.

This difference in motivations for joining the program could be related to how the program is framed and how they understand their roles in the program. The program description and how it is articulated to both students and community partners could influence their motivations for joining.

While all stakeholder groups acknowledged public outcomes of the CBI, these outcomes were overwhelmingly framed in relation to student development rather than the cultivation of public capacities of community partners, organizations or the higher education institution. In this study the impacts on the community partners and the university are mostly framed as a private commodity to the benefit of individuals or organizations. This makes sense as the CBI is frequently described as helping them meet their missions and goals. Yet, more broadly, these effects could be related to public purposes of higher education and the work of community-based organizations. In particular, these kinds of impacts could be related to the common good associated with these public purposes. The community partners' increased capacity to meet their missions and the university fulfilling its civic mission could support longer term positive impacts on the community, and community partners and university staff in the participatory stage acknowledged this as an outcome of the CBI. This could be an example of supporting the common good through private motivations. With neoliberal market forces now entrenched in higher education policy and practices, this public through private model could be a way forward that prevents private interests from completely marginalizing the public missions of higher education institutions. Surprisingly, the recognition of public goals beyond student development or sense of communal association amongst the participants in the participatory researchers is not common. This indicates the CBI and practices like it should make efforts to ensure the public

goals are not marginalized. The public purposes should be foregrounded in program materials and structures.

It is important to note that the different research techniques employed in this study yielded different substance of findings, demonstrating differences in perspectives amongst stakeholders. In the participatory phase there was an overt orientation towards solution and improvement. The collaborative environment and relationships built through this environment seemed to create a space where criticisms or suggestions for improvement were welcomed and therefore were shared more freely. Although the second phase of research did yield suggestions for program improvement and insight on how the CBI could be better implemented, partners had less to offer when asked how the program could be improved. This could be due to the relationship between them and the researcher and the power dynamic that might exist between the university and community partners. There may be an aversion to criticizing the university or the program for fear of retaliation or damaged relationships. It could also be that a single interview does not create an environment where participants feel as comfortable being critical as they might otherwise be if they were engaged in an ongoing research group.

Implications for Practice

This study was not intended to be an evaluation of the CBI or to ascertain whether or not this particular program should continue at the university. It was designed to explore stakeholder perceptions and lived experiences of the CBI. Yet, the research does reveal some implications for future practice of CBIs. These implications are discussed in the following section.

- Integrate intentional, transdisciplinary reflection opportunities to bolster the public outcomes and “liberalize” or “humanize” the professional internships. As described in the discussion of the findings section above, students experience both private and public

outcomes in this CBI. While the study does demonstrate a propensity for the more private goals of students, those related to career development, it also shows that students can realize more public goals. These public goals may be emphasized through reflective practices and could be tied to the work environments of CBI interns, such as incorporating a transdisciplinary course that is not specifically tied to one academic discipline, but rather the professional experience itself, and is dedicated to deepening a critical engagement on their professional experiences. The course should provide opportunities for students to question and confront the status quo of the socioeconomic systems in which they work. Other CBIs and similar practices should incorporate these kinds of intentional learning components that emphasize the more public goals of education. This recommendation supports Dewey's charge to provide opportunities for learning that is "tied to life" experiences and draws on a transdisciplinary approach to teaching and learning (e.g., Dewey, 1900; Dewey 1931).

- Seek the support of community partners with commitment to program goals and nurture their ongoing involvement. Community partners clearly see themselves as educators of students in the CBI, therefore the potential for how work experiences at their sites may potentially reify or transform the status quo should be considered. Partner sites should be engaged in conversations surrounding social justice to ensure that there are opportunities for students critically engage with the organization's mission and its relationship to broader society. The findings related to stakeholders' ability to articulate program values also suggests practitioners should create learning opportunities for all stakeholders to better grasp the varied goals of the program.

Higher education partners should consider ways to invest in community partners as co-educators by extending learning opportunities for them, particularly regarding diversity, equity, and inclusion work, since this is such a prominent component of the learning that takes place. Higher education partners might also more intentionally support the initial training and onboarding of interns as they begin their on-site work. Some community partners at schools that are under resourced indicated that the interns may experience culture shock when they start at the schools. This culture shock experienced by the interns could have negative consequences for the schools and individuals the interns engage with. Therefore, higher education partners ought to incorporate diversity, equity, and inclusion training for students before they start their positions. This may support students as they enter their placement communities and also reduce the harm they may cause through their experience of culture shock.

- Incorporate a critical service-learning orientation to support diversity, equity, and inclusion practices in the internship and service-learning components of the program. The critical orientations of experiential pedagogies, borrowed from service-learning, could be additive to internship experiences and these critical leanings may be integral to CBIs, especially in contexts like the CBI investigated in this study. Diverse students engaging in community contexts that are shaped by racial inequality and segregation may benefit from opportunities to engage in guided critical reflection. Moreover, CBIs should also include orientations towards social change and social uplift, empowerment, and resistance drawn from community engagement traditions at HBCUs (Albritton, 2012), HSIs, and tribal colleges (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2003) which also align with practices common to critical service-learning.

The findings also suggest CBIs should incorporate practices that validate and normalize the experiences of students of color or students who have experienced poverty to alleviate any isolation or dissonance that may occur. CBI program facilitators and supervisors should consider the perspectives of students who may be entering communities similar to their own and they ought to prepare students to confront issues of race, education, and inequality by introducing these concepts before and during their experiences. The service orientation of the CBI may perpetuate a “white savior” complex that has been described in service-learning literature (Butin, 2006; Mitchell et al., 2012). This suggests the implementation of such practices should consider perspectives of social justice and to avoid the tendency of service to lean toward unquestioned white normativity. CBIs should draw upon practices of critical service-learning, such as incorporation of writing and in-class dialogue around social change and social justice (Mitchell, 2007). They should also look to Butin’s (2007) “justice-learning” (p. 177) to create opportunities for students to interrogate the complexities of social reality in the context of the service experiences. The incorporation of such perspectives could support an orientation towards justice within the CBI.

This orientation also calls for reimagining learning goals connected to diversity, equity, and inclusion in CBI practices. CBIs should consider learning goals that emphasize intercultural understanding from a perspective of cultural humility (Tervalon & Murray-García, 1998) rather than intercultural competence. This framing removes the orientation of achieving a determined sense of cultural understanding and emphasizes an orientation towards constant self-reflection in relation to understanding differences in culture. Employing Tervalon and Murray-García’s (1998) definition of cultural humility

as frame for learning outcomes in CBIs could help students be more critical of the power imbalances they encounter through their work and help them to develop a reciprocal orientation towards the communities and individuals they work with.

- Promote the private and public benefits of the program to potential student participants.

The motivation of students to join the CBI were varied. While more students did describe motivations related to service to others or communities, some also described motivations related to self-investment, such as professional development and career preparation.

