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A Simple, Practical Framework for Organizing Relationship-Based Reciprocity in Service-Learning Experiences: Insights from Anthropology

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Among service-learning and community engagement scholars, there exist diverse positions on what qualifies as valid, appropriate, and desirable in the structure and outcomes of service-learning experiences. While most agree that reciprocity is a key principle of the pedagogy, "reciprocity" is often descriptive rather than operationalized for practical application. This article applies the anthropological conceptualization of reciprocity as a social process of relationship building through exchange in order to analyze the nature of engagement among the various parties in two different models of course-based service-learning. From this analysis emerges a practical, relationship-based, planning framework for establishing norms, moderating expectations, and evaluating outcomes. Focusing on a set of simple questions about service-learning relationships, objectives, structure, outcomes, and resulting relationships (ROSOR), the framework offers a simple way for instructors and their community partners to navigate the discourse on service-learning and develop impactful relationships.

Keywords: service-learning, reciprocity, relationship-based framework, anthropology

Service-learning is widely regarded as a high-impact practice that improves student learning and engagement. By definition, *engagement* requires an interaction and commitment between at least two parties; in community service-learning, these include the instructor, the community partner, the students, and the academic institution. Attention to the nature of service-learning partnerships is essential to ensuring that service-learning positively impacts communities. Morton (1995) highlighted the importance of maintaining the "integrity" of service-learning experiences through explicitly identified goals and values. Other scholars have discussed the need for "thick," as opposed to "thin," reciprocity, which deliberately involves the community partner in every step of the service-learning experience (Clayton, Bringle, & Morrison, 2010; Davis, Kliewer, & Nicolaides, 2017; Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010; Janke, 2013).

The analysis discussed in this article uses the concept of reciprocity as it is elaborated in anthropology to examine what different parties contribute to and gain from this form of engagement and to identify a framework for organizing and assessing the effectiveness of service-learning courses and programs and for examining ways in which individuals participating in service-learning relate to one another.

As McCabe (2004) and Keene and Colligan (2004) observed, anthropology is well-positioned to contribute to service-learning theory and praxis since the theories and ethnographic methods that define anthropology (particularly cultural anthropology) were developed to work toward understanding the

perspectives of host communities and how they fit into broader social structures. Because fieldwork—with its emphasis on participant observation (i.e., engaging in the work and other activities of daily life with the people participating in a study)—is central to research, this kind of engagement is essential to anthropological praxis. In fact, the quality of anthropological data often depends on building rapport through relationships of trust and engaging in reciprocity. Both giving of oneself and recognizing and accepting the value of what participants have to offer are critical to that rapport. To build relationships of trust with the people with whom anthropologists work and learn, they need to "give" something to prove their trustworthiness and to demonstrate the value of the relationship (Rossman, 1984). That "something," however, is not usually a direct payment; rather, it might come in the form of giving someone a ride or sponsoring a soccer tournament for the community (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002), or it might be more symbolic, like being a good neutral listener outside of the scope of the research project (LeCompte, Schensul, Weeks, & Singer, 1999) or sharing personal information with those who are asked to share as participants. Anthropology both studies and employs reciprocity as a social process. Porter and Monard (2001) demonstrated this blending of theory and praxis in their case study, which used the indigenous Andean concept of "*ayni"* (i.e., reciprocity as foundational to enduring relationships) to analyze and critique the results of a seminar and alternative spring break for undergraduate students in Bolivia.

Adhering to the anthropological concept of reciprocity—as one of the most basic and essential forms of relational exchange among individuals and groups—can offer parties involved in service-learning a rich and nuanced way to structure and evaluate their partnerships. In this article, I provide a brief introduction to the anthropological conceptualization of reciprocity; present a framework, built on that conceptualization, for service-learning partners to structure balanced, mutually beneficial partnerships and collaborations; and outline two examples from my own pedagogical experience of that relationship-based framework for reciprocity in service-learning in practice.

A Framework for Reciprocity

Service-Learning: Partners in Reciprocal Engagement

There is a distinction between community engagement in the form of service and community engagement in the form of service-learning. Service requires that one individual somehow serve, or do good for, another. Service can be a one-way transaction—for instance, students do something good, such as collect food for a food bank, and receive nothing in exchange (other than good feelings). Though by most standards this qualifies as a form of engagement, the literature on service-learning highlights an important distinction between service, as in volunteering, and service-learning. According to Bringle and Hatcher (1995), service-learning comprises a clearly delineated process of reflection and evaluation, making the service-learning relationship more complex than simple community service. Specifically, they defined service-learning as a

> course-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students (a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility. This is in contrast to co-curricular and extracurricular service, from which learning may occur, but for which there is no formal evaluation and documentation of academic learning. (p. 112)

