Changed for Good: The Social-Symbolic Work of Agents of Change

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DOCTORAL THESIS

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This thesis is dedicated to those who've dared to believe that things could be otherwise.

In loving memory of my grandmothers, Lola Edit and Lola Salud.
How deep your faith and love run through me.

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This thesis is proof that I have loved and have been loved so abundantly, and for that I am infinitely grateful. I would like to thank the following people, without whom this would not be possible. This accomplishment is yours as much as it is mine.

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Abstract

Amidst a time of crisis and social inequality, different segments of society find themselves wanting, hoping and working towards the conviction that things could and should be otherwise. This persistent desire for social change brings about the question of the role of its agents, and the work that they do. To address this, I employ the social-symbolic work perspective, which integrates various forms of work as part of the broader issue of organizational life, and apply it to the contexts of service-learning and collective action. This thesis begins with a systemic literature review of service-learning in management education. In my assessment of the field, I provide a characterization of the pedagogy's transformative capacity to drive social change through the students who undertake it. In the second chapter, I give focus to the identity work of future agents of change as they experience an international service-learning program. I conducted participant observation and in-depth interviews with business school students in Spain who worked with social enterprises and NGO's in Latin America as part of the university's service-learning program. The third chapter of this thesis situates social-symbolic work in the context of collective action. Through a virtual ethnography, I identify strategies of a volunteer group of young professionals in the Philippines in mobilizing to demand accountability from the government during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through these two empirical papers spanning across the individual, organizational, and institutional levels, I apply the theoretical perspective of social-symbolic work towards social change by illustrating how agents of change develop and commit to their causes, beyond traditional social movements and activist identities. Overall, my research contributes to both management education and organization theory towards a better understanding of how agents of change engage in social-symbolic work.

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1. General Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The world has changed significantly just within the last five years from several monumental events – the COVID-19 pandemic, the wars in Ukraine and Palestine, and the rapid progression of the climate emergency among many others. These social issues, unfolding upon us on such a massive scale, require an understanding of how we negotiate these, as they reflect the norms, values, beliefs and structures of power within the society they are embedded (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). As I began to look at the world not simply as an individual participating in it, but also as a management and organizational scholar hoping to shape it, I realized a truth that is both a burden and an opportunity: social change takes a lot of work.

This observation informs the starting point of this thesis. As different actors go about demanding for, coordinating, and acting towards change, they engage in a variety of forms of work, oriented towards themselves and also the organizations and institutions around them. Lawrence & Philipps (2019) link these forms of work under the umbrella of social-symbolic work, which they define as "the purposeful, reflexive efforts of individuals, collective actors, and networks of actors to shape social-symbolic objects" (p. 31). Given the centrality of purpose and intention in bringing about social change, we can begin to understand organizational life through these social-symbolic objects, which bring together the "discursive, relational, and material elements that constitute meaningful patterns in social systems" (Lawrence and Phillips, 2019: 26).

My doctoral research was initially situated in social responsibility and management education. However, as I pursued these topics, I became conscious of the various forms of work I engaged in to shape the social-symbolic objects that constituted my life in the process: reflecting on my own scholarly identity, refining the values I try to uphold, collectively strategizing within my organizations, and at times, even challenging the institutions that challenge me back. I myself experienced the diverse forms of agency that constitute social-symbolic work, thus reframing my research interest in social responsibility to the agents of change that embody it. Thus, through this thesis, I situate social-symbolic work in the contexts of service-learning, a socially transformative pedagogy, and collective action, an expression of agency towards social change. Through three essays, I aim to address my overall research questions: **How does management education create agents of change? What forms of social-symbolic work are engaged in as one becomes an agent of change?**

1.2. Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of three essays (Chapter 2, 3, 4) that address the overall research questions. In the first essay (Chapter 2), I begin with a systemic literature review of service-learning in management education and assess the field's capacity for social change through the students who undertake it. By detailing the contexts, processes, outcomes, I present the pedagogy's opportunities to be enhanced by organizational theory. This review provides the theoretical groundwork for my empirical research. In the next essay (Chapter 3), I look specifically look into a service-learning program to understand how the management students become agents of change, giving focus to the identity work of future agents of change as they experience. I conducted participant observation and in-depth interviews with business school students in Spain who worked with social enterprises and NGO's in Latin America as part of the university's service-learning program. The third essay of this thesis (Chapter 4) investigates agents of collective action in crisis. Through a virtual ethnography, I identify strategies of a volunteer group of young professionals in the Philippines in mobilizing to demand accountability from the government during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Through these two empirical papers (Chapter 3 and 4) spanning across the individual, organizational, and institutional levels, I apply the theoretical perspective of social-symbolic work towards social change by illustrating how agents of change develop and commit to their causes, beyond traditional social movements and activist identities. As each essay engages a different stream of literature due to the differentiated contexts in which social-symbolic work is applied to, I have placed the references at the end of each chapter rather than cumulatively at the end. Finally, I summarize my findings in the conclusion (Chapter 5), present the overall contributions to both theory and practice, and assess the limitations of my thesis. I also present how my future research will continue to develop. **Overall, my research contributes to both management education and organization theory towards a better understanding of how agents intend for and accomplish social change through the social-symbolic work they engage in.**

1.3. Presentations in academic conferences and workshops

All three core essays of this thesis have been presented to refereed conferences and workshops, and hence developed towards submitting to top journals in management education and organization studies. I aim to submit the first manuscript to Journal of Business Ethics, the second to Academy of Management Learning & Education and the third to Academy of Management Discoveries.

These essays have benefited signifcantly from the feedback of leading scholars in these fields, allowing me to further refine my contribution. The following are the conferences and workshops in which they have been presented:

Essay 1: Keeping the Wheel Turning: A Review of the Contexts, Processes and Outcomes of Service-Learning

5th Responsible Management Education Research Conference, Cologne Business School (Germany, 2019)

9th Japan Forum for Business & Society Conference (Japan, 2019)

80th Academy of Management Annual Meeting (Virtual, 2020)

Essay 2: Liminal Strangers: Social-Symbolic Work in Service-Learning

7th Academy of Management Learning & Education PDW at Responsible Management Education Research Conference (Virtual, 2020)

ESADE Ethnography Workshop (Spain, 2021)

19th New Institutionalism Workshop (Poland, 2023)

15th PROS Symposium (Greece, 2023)

Essay 3: Holding Power to Account: Social-Symbolic Work in Collective Action

13th Annual Ivey/ARCS PhD Sustainability Academy (Virtual, 2020)

36th EGOS Colloquium, sub-theme: Collective Action in Crisis (Virtual, 2020)

18th New Institutionalism Workshop (Spain, 2022)

6th Triennial Alberta Institutions Conference (Canada, 2022)

1.4. References

Lawrence, T. B., & Phillips, N. (2019). *Constructing organizational life: How social-symbolic work shapes selves, organizations, and institutions*. Oxford University Press

Lawrence, T. B., & Suddaby, R. (2006). 1.6 Institutions and institutional work. *The Sage handbook of organization studies*, 215-254. London: Sage.

2. Keeping The Wheel Turning: A Review of The Contexts, Processes, and Outcomes of Service-Learning

This first essay is a systematic literature review of service-learning in management education, and offers an agenda for future research.

2.1. Abstract

Over a decade ago, prominent service-learning scholar Amy Kenworthy-U'ren reviewed the literature and expressed optimism regarding the state of its scholarship, contending that the figurative service-learning wheel need not be reinvented. Today, we find that service-learning research has flourished further in the management education literature and it is my hope as to keep the wheel turning by invigorating further scholarship through my literature review. With a sample of 70 articles spanning over two decades, I take a systematic approach to reviewing the literature of service-learning within management education. Upon critical assessment of the field, I provide a characterization of the various approaches and empirical backgrounds of service-learning research. My analysis then identifies the relevant contexts, processes and outcomes in service-learning, namely: cultural setting, institutional environment, pedagogy, social engagement, student learning and development, and stakeholder value. I revisit the issues Kenworthy-U'ren had highlighted as I address these and finally, offer an agenda for future research to encourage scholars to: (1) integrate management theory to service-learning scholarship, (2) uncover the shadow side of service-learning and (3) engage in rapidly changing contexts with rigorous methods as an exciting pathway forward that supports the longevity of service-learning scholarship within management education.

2.2. Introduction

> *With an increasing number of university educators using service-learning, and continued support for the teaching tool through anecdotal evidence and empirical examination, we do not need to reinvent the figurative service-learning wheel. The basic tenets of successful service-learning projects have been in place for over a decade, our challenge today is to retain these tenets as we move through our rapidly changing educational landscape. The good news is that this is happening... we are moving forward.*
>
> *—Amy Kenworthy-U'ren, "A Decade of Service-learning: A Review of the Field Ten Years after JOBE's Seminal Special Issue" (2008:815)*

In 2008, Kenworthy-U'ren reviewed the growing body of service-learning research in management education starting from the 1996 Journal of Business Ethics (JBE) special issue, a landmark for the field. This special issue marked a momentous development as it had indicated service-learning finally gaining significant editorial recognition of the pedagogy within management education. Through a critical assessment of the scholarly work that has been produced since then, which had included a special issue by the *Academy of Management Learning & Education* (AMLE) in 2005, Kenworthy-U'ren (2008) addressed potential barriers to successful service-learning as identified by Kolenko, Porter, Wheatley & Colby (1996) and outlined potential steps for service-learning scholars to advance the field. Since then, the *Journal of Management Education* (JME) had also published a special issue on the topic in 2010, completing the presence of service-learning in the three most central journals in management education (Beatty & Leigh, 2009). Beyond the special issues of these journals, service-learning studies have now also appeared in publications of specific management disciplines such as marketing, accounting and human resource management. Today, with over two decades passing since the JBE special issue and over a decade since Kenworthy-U'ren's review, service-learning has become a mainstay in management education research.

The growth of service-learning scholarship reflects the growth of its actual practice with more and more universities bringing it into their classrooms. Campus Compact, a non-profit organization and leader in service-learning since its inception by university presidents in 1985, has now over doubled member institutions to include over a thousand college and universities in the coalition, from 500 in the 1990's (Morton & Troppe, 1996). It also provides a growing array of resources such as course syllabi, program models, readings, complete toolkits and reports from their annual survey (Campus Compact, 2016). As the practice of service-learning continued to take off, so has the research on this pedagogy, with a steady stream of management literature published on the phenomenon, highlighted by special issues in major journals. In our pursuit to keep service-learning scholarship up to speed with its practice, it is worth looking back once again and investigating how service-learning research has grown and how we can sustain and expand it further.

Although no single universal definition of service-learning currently exists, Dipadova-Stocks (2005) presents the following definition for the Academy of Management:

> *Service-learning is an academically rigorous instructional method that incorporates meaningful community service into the curriculum. Focusing on critical, reflective thinking and civic responsibility, service-learning involves students in organized community service that addresses local needs, while developing their academic skills, respect for others, and commitment to the common good. (p. 345)*

This definition reflects the premises of some of the earliest and most cited definitions within the general service-learning literature stream. Bringle and Hatcher (1995) define service-learning as a type of experiential education in which students participate in service to the community, wherein reflection is necessary and crucial for the student to gain a deeper understanding of not only the academic course content, but also how it is applied to social realities. Along these lines, Jacoby (1996)'s definition provides emphasis on the pedagogy's use of "structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" and "the intent that the activity change both the recipient and provider of the service" (p. 5). Despite the various definitions that have appeared within the literature over time, service-learning scholars have come to a consensus about its distinct features. Kolenko and colleagues (1996) identified its components as personal insight, understanding of social issues and application of skills; Kenworthy-U'ren (2008) draws parallels to these three components with Godfrey and colleague's (2005) four R's of service-learning: Reality, Reflection, Reciprocity and Responsibility. I hold that the definition proposed by Dipadova-Stocks (2005) still captures modern developments made within the management education literature to refine the core components of service-learning. It also succinctly aggregates these developments into one definition.