Inculcating internships with orientations of service-learning could diversify the range of students who are attracted to internships, which in turn, could provide the benefits of internships and service-learning to a larger body of students. These two traits of a CBI, the potential for attracting more students and its structures to support professional and civic development, could help more students better comprehend how their professional and civic lives could be linked beyond their undergraduate college experience.

- Promote the private benefits of financial incentives of work-study as well as the self-interest of community organizations when promoting participation of the CBI to community partners. The findings surrounding this CBI and its funding structure could have implications for the structure and implementation of other community-based experiential learning programs. Stakeholders described the CBI as meeting multiple purposes and fulfilling institutional needs. This characteristic could serve as an example of how to circumvent institutional resistance to experiential learning programs stemming from their high administrative burden. Work-study funding substantially subsidizes student wages in the CBI and facilitates participation in an internship program by organizations that may not normally have the resources to host paid interns.

This characteristic supports work opportunities for students at organizations with a variety of missions aligned with goals of public good. The CBI's structure could create a talent pipeline into careers that align with public purposes and develop students as "civic professionals" (Boyte & Fretz, 2010, p. 69). Finally, the work type of funding also creates a pool of positions open only to federal work-study eligible students. These students, who have demonstrated some form of financial need, are afforded opportunities to participate in paid internships, providing an educational experience that may not normally be within reach, especially when internships are not paid.

- Determine if there are adequate human and financial resources to devote to program implementation at the entity administering the program. Practitioners who implement CBIs must consider the complexity of their varied goals and how this complexity may impact implementation at community partner sites. Structures and intentional practices to support community partners should be included in program design and implementation, potentially in ways beyond traditional internship and service-learning programs as the partners are balancing the varied goals of the CBI. The partnerships may need more nurturing than other less complex programs as this potentially more intensive partnership could prove to be a barrier in program implementation. While the varied goals may be more difficult to grasp, the CBI may serve multiple purposes of the institution through a single practice, making it an efficient use of university resources. This potential efficiency could be a vessel to move this practice, and potentially others like it, to the institutional center.
- Build in opportunities for project-based learning, possibly through participatory program evaluation and other means, to encourage democratic problem-solving. The difference

between the participatory stage and the interview and student work stage of the research, the former having more of an overt orientation towards program improvement, reciprocity, and shared authority could have implications for the field of service-learning and community engagement, especially when considering how to conduct research in the context of service-learning and community partnerships. Participatory methods not only have potential to shore up relationships and partnerships by creating a more democratic environment, they also could create research spaces where genuine relationships between researchers and their “participants” can yield richer data than data that gathered from more sterile one-on-one interviews. This type of research should be incorporated and revisited at regular intervals for CBIs and similar practices as it may provide data to improve programs and enhance collaborative and democratic principles of program environments. Integrating components like participatory research methods for program improvement may act as a space for practicing democratic community life. Encouraging opportunities for research through project-based learning at community partner sites is another possibility for future development. It is also in line with Dewey’s recommendations for overcoming the dichotomy of the private, vocational-professional trend in higher education, and the public-oriented liberal arts approach to education (e.g., Dewey, 1964b).

The results of the participatory action research study included in phase 1 indicate that partnership grounded in shared authority and reciprocity is an important characteristic of this CBI. This reciprocal and collaborative partnership is essential in service-learning (Bringle & Clayton, 2012; Hickey, 2016; Sandy & Holland, 2006), and has shaped how community partners and university staff approach their work in the CBI.

It seems as though service-learning paradigms of partnership can create an environment where stakeholders can be more open to democratic or collaborative ways of implementation an internship program, which may allow for more stakeholder buy-in through shared authority. This partnership orientation and personal connection may be an important characteristic of future hybridized pedagogical practice. Program facilitators should seek ways to encourage fuller participation of community partners and students in program planning and assessment. This may require finding funding to pay individuals for their time or other incentives such as covering the nonfederal share of student wages for organizations.

- Higher education institutions should anticipate the possibility that ongoing privatization may continue and should consider ways to respond to it. In the context of the “troubling dichotomy” (Otto & Dunens, 2021) and “neoliberal turn” (Tight, 2019, p. 274) in higher education, the CBI’s current positioning serves as an example of the pressure being exerted on higher education to professionalize the student experience, and in particular the perilous positioning of its public leaning goals and outcomes. Related to the description of broader trends toward privatization outlined in chapter 1, it is noteworthy to outline some of recent changes in policy and practice at this CBI’s home institution since the completion of this study. The institution in which the CBI is housed is moving towards an experiential learning graduation requirement, which will be in place for the class entering in the fall of 2022. Beginning in the fall of 2021, the federal work-study funds that support the CBI are now available to private for-profit business at the same subsidies as nonprofit organizations and government agencies. Further, funds external to federal work-study, will be extended into the CBI in spring of 2022, allowing non-federal

work-study eligible students to participate in the program. These changes to the program and its institutional context are, to some extent, a response to market forces exerted upon the institution and higher education more broadly. These forces could jeopardize the public leaning goals and outcomes of programs like the CBI for several reasons. First, nonprofit and government organizations' ability to compete is in peril as private companies encroach on the once protected space of subsidized federal work-study funding. The marginalization of organizations with missions and job opportunities that may support the development of students as civic professionals could curb the possibility of public outcomes, as fewer opportunities exist for students to engage with these types of organizations. The findings suggest higher education institutions should take steps to preserve partnerships with nonprofits and government agencies and seek partnerships with organizations that may provide robust experiential opportunities for engaging with public purposes, such as grass roots community organizations. In the current climate of higher education, where more and more students are expected to engage in professional experiences prior to graduation, it is these kinds of organizations that could provide work opportunities for students to have these professional experiences while also gaining skills and orientations related to the public purposes of education.

Recommendations and Future Research

CBI may be a practice that preserves the more public purposes of community-based experiential learning as higher education moves to respond to forces calling for the continued professionalization of higher learning. This tension is not novel, having played out in the earlier liberal turns of society and education. In the historical context, the varied purposes and outcomes of this CBI, rest at single point in the continued struggle between the purposes of higher

education. What can be learned through further study of CBIs and similar programs is the relationships of these purposes to one another through practice. I posit that these purposes do not necessarily need be diametrically opposed, and future study to understand if and how they can be met together is needed.

Yet, Dewey's warning must be heeded. After all, his orientation towards democracy in education is not the driving paradigm in today's educational environment. Even in this CBI, where there is an overt orientation towards public goals, the private goals related to individual or organizational self-interest were more prominent. This does not mean that private purposes have completely overrun public purposes, but it does indicate a need to protect and nurture these public purposes in higher education. Continued research is needed to understand how all stakeholders understand and engage with the varied purposes and outcomes of community-engaged learning practices in higher education. More research that explores how community partners and university staff experience private and public outcomes could build on knowledge developed in this study regarding student experiences. Broadly, research in this area could further develop these practices to ensure that public goals are just as prominent as private goals.