Service-learning is a multi-faceted interaction. The students engage in service-learning as part of a course requirement and thus receive academic credit for it (and, ideally, accomplish specific learning objectives through it). The community partner not only receives a service but also provides opportunities for learning. The experience depends on the willingness of the community partner to dedicate resources and provide access, taking a chance on students' abilities and their dedication to carrying out a planned project. In taking this chance, the partner makes an important contribution to the students' education, and the students (and by extension their instructor and institution) have a responsibility to reciprocate through

quality service. Further, the academic partners (i.e., the instructor and the academic institution itself) derive benefits from the community engagement through improved student learning outcomes and mission fulfillment.

Thus, service-learning can be described as a multi-party exchange relationship in which each party benefits through structured interaction. Applying the anthropological concept of reciprocity adds value to understanding, planning for, and evaluating these relationships and the structured interactions that occur within them, helping scholars and practitioners to consider different levels of engagement within different models of service-learning.

The Anthropological Concept of Reciprocity

When the term *reciprocity* is mentioned in service-learning literature, it is usually discussed as a goal or outcome of service-learning and is considered a quality of an equitable relationship, equivalent to trust or good communication (e.g., Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Clayton, Bringle, & Morrison, 2010; Skilton-Sylvester & Erwin, 2000; Clifford 2017). Recognizing that the term is used widely and often with different connotations, Dostilio et al. (2012) delineated and examined categories of meaning represented in service-learning and community engagement literature, as well as in selected disciplines. Specifically, their review identified three conceptual categories of reciprocity: exchange-oriented, influence-oriented, and generativity-oriented. In their analysis, they successfully parsed the various dimensions of human reciprocity and clarified the different ways *reciprocity* is used in service-learning literature; however, they stopped short of addressing how an integrated conceptualization of reciprocity can be used to shape the planning, implementation, and evaluation of service-learning and community engagement. From an anthropological perspective, reciprocity is simultaneously exchange-, influence-, and generativity-oriented. In this article, I offer this kind of integration, rooted in an anthropological conceptualization of reciprocity, in hopes of simplifying the application of the concept and demystifying certain aspects of service-learning and community engagement for instructors interested in incorporating them into their own teaching.

In order to accomplish this, a brief introduction to the anthropological conceptualization of reciprocity is necessary. In anthropology, the notion of reciprocity derives from studies of how people in different cultures, different geographic conditions, and throughout human history, secure and exchange materials and services, such as sustenance, shelter, care, and spiritual and emotional support, through their interactions with one another. In the anthropological study of human interactions, reciprocity implies a relational process of exchange interactions that reflect, shape, and reinforce social norms, relationships, power dynamics, and values.

Reciprocity is the most basic and essential form of exchange among humans and can be observed in every culture, in many different domains of life. It is distinct from the other major modes of exchange—redistribution (i.e., the collection and redistribution of goods by a central authority) and market exchange (i.e., the use of standard currency, including capitalist market exchange). Reciprocity is a process of exchange that occurred long before humans invented these other modes and that has persisted, juxtaposed with and sometimes taking advantage of these other modes, in people's social relationships.

In his classic *Stone Age Economics*, Sahlins (1972) maintained that reciprocity occurrs on a continuum, with the spirit of the exchange ranging from freely given goods or services, through mutually interested exchange, to self-interested exchange. Along this continuum, he highlighted three types of reciprocity—generalized, balanced, and negative—defined in terms of the character and spirit of the exchange, and the dynamic relationship of the parties involved in the exchange.

Generalized reciprocity, according to Sahlins (1972), is a form of reciprocal exchange in which the parties involved give services or materials freely, without keeping tabs or explicitly expecting an equal return at any specific time. In interactions characterized by generalized reciprocity, there is a general, shared sense that some form of return will be made at some point, but the form, the time, and even the

party receiving the return are not specified. Relationships in which generalized reciprocity occurs are usually characterized by minimal social distance and high levels of trust—that is, the people involved are in close, often interdependent relationships (e.g., families, kin groups, allied tribes). Historically, food sharing and collaborative hunting within small communities exemplified the relationships based on generalized reciprocity since these practices forged and maintained social bonds through the acts of giving and receiving. An example of present-day generalized reciprocity is the practice by friends or extended family members of helping one another move from one home to another. Generally, friends do not pay one another for this service (although there is a social norm that lunch will be provided by the recipient), but the provision of assistance is accompanied by a general sense that those being helped will help in turn, to the extent they are able, should the opportunity arise. The immediate interest of the giver in generalized reciprocity is in benefiting the other party, and the expectation of reciprocal return is not defined or delineated; however, with the exception of situations of extreme social closeness (e.g., within families), repeated failure to reciprocate in some way can damage social relationships, weakening trust as the giving party feels as though the receiving party is taking advantage of them (e.g., the friend who always asks for help but is never available when others need it). The power relationships in interactions characterized by generalized reciprocity can vary, contributing to egalitarianism through interdependence or sometimes to power differentials, as more frequent givers build banks of obligation from those to whom they are giving.