Before its appearance in management literature, service-learning scholarship established its multi-disciplinary foundation in education, psychology and philosophy. Giles and Eyler (1994) trace the theoretical roots of service-learning to experiential learning theory, which places the human experience at the center of theories on human learning and development (Kolb & Kolb, 2005). Kolb defines experiential learning as, “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience” (1984: 41). This process of knowledge creation is portrayed through Kolb’s experiential learning cycle (1984), which shows the four stages through which an individual learns: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation. Petkus (2000) expounds on the link between the experiential learning cycle and the different activities the student undergoes in service-learning. First, in the concrete experience stage, the student’s senses and emotions are engaged as he or she conducts the service activity to the community. Then, reflective observation is done formally or informally, such as in the student’s own time or as guided in class discussions or processing sessions. In abstract conceptualization, this reflection is integrated with course concepts and theories as the student makes connections between experience and academic lessons. Finally, the student engages in active experimentation as he or she takes this integration of learnings and applies it to further experiences, completing the cycle.

Evaluating the progress in service-learning scholarship necessitates contextualization within the specific developments and challenges in management education, which currently finds itself in a crux. Business schools around the world and their curricula have been subject to much criticism (Bennis & O’Toole, 2005; Khurana & Penrice, 2011) without being able to act fast enough to address these deficiencies. Waddock and Lozano (2013) argue that despite the development in analytic tools and technical frameworks taught by universities, a reliance on such solutions will fall short as modern problems require “collaborative, multidisciplinary, multistakeholder approaches” (p. 268). In the midst of these tensions and challenges, management educators, who face the heavy responsibility of responding to such issues, persist to find solutions. In an interview with Alcaraz & Thiruvattal (2010), Manuel Escudero, head of the United Nations’ Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME), urged for the redefinition of the future of business education in response to these challenges. For this crucial paradigm shift, he emphasized the importance of experiential learning in management education. Although service-learning has been practiced and studied across various disciplines, management educators and scholars are beginning to recognize its potentials to address management-specific issues, with service-learning establishing its presence in business schools and academic research today.

Taking stock of pedagogical research in management education journals is limited as compared to other disciplines (Beatty & Leigh, 2009). While there are systematic reviews within the management education literature (e.g. Rubin & Dierdorff, 2013; Nabi, Liñan, Fayolle, Krueger, Walmsley, 2017), no systematic literature review of service-learning has been done before, therefore making this study the first to do so. With over a decade now since Kenworthy-U'ren (2008)'s review, Iassert that the service-learning landscape has evolved since then with much more knowledge created through research and scholarly debates. Looking back at the components and barriers identified by Kolenko and colleagues (1996) and Kenworthy-U'ren's assessment of these, it becomes clear that service-learning research has made leaps and strides to study new topics and modern applications of service-learning. This evolution therefore calls for a critical evaluation of the field to invigorate it further.

In his inaugural editorial for AMLE, Ben Arbaugh (2008) called for greater theory development in management and learning education. While service-learning is common to many other disciplines beyond management, I share Arbaugh's position that "management learning and education is unique relative to learning and education in other disciplines" (p. 6). This literature review of service-learning in management education is my contribution towards the collective goal of carving out such distinctive domain. Through this article, I aim to systematically review both conceptual and empirical work on service-learning in management education, providing a vivid picture of the literature stream's development, building blocks and challenges. First, I recount the method in which I selected articles for inclusion and provide a descriptive analysis of the sample. Then I present the result of the coding for topics and themes within the literature which are the six dimensions of service-learning: cultural setting, institutional environment, pedagogy, social engagement, student learning and development and stakeholder value. Having identified these contexts, processes and outcomes of service-learning, I offer conclusions and an agenda for future research.

2.3. Systematic review process

The sample of this systematic review includes a total of 70 articles published from 1996 to 2022. With the objective of mapping the current field of scholarship on service-learning in management education, I make use of a systematic literature review process, which differs from the traditional narrative review with its exhaustive search method and criteria to ensure the transparency of conclusions (Tranfield, Denyer & Smart, 2003; Briner & Walshe, 2014). Such approach reduces the subjectivity in the data collected and allows for the reproducibility of findings, since clearly stating the steps one has undertaken in the review allows for others to arrive at the same accurate assessment (Mulrow, 1994). Through the synthesis of data, new knowledge is created as a product of the review (Crossan & Apayadin, 2010). My review entails an aggregation of findings from both conceptual and empirical studies. Through a critical analysis with both quantitative and qualitative elements, I propose a research agenda as a product of the review.

As tracing the literature stream's origins to the present day would help us in understanding the overall development of the research field, the year of publication was not a factor for limiting the sample. My systematic literature review follows a method used by Rawhouser, Villanueva and Newbert (2016), using peer-reviewed journals rated in the Association of Business Schools Academic Journal Guide (ABS AJG). I specifically looked at the top journals in the category Management Development and Education in the 2018 edition. As management education journals are of a smaller niche, no journals were rated 4* and only one journal, AMLE, had a ranking of 4. Thus, I included the next top journals within the category with a rating of 3, resulting in the inclusion of the British Education Research Journal, Management Learning and Studies in Higher Education. I also referred to Currie and Pandher's (2013) management education journal ranking system, which made use of an active scholar assessment, to check for other top journals within this specific discipline. I included journals that were part of Tier A (score of either A+ or A- in importance and quality), aside from those mentioned earlier, resulting in seven additional journals – JBE, JME, Research in Higher Education, Decision Support Systems, Issues in Accounting Education, Journal of Education Psychology and Communications of the ACM.[1] My sample of journals included is consistent with Beatty and Leigh's (2009) identification of JME, AMLE and ML as the most well-known journals within management education, thus ensuring the review does not miss relevant research. The sample of journals also included all three journals which had dedicated a special issue on the topic, as Kenworth-U'ren (2008) notes special issues marked significant periods for the literature stream.

[1] Tier A included AMLE as well.

Using EBSCO, Scopus, Business Source Premier, Google Scholar and Web of Science, Isearched for articles within the identified journals for the term “service learning” or “service-learning” within the title, abstract, keywords or anywhere in the article. Initially, I screened articles to check if their main focus is service-learning, as defined by Dipadova-Stocks (2005), in a management education context. Hence, articles that focused more on business ethics courses in general but had service-learning examples (e.g. Sims & Felton, 2006; Sabbaghi & Cavanagh 2015) were filtered out. The main educational program discussed in the article may be combined with other pedagogies but must still constitute as service-learning (e.g. Purdy & Lawless, 2012). I also excluded journal articles that discussed business education in general and only made mention of service-learning either as anecdotal examples (e.g. Dehler, 2009; Miska & Mendenhall, 2018), as one model in a comparison of several educational frameworks and programs (e.g. Sachau, Brasher, Fee 2010; Walker, Dyck, Zhang & Starke, 2017) or as a learning strategy or pedagogical example (e.g. Osiemo, 2012; Loeb 2015). These articles were discarded as they did not have specific contributions for service-learning scholarship.

Initially, the sample was to include only journal articles, but I decided to add two interviews as they were part of the AMLE 2005 special issue on service-learning and reflected on insights in service learning. Due to the relative newness of the literature stream itself, I believe it is important to also consider these sources of information as they also provide valuable perspectives. Furthermore, an annotated bibliography within that special issue by Wallace (2005) was not included in the sample but used to track and include other important articles. Finally, I conducted an open search of “service-learning” and checked if any articles were present in other top-ranked Management journals of other specific sub-disciplines. If the article came from a journal which was ranked at least 3 in the ABS 2018 AJG or present in the Financial Times 50 list, then it was included. This led to the inclusion of articles from Human Resource Management and the Journal of Management Inquiry. After presentation of earlier versions of this literature review in workshops and conferences in management education for critique and developmental feedback, fellow service-learning scholars have recommended to also seek out corresponding terms such as “community-based learning”, “engaged learning” and “community-engaged learning”. However, upon searching these keywords in the selected journals, I did not find new results within the same scope of business journals. For example, Marques (2016) interchangeably uses “civic engagement” in the context of higher education with “service-learning”. This leads us to believe that within business journals, these suggested terms have not been as widely adopted as much as the term "service-learning" has been, although the development of the literature's terminology is worth noting for future research.

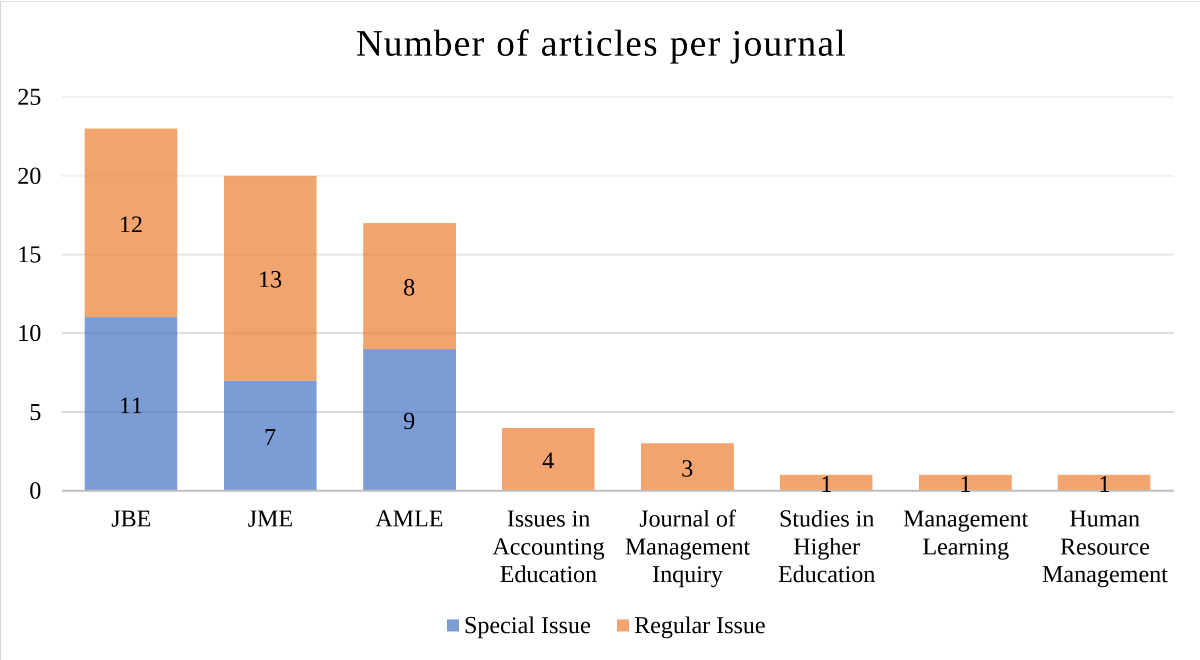

Figure 1 Number of articles per journal

This process of journal and article inclusion resulted in 70 articles published in eight journals over the last two decades, summarized in Figure 1. Following best practices in coding for analytic descriptions of the sample in systematic reviews (e.g. Baudoin & Arenas, 2020; Bezrukova, Jehn & Spell, 2012; Bowen, Newenham-Kahindi & Herremans, 2010; Rubin & Dierdorff, 2013), I approached the included articles with an open coding method (Glaser & Strauss, 2017) in which similarities and differences across content and characteristics arose naturally after several rounds of reviewing the articles. As categories emerged inductively, I assessed each article for the following: year of publication, whether it was included in a journal special issue or not, methodological approach (conceptual, quantitative, qualitative or mixed), geographic region or countries involved, education level (undergraduate, graduate or executive), course or program in which service-learning is practiced. I coded these articles and then summarized the information in tables and charts to characterize the body of literature included in the review.

2.4. Sample of articles

The final sample of 70 articles represents the diverse literature on service-learning in management education, published in a total of eight journals from the year 1996 to 2022. The growth in number of journal articles over the years show a steady stream of research output on the topic. Three journals accounted for majority of the contributions to the sample: JBE (N = 23), JME (N = 20) and AMLE (N = 17), all of which had released special issues on service-learning.

The obtained sample covers various methodological approaches. The articles were first assessed as conceptual or empirical, and then by method. I found that the articles were mostly empirical in nature, with 55 articles or 79% of the sample classifying as such and several of these being service-learning case studies. More specifically, while quantitative work has been done covering various techniques such as structural equation modeling (e.g. Lester, Tomkovick, Wells & Flunker, 2005) and meta-analysis (e.g. Yorio & Ye, 2012), majority of the literature features qualitative approaches such as case studies of service-learning courses and content analysis of student testimonies. Surveys that had both quantitative and qualitative elements were also utilized by several studies (e.g. Chen, Snell & Wu, 2018; Nikalova & Andersen, 2017; Wittmer, 2014).