This research indicates a need to incorporate aspects of critical service-learning into the practice of CBIs, especially in the context of a diverse urban environment. Experiences of students identifying as students of color or with lower socioeconomic status indicated they faced specific challenges through their participation in the CBI: confronting the mistreatment of individuals whom they identify with and feeling pressure to take responsibility for making change. Some students who identified with privileged backgrounds described a sense of concern for individuals impacted by inequality and criticized structures that perpetuate it. They also recognized their privileged position and indicated they wanted to use it for good. These

perspectives are quite different from the feelings of responsibility experienced by students of color, rather white students may feel like they can make a difference or help. More research on CBIs and similar programs could further explore diverse student experiences with these types of hybridized learning practices. Building upon findings from this study, research could investigate specific pieces of the CBI that may increase the likelihood of uneven outcomes for students that vary based on their racial or socioeconomic background.

As this research involved a single case, further interrogation of other cases is necessary. This specific case has limitations related to the size of the sample and the diversity of the community partners involved in the program. Further research could address this limitation and interrogate more deeply the relationship between place, social contexts, and CBIs. Further research could also more deeply explore specific stakeholder experiences. The broadness of the research questions allowed for this exploratory study to develop understanding of phenomenon that was not been well study, yet their structure also constrained the analysis. By looking specifically for affects and outcomes, some aspects of stakeholder experiences could have been obscured. The broadness also made it difficult to remain acutely attuned to nuanced differences that may occur within stakeholder groups, so employing varied theoretical frames was necessary to capture those nuances. There is a need to investigate aspects of stakeholder experiences more deeply, including the power struggles faced by students, community partner roles as educators regarding professional skill development and intercultural competence, and university's role in creating, maintaining. And communicating program structures. Studies that focus on one stakeholder group could interrogate specific questions pertaining to that group and generate more nuanced understanding of their experiences that cut across different aspects of define traits such as organization type and participant identity. All stakeholders faced challenges which could be

further explored in future studies, and a deeper exploration of the root causes of these issues could provide further insight into how they could be ameliorated.

The research's two- phase methodology, which combined participatory methods with more traditional qualitative approaches, raises further questions regarding inquiry in the field of service-learning and community engagement. Participants from the participatory phase of this project described enhanced connections between co-researchers and the projected served as an exemplar of collaborative culture within CBI. This stage of research and this particular outcome serve as an example for the protentional of participatory research methods to create a positive feedback loop through research practice. This mode of inquiry could enhance partnerships and relationships, which in turn, could enhance community engaged learning practices. Participatory methods make sense in contexts that are defined by relationships and engaging in these methods has potential for strengthening these relationships. Further study of how we ought to engage in research in the context of service-learning and community-engagement is a pressing need in the field. It is necessary to explore how action research and other participatory research methods may serve as processes to yield data and action plans, but also as way to strengthen relationships between program partners and nurture the construction of genuine partnerships.

Conclusion

After the first stage of research, my impression was that the more public tendencies of the program would serve as a defining characteristic of the CBI and, in turn, permeate other findings of the study. Yet, the public outcomes beyond those related to student development were largely absent. This finding surprised me, and it suggests the internship piece of the CBI is dominating. The CBI has goals related to support of the common good. But does it meet these goals? The program, and others like it, need to consider ways to capture and understand evidence of public

outcomes like democratic participation, civic engagement and social justice so these goals can be understood and programs can be designed to meet these goals. This is an especially salient question for two reasons. First, the CBI does seem to require more commitment from stakeholders than other experiential learning programs. If goals are not being met, the question of continuing such a practice must be considered. Second, the CBI is scaling up and expanding to include private businesses in an economic market shaped by high labor demand and a growing interest in diversity, equity, and inclusion in the workplace. Partners are competing for interns by paying higher wages and offering flexible or remote work options and interns have also recently been described as a means for employers to diversify their workforce. In this current context, if the public outcomes are not well documented, understood, and centered they could be further relegated to the margins of the program as goals of professional development and work-force preparation gain an even greater foothold. Another danger is the potential harm to the students, most likely students of color, sought after by employers to diversify their workforces. While seeking to create diverse representation through internship placements is not in itself negative or harmful, if done in a manner that lacks cultural humility or culturally responsive practices, this effort could be harmful to students.

Despite the tendency for outcomes related to internships to be centered by stakeholders, this study does demonstrate the impacts of both internship and service-learning practices can be achieved through a single hybridized implementation. Rather than addressing the *private* or *public* goals of stakeholders, the CBI is a practice that may address these goals together, particularly in relation to student centered outcomes. For students, these two kinds of outcomes are quite clear in the findings. While students developed professionally, they also meaningfully engaged with issues that directly affect the communities in which they work. Community

partners and the university did seem to experience benefits connected to both the private and public purposes, but the private leaning outcomes were more frequently discussed and more clearly articulated by stakeholders. In this study the public outcomes directly related to community partners and the university must be induced through outcomes that stakeholders framed as private or self-interested. Community partners benefited from the increased capacity and new perspectives brought by students, which may help them meet missions aimed at the public good. The university addressed administrative needs and moved closer to meeting its missions of work force preparedness and civic engagement while also building relationships with external partners. Broader impacts related to public outcomes and in support of the common good, were not as clear in the research.

The combination of time and reflection could be a key differentiation of the CBI from regular internships or service-learning. The amount of time spent on site over the course of a year-long CBI placement reflects that of a typical internship experience and the incorporation of reflection throughout the experience is borrowed from service-learning best practices. While the student experiences in the CBI were not uniform and some students struggled to grasp the more public leaning learning goals connected to citizenship and intercultural competence, the findings suggest the work environments and reflection may create opportunities for the interns to critically engage with society and their relationship to it. As with any learning program, students most likely came to the CBI with varying levels of competence regarding the learning goals and intended outcomes of the program, so it would not be expected for all the students to describe a set of experiences in which they were all advanced in their understanding of the public outcomes. While some students did demonstrate more advanced understanding of these goals, almost all students described experiencing some type of outcome more commonly associated with service-

learning. Even if the internship piece of the practice tends to dominate, the more public orientations of service-learning may persist. This suggests engaging in CBIs may be a worthwhile endeavor and serve as means to confront the narrowness in education that Dewey (1900) criticized and serve to widen the practice of internships to include both private and public goals. In the current landscape of higher education, CBIs could serve as one means to include goals of citizenship development and the common good in the more domineering goals of professional development and workforce preparation.