Balanced reciprocity (Sahlins, 1972) is characterized by an even exchange of services or material, according to the social norms around the value of the services or goods exchanged. The exchange is often concurrent, although it is not uncommon for return to be delayed. If return is delayed, there tends to be some understanding that equal return will be made within an appropriate time. Some types of gift giving (e.g., an office gift exchange or service swapping such as babysitting exchanges) fall into this type of reciprocity. Failure to make mutual return damages the relationship, which is based on an expectation of recognizable mutual benefit. Regarding interactions characterized by balanced reciprocity, it is important to emphasize that social norms shape the value of that which is exchanged, and balanced reciprocity occurs when the parties have similar levels of power in defining those values. The exchange can be of comparable goods or services (e.g., alternating days in a car pool or a Christmas cookie exchange) or of different but agreed upon goods or services.

Negative reciprocity (Sahlins, 1972) occurs when one party attempts to get the better of another party, offering less than what is received in return. In situations comprising negative reciprocity, each party tries to get the most it can out of the exchange, while minimizing its own costs. Examples of negative reciprocity can range from relatively even social interactions, like bartering or trying to get the best price possible for an item or service, to the use of trickery or violence to maximize one's gain in an exchange. Such an exchange is characterized by high social distance and low trust; the parties have little social connection and see the exchange relationship as an opportunity for pursuing their self-interest. Negative reciprocity occurs most frequently and successfully when one party has power over the other by virtue of some form of authority or because one party is in greater need than the other (by comparison, more equal power dynamics tend toward more balanced reciprocity).

Reciprocity for Service-Learning

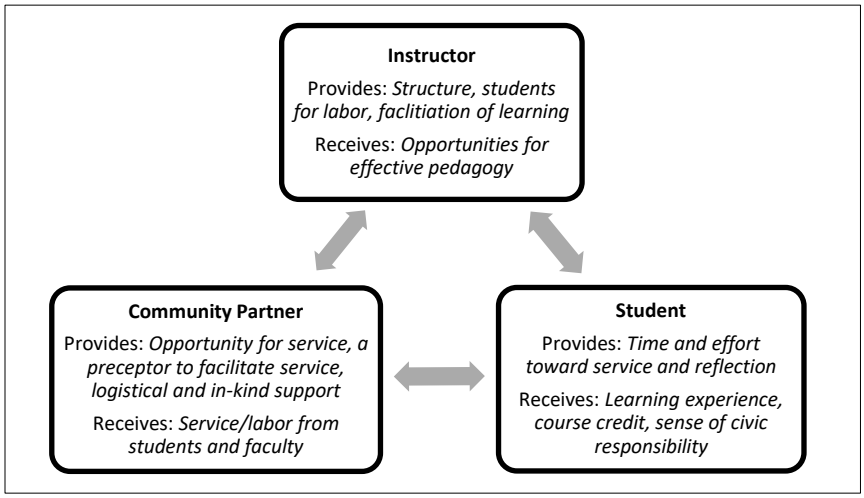
In thinking about service-learning, academic institutions most certainly want to structure interactions to avoid negative reciprocity, and, since the focus is on students performing service as part of a learning process (i.e., with an expected return of course credit), service-learning is not pure generalized reciprocity. In order for service-learning partnerships to be sustainable, there must be the kind of clear mutual accountability that characterizes balanced reciprocity. However, it is necessary to conceptualize that "balance" not as simply related to some kind of outcome but as rooted in and dependent on the relationships of those involved. Maintaining a purposefully structured relationship of balanced reciprocity can help to avoid the kind of negative reciprocity that may be inadvertently committed when one or more

of the parties does not recognize the expected norms of the partnership. Rather, service-learning partners should look at ways to balance and find shared value in a set of relationships that is organized through structured interactions among multiple parties.

A Framework for Organizing Service-Learning in Terms of Reciprocity

Numerous articles and books have highlighted principles for good practice in service-learning and other community-engaged; here, I focus on the way that relationships among key parties are shaped through service-learning interactions that follow such principles (e.g., Ahmed & Palermo, 2010; Howard, 1993; Strand, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donohue, 2003). The three parties most directly engaged in service-learning are the community partner, the instructor, and the students. The following discussion centers on these, although the role of the institution should not be dismissed.[1] Figure 1 summarizes the reciprocal interactions among these parties.