They may also be integrated into several courses as a multi-disciplinary project, as seen in the majority of the empirical articles. For the service-learning projects housed in a specific course, I found that the majority were in Business Ethics or Business and Society type of courses. This however, may be explained by the majority of articles the sample coming from the Journal of Business Ethics and the social orientation of the pedagogy. Other service-learning projects were not housed in a specific course, and may be a stand-alone program of the university. In terms of levels of education, more than half of the empirical articles studied purely undergraduate contexts (N=30). The other articles studied service-learning projects on the postgraduate level (MBA, MSc, and executive education) or across multiple levels.

I assessed the geographic background of featured service-learning programs and found that around 73% (N=40 out of the 55 studies) featured universities in the U.S. conducting local service-learning projects, indicating that the service-learning has been studied mostly from a U.S. perspective. Five studies looked at international service-learning programs (two of which were based in the U.S.) wherein students go on exchange to conduct the project with a partner university or organization abroad. Articles also featured universities in Australia (Caspersz & Olaru, 2017; Kenworthy, 2010; Nikalova & Andersen, 2017), Hong Kong (Chen et al., 2018; Snell, Chan, Ma & Chan, 2015) , Colombia (Rosenbloom & Cortes, 2008) and Finland (Fougère, Solitander & Maheshwari, 2020) for local service-learning projects but the region of Africa, despite involvement in international programs by hosting students, was not represented in the literature for domestic service-learning programs. Prominent service-learning programs that appeared more than once in the sample include Project Ulysess (e.g. Pless & Maak, 2009; Pless, et al., 2011; 2012), Bentley Service-Learning Project (e.g. Kenworthy, 1996; Salimbene, Buono, Lafarge & Nurick, 2005) and Volunteer Income Tax Assistance (VITA) (e.g. Christensen & Woodland, 2015; O'Brien, Wittmer & Ebrahimi, 2017).

2.5. Findings

My goal was to understand the foundations and architecture of the literature on service-learning in management education through this systematic literature review. I coded each of the 70 articles for its topics and keywords (see Table 1), which resulted in my classification of the literature that represent different areas of academic concentration, revealing what service-learning scholars have given focus to over the past two decades. This systematic literature review distinguishes six content categories of the service-learning literature on the level of contexts, processes and outcomes. I expound on each one in this section and discuss the various theoretical underpinnings and how they are linked to each other. My analysis of the literature makes evident the extant knowledge gaps in service-learning, and thus I conclude the review with a proposed agenda for future research to address these gaps.

Table 1 Topics and keywords

	Themes	Codes from articles
Contexts	Institutional Environment	resistance or support, champion, institutionalizing service-learning, faculty involvement, institutional infrastructure
	Cultural Setting	international exchange, cultural differences, cross-cultural, globalization

Processes	Pedagogy	course syllabus, curriculum, setting learning outcomes, course requirements, teaching methods, readings, case studies, exams, content delivery, reflection papers, academic resources, optional or required course, challenges encountered, learning strategy
	Social Engagement	collaboration, community as partner, community service, civic engagement, social responsibility, social need
Outcomes	Student Learning and Development	political, moral, civic engagement/duty, social responsibility, business ethics, accounting, marketing, application of academic concepts, professional development, improved performance
	Stakeholder Value	perception of value, advantages, desirability of service-learning experiences, public relations

2.5.1. Contexts

Service-learning research has investigated contexts in which service-learning projects and courses occur, and the university in which such programs are embedded in. Understanding the situations and circumstances that surround service-learning provides insights on the environments that influence its dynamics and the actors that support, resist, or shape service-learning.

Cultural setting. With an increasing demand for the global manager, more and more business schools are investing in student mobility programs to send students abroad (Varela and Gatlin-Watts, 2014). Service-learning programs have also globalized in working with organizations not just within the country. From the sample, I observed that although domestic service-learning programs significantly outnumber international programs within the literature, the latter provide unique insights on the role of context and cultural differences in service-learning. Studies that do feature international programs or cultural exchanges show how various cultural settings and differences enrich the service-learning experience. For example, Project Ulysses, a service-learning program at the executive education level, has generated various insights for multiple literatures by contributing not just to management education (Pless, Maak & Stahl, 2011) but also business ethics (Pless & Maak, 2009) and human resource management (Pless, Maak & Stahl, 2012). Through a multicultural environment, Project

Ulysses participants learn about global leadership and corporate social responsibility through the work they do in cross-sector partnerships.

Although one might assume only international service-learning programs leverage cultural contexts, even domestic programs can do this as well based on their own students' background. Mosakowski, Calic and Early (2013) investigate the effectivity of certain cultural contexts for developing a global mindset and present how non-U.S. students increased their cultural intelligence by engaging with U.S. military veterans. They identify moderate culture distance, tight culture, low context and high moral desirability as crucial elements in achieving this, contributing a finer-grained understanding of cultural aspects in service-learning. While studies that focus on cultural contexts are currently limited in the service-learning literature, the articles that do show how cultural setting is an important dimension of engagement to service-learning experiences as they enrich the interactions between students and the partner community and provide both opportunities and challenges.

Institutional environment. Emphasizing the importance of the institutional environment in which service-learning is embedded, many scholars have outlined strategies for service-learning to be adopted in more universities and reduce potential challenges in doing so, such as resistance by faculty and students (Kolenko et al., 1996). Morton and Troppe (1996) shows two case examples of both success and failure, in pushing for service-learning to be adopted by the university regardless of the available resources. In the end, they provide steps for the institutionalization of service-learning, such as through the commitment of funds, faculty development programs and having a core group managing service-learning activities. Among more recognized service-learning programs, the cases of the Bentley Service-Learning Project (Kenworthy, 1996; Salimbene et al.,2005), and the VITA program (Blanthorne & Westin, 2015) show how service-learning programs can gain institutional support and provide details to their particular program structure and its management, with the latter even presenting data on reasons for program cessation. Lamb, Swinth, Vinton and Lee (1998) explain how institutional infrastructure must be integrated to support service-learning activities, and give the example of their university Office for Community Involvement which acts as a liaison to the community.

Service-learning programs can also be closely tied to the university's identity, mission and vision, creating deeper embeddedness. Such was the case for the University of Detroit Mercy, in which its Jesuit spirituality and values were reflected in its service-learning project for MBA course, Personal Development and Social Responsibility (Hazen, Cavanagh & Bossman, 2004). For Montana State University – Bozeman, the College of Business faculty implementing service-learning relied on the university mission, organizational culture and tradition of service to address student and faculty resistance (Lamb et al., 1998). I observe from these articles that service-learning encounters less resistance when its activities are consistent with how the university sees itself and its overall goals.

2.5.2. Processes

The next category of articles I discuss, which is also the largest, investigates the "how" of service-learning, or the practices involved in delivering it. These processes discussed by scholars may relate to either the pedagogical elements and project management, or to how the community is involved and engaged.

Pedagogy. The sample predominantly features studies related to the methods of service-learning as a pedagogical tool. Many of the collected articles offer developmental insights and "how to" guides for professors implementing service-learning in their classes by scholar-practitioners, giving access to their actual course syllabi, learning objectives, reading reference lists and activity guidelines. These scholars have provided an abundance of cases as to how they designed, implemented and personally experienced their service-learning courses, and also in-depth analyses of their pedagogical effectivity with regards to meeting learning objectives. Unsurprisingly, majority of the pedagogical articles in the sample were published in JME, which is known to specifically concentrate on such pedagogical topics within the management education literature (Beatty & Leigh, 2009). These empirical studies in the sample covering various courses and levels of education effectively allow for the accessibility of best practices and key learnings from multiple iterations of conducting service-learning in their classes or universities. In Amy Kenworthy and Charles Fornaciari's guest editorial for the JME 2010 special issue, they state that with the abundance of these resources on service-learning, there is no need to reinvent the service-learning wheel. As seen in each article in that issue (Fairfield, 2010; Flannery & Pragman, 2010; Kenworthy, 2010; Litzky, Godshalk & Walton-Bongers, 2010; McCrea, 2010; Rhee & Sigler, 2010; Robinson, Sherwood & DePaulo, 2010), service-learning scholars have made leaps and strides in seamlessly integrating service-learning to management education. McCrea (2010), for example, recounts her experiences in using service-learning to teach entrepreneurship, providing her course materials, student feedback and reflections as a service-learning practitioner. Outside of the special issue, Rands

(2008) explains how service-learning can be adjusted specifically for sustainability-oriented management through his proposed framework.

Tracing the service-learning literature stream focusing on pedagogy, Inote that it has progressed significantly from the earlier case studies featured in the JBE 1996 special issue, which featured a similar collection of articles (Bies, 1996; Collins, 1996, Friedman, 1996; Graham, 1996) that showcased various service-learning programs, discussed its relevance for business ethics education, and encouraged adoption of best practices. If the 1996 JBE special issue is proof that service-learning can be done in a time where scholars and educators have barely heard of the pedagogy, the 2010 JME special issue is proof that service-learning can be done with excellence. Beyond these case studies that present how service-learning was implemented in a course, some scholars hold a critical eye to how the pedagogy is carried out generally in management education. Steiner and Watson (2006) analyze the course objectives of various syllabi with service-learning and find that there is a lack of articulated emphasis on civic responsibility and community involvement. Altogether, I take these articles as evidence of the literature’s heavy focus on the pedagogical dimension of service-learning.

More specifically within the pedagogical discourse of service-learning is project management, or how the service-learning project itself can be better planned, executed and evaluated. While pedagogy is ultimately controlled by the faculty in charge, the service-learning project itself is more prone to being affected and shaped by everyone involved, as seen in Papamarcos (2005), wherein he identified key project, people and process issues. Pless et al. (2011) and Pless et al. (2012) provide helpful information on the different program phases of Project Ulysses and the activities involving different teams or individuals that fall under each. Rhee and Sigler (2010) also elaborate on the process of preparing service-learning projects by coordinating with community partners prior to the beginning of the course. In Snell et al. (2015), service-learning project foundations, infrastructure and support, and potential road blocks are identified, all of which entail multiple groups of stakeholders. Interestingly, Schaffer (2004) presents a case of ad hoc service-learning, wherein the project was introduced in the middle of the semester as a response to the crisis of September 11, 2001 in the United States. Although the project required improvisation, unlike its more well-planned counterparts in the literature, due to the unique nature of the social issue it responded to, the author and professor successfully integrated the project into the course to meet curricular objectives and reap its benefits. All in all, these articles featuring the project management element of the service-learning literature show the intricacies and challenges of managing a service-learning project, and if one is to maximize its benefits, project planning, implementation and evaluation must be carefully handled.

From the articles that discuss pedagogy and project management, which are the most prominent within the service-learning literature, it becomes clear that educators who engage in service-learning are one of the most crucial elements in shaping the outcome of the experience, given their extensive role throughout all stages. As we've seen in the selected articles, more often than not, scholars who published articles on service-learning are also service-learning practitioners who speak from years of experience and provide in-depth insights as a direct participant. The unique position of service-learning scholars as practitioners as well has allowed for a different perspective, perhaps a more intimate approach, towards empirical research. As Kenworthy and Fornaciari point out in their editorial (2010: 5), "many of these articles showcase projects that have been adapted and refined through multiple iterations over numerous years across a variety of institutional applications." Iobserved this too even beyond the articles from special issues, proving that the scholarship of service-learning has gained momentum in figuring out pedagogically what works, what doesn't and why, and the direct role of scholars has contributed towards this.

Social engagement. The social orientation of service-learning is a core element that defines and distinguishes it from other experiential learning activities. Within the literature, some studies chose to particularly focus on how service-learning projects tackle social issues or the community partners and how the students, faculty and university interact with them. Rosenbloom and Cortes (2008) not only show how the students can confront poverty head-on, but also how the university can create and sustain partnerships with micro and small enterprises and organizations which work directly with the poor, to meet such objective. Similarly, Brower (2011) looks into sustainable development through service-learning within a third world country and makes recommendations for how faculty and students can establish relationships with the community for more meaningful work. Purdy and Lawless (2011) narrate the process in which they partnered with nonprofits for their students to serve on their boards with assigned mentors. This process entails recruitment, soliciting partnerships and leveraging on connections. The choice of partner organizations matters as well, as their willingness to participate increases when "their missions are aligned with the course goals of enhancing good governance and building the next generation of community leaders" (p.42). Kenworthy-U'ren

(2008) notes that involving and establishing trust with service-learning organization or community partners is not easy, but necessary to the success of the project. It is not enough that universities and faculty members are able to select the right organizations, but they must also maintain the relationship with proper coordination of service-learning activities. Surprisingly, social engagement is not given as much scholarly attention as other topics within service-learning, when it is crucial to its theoretical foundation. Nonetheless, partnerships with communities and organizations are recognized as an essential part in the success of service-learning outcomes.