The mutual benefit to all stakeholders, could provide a rationale for the implementation of this hybridized practice more widely in the future, especially within similar contexts. Yet, the challenges related to the complexity of meeting the varied goals of diverse stakeholders must be confronted in program implementation. Like other community-based experiential pedagogies, community-based internships are not a “cure-all”. They do not challenge the status quo of the neoliberal power structure, but they may be better way to prepare students professionally than internships alone as they also consider public purposes of education. Even with these challenges, the study signifies a potential for further integration of CBIs and educational practices like them that address varied goals of higher education. There should be a move to reconceptualize how programs, in particular those that focus on community engaged learning, approach their purposes and goals. The private and public purposes, and strategies to fulfil these purposes, should be held together. Yet, marrying these is not enough. In the context of further marketization of higher education, specific care for the public purposes must be taken.

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Appendix A Concept Maps

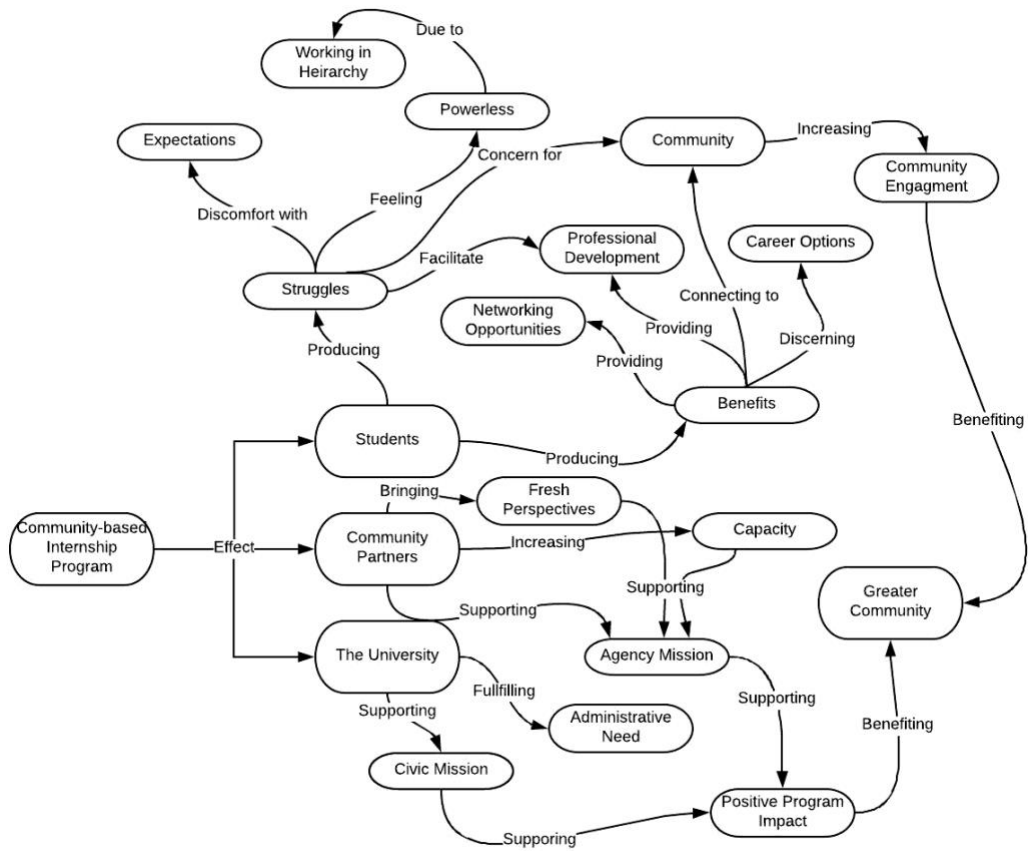


Figure a - Facilitator Concept Map

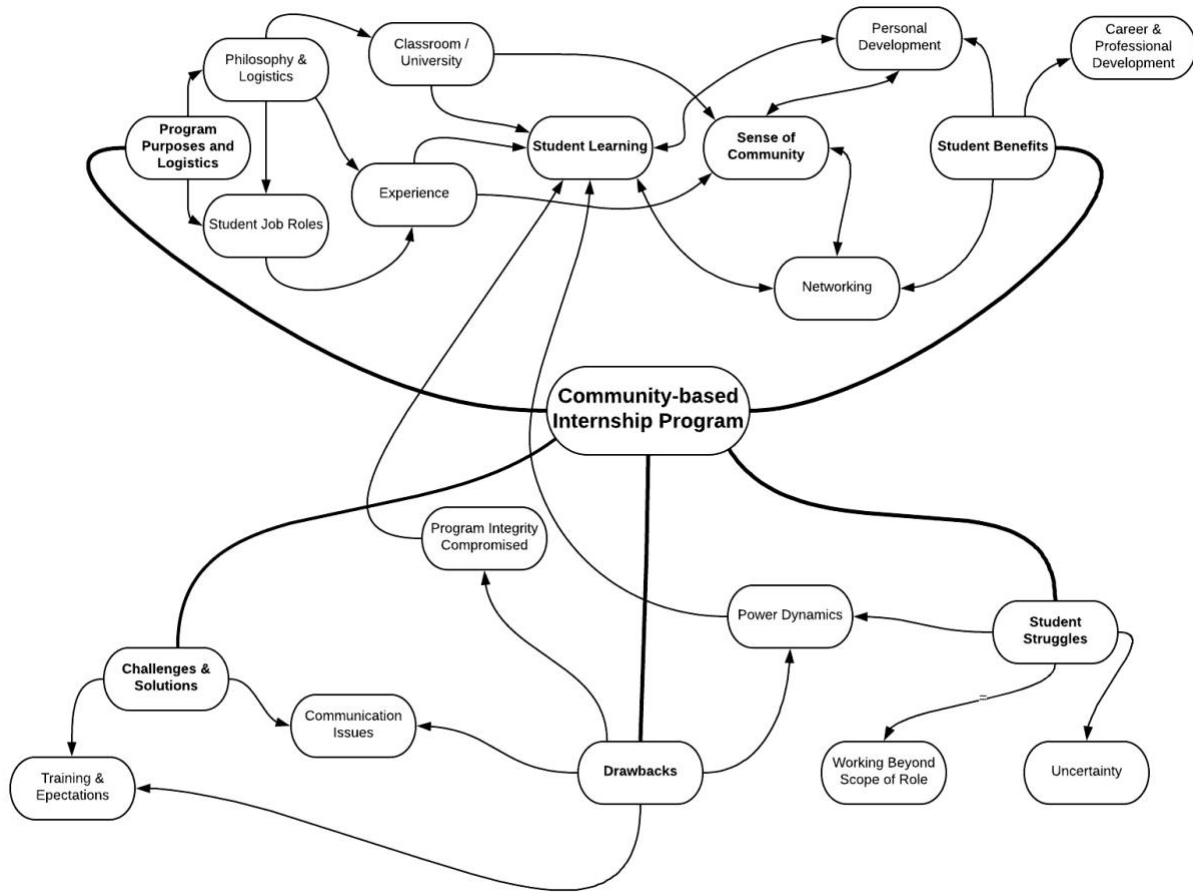


Figure b – Student Concept Map

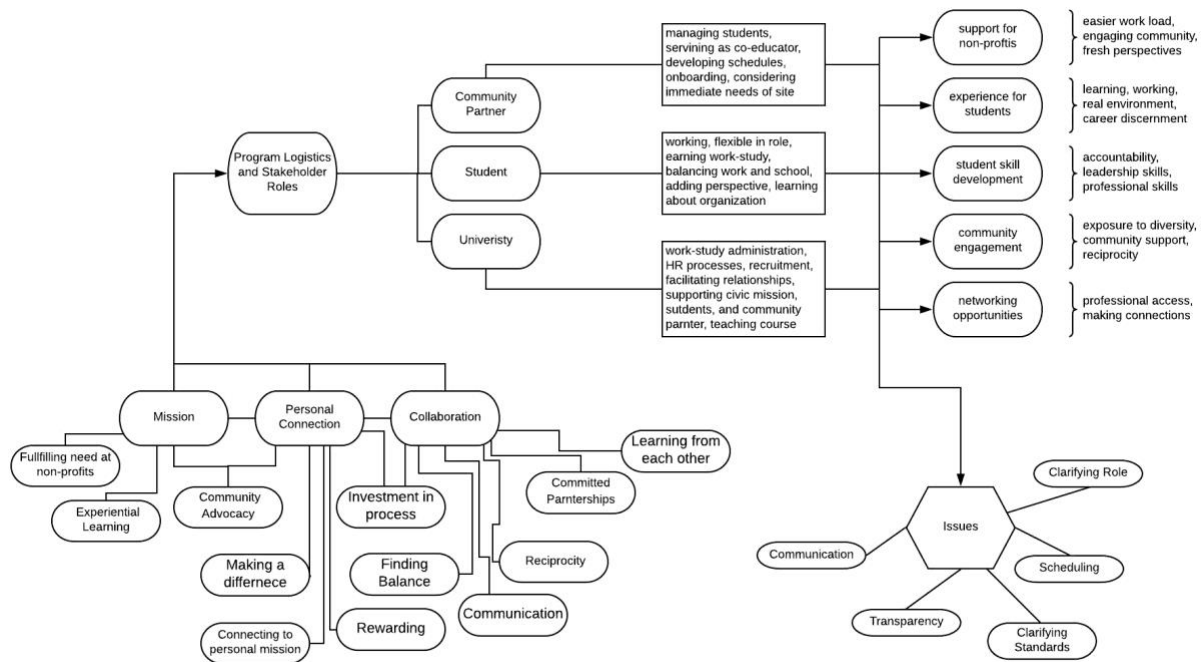


Figure c – Community Partner & University Staff Concept Map

Appendix B IRB Materials

Approval Letters



Leah Stoiber
IRB Administrator
Institutional Review Board
Engelmann 270
P. O. Box 413
Milwaukee, WI 53201-0413
(414) 229-7455 phone
(414) 229-6729 fax

<http://www.irb.uwm.edu>
lstoiber@uwm.edu

Modification/Amendment - IRB Expedited Approval

Date: January 29, 2018

To: Benjamin Trager

Dept: Center for Community-Based Learning, Leadership, and Research

CC: ----

IRB#: 18.146

Title: Exploring a Community-based Work-study Program: An Action Research Project

After review of your research protocol by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Institutional Review Board, your protocol has received modification/amendment approval for:

- Adding co-investigator, Dr. Marie Sandy
- Changing total duration of participation

IRB approval will expire on **January 2, 2021**. If you plan to continue any research related activities (e.g., enrollment of subjects, study interventions, data analysis, etc.) past the date of IRB expiration, a Continuation for IRB Approval must be filed by the submission deadline. If the study is closed or completed before the IRB expiration date, please notify the IRB by completing and submitting the Continuing Review form in IRBManager.

Any proposed changes to the protocol must be reviewed by the IRB before implementation, unless the change is specifically necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. The principal investigator is responsible for adhering to the policies and guidelines set forth by the UWM IRB, maintaining proper documentation of study records and promptly reporting to the IRB any adverse events which require reporting. The principal investigator is also responsible for ensuring that all study staff receive appropriate training in the ethical guidelines of conducting human subjects research.