Figure 1. Reciprocal interactions in service-learning.



Instructors, students, and community partners are key figures in organizing the structured interactions of service-learning. In basic terms, instructors and their students provide labor to the community partners through the service they provide directly. The community partner's role as a provider of opportunities and resources for students' learning is critical. Community partners are not simply passive receivers of service; a service-learning plan that recognizes and communicates this contributes to the balance of exchange and the formation of strong relationships between partners.

Many service-learning scholars have expressed concern that service-learning can potentially reenact and reinforce existing power differentials (Bringle et al., 2009; Butin, 2010; Clayton et al., 2010; Morton, 1995), placing the students and academic institution in a "one-up" position akin to self-aggrandizement (Boehm, 1993; Sherry, 1983). Social status is important, which explains the significant amount of critical discourse among service-learning scholars around the nature of community engagement and the roles,

[1] I recognize that the academic institution is also an important party, but its relationship to the various parties is indirect in relation to organizing specific service-learning projects. Also, an institutional office of service learning or community engagement often play an important direct role and may serve as a logistical partner to proxy for the instructor of record. This kind of direct role is included in the faculty/instructor role discussed here.

purposes, and power dynamics that play out in service-learning engagements. Great care must be taken that instructors and students recognize the community partner as a contributor to the service and the learning, rather than as a subject of it. If the community is explicitly recognized as indispensable to the service-learning experience and as taking a chance by investing in the students and their instructors, then the community partner has more equal social footing. This, in terms of the social aspects of the service-learning, moves the service from primarily meeting course requirements to being part of a broader exchange in which all parties are invested in mutually beneficial outcomes and can prevent exploitative relationships while cultivating transactional or transformational relationships (Clayton et al., 2010).

The ROSOR Framework

The proposed framework builds on the key components of the anthropological understanding of reciprocity: the relationships of those in the interactions, the norms that exist or become established for guiding those interactions, and the interactions themselves. According to this conceptualization, the relationships (pre and post interaction) are examined and delineated, norms are established through the clear identification of objectives and desired outcomes, as well as through an established plan for the structure of interactions, according to which the relationships will be enacted and the objectives will be achieved, leading to outcomes. In order to use an integrated concept of reciprocity as a social process for framing service-learning at the project level, the parties involved should consider a set of basic questions to define the key aspects of reciprocal exchange, particularly the nature of the relationships (pre and post) of the parties involved, and the structure of the exchange (i.e., the desired outcomes and the contributions of each party to reach them). These concerns are represented in the following basic questions for organizing a balanced exchange:

- **Relationship:** What is our relationship?
- **Objectives:** What objectives do we each hope to accomplish through this particular structured interaction? How do they complement one another?
- **Structure** of interaction: What are our specific plans for this structured interaction?
- **Outcomes:** What do satisfactory outcomes "look like" for each of us? How will we know that we have accomplished them?
- **Relationship:** What is our relationship following this structured interaction?

These basic questions guide the instructor and community partner through a process of organizing an interaction—that is, a service and learning opportunity—which is rooted explicitly in the relationships of the people involved. As an exercise among the instructor, community partner, and the students, answering these questions facilitates the kind of "thick" description (Geertz, 2000/1973) of the norms and values of the relationship that service-learning scholars use as the foundation for their discussions of "thick" reciprocity (Clayton et al., 2010; Davis et al., 2017; Jameson et al., 2010; Janke, 2013)

Table 1 outlines more specific formulations of these questions as they might be asked by instructors, community partners, and students. The section following the table examines case studies (from the author's teaching experiences) of how these questions guided the organization and evaluation of service-learning in two very different service-learning projects. The nature of the structured interaction and the "thickness" of the reciprocity can be made explicit, planned for, and modified through an iterative reflection on these questions.

Table 1. Basic Questions for Organizing Balanced Relationships in Service-Learning.