2.5.3. Outcomes

Lastly, the category of service-learning research on outcomes explores the many ways which service-learning affects participants and organizations involved. While studies have focused mostly on the student, scholars have also looked into service-learning impact on other stakeholders, such as the partner community and the university. Identifying and measuring service-learning outcomes help provide educators more accurate expectations of the pedagogy and what it can do for management education.

Student learning and development. The most prominent theme within the sample is student learning and development, with over half of the sample focusing on how service-learning develops the individual who undergoes the course or program in multiple dimensions of learning. This echoes the sentiment by Lester et al. (2005) that the value of service-learning has been assessed largely from a student point of view. With almost half of the articles included discussing service-learning benefits for the student, it has become evident that there is a well-established body of literature that shows that students who have engaged in service-learning learn academic concepts more deeply, gain various skills such as leadership and teamwork, and develop attitudes such as social responsibility, all of which are necessary in developing future managers.

Among the forms of learning and development covered by the literature, developing social responsibility and ethical behavior was the most prevalent, arguably due to the fact that a large number of articles come from the Journal of Business Ethics which covers such topics. A significant number of studies showing how service-learning helps students learn to be more willing to engage in activities that benefit society and behave more ethically, across several education levels. Salimbene et al. state, “service-learning provides students with an opportunity to develop an ethical compass and a fuller appreciation of the role and importance of civic involvement" (2005:343). Case studies such as those by Bies (1996), Collins (1996) and Marques (2016) have demonstrated rich service-learning experiences bringing about a personal change within the student and moving him or her to be more service-oriented or interested in civic engagement. Through a regression analysis, McCarthy and Tucker (2002) find that students' intent to participate in community service increases with service-learning. Other quantitative studies have also provided evidence for the development of ethical decision-making. Christensen and Woodland (2015) conducted a regression analysis that yielded significant results to show that participation in VITA, the most prominent service-learning program in the accounting education literature, is positively associated with ethical judgement. Service-learning studies based in Business and Society or Business Ethics classes have provided students with ethical frameworks to help them grapple with moral dilemmas they encounter on the ground as they conduct the service, and thus, service-learning fits the course as a highly effective pedagogy in delivering these results (O'Brien et al., 2017; Vega, 2007). Sahatjian and colleagues (2022) found that students with service-learning experience utilize more ethical sensemaking strategies in their ethical decision-making as compared to students without.

Another element of student learning and development is academic learning, wherein service-learning reinforces the student's capacity to absorb the academic lesson at hand through the service-learning activity. This has been researched in courses such as Accounting (Rama, Ravenscroft, Wolcott & Zlotkowski, 2000; Still & Clayton, 2004), Compensation and Benefit (Madsen & Turnbull, 2006), Project Management (Larson & Drexler, 2010) and Negotiation (Kenworthy, 2010). Each case presents how the student has better grasp of the course concepts and overall technical knowledge as it is directly applied through the project. Lastly, there is the leadership aspect of personal development, as the literature demonstrates how service-learning contributes to leadership formation. The service-learning project may tackle leadership generally (Bies, 1996; Rhee & Sigler, 2010; Sabbaghi, Cavanagh & Hipskind, 2013) or indicate a more specific type of leadership such as charismatic leadership (Middleton, 2005), global leadership (Pless & Maak, 2009; Pless et al., 2011; Pless et al., 2012) or service leadership (Snell et al., 2014; Chen, Snell & Wu, 2017).

Summarizing many of these empirical studies, Yorio and Ye (2012) aggregate the personal effects of service-learning on the student on various dimensions through a meta-analysis and find that service-learning has a positive effect on understanding of social issues, personal insight and cognitive development. Using Bloom's taxonomy (1956), a well-known classification system for designing and evaluating learning outcomes, Iargue that extant research has emphasized higher-order learning as an outcome of service-learning, as students go beyond the mere analysis of concepts as evidenced by the "creation" (Anderson and Krathwohl, 2001) of new work in their projects. The studies that emphasized academic learning and course concepts fall under the cognitive domain, while personal development of social commitment would classify as affective, in which students learn and practice their values and beliefs. Competencies such as leadership and ethical decision-making, as a result of service-learning, are some examples of these.

Overall, the amount of studies that focus on the development of the student shows the literature's concentration on outcomes and impact particularly on the student. In justifying service-learning programs on the level of impact, scholars, professors and service-learning practitioners may refer to a significant body of evidence of the benefits of service-learning to students, across various methods and approaches.

Stakeholder value. Although much scholarly attention has been given to the outcomes for students, it is not the case for other service-learning stakeholders such as the faculty, university and community. These stakeholders are crucial to the service-learning experience (Kenworthy-U'ren, 2008) yet Ifind that they have not been reflected equally in the empirical literature. Nonetheless, efforts have been made in response to this imbalance. Block and Bartkus (2018) respond to the need to study other stakeholders and focused on the community side of service-learning. By studying a sample of 30 international service-learning projects, they analyzed and differentiated how the partner organization or community experienced value, either directly or indirectly. The authors shed light on the conditions that allow for this, such as partner readiness and project design and execution. Fougère, Solitander and Maheshwari (2020) also address the imbalance by developing the notion of "enriched reciprocal learning" to emphasize the multiple dimensions of service-learning. Using projects with four organizations in a CSR course, they draw on Artistotle's typology of modes of knowing to illustrate not just student learning, but also management and stakeholder learning. In both studies, reciprocity between stakeholders involved was highlighted, and at the core of the success of the projects.

For the university, earlier studies like Collins (1996) and Hogner (1996) have pointed out the positive publicity successful projects generate for the university. Universities also increase their legitimacy in their social commitment to the public good as expressed and enacted through their model of service-learning (Nikolova & Anderson, 2017). Lester et al. (2005) offer a multi-stakeholder approach, including not just the student perspective but that of recruiters and community service project supervisors as well. They provide a model for how these stakeholders perceive value and the role of service-learning project design in influencing such.

While the literature presents various success stories of service-learning projects making a difference in the lives of the students who engage in them and in a lesser degree, the university and the community, there has not been much discussion on what happens when service-learning programs fall short, especially its consequences on the stakeholders. Although Kenworthy-U'ren (2008) has warned of this, the literature can benefit from an open and honest discussion on outcomes that are less than ideal, rather than focusing only on "successful" service-learning outcomes which may lead faculty to developing a false sense of security with the pedagogy.

2.6. Agenda for future research

From the sample of articles, I was able to investigate the literature of service-learning within management education. By identifying relevant contexts, processes and outcomes, I shed light on the main areas in service-learning research, making evident which topics have caught much scholarly attention, and which areas remain to be explored. For example, I found that the literature has largely focused on outcomes on the student level, highlighting the many developmental benefits that come with engaging in service-learning. Practitioners and scholars of service-learning of today no longer have a lack of evidence in justifying the value of these programs, as when the pedagogy started to gain scholarly attention among management educators in the early 1990's. Having presented and analyzed the overall architecture of the existing literature, I now proceed with the objective of invigorating service-learning research by presenting potential research questions and theoretical frameworks through an agenda for future research. I also contextualize these in light of Kenworthy-U'ren's main findings in her literature review (2008).

2.6.1 Integrating management theory to service-learning scholarship

While service-learning research may have originated in education, psychology and philosophy, it has the potential to build theory not just on the level of pedagogy and the scholarship of teaching and learning, but also for broader management and organizational scholarship through the application of different theoretical lens. As a context, service-learning provides unique and novel opportunities to observe interesting social phenomenon such as community engagement and learning. Arbaugh (2008) describes this "classroom as organization" orientation as an opportunity for researchers to investigate the classroom or business school as the empirical setting as they would do in studying organizations. I suggest four pertinent management theories that are most relevant to the various dimensions of the service-learning contexts, processes, and outcomes I have identified in this literature review.

Stakeholder theory. Two of the three issues Kenworthy-U'ren (2008) identified as most pertinent to service-learning in business education are effective partnerships and the "conspiracy of courtesy", which DiPadova-Stocks and Brown (2006) state as a reciprocity issue wherein service providers assume they already hold all the knowledge to help the community and thus, have no more to learn from them. Kenworthy-U'ren states that the success of service-learning hinges on the commitment of the stakeholders involved, and yet in this literature review, I find that there is minimal research oriented to addressing the stakeholders beyond the student and the dynamics between them, especially regarding the community. Although the social dimension of service-learning is crucial, it remains understudied.

I believe the theoretical lens of stakeholder theory may address this issue with the question of "who and what really counts" (Freeman, 1984). Understanding the tensions between multiple stakeholders such as the student, faculty, university and community, allow for a deeper discussion on accountability. The debates on the saliency of each stakeholder that have emerged within service-learning research can be evaluated using Mitchell, Agle and Wood's model (1997) of urgency, power and legitimacy. Furthermore, the concept of reciprocity as criteria also appears in the stakeholder literature (Bosse, Phillips & Harrison, 2009) and this can be leveraged on for frameworks in service-learning programs to ensure that the welfare of the partner community is not neglected. Godfrey and colleagues emphasize the importance of reciprocity as "an opportunity to deepen the service experience as students become equal and trusted partners" (317: 2005). Such view of the relationship between the student and university with the community complements the scholarship on stakeholder theory, and vice versa.

Last, but not least, I believe that there is also room – even a moral need to include into our discussions questions about what is at stake when thinking about stakeholder management in service-learning. As highlighted by critical management scholars, there is the ever-present risk of missing, ignoring, or veiling the broader societal context of uneven relations of power, coercion and domination in which stakeholders are embedded. Thus, as current discussions on "Black Lives Matter" the academy put forward, there is an opportunity through service-learning to both see how powerful institutions dominate and exploit other groups but also to voicing concerns of weaker parties to highlight and end different forms of colonialism and domination (Banerjee, 2008; Fleming & Jones, 2012)

Identity theory. The next theoretical lens I recommend is identity theory, which sees identity as "individuals' subjective interpretations of who they are" (Caza, Vough & Puranik, 2018: 1), with a focus on identity work, or the activities that involve "forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising" (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002: 626) one's self-concept. As observed from the literature that discusses cultural settings and social engagement, differences are highlighted during the experience and students face ingroup and outgroup tensions as they enter partner organizations, such as non-profits or social enterprises that typically work with marginalized groups. The students' outsider status to the community, along with their personal differences such as on the level of class, age and race, is recognized in the literature, but can be further investigated as to how this shapes the dynamics of their engagement and how it influences their learning. Furthermore, students also act as liminal subjects within these organizations as they are only with them for a limited period of time which they are already aware of from the beginning of the project. In role transitions such as these, "people are learning to enact expected role behaviors and building a sense of self in these new roles" (Caza et al., 2018: 10). Such temporality and ambiguity shape the interactions and reconstruction of self (Beech, 2011) yet service-learning scholars in management education have not explored these dimensions.

This gap becomes salient and necessary to respond to given the more established literature on student outcomes and development, thus presenting scholars a black box regarding how such results are achieved or not. Ioffer identity theory as a lens to illuminate this process, particularly through identity work which occurs in managing the tensions that arise from these apparent differences. Management education scholars have posited that business schools can be experienced as "identity workspaces", providing students the environment to shape their self-concept as future managers (Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010). Ipropose that in doing service-learning, students have the opportunity to ask themselves questions such as "Who am I?", "How should I act?" (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008) and "What kind of manager would I like to be?" (Brown, 2015; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Moreover, identity work can also apply to other stakeholders and illuminate not just the local community's identity but also its relation to other stakeholders (Bruijn & Whiteman, 2010). By exploring the interpersonal and subjective dimensions of service-learning through identity work, scholars can pave the path to which we arrive at the outcomes of service-learning experiences.