As Principal Investigator, it is also your responsibility to adhere to UWM and UW System Policies, and any applicable state and federal laws governing activities which are independent of IRB review/approval (e.g., FERPA, Radiation Safety, UWM Data Security, UW System policy on Prizes, Awards and Gifts, state gambling laws, etc.). When conducting research at institutions outside of UWM, be sure to obtain permission and/or approval as required by their policies.

Contact the IRB office if you have any further questions. Thank you for your cooperation, and best wishes for a successful project.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Leah Stoiber".

Leah Stoiber
IRB Administrator



Department of University Safety & Assurances

Melody Harries
IRB Administrator
Institutional Review Board
Engelmann 270
P. O. Box 413
Milwaukee, WI 53201-0413
(414) 229-3182 phone
(414) 229-6729 fax

<http://www.irb.uwm.edu>
harries@uwm.edu

Modification/Amendment Notice of IRB Exempt Status

Date: November 9, 2018

To: Benjamin Trager

Dept: Center for Community-Based Learning, Leadership, and Research

CC: ---

IRB#: 18.146

Title: Exploring a Community-based Work-study Program: An Action Research Project

After review of your proposed changes to the research protocol by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Institutional Review Board, your protocol still meets the criteria for Exempt Status under **Category 1 & 2** as governed by 45 CFR 46.101 subpart b, and your protocol has received modification/amendment approval for:

- Applying a new research question to existing study data

This protocol has been approved as exempt for three years and IRB approval will expire on **January 2, 2021**. If you plan to continue any research related activities (e.g., enrollment of subjects, study interventions, data analysis, etc.) past the date of IRB expiration, please respond to the IRB's status request that will be sent by email approximately two weeks before the expiration date. If the study is closed or completed before the IRB expiration date, you may notify the IRB by sending an email to irbinfo@uwm.edu with the study number and the status, so we can keep our study records accurate.

Any proposed changes to the protocol must be reviewed by the IRB before implementation, unless the change is specifically necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. The principal investigator is responsible for adhering to the policies and guidelines set forth by the UWM IRB, maintaining proper documentation of study records and promptly reporting to the IRB any adverse events which require reporting. The principal investigator is also responsible for ensuring that all study staff receive appropriate training in the ethical guidelines of conducting human subjects research.

As Principal Investigator, it is also your responsibility to adhere to UWM and UW System Policies, and any applicable state and federal laws governing activities which are independent of IRB review/approval (e.g., [FERPA](#), [Radiation Safety](#), [UWM Data Security](#), [UW System policy on Prizes, Awards and Gifts](#), state gambling laws, etc.). When conducting research at institutions outside of UWM, be sure to obtain permission and/or approval as required by their policies.