Basic Questions for Fostering Reciprocity	**Specific Questions for Instructor, Community Partner (CP), and Students**
Relationship: What is our relationship going into this structured interaction? *These questions help us to think about the level of trust and social distance among the parties and to plan and prepare for positive interactions.*	*For all:* Have I, or others I know, worked with this partner before? What do we know of each other? *For instructor:* Am I interacting directly with the CP or through another party (e.g., office of SL)? Does the CP seem interested in engaging in the project and discussing plans? *For CP:* Am I interacting directly with the instructor? If not, what relationship do I have with the intermediary, and what do they know of the instructor? Who will the students work with? How will I communicate about the project to the staff or clients involved? What students are coming to our site? Who is responsible for them? *For students:* What is my relationship with the instructor, and how does the project fit within the context of the course? Who is the CP? Who will we interact with? Staff? Clients?
Objectives: What objectives do we each hope to accomplish through this particular structured interaction? How do they complement one another? How do these fit within the limits of the time and resource capacities of the parties involved? *These questions help to define the content of the exchange—how does each party benefit, and do all parties recognize and agree on the mutual benefit?*	*For instructor*: What do I want my students to learn through this structured interaction? What can my students do that would be of use to our CP? (This involves matching CP goals with student abilities and capacities.) What can I feasibly promise to deliver? *For CP*: How can our work benefit from taking part in this structured interaction with the instructor and students? What can we feasibly commit in terms of time, resources, and access? *For students*: What am I supposed to learn from this? How does it fit into my educational, professional, or personal goals? *For all*: How are our goals or objectives complementary? Are they worthwhile? *NOTE: Even if the potential benefits are not immediate or commensurate with the effort put forth, there may be a broader benefit (e.g., building community, improving society) that makes the structured interaction worthwhile.*
Structure of Interaction: What are our specific plans for this structured interaction? Who is responsible for what? What are our practical and ethical obligations? How does the plan ensure that parties fulfill their responsibilities? Is everyone on the same page? *These questions are valuable in reaching agreement on the contributions of each party, so everyone knows what to expect. This clarity can contribute to building*	*For instructor and CP:* Outline specific tasks and set up logistics (dates, times, numbers of students). Is this plan feasible and reasonable relative to the goals and resources? Is everyone on the same page? *For instructor:* What preparation do my students need (content, logistics)? How will my students be supervised? By me or others? Direct or indirect? Is a final product (report, generated materials) expected? Who is responsible for it? What are my tasks? What is delegated to others (and how do I communicate or coordinate this)? *For CP*: What are my specific tasks? Do the students need direction or supervision from us? Do they need resources, materials, or special access? Who will interact with the students? How many? How often? How long? *For students:* What am I supposed to do, where, and when? What

Basic Questions for Fostering Reciprocity	Specific Questions for Instructor, Community Partner (CP), and Students
trust in situations in which the parties do not already have social closeness.	preparation or support do I have available? From whom? What do I have to offer?
Outcomes What do satisfactory outcomes look like for each party? How will we know that we have accomplished them? *Clarity on this point is valuable for mutual assessment of the results. When these questions are considered during the planning process, they result in an enumeration of desired outcomes that can be used for assessment. They can also be used by all parties for post-project reflection.*	*For instructor*: How will I know if my students learned what I wanted them to learn? *For CP*: How will I know if my organization/staff/clients benefited from this structured interaction with the instructor and students? How much flexibility do we have in these outcomes (important for community-based projects with a community-led factor)? *For students*: What did I learn related to my courses, skills, the community, and/or myself? *For instructor and CP*: Was it worth the time and effort? Was the partner (academic or community) a good fit? Was the plan/structure appropriate for working toward the original goals? What worked well? What could be improved? Did anything come of the structured interaction that we didn't plan for (positive or negative)?
Relationship What is our relationship following this structured interaction? *This question can also be used to identify ideal outcomes, and answering this question in instructor, student, and CP reflections can help to assess some of the more difficult-to-measure outcomes of service-learning, such as community building.*	*For Instructor and CP:* What people do I know from the partnership, and what is our relationship now as compared to the beginning of this structured interaction? Is it closer or deeper? How did this structured interaction contribute to our long-term relationship? Would I work with these people again? Why or why not? *For students:* Whom did I form relationships with? Will these continue? Why or why not? Did I develop a closer connection to what my instructor is trying to teach?

The responses to these questions will vary based on many factors, include (but not limited to) the individuals and the number of people involved, the type or model of service-learning interaction, and the history of interactions among the parties. These factors are complex, but the questions, drawn from anthropological understandings of reciprocity among humans, provide a scaffold on which to add layers of additional theoretical considerations as appropriate for the academic discipline, the kind of service-learning project, or even the perspectives of the parties involved. Some of these differences are illustrated in the following examination of reciprocity in the context of two projects that followed different models of service-learning.