Institutional theory. As shown in the earlier section of institutional environment, the literature has identified a different set of institutional elements affecting service-learning, such as legitimacy issues and the context where service-learning takes shape and place. Two streams of recent scholarship in institutional theory are of particular relevant to service-learning research and practice. An extensive body of work has study the creation, maintenance and disruption of institutionalized practices, structures, and beliefs (DiMaggio, 1988; Powell & Colyvas, 2008). Understanding the institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) involved in governing, adapting and reforming educational institutions to give room to different forms of service-learning approaches is necessary if we want to see how they may, later on, take on "lives of their own", for which institutionalization is needed. Notably, this applies both to intra and to inter-organizational institutional processes (Lawrence & Phillips, 2019). Potential applications of this to service-learning scholarship include studying the institutional conditions that allow for the adoption and longevity of service-learning programs, and the role of actors – i.e., institutional entrepreneurs– such as faculty and administrators in the legitimization of service-learning. Moreover, Ibelieve that despite attention has been already given to process of institutional entrepreneurship, more attention is necessary to salience and importance of different forms of maintenance and custodial work that are put in place to avoid service-learning practice and initiatives breakdowns (Dacin & Dacin, 2008; Lok & de Rond, 2013).

A second stream of research refers to the importance of the role that cultural, professional, and organizational contexts play in the experience of service-learning. The institutional context is not neutral. It rather provides meaning structures and socially-accepted (and sanctioned) practices through which people experience, interpret their service-learning experiences, and cope with possible challenges, problems, and misunderstanding they are exposed to (de Rond & Lok, 2016; Zilber, 2002). By explicitly considering the role of the specific context where service-learning occurs, we may be able to develop better explanations for their differential individual, organizational, and community impacts and outcomes (Fernández, Martí, Farchi, 2017). I believe this might of special relevance for service-learning initiatives in "extreme contexts", where, as shown de Rond and Lok in their study at a hospital at war, context can play a role "in triggering and amplifying existential psychological distress" (de Rond and Lok, 2016: 1987).

Ethic of care. Finally, I believe the writing on an ethic of care offers important themes for service-learning research and practice. The idea of an ethic of care has, over the past three decades, been taken up widely in feminist scholarship and more recently in management theory. And yet, despite its prominence in broader discussions on community engagement and organized care, it has received little attention in the scholarly literature in service-learning. Ibelieve this unwarranted and it presents a significant overseen opportunity.

Crucially, that has to do with fully acknowledging that service-learning "practitioners" are fundamentally relational, "born into conditions of dependence" (Butler, 2004; Gilson, 2014; Liedtka, 1996). That is, clearly, not new to the service-learning literature, where different forms of infrastructures and forms support entailing multiple groups of stakeholders (Snell et al., 2014) are considered. However, while the previous literature has emphasized finding and celebrating the positive impact of service-learning in most people's experience, an ethic of care also recognizes that "people inside and outside the organization experience struggle aas a fundamental part of everyday life" (Lawrence & Maitlis, 2012: 646). What feminist writing suggests, accordingly, is the need of integrating different resources from multiple networks and groups so that the focus is on the relationships between individuals, rather than the position and roles of the actors – e.g. student, professor, community-member, etc. This also requires a culture where the humanity of all actors is displayed rather than concealed, which implies fundamentally, an acknowledgement of the position of privilege and fighting to challenge and undermine it.

2.6.2. Uncovering the shadow side of service-learning

Management education scholars have warned of the risks involved in experiential learning (Bata, Cox-Lanyon, Davis & Whitney 2019) but this has not yet trickled specifically to service-learning research in management education. While scholars have acknowledged certain challenges in service-learning, such as the effort and resources it requires, none have fully investigated the potential consequences when projects go awry and potentially harm not just the student and university, but also the community involved. Although it may seem easier and more appealing to publish success stories, Ibelieve the literature will benefit significantly from a holistic awareness of what is truly at stake when students enter and engage with outside communities. Communities and partner organizations of service-learning typically have less resources than universities to cushion themselves from the damage that may be incurred when service-learning is not carried out well or responsibly. Iencourage scholars to present the shadow side of service-learning because confronting the potential harms in service-learning allows for scholars to eventually address them. This brings about a conversation regarding the ethics of service-learning and what it means to do it responsibly, taking into consideration the moral duty of business schools (Lund Dean, Wright & Forray, 2019). I believe the management theories I have proposed provide the necessary lens in guiding such conversations.

2.6.3. Engaging in rapidly changing contexts with rigorous method

I have observed that existing empirical research have featured mainly contexts in the United States, either as the setting in which the service-learning project is held domestically, or the home base of the university's international program. While the U.S. may have developed its own tradition of civic engagement in education and consequently, the scholarship on this, Icall for scholars to investigate different contexts across geographical regions to better understand the cultural nuances in service-learning. As global service-learning (Hartman & Kiely, 2014) continues to gain popularity with universities seeking to form their students as global citizens, we will surely see more and more students going abroad to work with various organizations and communities that present a completely different culture and worldview from theirs. Aside from the challenge of globalization, I foresee service-learning in management to also contend with the context of technological advancements. With younger generations of students being digital natives, virtual pedagogy is a reality that universities will have to come to terms with, especially in a post-COVID-19 world, and service-learning scholarship must reflect this reality. As the last of the three issues Kenworthy-U'ren (2008) had highlighted, online service-learning has its own complexities and necessary preparations. However, in spite of the rapid shift to online pedagogies, I have not seen in the sample any articles on service-learning in the context of online education. Scholars must begin to ask how online service-learning programs can be best designed and delivered by business schools, and find out what skills and tools we need as we venture into new territory. As evidenced by these two issues, the challenge of managing service-learning programs in the context of globalization and digitalization must be met not just by service-learning practicioners but scholars as well.

Finally, although there already exists a level of methodological diversity with both quantitative and qualitative approaches, with a heavier focus on the latter, I encourage scholars to continue striving for more rigorous research (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012; Köhler, Landis & Cortina, 2017). Scholars can look across multiple levels or units of analysis, considering the organizational change in the university and community along with student development. Various constructs and theoretical frameworks have arisen in service-learning scholarship, and so researchers must be careful and consistent with definitions and measurement. While service-learning scholarship within management education also draws from other fields outside of management, the consolidation of diverse contributions is important to avoid the fragmentation of the literature, and thus I hope this literature review is a step in that direction.

2.7. Conclusion

Fifteen years ago, Kenworthy-U'ren (2008) looked back on a decade of service-learning scholarship and concluded that the most urgent issues to address are the partnerships between the university and community, the conspiracy of courtesy, and online learning. Slowly but surely, we have seen articles touch directly upon the first two, especially in more recent times (e.g. Block & Bartkus, 2018; Fougère et al., 2020), and I push for the latter to be addressed by scholars. Revisiting her review today, I find that service-learning indeed has flourished and proven to be a mainstay in management education research, with a consistent output of journal article publications per year, aside from special issues. After over a decade, the foundation of what makes service-learning a successful and celebrated pedagogy is solid, but if we are to keep the metaphorical wheel turning, we must understand what has driven this field forward, as evidenced by this critical characterization of the field and its various approaches, and the relevant contexts, processes and outcomes I have identified. As a result of the systematic literature review, I have proposed in the agenda for future research for scholars to integrate relevant management theories as potential lenses to service-learning research, to uncover the shadow side of service-learning and to engage with the contexts of globalization and digitalization.

With an exciting future ahead of us, I hope that this deeper understanding of the literature encourages scholars and practitioners to guarantee the longevity of service-learning within management education. To believe in the pedagogy and research of service-learning is to have faith in a society that stands in solidarity with our communities. We have seen what the previous decades of service-learning scholarship have looked like and we look forward to the next decade of progress with much hope.

2.8. References

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3. Liminal Strangers: Social-Symbolic Work in Service-Learning

Building upon the findings of my systematic literature review on service-learning, this second essay aims to bridge management education and organization theory through a qualitative study of students who have undergone an international service-learning program.

3.1. Abstract

With the challenge of ensuring the social relevance of management education, many business schools and educators have turned to service-learning, a pedagogical strategy which combines community service with academic objectives. The literature on service-learning has established several benefits not just to the students but also the communities and partner organizations, such as students becoming more socially conscious through the experience and also more inclined towards civic engagement. I take these findings further by looking into not only the process of becoming conscious of these communities and social realities, but also the potential of becoming agents of change through liminal identity work. Thus, I seek to find out: How do business school students become agents of change through service-learning? I observe this through my empirical context, a service-learning program within a European business school, in which its students pursue internships with partner organizations in Latin America. My qualitative data includes in-depth interviews with 31 students throughout the service-learning experience, notes from participant observation, organization project documents and students' social media posts. I present three recursive states the students undergo as a liminal stranger, which are transitional periods wherein the students shift and adjust their values and worldview towards becoming agents of social change, ultimately contributing to both the identity work and service-learning literature.

3.2. Introduction

> "*It was really bad. At the beginning, it was like, 'Oh my god, (the cacao producers) are all looking at us. We can't do it anymore.' I bought a hat to wear because my hair was really different from them and everyone was watching me and I couldn't stand it anymore… It was a little bit intimidating because they were looking at you and you knew that they were looking at you but they still look at you—they don't stop. You're the different one, you have to take it in.*"

- Claudia[2], intern at a cooperative for cacao producers in Peru

Over the years, management education has faced much criticism on its relevance and effectiveness (Ghoshal, 2005; Khurana & Penrice, 2011) and consequently, a growing demand to respond to immediate social and ethical realities (Nicholson & DeMoss, 2009; Simms & Felton, 2006). Many universities have responded by engaging in experiential learning, a form of learning that places the human experience at the center of theories on human learning and development (Kolb & Kolb, 2005). One particular form of experiential learning is service-learning, which Dipadova-Stocks (2005) defines as "an academically rigorous instructional method that incorporates meaningful community service into the curriculum" (p. 345). The distinguishing elements of the pedagogy from volunteering or civic outreach are academic objectives and personal reflection, which are crucial for the student to gain a deeper understanding of not only the academic course content, but also how it is applied to social realities.

Today, service-learning is a growing phenomenon with more and more universities funding and developing such programs to serve marginalized groups to meet both social and academic objectives. Having received much scholarly attention, the literature on service-learning in management education has clearly established its beneficial impacts on students across various aspects such as aiding academic learning (Kenworthy, 2010) and developing leadership skills (Chen et al., 2018) and ethical decision-making (Christensen & Woodland, 2018; Sahatjian et al., 2022). Through a meta-analysis, Yorio & Ye (2012) have found that service-learning also helps deepen understanding of social issues, personal insight and cognitive development. Management education scholars have theoretically linked Freirean ideas and transformative learning to service-learning to emphasize the critical and reflexive

[2] Names have been changed.

dimensions of the pedagogy (Dal Magro et al., 2020). Rosenbloom & Cortes (2008) contend that service-learning allows for students to pierce "the bubble" insulating them within their privilege and isolating them from the poor, by developing greater social consciousness. Godfrey and colleagues have identified that reflections within service-learning regarding social responsibility involve questions such as "How am I different because of what I did?" and "How can that different *me* contribute to a better community?" (2005:318).

Despite such personal changes being well-documented within the literature, especially with the focus on the outcomes of the pedagogy, there remains a critical gap on studying changes in the student's self-concept, wherein such transformations have implications not only on the student, but also on the organizations they currently work with and the ones they will lead as future managers. Addressing this gap would mean achieving a finer grained understanding towards the mechanisms in which students become agents of change through service-learning, fulfilling the social aims of the pedagogy. I advance the literature on service-learning further by looking into not only the process of becoming socially conscious, but also the potential of developing commitment to social change by breaking down the processes on the individual level in which the students shift and adjust their self-concept and worldview upon their experiences in service-learning. With the theoretical framing of both management education and organization theory, particularly on identity work, I seek to find out: **How do business school students become agents of change through service-learning?** Contributing to both identity work and service-learning scholarship, I aim to offer a theoretical model of the processes that underlie how students engaging in service-learning construct and reconstruct their self-concept to eventually develop social consciousness and solidarity towards the marginalized groups they work with.