Contact the IRB office if you have any further questions. Thank you for your cooperation and best wishes for a successful project.

Respectfully,

Melody Harries
IRB Administrator



Department of University Safety & Assurances

Leah Stoiber
IRB Administrator
Institutional Review Board
Engelmann 270
P. O. Box 413
Milwaukee, WI 53201-0413
(414) 662-3544

<http://www.irb.uwm.edu>
lstoiber@uwm.edu

Modification/Amendment Notice of IRB Exempt Status

Date: July 21, 2021

To: Marie Sandy

Dept: Center for Community-Based Learning, Leadership, and Research

CC: Benjamin Trager

IRB#: 18.146

Title: Exploring a Community-based Work-study Program: An Action Research Project

After review of your proposed changes to the research protocol by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Institutional Review Board, your protocol still meets the criteria for Exempt Status under **Category 1 & 2** as governed by 45 CFR 46.101 subpart b, and your protocol has received modification/amendment approval for:

- ☐ Removing co-investigator Laurie Marks.

This protocol has been approved as exempt for three years and IRB approval will expire on **December 22, 2023**. If you plan to continue any research related activities (e.g., enrollment of subjects, study interventions, data analysis, etc.) past the date of IRB expiration, please respond to the IRB's status request that will be sent by email approximately two weeks before the expiration date. If the study is closed or completed before the IRB expiration date, you may notify the IRB by sending an email to irbinfo@uwm.edu with the study number and the status, so we can keep our study records accurate.

Any proposed changes to the protocol must be reviewed by the IRB before implementation, unless the change is specifically necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. The principal investigator is responsible for adhering to the policies and guidelines set forth by the UWM IRB, maintaining proper documentation of study records and promptly reporting to the IRB any adverse events which require reporting. The principal investigator is also responsible for ensuring that all study staff receive appropriate training in the ethical guidelines of conducting human subjects research.

As Principal Investigator, it is also your responsibility to adhere to UWM and UW System Policies, and any applicable state and federal laws governing activities which are independent of IRB review/approval (e.g., [FERPA](#), [Radiation Safety](#), [UWM Data Security](#), [UW System policy on Prizes, Awards and Gifts](#), state gambling laws, etc.). When conducting research at institutions outside of UWM, be sure to obtain permission and/or approval as required by their policies.

Contact the IRB office if you have any further questions. Thank you for your cooperation and best wishes for a successful project.

Respectfully,

Leah Stoiber
IRB Administrator

Recruitment Letter

January, 2018

Dear CBI stakeholder-

The Community Engagement Office is interested in developing a deeper understanding of the Community Leaders Internship Program (CBI). As this program involves multiple stakeholders; students, community partner staff, and university staff we have decided to undertake a collaborative action research project to identify key issues and components within CBI. The research project will also seek to create an action plan based on the research findings to improve the program.

As a participant in this collaborative research study, you will take on the role of co-researcher helping to uncover data, interpret findings, and implement an action plan. This study will likely take approximately 6-8 hours of your time spread throughout several occasions. You will be asked to participate in an initial meeting in February, an individual interview in February, a group analysis meeting in March, and a group action planning meeting in April. Specific dates for meetings and interviews will be determined based on availability of all co-researchers. If you would like to participate in this project please notify Ben Trager at bwtrager@uwm.edu by January 31st, 2018.

Take care,

Ben Trager
Community Engagement Office
414-229-3161
bwtrager@uwm.edu

Appendix C Research Meeting & Interview Protocols

Collaborative Action Research Meeting Protocol

Data collected February 2018

1. What is your definition of the community-based internship (CBI) program?
2. Where and when does action in the CBI take place?
3. How does the CBI affect our work and lives?
4. What are the effects of the CBI?
 - On the community, on individuals, on the university, etc.
5. What are the issues in the CBI that need to be addressed?
 - What concerns or hopes do you bring to the table from your site and role?
6. What is the purpose of the meeting?
 - What do we hope to get out of this meeting?

Community Partner Interview Protocol

Data collected November and December 2019. Italicized questions indicate possible probing questions after the primary numbered questions are asked. In this document the program is referred to as CBI, which is the acronym for the program name, Community-Based Internship Program. The interview will begin with basic questions name, organization, and role. These questions will also allow for interviewees to ease into the interview.

- 1. If you are comfortable providing the information, please answer the following questions.**
 - a. How would you describe your gender?*
 - b. How would you describe your race and ethnicity?*
 - c. How would you describe your class background?*
- 2. Tell me about your role in CBI.**
 - a. How did you get involved with CBI?*
 - b. How do you participate in the program now?*
- 3. Describe CBI in your own words.**
 - a. What kinds of values do you believe CBI partners often have?*
- 4. What motivated you to join CBI?**
 - a. What experiences in CBI have been surprising?*
 - b. What do you find meaningful regarding your work with CBI now?*
- 5. How do you work with CBI students at your organization?**
 - a. What do you believe students learn through their participation in CBI?*
 - b. How have students struggled in their jobs?*
 - c. Can you share an example of how a student may have developed inter-cultural competence through their role?*
 - d. Who else do the students work with at your site?*
- 6. Tell me how you work with the staff at the CCBLLR office.**
 - a. How are program structures and procedures communicated?*
 - b. What role do you play in establishing program structures?*
 - c. How do you feel you or your organization is perceived by students and staff?*
- 7. How has CBI affected your organization?**
 - a. Why does your organization partner with CBI?*
 - b. How does CBI connect to your organization's mission?*
 - c. How has it affected the communities you work with?*
 - d. How has working with CBI changed over time?*
- 8. What challenges do you face working with CBI?**
 - a. How could these challenges be addressed?*
 - b. How do you recommend we prepare future CBI partners?*

9. Do you think CBI is oriented towards goals of social justice?

a. Could you explain why or why not?

b. How do you feel about this orientation?

10. Do you have any other comments or questions for me?

University Staff Interview Protocol

Data collected during December 2019. Italicized questions indicate possible probing questions after the primary numbered questions are asked. In this document the program is referred to as CBI, which is the acronym for the program name, Community-Based Internship Program. The interview will begin with basic questions regarding name, organization, role, and demographic information.

- 1. If you are comfortable providing the information, please answer the following questions:**
 - a. How would you describe your gender?*
 - b. How would you describe your race and ethnicity?*
 - c. How would you describe your class background?*
- 2. How did CBI get started at the university?**
 - a. What is the mission of CBI?*
 - b. Does this orientation include goals of social justice? Please explain.*
 - c. Tell me how CBI has evolved over time.*
- 3. Tell me about your role in CBI.**
 - a. How do you interact with the different stakeholders?*
 - b. What motivates you to maintain the program?*
 - c. What have you learned through your participation in CBI?*
 - d. For university staff who work with CBI, what qualities are important for them to possess?*
- 4. What are the roles and responsibilities of CBI stakeholders within the program?**
 - a. How do they work together?*
 - b. Who has authority in making programming decisions?*
- 5. In your opinion, what do stakeholders learn through their participation in CBI?**
 - a. How do students confront issues related to inter-cultural competence through CBI?*
- 6. What challenges do you face working with CBI?**
 - a. How would you improve the program?*
 - b. How do you address problems or misunderstandings between stakeholders when they occur?*
- 7. What are your future hopes for the program?**
 - a. What processes / structures could support these hopes?*
 - b. What processes / structures could pose challenges to program development*

Final Meeting / Focus Group Protocol

This protocol served as a guide to the final data sharing and sense making meeting.