Case Studies Using a Relationship-Based Framework for Organizing Service-Learning

There are several models of service-learning that involve different arrangements, time commitments, and partner roles and obligations. While the anthropological concept of reciprocity can apply to various forms of service-learning, here I focus on examples of two commonly used types (Heffernan, 2001) that I have

worked with in my teaching of anthropology. These projects and others formed the practical foundation for the proposed framework. The details presented in the following summaries are taken from my planning documents, notes, and assessment materials. The projects I selected highlight particular models of service-learning involving different degrees of engagement of the parties, particularly in terms of the investment of time and effort and the degree of expected return. One model is "discipline-based service-learning," in which students perform service in the community and reflect on or analyze their experience using course content. While the service may appear similar to standard volunteering, the "learning" component in this model is accomplished through classroom activities and assignments. The second model is "problem-based service-learning," in which students and their instructor take on a consultant role in conducting research for the community partner (CP), collecting and/or analyzing data, and offering recommendations or developing products for a particular problem identified by a partner organization. These different models involve different depths of engagement and reciprocity. As Janke (2013) noted, it is necessary for practitioners to reflect on the nature of the balanced reciprocity. She referred to a "cone of reciprocity," describing community engagement as a continuum from "thin" to "thick" and the nature of engagement on that same continuum as being "on," "to," "for," or "with." The first case study exemplifies discipline-based service-learning, which was done "for" the community partner, while the second describes a problem-based service-learning project, which was done "with" the community partner. Either of these could have been constructed with thinner reciprocity—that is, "on" or "to" the partners—and the resulting outcomes for all parties would likely have been poorer for the reduction in reciprocity.

Case Study 1: A Traveling Museum (Discipline-Based Service-Learning)

In this first case study of a service-learning project, the instructor enhanced a lesson on the social functions of art by generating a traveling exhibit for people who cannot visit a museum. The pedagogical objectives for the students included: developing short presentations on artifacts from around the world; explaining the social functions of "art as gift"; and considering the ways in which reciprocal exchange through the sharing and discussion of art and stories functions in social bonding. The service objectives included: providing companionship and cognitive stimulation to residents of a nursing home during a one-hour visit; reflecting on the nature of sharing information and ideas as a service to humanity; and reflecting on the use of props and prepared topics as a way to facilitate interaction with and provide companionship for people with whom the students may otherwise have had trouble interacting. To arrange this project, the instructor approached the institution's office for service-learning, and the service-learning coordinator suggested a nearby senior living center as a CP. The college had a strong working relationship with the center, and other instructors had frequently sent students there to fulfill service-learning hours by helping with the center's activities. Using the office of service-learning as an intermediary, the instructor and the main contact from the CP established a date and time that worked for the class and the center. The instructor prepared promotional materials for the traveling museum event and sent them to the center. The service-learning coordinator supplied refreshments for the event and offered transportation for students.

The following paragraphs outline brief responses to the "ROSOR: Basic Questions for Fostering Reciprocity" as they applied to this particular structured interaction in discipline-based service-learning in order to demonstrate how the focus on relationships and structure promoted the reciprocal interactions among the parties involved.

Relationship. The instructor and CP did not know one another, but relied on the relationship and trust established between the CP and the director of the office of service-learning at the institution. This individual's vouching for the instructor and her students was sufficient to set up the service-learning opportunity.

Here, the social distance between the instructor and CP was mediated by the director of service-learning. Since the intensity of the interaction and the investment of time and effort were neither long-term nor significant, this mediation was sufficient.

Objectives. The instructor's objectives for student learning were specific to a particular set of learning objectives within a course on Anthropology and World Art. They included content-specific objectives related to understanding the context of ethnographic artifacts and the social functions of art, as well as skill-development objectives, including developing and delivering brief presentations and engaging strangers in conversation.

The service being offered to the CP was a 1- to 2-hour-long enrichment activity for residents. This would add to their slate of activities without requiring extra work from their staff. The residents would have an opportunity to participate in an activity.

The goals were clearly established and relatively modest for all sides, as appropriate for the effort required.

Structure of Interaction. The instructor was responsible for preparing the students, preparing a poster for the CP to promote the event, supervising the students during the event, and helping to facilitate the interactions as needed. The instructor also facilitated and assessed the students' learning through their discussion and writing.

The CP was responsible for reserving space for the event and hanging the posters. A staff member from the center was also present to introduce the group and supervise the event. The residents had the option of attending and participating, and their voluntary participation and engagement was essential to the event. Residents' guests were also welcome.

The students selected portable objects from the department's ethnographic artifact collection and prepared short presentations on them. They also wrote a pre-service reflection on their understanding of the concepts and expectations of the service experience. They attended the event and interacted with the residents. Following the event, they participated in a class discussion and wrote a post-service reflection and an essay in which they demonstrated their accomplishment of the pedagogical objectives.

This was clearly planned, promoting trust between the instructor and the CP that the event would run smoothly. Students expressed some concerns in the pre-service reflection, but the instructor attempted to reassure them that they would be fine. Based on the trust that had been built at that point in the semester (and the instructor's role in grading), all students approached the event with an open mind.