3.3. Identity work in service-learning

With the objective of gaining a deeper understanding of students as agents of change, I turn to the literature on identity work. Synthesizing prior definitions, such as the most prominent ones like Snow and Anderson's (1987), Sveningsson and Alvesson's (2003) and Watson's (2008), Caza and colleagues (2018) state that identity work consists of "the cognitive, discursive, physical, and behavioral activities that individuals undertake with the goal of forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, revising, or rejecting collective, role, and personal self-meanings within the boundaries of their social contexts" (p. 7). They state that according to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals are most likely to engage in identity work when ingroup and outgroup distinctions are salient, such as when several tensions are brought on by identity differences such as sexual orientation (Creed et al., 2010) and cultural background (Koveshnikov et al., 2016; Essers & Benschop, 2007). Through this study, I demonstrate how service-learning is a ripe context for identity work given that students face these tensions as they enter organizations that typically cater to marginalized groups, such as with non-profit organizations and social enterprises, to which they are outsiders. Furthermore, students act as liminal subjects within these organizations as they are only with them for a limited period of time which they are already aware of from the beginning of the project. In role transitions such as these, "people are learning to enact expected role behaviors and building a sense of self in these new roles" (Caza et al., 2018: 10). Students engaging in service-learning take on transitional roles, and as organizational newcomers, they face challenges in socialization and assimilating within the organization by relying on relationships (Morrison, 2002). Stages of service-learning projects include preparing for the internship through coursework, entering as newcomers and exiting the organization, thus providing a truly dynamic view of identity work in and out of the organization.

Drawing from the literature on identity work and reconstruction, Beech (2010) develops the concept of liminality, defined as "a reconstruction of identity (in which the sense of self is significantly disrupted) in such a way that the new identity is meaningful for the individual and their community" (p. 287) along with the proposition that it entails the practices of experimentation, reflection and recognition (see Figure 2). *Experimentation* involves trying out different versions of the self as the individual seeks to change their identity (Alvesson & Roberston, 2006) through an inside-out dialogic orientation. With the practice of *recognition*, an outisde-in dialogic orientation is enacted, involving the experience of realizing something or having an epiphany. Lastly, in the practice of reflection, with both externalized and internalized dialogic construction, self-questioning and self-change occur as the liminar applies the perspectives of others towards an inquiry into one's own self. I observe conceptual parallels in Beech's model of liminal identity work (2010) and the pedagogical foundation of service-learning, Kolb's experiential learning cycle (1984), which has the steps of concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation. This implies that the pedagogy is dynamic and transformational in nature, with the student engaging with others and also turning inward to engage with their own selves in terms of realizations and insights. In light of this, I believe understanding of the processes in service-learning can be enriched and elaborated with the lens of identity work, embracing ambiguity and liminality in its theorization as well. In their study of students who take a "gap year" to travel, Johan and colleagues (2019) present how informal and incidental learning occur during this liminal space of novel experiences especially with travel as a "rite of passage." They find that the dissonant, discrepant and disorienting experiences enhance personal introspection and hence, bring about transformation. Given the more formalized nature of service-learning as compared to students' independent travel such as with taking a gap year, we can reasonably expect that the learning and personal outcomes may be oriented towards more specific ends.

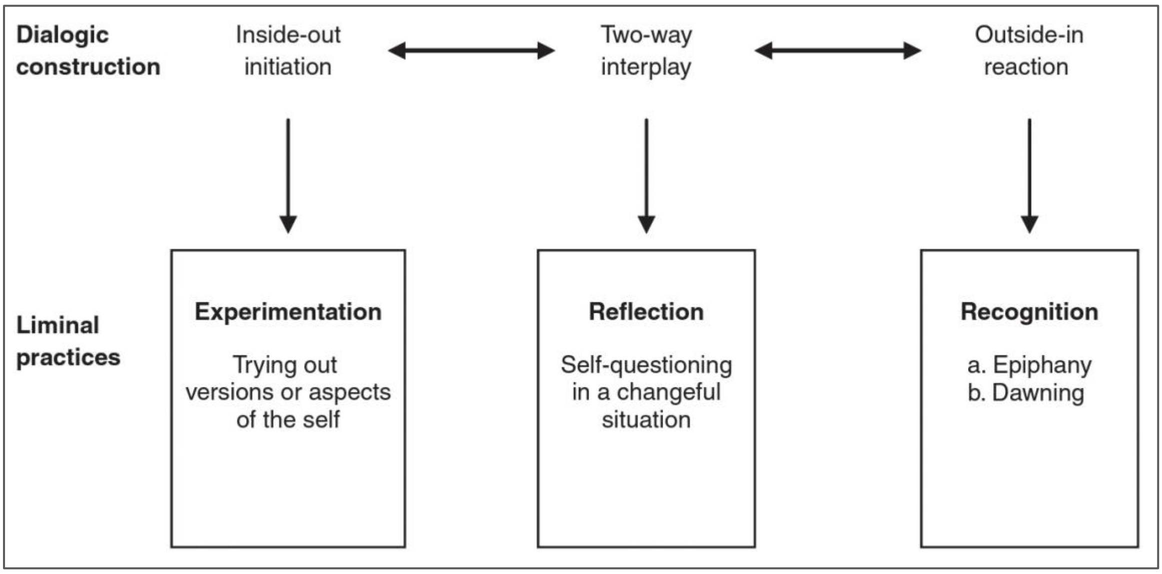

Figure 2 Liminal identity work (Beech, 2010)

3.4. Methods

3.4.1. Empirical Context

I observe identity work in the context of the service-learning program of a business school in a private university in Barcelona, Spain. Through its cooperative development initiative, the *Servicio Universitario para el Desarrollo* or University Development Service (SUD) office, students can partake in the Solidarity Internship Program (SIP) in which they are matched to partner institutes and projects and undergo training to prepare for the internship upon successful application. For a minimum duration of 8 weeks, students apply what they have learned in the classroom to on-ground experiences internationally. At the end of the internship, they submit and present a final report to both the organization and university, for which they receive academic credit.

I followed the 2019 SIP cohort of Spanish undergraduate students who underwent an internship with social enterprises, non-profit organizations and legal institutions in Latin America, over the course of a school year. During their internship over the summer, the students engaged in management consulting in areas such as marketing or finance or provide pro bono legal assistance. All the individuals are Spanish citizens, and/or have spent several years in Spain, and thus, did their internships at Spanish-speaking countries namely Costa Rica, El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, Paraguay, Chile and Ecuador. My sample contained a mix of students majoring in either Business Administration, Law and/or Global Governance, with their degrees guiding which project they would be assigned to. For example, in the observed cohort, a Business Administration student interned for a social enterprise with the task of doing financial analysis for the company, while a Global Governance student interned for a human rights organization organizing refugee operations at the border.

The chosen empirical context is unique and novel for observing identity work for several reasons. First, our service-learning context exemplifies identity distinctions among actors. The student interns are foreigners to their assigned organizations and significantly younger than their colleagues (students were 20 or 21 years old), with majority of the students without prior professional experience. In some cases, female students were assigned to male-dominated workplaces wherein norms and culture rooted in traditional machismo are upheld. Identity work in my study was spurred by a powerful combination of stark differences in culture, gender, age and power that shaped and underlay the interaction among actors. Second, liminality is emphasized with the stages of the SIP. Although the students prepare for the internship almost a year prior, they are with the organization for no longer than three months so any identity work is bounded and segmented by the periods of before, during and after they are with the organization. This allows for a more in-depth view of the processes involved, going beyond the dominant outcome-based approaches within the service-learning literature. Lastly, I offer a geographical context that the literature has not paid much attention to. As a large majority of studies have focused on North American and European settings, Central and South America is not as represented within the identity work literature (Caza et al., 2018). Thus, I provide further cultural nuances to identity work in organizational settings in Latin America.

3.4.2. Data collection

This study makes use of methods in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which is "most suited to efforts to understand the process by which actors construct meaning out of intersubjective experience" (Suddaby, 2006: 634). In the spirit of grounded theory, my data collection was shaped by concurrent interpretation of data and the insights that emerge. I worked with qualitative data gained through ethnographic approaches and thus, I am able "to more closely capture individuals' own subjective experiences and interpretations" (Graebner et al., 2012: 278) which is in line with the research objectives.

Regarding my research positionality balancing "professional distance and personal distance" (Anteby, 2013), I introduced myself to the students as a researcher interested in service-learning programs and student participation in such, and maintained a friendly demeanor to getting to know the students, which at times entailed them getting to know me as well. I conducted field work and participant observation during two official SUD events, which lasted a total of five days, having several conversations with them and taking notes after. I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 31 students prior to the start of their internship, with the interviews typically lasting 45 minutes on average. All interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards.

Although I was unable to physically follow and observe the students on-ground at their respective countries, I had access to the participants' social media accounts, particularly Instagram, in which they posted about their experiences during the internship. Almost all had expressed to me that they had even created specific Instagram accounts, aside from their personal ones, for the sole purpose of documenting and communicating their personal experiences via pictures, videos and text, not just about the project but also the experience of being in Latin America and their interactions with the locals. These digital scrapbooks were very insightful in informing my interview questions and conversations with the students, and seeing the experience through their eyes. Other data sources include documents such as the students' submitted application forms, resumes, reflection papers and project reports, which were also discussed during the interviews. The events I observed were conducted in Spanish, and interviews were conducted in English, although respondents ocassionally spoke in Spanish to express certain phrases. All written documents were in Spanish.

Upon their return, I formally interviewed 11 of these students, with the interviews lasting an hour and 15 minutes long on average. The interview protocol was designed to allow for the students to narrate in-depth their observations and reflections on their experiences and the emotions, insights and personal changes that arose from these. Although I was not able to formally interview all 31 students due to class schedule conflicts and eventually the shutdown of campus because of the COVID-19 pandemic, I engaged in catch-up conversations with majority of them during the post-internship retreat, which was an optional event to help process the experience with the guidance of the program mentors. I also actively stayed in touch via messaging on social media platforms and e-mail, particularly to clarify any observations I had.

3.4.3. Data analysis

Given the concurrent analysis of the data during collection through theoretical sampling (Glaser & Stauss, 1967), I underwent iterative rounds of coding. I began by creating a narrative chronological account (Langley, 1999) of the students' experiences, from the raw data. Following Creed and colleagues' (2010) use of narrative analysis in exploring meaning and identity through personal experiences, I aimed to capture the "ongoing reflexive accomplishment" of identity. As I evaluated the emerging narrative, I generated eleven first-order constructs, which are summarized with data exemplars in Table 2 (Maitlis & Lawrence, 2007; Pratt, 2008)

Leveraging the concept of "known strangers" (Martí et al., 2013; Martin de Holan et al., 2019; Poletta, 1999), I refined and aggregated the first-level constructs to three second-level constructs. In their study of the emergence of an entrepreneurial community in Argentina through the interactions of community members and external actors, Martí and colleagues (2013) build on the concept of "known strangers" (Polletta, 1999), or "external insiders" who they describe as having developed "intellectual, social and affective ties with community members and help them to organize themselves and mobilize for action." As I underwent rounds of coding the data, the role of the students as external insiders through their short internships became critical for understanding how they envisioned themselves as agents of change, not necessarily during the internship itself, but towards the future as they proceed with their lives after the service-learning experience. This social position as "known strangers" within their organizations and communities also took on a temporal dimension through the liminality they experience. Furthermore, as the students reflected on their experience, three particular relationships had emerged: their relationship to the community and organization, to their own selves, and to their friends and family back home. These three relationships were sites in which they recursively experienced both isolation and integration as the service-learning experience went on, from preparing to it prior to traveling abroad until their return and looking back to reflect on it.