- 1. Which, if any, of the findings make sense or “ring true” to you?**
- 2. Which, if any, of the findings are unclear or do not resonate with you?**
- 3. How do you feel about the organization and presentation of findings?**
- 4. Were you surprised by any of the findings, why or why not?**
- 5. What was it like to participate in this research project?**
- 6. How has participation in this project impacted your role in the program?**
- 7. How might the findings impact your work?**
- 8. What went well during the research process? What could have been improved?**
- 9. What do you hope to see come out of this project?**

Appendix D Reflection Prompts for Students

Note:

The following sets of reflection questions and the final paper reflection assignment were completed by students during two internship program cohorts; one from fall 2017 and one from fall of 2018. The responses to the questions and the paper prompts from these cohorts will serve as data in this study.

Reflection Questions Session 2

1. What has the onboarding process been like?
 - a. -Think about how you found the job, the interview and orientation, your first few days on the job
2. Describe anything that has surprised you about your experience thus far.
 - a. Think about the unexpected, the new, any initial "ah ha" moments
3. What is the mission of the organization you work at?
4. How does your role support that mission?
5. After reading the article excerpt from Alan Grose, which "curricular pathway" do you think you are following while in CBI?
 - a. Justify your decision with a few thoughts.

Reflection Questions Session 3

1. In what ways does your position in CBI relate to your educational and / or career goals?
2. Describe a skill you've gained or enhanced through your participation in the CBI program.
 - a. If you are very new you can talk about a skill you hope to gain or enhance
3. How could this skill be applied more broadly to other areas of your life?
4. Think about how you communicate with colleagues at your CBI site...
 - a. What is your style of communication?
 - b. How does it line up with the communication style of others at your site?
 - c. What adjustments have you had to make, if any?

Reflection Questions Session 4

1. Describe the neighborhood you learned about through the 88.9 Radio Milwaukee video. Think about the community, the geography, and the history.
2. If you were to visit that neighborhood, is there any particular thing you'd like to do or see? What struck you about this neighborhood? What was interesting or new information?
3. Compare this neighborhood to your home community. What are the similarities and differences?
4. How is your CBI site connected to its neighborhood community? How is it connected to the city? Focus on how your community partner's mission supports or adds to the neighborhood and/or city.

Reflection Questions Session 5

1. Describe your role, in detail, at your CBI site.
 - a. What are your responsibilities while you are there? What work do you do? What specific projects do you support (if any)? Who do you work with? How do you contribute to the goals of the school or the organization?
2. How is your current CBI job different from jobs you've had in the past? How is it similar?
3. What are two skills you have developed while working at your CBI site?
 - a. Think about job specific skills and also generalizable skills, or hard skills vs soft skills.
4. How has your work in you CBI job developed these skills?

Reflection Questions Session 6

Please read article by Cheryl Hyde before completing this week's assignment.

1. Describe your personal culture and identity. Think about what makes you, you. Use the table on p. 430 to guide your response.
2. What are your dominant cultural identity traits? How do these traits shape your world view?
3. Has your role in CBI challenged any assumptions or beliefs you held previously? If so, in what ways?
4. What are some steps you can take to be more critically aware of your identity?

If you have questions please let me know, this article is a bit more abstract that what we have engaged with previously in this course.

My Experience at my Work-Study Site: What? So What? Now What?

Final Reflection Paper EDPOL-315-002

This is an opportunity to engage in summative critical reflection. You have already reflected on all the topics covered in the questions below in your weekly ongoing reflections, so you can refer back to those reflections as you write this final essay. Yet, I encourage you to think about any evolutions you've had in your observations, perspectives, and experiences throughout the semester.

The questions below are a guide, not a strict set of rules. What I want to see is thoughtful and critical responses to your experience in CBI. Think of this as a final narrative personal essay, it can be a tool for you to understand and analyze your own perspectives.

"A" papers will be coherently written and demonstrate thoughtful personal analysis of experiences.

"B" papers will be mostly coherently written and demonstrate thoughtful personal analysis of experiences.

"C" papers will lack coherence and demonstrate a surface level of personal analysis of experience in CBI.

"D" papers will lack coherence written and offer little to analysis.

"F" papers will lack coherence and offer no analysis.

Tips for Writing

- 1. Include a thesis statement!**
- 2. Include an introduction and conclusion**
- 3. Include supporting details for your broad statements**
- 4. Use personal pronouns! This is a reflective essay!**
- 5. Be genuine and honest, it will facilitate your writing process.**

What?

What happened? What did you observe? What issue is being addressed or population is being served? What were strategies you employed to work successfully with people from cultural, racial, ethnic, or class / educational backgrounds different than your own? Did you work with a team to make change at your site, or did you work independently?

So What?

Did you learn new skills or clarify an interest? How is your experience different from what you expected? What impacts the way you view the situation/experience? (What lens are you viewing from?) What did you like/dislike about the experience? *What did you learn about the public school system and/or non-profit sector?* What are some of the pressing needs/issues in the community? How does what you do/did address those needs?

Now What?

What seem to be the root causes of the issue addressed? What other work is currently happening to address the issue? What learning occurred for you in this experience? How can you apply this learning? What would you like to learn more about, related to this project or issue? What follow-up is needed to address any challenges or difficulties? What information can you share with your peers or the community?