Outcomes. The satisfactory outcome identified by the CP and instructor was an evening activity in which students and residents interacted in a friendly and engaged way. For the instructor and students, the accomplishment of learning objectives through the activities surrounding the actual service event was also important. These objectives were measured through the evaluation of exam essays on the social function of "art as gift." All students accomplished the pedagogical objectives identified by the instructor, and 33% of the students surpassed the objectives, articulating deep insights related to the art-as-gift concept.

The structure of the event, the students' careful preparation (including hearing their concerns), the facilitation by the instructor, and the sincere engagement from the students and CP residents all contributed to a successful event, measured through direct observation of the event by the parties involved. The instructor also assessed student learning through an essay question in which students successfully applied anthropological concepts to analyze their experience.

Relationship. This particular service-learning interaction was brief and not very intensive; consequently, though the limited interaction was positive, the instructor and CP did not develop strong ties. In fact, the next time the instructor taught the course, she still worked with the director of service-learning, who maintains a strong relationship with the CP, to set up the event.

Students reported that they were able to engage with residents better than they had expected. They appreciated that the brief presentations they shared about ethnographic artifacts sparked memories in the residents, who then shared stories from their own lives and engaged the students in conversations about school and plans for the future. As one student described in a post-event reflection:

> Going into the activity, I was hesitant to believe this would be beneficial. After doing it, though, I found it broadened my horizons on many subjects, as the elderly commonly asked very simple questions about the artifacts that I was able to answer. I believe the elderly opened up to us as a class as well; their participation was fantastic as we awkwardly came into their home to tell them about foreign objects … As I continued presenting my object to more and more people at the home, I found that the focus of conversation was not so much on the object. For example, each time I mentioned that my object was Polynesian and from Hawaii, most residents were able to connect immediately with a memory of their past which, after I finished presenting my object, became a gateway for more practical conversation. The residents seemed interested in not only the objects but also about us as students and adults. This was what made the experience better for me personally because it took the focus off something that was impractical and allowed us to learn and converse with people about experiences and history.

All parties were satisfied, and the CP's residents had an enjoyable evening, while the students, as demonstrated through essay responses, deepened their understanding of the course content and moved outside of their comfort zones in social interactions. While long-term personal relationships were not a goal of this structured interaction, in comments to the instructor, the residents expressed hope for the younger generation, and the students expressed appreciation for the stories and perspectives of the older generation. The students in particular left feeling better able to approach interactions with elders in their communities.

Case Study 2: Applied Anthropology in Adult Education (Problem-Based Service-Learning)

In the following case study of a problem-based service-learning project, the instructor was seeking a CP for a semester-long applied anthropology project. In the planning phase, the topic and structure of the project was flexible and dependent on what the CP (a local NGO) would find useful. This flexibility was possible because the pedagogical objectives of this project were skill-based, including: giving students the opportunity to use different anthropological data collection methods, namely participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and free listing; giving students the opportunity to demonstrate practical application of anthropological methods and theories; and demonstrating the value of anthropology as part of an interdisciplinary approach to solving real-world problems. Following discussion, the CP and instructor decided to develop a project in which students would apply anthropological methods and theories as well as the CP program's foundational adult learning theory to conduct a research project designed to inform professional development and programming efforts for an NGO's GED/Adult Education staff. The specific research objectives and planned outputs from this applied research project formed the service objectives.

The following paragraphs outline brief responses to the "Basic Questions for Fostering Reciprocity" as they applied to this particular structured interaction in discipline-based service-learning. The information provided in the following analysis is derived from my planning documents, notes, and assessment materials.

Relationship. The instructor had worked with the NGO in the past (originally introduced through the office of service-learning) and knew the director. She reached out to the director and offered to coordinate students in carrying out a semester-long research project that would support their programming. The NGO director identified the GED prep program as a potential partner and set up a meeting between the instructor and the GED program coordinator. The program coordinator was skeptical at first, but the NGO director vouched for the instructor, who emphasized that the project would be collaborative and address

questions that the GED program coordinator identified as important. The instructor also promised to fulfill all identified objectives, even if the students' efforts fell short.

This arrangement was possible because of an established relationship of trust between the instructor and one individual (a gatekeeper) from the CP, but also required trust building with others in the organization.

Goals/Objectives. The GED program coordinator, through discussions with the instructor, identified research objectives that included understanding the ways in which her students identified and prioritized their adult education needs and goals, and identifying the factors in their life experiences that influence their perspective, motivation, and resources for GED preparation.

The instructor's goals included giving the students the opportunity to use different anthropological data collection methods, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and free listing, to demonstrate practical application of anthropological methods and theories.

The collaboration in identifying research questions helped to build trust. The theories and methods that the students learned and worked with were selected to fulfill the specific research questions.