Table 2 Data exemplars for first-order constructs

First-order construct	**Exemplars from data**
Stranger to the community and organization	
Culture shock	"But it was difficult to deal with, which is the culture that they have to do the things like... 'Okay, if we don't finish it today, we're gonna finish it tomorrow.' And the days, the days are passing by, and you get nervous, because you're not used to it. So that was a bit shocking" [022BBA]
	"One of the first things that I really appreciated and learned that was quite shocking to me was that when anybody entered the office, they would stop doing whatever they were doing and say hi to you. They would greet you, ask if everything's okay… and at the beginning I thought it was just, you know, being nice and cordial. But then I realized they really want to know how you are, it's an extra step, it's not just good manners" [008BBA]
	"I was shocked, I arrived at my hotel and I thought, wow, I arrived here for three days and have felt a lot of things... I felt like, I was like, immersed in a new world that I didn't know about." [029BGG]
	"At first, so much kindness and trust generated a little mistrust in us. I thought: if they don't know me at all, why are they so close to us? However, as the days went by we saw that the whole of Guatemala already has great generosity and kindness in its DNA." [Documents - BBA]
Recognition of social realities	"After coming from SUD, I'm very conscious about everything about climate change, plastic, like zero waste… Colombia was near the Amazon with all the problems that it had." [003BBA]
	"You're hearing all these horrible things... Like you hear that they have no home -- that they're sleeping in the street, and that suddenly becomes so normal. That you're asking them in, not in a cold way, but like quite matter-of-fact, like 'Where are you sleeping? Are you sleeping in the street?'" [021BGG]
	"It was surprising because you could really see that Guatemala was a country that lived for the rest, not for itself. Meaning all the cars that were there were cars that environmentally were not accepted in the US, so they were all exported to Guatemala and they were repaired or whatever and used. Every time you would take off there was this massive smoke going off that we never saw here... That's something that was perhaps, 'Wow these people breathe this in all the time.'" [008BBA]

	"I imagine that the women who were in (organization) are only a small percentage of those who experience abuse, physical or psychological aggression or abandonment in their respective villages and cities. Here in Spain there are many ways to report attacks without the partner knowing and so that the woman can be protected; even so, it is never quite so; On the other hand, women in Guatemala do not have all these means and, despite this, they are brave and gather the strength to take their children and go to ask for help from the organization." [Documents - GED]
Spotlighting privilege and difference	"Being a Spanish in Latin America, the sort of conquistador jokes that you get, oh man. You become a lot aware of how you should be, you know, keeping sensitive, humble, open minded perspectives, because every day I was reminded of what happened." [027BGG]
	"I mean for the mere fact of being Spanish, and woman, young, you're treated like a queen for men there, so for some women, this was a sort of threat, I mean, they are like getting too much attention, so that's their way of criticizing me... That hurts to know that, and colleagues you are working with are criticizing you, and even some colleagues that didn't work with us, they were saying that we weren't as intelligent as other boys." [029BGG]
	"At the beginning, it was a little bit strange for us because everyone was watching us, maybe because we are the different ones and they knew about us. [006BBA]
Guilt in reciprocity	"I was feeling bad because they were, like, treating us as if we were like, not important people, but like 'you are my guest, I have to treat yourself like very good and everything.' For example with the dishes they come in and take it. I can do it, like, I really don't have to treat me special and nothing more. You're offering me your home, like, for me, that's more than enough. I can do everything." [003BBA]
	"I wish that there had been more bi-directionality in the footprint that I could have left." [027BGG]
	"I don't know if I had so much as an impact. It's what I said at the beginning, I think it impacts you more and you learn more from it than what you can offer. At the end I was just, not even a lawyer… super unexperienced on everything they did. I don't know, maybe I gave them something, but I don't think I offered that much." [016GBD]
	"I have mixed feelings. This is so because I do feel that I have been able to contribute my grain of sand, but there is still a whole desert to do, although I have been assuming and learning how to deal with the frustration of not being able to do more." [Documents - GBD]

Emotional distancing	"At the very beginning everything was like with so much enthusiasm. We traveled together -- the trainees, we would meet, we would bond. But then, as the months went by especially the last month, I think everyone realized that we were soon to go to our own lives. So, you could see the mental disconnection that was slightly happening from each other because maybe it was a matter of self-protection." [027BGG]
	"I got a bit worried in the middle of the project, 'cause I thought I was being very cold, or like, I wasn't feeling that emotional, like you're hearing all these horrible things. And I thought I was being quite mechanical with it.... I said it to my parents, I was like, I think that's something wrong with me, because this should shock me more." [021BGG]
	"The whole day you're listening to really tough stories and stories that were really far away from what I experience everyday. And so trying to listen to them but not get so attached because at the end it could harm me. Some of my colleagues told me that they needed some psychological help sometimes. Because I get really attached to people, and like really empathetic, and so sometimes people told me 'Don't cry, try to keep it professional' but it was just so hard sometimes." [016GBD]
Stranger to self	
Escapism	"For a lot of years, I was a very like, not confident person, and I had a lot of issues. I had some issues with depression at some point in my life and stuff and every time I travel I'm like, I really like the person that I am when I am in a different environment, and this time specifically like I was very happy and excited all the time." [017BGG]
	"I feel like I was living in a bubble in Guatemala, because I was so happy, but I think I didn't almost remember that I had a life here... I think I fell in love. I was in another world, I left all attachments of Spain and it was really about being there, I even had a boyfriend there and I spent like three months and it didn't really feel like that. I don't know, it's like a break of my life." [030BGG]
	"SUD for me at ESADE was like Central Park in New York. Within an environment as competitive and ambitious as ESADE, where spirituality and the importance of values are rarely discussed, SUD seemed like the perfect place to catch my breath and reflect on what I really wanted to do in this world." [Documents - BGG]
	"It was good because we were open to a lot of new things... that's why I'm here to do these things. We always say we have a lot of things to do but it's really an adventure." [006BBA]
Expansion of perspectives	"My main takeaway is that you don't learn the culture but you incorporate it within you. There are things you're not used to do doing, you do it there, and when you come back — you still do it." [006BBA]

	"Solidarity is born from each one of us and is manifested on a day-to-day basis in dealing with people and in projects especially focused on it, such as SUD. For me, this experience has meant an impulse to open borders to discover a totally different reality from the one I am used to." [Documents - BGG]
	"I think that part of the beauty of this program is being able to see other realities, knowing how to respect them, understand them and not try to change them because in your opinion they are not as they should be." [Documents - BBA]
	"I think they've taught me and I've learned to appreciate much more the other person's human dignity and human needs. You know sometimes we are very fast at judging, and I have learned to, before making the judgement, to learn to first, at least try to see the context on which the person is doing it, and why they're doing it." [027BGG]
Self-empowerment	"I've realized that I can do things, that I can live on my own, that I could take a plane, go to another country, and do whatever I would like, or start from zero." [029BGG]
	"I proved to myself that I can stay alone and it was really good that I do things alone... A lot of independence for sure but I'm more adventurous and less afraid to do things and to say things... after Peru, I don't care already and I could say it. I could do different things and not be afraid of doing or trying new things. Before Peru, I was scared to meet someone there and do things with me because I was not comfortable...it was out of my comfort zone. After Peru, I'll do it and I don't care." [006BBA]
	"I'm tougher than I thought" [016GBD]
Stranger to home	
Temporal disorientation	"It's like I'm in a race all the time. I don't have time. Like I would like to stop the time and get okay. Keep calm. Yeah, because then you're like, I've had a lot of time, everything was gone.... Like not getting worried about anything, it's a completely different way of life. It's like sometimes I would like to stop and be conscious about everything because I couldn't believe it's been three months since I arrived." [003BBA]
	"Time passes so differently when you're away from home. Like everything was so intense and there's so many things happening all the time that you don't really have time to think about other, it's like a bit selfish, it's like "Oh this experience is amazing, I don't really have time to think about others" [017BGG]
	"Classes have already started so, the rhythm was already advanced. And we had like 2 weeks of like, oh my god, I'm depressed, like, I don't wanna be here, I wanna be in Colombia. We had to adjust again." [030BGG]

Boundary-setting to friends and family	"Some friends of mine were saying, 'Okay, how was it? Good?' Like, it was super superficial, like Colombia, okay that's good. I was super frustrated. But it's not just only a like, a trip to Colombia, like it's with the community... And they only knew like okay, I want to know super small things..., Yeah, it was good... I didn't want to explain more 'cause I was feeling very repetitive. Like, no, stop." [003BBA]
	"What I have and what I experienced cannot be explained. And no one will understand. But also, you don't have to, to try to that people understand you because it's something for you. I don't know. My friends asked me how it was, '¿Como te las pasado' I was like, 'Good?'. I did not have words. At first I tried hard to get them to understand but I realized that I did not need them to know" [022BBA]
	"It was just like a switch? You know how you switch lives? It was like, okay today I'm in Costa Rica saying goodbye to people that I felt really close with. But today I am in front of my mom eating lentils as I used to eat every Monday when I was twelve years old, and I'm trying to, and this is the point, I'm trying to explain things to them that I know they're not going to understand because for them to understand they need to have a context, a contextual experience. And since this is not an shared experience, I learned when I was younger that there is not such a need to... in Spanish we say 'to spend my saliva.'" [027BGG]
	"For me, my home, my friends, everything was there, and coming back here, was hard, I had to start living again here with my parents, I mean, that may sound ridiculous but there you have your autonomy, you go out, you come and you have like independence that going back to your parents' home is like, 'Oh my god I need some air'... The fact that I'm there, and I'm living another reality, makes me think of things differently, and that's very difficult to explain, but coming back here, and being back to my life... I came back with a feeling, 'Oh wow, what I'm doing here? I need to be there.'" [029BGG]
	"I can't blame them for not trying to understand everything. But it was weird even when I got back here, I just felt so out of touch with everything. I felt weird with my group of friends, and at home." [016GBD]
Sensemaking through shared experiences	"But we decided to do SUD together because we know that we are very similar in lots of aspects and I am very happy to say that it has worked very well... And she has helped me to find myself a lot and I think it has been reciprocal" [022BBA]
	"If I needed to talk to anyone I would talk to my Costa Rican friend over there, which were the ones who understood how it was" [027BGG]
	"We've seen so many things in such a short time and that place was like, wow, and like in our soul, we were like, 'Wow, I've been so lucky to live this with you'" [030BGG]

"In the evening (during the return retreat), all the students gathered around a campfire and several creative ones had a song or poem to share, expressing what they were feeling or their experience. Some of them even wrote their own. Everyone was wearing the SUD hoodie, listening really intently and even if I'm wearing one too, I don't feel the level of catharsis they seem to be feeling." [Fieldnotes]

3.5. Findings and discussion

3.5.1. Three case studies

In this section, I present exemplar narrative cases to provide rich descriptions (Creed et al., 2010) detailing the specific experiences of three informants following their service-learning journey and reflections regarding their internships and organizations, and these insights mean not just for their future careers but lives.

Luis (Guatemala). Luis, a Business Administration student, has always been interested in the arts from a very young age, and is particularly passionate about filmmaking. Although he finds that the business school is not particularly supportive to more creative pursuits, Luis is still able to furthe dive deeper into this interest through a student association he founded to connect with other students with similar interests. In contemplating his future career in management, even if he didn't have a specific vision for what he wanted, he said, "I know what I don't want to do – I don't want to do finance or operations, two areas that I don't think fit my profile" as he believes he strives in more creative rather than "procedural" environments. Seeing the university heavily promote careers in investment banking, consulting and big multinational firms, he was repelled by this:

"I saw that I didn't really like them for the long work hours they had, for how there was no work-life balance, and I didn't really feel like part of anything or respected. Like I heard countless stories of, of how if you go against your colleague or do something that's not exactly aligned with your colleague's ethics, then you get to a promotion and then he doesn't and that's just an environment that I wouldn't strive in or I don't think it's very healthy. And then everybody seems very rushed to get into their practicum to go to work in a big office. And I kind of thought, I don't have any rush to go work in office because I'll always work for the rest of my life."

The opportunity to explore alternative career paths presented itself through SUD, which Luis first heard of through older students who had finished the program and became mentors. One mentor told him that SUD and student associations were “areas (he’s) gotten the most when it comes to management because they kind of put into play the practicality of everything you learn.” What Luis finds to have in common with fellow SUD participants, as “a shared value” is the deeper recognition that “business has an economic, but also a social role in value creation, in the sense that you kind of have to balance what is economic and social value” noting that he finds the BBA program to give more focus on the former.

“I like what they’re doing but something doesn’t sit right to me – or there’s something like, even though you can see the benefits clearly cause they repeat it all the time, something doesn’t sit well. And I see that some of them have this but they don’t want to acknowledge it or they don’t want to be proud of it, and they just go to these big firms because that’s one of the reasons why they came to ESADE – to get into one of these big firms or something that other universities would not offer.”