Curriculum Vitae

Ben Trager

Education

Doctor of Philosophy- Urban Education, Social Foundations of Education, 2021
University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee: Milwaukee, WI

Master of Arts- Education, 2010
Loyola Marymount University: Los Angeles, CA

Bachelor of Arts- History and Spanish, 2008
Saint Louis University: St. Louis, MO

Professional Experience

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Center for Community-Based Learning, Leadership and Research,
Milwaukee, WI

Director of Community-Based Learning
2016-present

- Coordinate, develop, and assess community-based federal work-study internships, virtual tutoring program, alternative spring break, co-curricular programming, and large episodic service events
- Collaborate with faculty and community partners to develop and implement over 25 service-learning courses per semester across university course offerings, serving up to 1,500 students per semester
- Advise students in service-learning courses, internship program, and general inquiries
- Establish and maintain mutually beneficial partnerships with local non-profit organizations, government agencies, and other university departments
- Facilitate collaboration between campus stakeholders representing a broad range of units and departments
- Guide and mentor program managers, graduate assistants, and student staff in their duties
- Plan and execute large-scale volunteer events, campus social and professional development events, student information sessions, job fairs, and community partner meetings
- Maintain the center website to ensure clear and current information is available

Crate & Barrel/CB2, New York, NY / Los Angeles, CA
General Manager
2010-2016

- Developed and implemented training curriculum for all sales associates and managers
- Oversaw day-to-day activity of the team to ensure financial success of the store
- Directed staff of managers, sales associates, customer service associates, and stock associates
- Facilitated communication between the corporate level and the store level
- Directed the recruitment and hiring of store team
- Participated and led the new store opening process
- Supported social media efforts of the store and CB2 brand

Loyola Marymount University, MBA Program, Los Angeles, CA

Graduate Assistant

2008-2009

- Managed schedules of the dean and director of MBA program
- Maintained database of MBA applicants
- Coordinated monthly communication with all applicants
- Assisted in bi-monthly information sessions for prospective MBA students

Teaching Experience

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Department of Educational Policy & Community Studies, Milwaukee, WI

Adjunct Lecturer

2017-present

- Educational Policy 609 (U/G) - Community Partnerships
- Educational Policy 509 (U) – Fieldwork / Practicum in Education and Community
- Educational Policy 315 (U) - Group Process and Civic Engagement
- Education Policy 279 (U) – Special Topics – Community-Based Internship

Peer Reviewed Publication

Trager, B. (2020). Community-based internships: How hybridized high-impact practice affects students, community partners, and the university. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 26(2), 71-94.

Presentations

Trager, B., & Sandy, M. (2021). Meeting private and public goals of higher education through hybridization of internships and service-learning. *2021 International Association for Research on Service Learning and Community Engagement Virtual Gathering*, Virtual Conference.

Sandy, M. & **Trager, B.** (2021). Revisiting John Dewey's social philosophy during the 'original' liberal turn: Implications for service learning with democratic values in a neoliberal context. *6th Public Philosophy Network Conference*, Virtual Conference.

Van Schyndel, T., Shaffer, T., Romo, D., & **Trager, B.** (2021). Professional associations' role supporting community-engaged graduate students and early career practitioner-scholars. *2021 Engagement Scholarship Consortium Annual Conference*, Virtual Conference.

Trager, B. (2020). The give and take: "dealing" with power in collaborative research. *2020 American Educational Research Association Meeting*, San Francisco, CA. *Cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic*

Trager, B. (2019). A framework for community-based internships: A hybridization of service-learning and internships. *2019 International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement Conference*, Albuquerque, NM.

Marks, L. & **Trager, B.** (2019). Community-based internship programs: HIPs aimed at the public good, *48th Annual Conference National Society of Experiential Education*, St. Pete Beach, FL.

Koneazny, T., & **Trager, B.** (2019). America reads and community-based work-study: Building a network to build capacity. *2019 Midwest Campus Compact Conference*, Minneapolis, MN.

Trager, B. (2019). Multiplicity and a stance of openness: Rhetorical listening and rhetorical attunement in participatory action research. *15th Congress on Qualitative Inquiry*, Champaign, IL.

Trager, B. (2019). Community-based internships: How hybridized high-impact practice effects students, community partners, & the university. *2019 American Educational Research Association Meeting*, Toronto, ON.

Trager, B. & Sandy, M. (2019). Collective coding in PAR and CBQR projects. *Knowledge Mobilization Workshop of the Midwest Knowledge Mobilization Network*, Madison, WI.

Trager, B., Draeger-Pederson, C., Herron, D., Reynolds, A., Schubot, E., & Varela, A. (2018). Community-based work study: Exploring diverse stakeholder experiences through collaborative research. *The Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities Conference*, Chicago, IL.

Trager, B. (2018). Community-based internship program participatory action research project. *2018 International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement Conference*, New Orleans, LA.

Cass, T. J., Mascari, L., & **Trager, B.** (2018). Initial approaches to a collaborative hermeneutic process, *14th Congress on Qualitative Inquiry*, Champaign, IL.

Trager, B. (2018). Exploring a community-based work-study program: An action research project. *14th Congress on Qualitative Inquiry*, Champaign, IL.

Lutter, G., Sandy, M., Cronje, R., **Trager, B.** (2018). Engaging students in authentic community relationships. *Conference on Teaching and Learning: The Joy of Teaching in the Digital Age*, Madison, WI.

Trager, B., & Marks, L. (2018). Community-based work study: Hybridized high impact practice and enhanced learning outcomes. *Association of American Colleges & Universities- Diversity, Equity, and Inclusive Democracy Conference*, San Diego, CA.

Hofschulte, J. & **Trager, B.** (2017). Deliberative dialogue and youth voice: A service-learning experience. *Wisconsin Campus Compact Civic Engagement Institute*, Green Bay, WI.

Funding

U.S. Department of Education Federal Work Study Experiment
UWM Community Leaders Internship Program expansion
3-year renewable experiment through 2024
2021-2022: \$233,731

Milwaukee Public Schools Partnership for the Arts & Humanities Grant
Deliberative Dialogue & Youth Voice
2017-2018: \$19,950

Wisconsin Humanities Council Grant
Deliberative Dialogue & Youth Voice
2017-2018: \$10,000

Awards & Scholarships

2020, 2019, 2018 UWM Graduate School Travel Award
2020, 2019 UWM Urban Education Program Travel Award
2019 IARSLCE Graduate Student Scholarship

Professional Service

International

IARSLCE Board of Directors – 2021
IARSLCE Graduate student Network Chair - 2021
IARSLCE Conference Proposal Reviewer - 2021
IARSLCE Graduate Student Network Chair-elect - 2020
IARSLCE Conference Proposal Reviewer - 2019
IARSLCE Graduate Student Network Conference Planning Committee Co-Chair - 2019

National

Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning Manuscript Reviewer – 2021
Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship Manuscript Reviewer - 2021
NSEE Scholarship & Publications Committee - 2021

Local

UWM Division of Student Affairs Engagement Committee Co-Chair 2021-2022
UWM Search and Screen Committee Chair – Federal Work-Study Program Coordinator - 2021
UWM Urban Education Doctoral Student Association Treasurer - 2020-2021
UWM Search and Screen Committee - Director of Student Learning, Assessment, & Planning - 2020
UWM Experiential Learning Requirement Development Committee - 2019-2020
Midwest Interdisciplinary Graduate Conference Board of Directors - 2018 & 2019
Regional Community Engagement Network Discussion Facilitator - 2018
UWM Student Work Experience and Career Placement Working Group - 2018
UWM Food Pantry Steering Committee - 2018
UWM Common Read Facilitator - 2016-2019
UWM Common Read Committee Member - 2017
UWM Commencement Volunteer - 2016-2017