Structure. The instructor and the students, in consultation with the GED program coordinator, developed a research design that would address the CP's objectives. They then coordinated a methodologically sound research plan that would involve carefully coordinated fieldwork and interviews with the GED students, without overwhelming or disrupting the coordinator's educational work.

The instructor prepared the students with readings and discussions related to the methods, applied research ethics, adult learning theory, and building rapport with participants.

The practical obligations were planned in great detail, and the instructor and students sought IRB approval from their institution. The instructor, CP, and students were in regular contact to monitor activities. The college's office of service-learning supported transportation for some students.

Both the clarity and detail of the plan were necessary for completing this complicated, multifaceted project. The instructor and the students were key to ensuring that the coordinator's questions were addressed. The coordinator was key to providing access to the classroom and GED students. Also, the GED students were critical to the quality of the data; therefore, their buy-in and trust grew as the college students interacted with the GED students with respect and genuine interest in their stories.

Satisfactory Outcomes. Accomplishment of the identified service and pedagogical objectives was the desired satisfactory outcome. Because this was a community-based applied research project, the actual material products were determined over the course of the project. In the articulation of service objectives, the instructor and the CP had established that one product would be a research report, but they also agreed that the instructor and students would develop additional products (e.g., curricular materials, professional development tools) if the research results warranted. The instructor established a set of assignments for the students to complete throughout the semester, culminating in a final portfolio and individual reports, which were used for assessing the pedagogical objectives and leading the students to reflect on their accomplishment of the pedagogical objectives.

As planned, the students conducted data collection and analysis with the support of the instructor and reflected on their developing skills in class discussions over the course of the semester. Each student also completed an individual project report for the instructor to assess their accomplishment of the pedagogical objectives. All of the students accomplished the objectives and significantly improved their data collection skills. Additionally, the reports included a section in which the students reflected on their personal and professional development, and the instructor used the individual reports and students' reflections to help them recognize the degree to which they had developed specific skills and the areas in which they could improve, and future career paths for which they had an affinity.

As planned in the service objectives, a research report was delivered to the CP. In addition, the research team used the data, the coordinator's input, and adult learning theory to develop a workbook for new GED students to complete when beginning the program. This provided the coordinator with a

convenient tool for learning about her students and helping them to reflect on and plan their life's trajectory.

Relationship. The instructor, CP, and college and GED students built relationships of trust (characterized by openness and rapport) throughout the project. The CP offered to be a partner for future projects, and the instructor later worked with them on grant projects and sent other students to do individual research in support of their programs.

Through the set of interactions, which required significant effort and commitment from all parties, a relationship of trust was cultivated. Both the instructor and the community partner felt that their work benefited from the collaboration, and the students gained valuable experience in their field, and also came to care about and better understand the lives of the GED students with whom they worked. Each party in the structured interaction of the service-learning project benefited in different but balanced ways.

These two case-study examples represent very different models of service-learning; however, the basic questions that helped to organize the structured interactions within the context of human relationships are applicable to both. Whether the interaction is short and limited, as in the first case study, or longer term and intensive, as in the research project in the second case study, starting the interactions with a deliberate examination of the relationships between the parties lays the foundation for a relationship-centered approach. Clearly, identifying objectives in order to develop the structure of the interaction in the context of the relationships clarifies expectations around roles and tasks as the interaction proceeds. Clear markers for identifying (and assessing) outcomes help to delineate and evaluate those expectations, and lay the groundwork for open and honest evaluation among the parties. Marking the end of the structured interaction with a reflection on the new state of the relationship, a post-service-learning project not only makes the nature and result of the engagement explicit (contributing to civic engagement), but also sets the stage for continuing the relationship.

Conclusion

Among service-learning and community engagement scholars and professionals, there exist a multitude of positions on what is valid, appropriate, and desirable in terms of the nature and outcomes of service-learning regarding various parties. This article offers a simple approach to organizing and evaluating service-learning's structured interactions, building on anthropological research methods and using a theoretical framework from anthropological perspectives on human relationships and exchange. This foundation of reciprocity has been discussed extensively in the service-learning literature, and here I offer an integrated, practical form for its application.

Reciprocity is a process of norm-based exchanges that function to generate and influence relationships. Fostering a relationship-oriented, balanced reciprocity through service-learning would be valuable in educating students to be engaged citizens and to think about their role in their communities and beyond. By answering a set of straightforward, practical questions, instructors can organize service-learning experiences around the relationships that are enacted through these structured interactions to ensure that the parties involved are not "used" to the ends of others, but rather are considered to be ends in themselves—human beings who have inherent value and whose contributions are important to the service-learning experience.

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