During the application process, unlike most students, Luis applied alone without a preferred partner and upon being assigned one, submitted their preferences together based on country, even though he admittedly had “a very naïve vision of every country.” The program assigned them to Guatemala, to work with an NGO that supports the development of educational quality, particularly in systematization and documentation of organizational processes. In preparing for the trip, Luis kept a very open mind and was excited most about not having a particular idea or high expectations for the place, culture or experience, noting that “if you’re open enough to let them in, then they let you in, then you just see where things are”. Although the project required them to develop HR plan, Luis and his partner were hesitant to immediately provide the organization solutions and instead focused on “not proposing ideas, but asking questions.” In his daily interactions with colleagues, Luis was very keen about their cultural differences:

“One of the first things that I really appreciated and learned that was quite shocking to me was that when anybody entered the office, they would stop doing whatever they were doing and say hi to you. They would greet you, ask if everything’s okay… and at the beginning I thought it was just, you know, being nice and cordial. But then I realized they really want to know how you are, it’s an extra step, it’s not just good manners. And then we started doing the same thing to our colleagues – asking them how they were, how was your weekend, how was this, how was

that, and that was something that was very refreshing, and we never experienced here in Barcelona, for example. You work and you say hello in your office. We had to spend 15 minutes to get to our desks, we were saying hi to everybody."

This warm relationship developed further into Luis and his partner organizing for the office to play football once a week, first just within his department, then other departments joining in eventually. He described those moments as a chance "to meet people outside of work, and have a laugh with people from different offices of the foundation." "We wouldn't just come do our thing and leave," he said about developing deeper relationships with colleagues. This also contributed to better work outcomes, especially in learning the inner workings of the organization and accessing information that might not have been available.

"A big challenge was that all the knowledge was with people, and not on paper. We read for three weeks, and that was very useless. We got a general sense of how things worked, but it was very historical – 2003, 2010 – information which was okay but when you spoke to our boss, our colleagues, people from different departments, that's where the knowledge really was. So a big challenge was how they got the knowledge out and how they structure it."

A key difference in his three-month internship was how , stating that "Before I was working "for", but now I'm working "with". Luis's learnings also extended to the socio-economic context that his internship with the NGO operates in, as he became more conscious about the reality around him. To him, it was "upsetting how maximizing profit has got to such extents" and "outright disgusting."

"It was surprising because you could really see that Guatemala was a country that lived for the rest, not for itself. Meaning all the cars that were there were cars that environmentally were not accepted in the US, so they were all exported to Guatemala and they were repaired or whatever and used. Every time you would take off there was this massive smoke going off that we never saw here. When we were there, it was all the time, every day. That's something that was perhaps, "Wow these people breathe this in all the time." As regarding the food, Pepsi, Doritos, Coca-Cola was everywhere. People there don't know about nutrition as much as we do. It tastes good, you eat it. It just felt bad because people would eat this without exactly knowing that it's not healthy to have so often. It was very visible when you would go to the villages. There was this village where they had no electricity, but they had Coca-Cola, Doritos, and Pepsi. That was very upsetting."

These observations and deeper awareness of the situation around him helped Luis make the most out of his internship experience and reflect further on his beliefs and values. Prior to it, he "could never imagine how (his) ideas and perceptions changed around how the world works" and thus, returning to Spain, he was "very excited to change things" around him, such as with his own family, who had noted that he had changed coming back and was even a point of conflict at home. He had also received multiple offers for internships but "wanted some time to digest" the experience.

"For instance, one of the main pillars why I'm not taking a job is that if they employ you for your degree, they're employing a degree not a person. I feel like many times when you come out of the business school, they're employing a degree not a person. I don't want to be treated as a degree – I'm Luis."

Regina (Colombia). Regina is a double degree student majoring in both Business Administration and Law, who has always had volunteering as part of her life growing up, connecting this with how her core trait is "being there for other people" despite her shyness. Two years ago, she had spent three weeks in an orphanage in Nepal caring for babies and found that experience particularly meaningful. However, she was surprised that not everyone around her understood it.

"When I got back from Nepal, I thought that the whole idea was—I mean, I loved it and I would do it again, but I think people see this as something you do, kind of like, "Hey, I'm a great person, I do this." People do it for show, like I came back from Nepal and there were friends of mine telling me, "I don't know how you went there and you didn't post anything on Instagram." Like, what? That's not necessary!"

Regina first heard of this program from her older brother, who also took up Law at the university, but did not partake in it. What drew her to the program was the international approach to such a unique internship, and hopefully achieving the meaningfulness she had experienced in Nepal, but with more learning. Pursuing this experience then meant giving up internships at law firms which her classmates were most concerned about, especially being in "a competitive environment." Regina recognized these differences in values and appreciated that there were at least a few others in the double degree program who were willing to take the same risk as her.

"I value most that what this experience is gonna do for me personally, and I think there are a lot of years left in my life that I can do internships in law firms or companies and everything. And there are a lot of people in my class that just don't see that way, and they were like, "If I don't get an internship in a law firm this summer, then my whole life is going to be ruined," because I'm losing a year, like you're not losing anything."

During the application process, none of her preferences submitted to the program had actually matched, and even the student partner assigned to her was someone she had never met prior. The total surprise was "even better than (she) imagined" as her main priority was "to go and work a lot and do as much stuff as (she) could", regardless of other factors. With the aim of applying her knowledge of legal frameworks that she gained from her studies, Regina was assigned to a Colombian humanitarian association, and her role was to assist migrants, refugees and displaced persons at the border of Venezuela. The gravity of the task made her both nervous and excited, and that the uncertainty was "the beauty of it".

"I'm in third year, so I don't know what can I give to the project, but I mean, I'm gonna prepare for it, and I'm sure I'm gonna study a lot and I'm gonna do everything they tell me, and I'm gonna work my ass off. I mean, at the same time, I'm nervous that I'm not… I won't know everything that I need to know about the topic."

On her first day with the organization, after a brief presentation of the tasks at hand, by the afternoon, her colleagues had already told her "Okay, go on your own." Providing law counseling and assistance, Regina attended to refugees and migrants, mostly without any documents, and offered advice on receiving social protection and health treatment. Their team was small, and consisted of social workers and lawyers. As the organization had limited resources, she had to quickly learn how to allocate resources and make decisions on the spot.

"It was hard. It was really hard. I remember the first day, and I was talking to a colleague of mine. Five people started crying while they were telling me their story. I don't know, maybe people end up getting a bit cold? On the first days, you're really empathetic and then people tell you terrible stories, I mean people get away from their homes for a reason. And the stories they told me were really terrible but then, it was weird because maybe sometimes I couldn't give them any help besides telling them "well if you are having truly bad problems about health, you can go to a hospital but then otherwise, I can't give you any help because I have another family and they have five kids…"

Interacting with refugees and migrants on a daily basis was very emotional for Regina, especially when the organization did not have enough resources to give them anything. Some had even come multiple times, waiting patiently in line again to see if things would be different for another day. One of her lowest moments happened very early into the internship: on the second night, the organization brought Regina directly to the bus stop at the border.

"By the day we had been there because that's where we took the bus to go to all the trips, but by night people just stay there because they had no other place to stay. And it was terrible, so many families, so many little kids, sleeping on the floor, terrible conditions. And then they took us to the actual border where people had just got in. And we went there to give them some water, give them some orientation. I remember they took us back home and we weren't even speaking between my partner and me because the both us were like… wow. You see that in TV and everything, but to be there… You just feel so powerless. How are we, or not even we because of what impact are you gonna have, how are they gonna solve this? The politics are a mess. And how are they gonna do that? You just feel hopeless for a bit."

Regina spent many hours listening to their stories of struggle and hardship, with one particular handwritten note that had been memorable to her as it said, "Hi Regina, God bless you, I've been looking forward for you to help me again." It had struck her that someone had remembered her name and was so grateful, despite this just being her first ever professional experience. She had felt very attached to the experience and the people, so the last few weeks towards the end of the internship were full of anxiety and sadness. She did not want it to end, and had even cried several times when some of the refugees and migrants asked why she had to leave when they had appreciated her presence. Regina would remind herself, "Don't cry, try to keep it professional."

"I don't know if I had so much as an impact. It's what I said at the beginning, I think it impacts you more and you learn more from it than what you can offer. At the end I was just, not even a lawyer… super unexperienced on everything they did. I don't know, maybe I gave them something, but I don't think I offered that much."

Returning to Spain, Regina had struggled with the question, "Okay what do we do now? How do we apply this to real life after the three months?" She also wrestled with these feelings and changes, as she reunited with family and friends and told them about what she had seen abroad.

"I can't blame them for not trying to understand everything. But it was weird even when I got back here, I just felt so out of touch with everything. I felt weird with my group of friends, and at home… there were like tough days because I guess it has something to do also with the fact that for three months I lived on my own and I could do anything I wanted to. And then I got back home, and my mom's like "Okay where are you going?" If I can go on the streets of Colombia alone, why can't I go here?"

As the program provides support for reflection, aside from the required documentation, Regina voluntarily dropped by to speak with the university staff for support in processing the internship experience. Looking back at the intensity of it all, she realized she is "tougher than (she) thought" especially in persevering through the work inspite of the upsetting realities she faced daily. Feeling empowered, Regina was proud of how she stepped out of her comfort zone and overcame her shyness and insecurities.

"I thought "They're (refugees) gonna sit here and they're gonna see a girl that just came from whole other country that has no idea, who's trying to help me, why is that going on, she doesn't know anything", but then that just went away and I started thinking otherwise like "Okay she's here to help." Maybe they're not gonna think "She doesn't know anything", they're gonna think "Okay she's listening to me, she's trying to help."

Claudia (Peru). Claudia is a Business Administration student who loves to dance and teaches ballet to very young children in the summer. She always had a desire to be "part of something bigger than (herself)" and as a teenager, Claudia saw several opportunities to volunteer both in and out of the country but they would never fall through and just hoped it would finally happen one day, which did through the university. What particularly drew her to SUD was that "it's not just volunteering" but helping businesses like in consulting, which she was very interested in for her management career.

When Claudia told her parents about her intentions to do the internship, they were quite hesitant and helped her consider other internships in banking or consulting, which would give her more opportunities to stay with those companies after. What eventually put her mother at ease was a colleague who had a son who did something quite similar and had a very positive experience which actually helped him in his career with getting job offers later on. In applying for it, Claudia's priority was being assigned to a strategy-based project she had liked, more than the country, partner or organization. Finally getting into SUD felt like a dream come true for her – when she found out, she was jumping up and down and also felt disbelief thinking “No way, I got in.” This disbelief then turned into resolve.

“If you tell me, “Okay you can go tomorrow,” I’m going, I don’t care. And then my mom will say “Oh no Claudia, please don’t go.” I have to be prepared, but I don’t care, I want to go… it’s like a next chapter in my life.”

Claudia’s assignment was in rural Peru, with a non-profit organization working with the cooperative of cacao producers. She had agreed with her internship partner to “say yes and try everything” with the understanding that “that’s why (they’re) here to do these things.” The internship project was designed around conducting financial analysis and commercialization, but she ended up helping across several organization functions such as marketing and optimizing processes. Claudia also partook in physical tasks, such as in the cacao production process itself, and even painting a wall at the facility. Although she describes the locals around town as friendly and gentle, the constant attention from being visibly different from them was difficult to manage.

“It was like, “Oh my god, they are all looking at us. We can’t do it anymore.” I bought a hat to wear because my hair was really different from them and everyone was watching me and I couldn’t stand it anymore. When we traveled to places which we are not used to seeing—Cusco or Lima—which we were really not used to seeing people like them, in the towns, and when we go to see the producers. I couldn’t stand it anymore, let’s go. It was a little bit intimidating because they were looking at you and you knew that they were looking at you but they still look at you—they don’t stop. You’re the different one, you have to take it in.”

Other differences also manifested in the work place. Although the organization was used to receiving people who join temporarily, Claudia had to adjust to how things were done. For example, asking for resources or information was not straightforward, and these requests would usually be met with “Ok, *ahorita*” which she understands as “maybe this afternoon or maybe tomorrow.”

“It began in the cacao industry but then it also began with the culture and a lot of other things we didn’t understand. You don’t tell them “Why are you doing that way?” but sometimes we show them the way we do it and they say “Ok, that’s good, can you teach me that?” We prepare

a lot of Excels for them wherein they were just putting numbers to make it simpler for them, and it's calculated already. We did a lot of these things that they are using right now."

As Claudia was only working with four other employees of the organization, she had developed close relationship with colleagues, even getting to know their supervisor's family, spending time together over the weekend and sometimes picking up her daughters from school. After work, Claudia also started teaching English to the local children, who had simply gone up to her and asked her to teach them English. This served as "a way for (them) to forget about everything and just be with the little ones." Aside from teaching English, Claudia also participated in the town football league, and watched the South American football league games, which were a big event not just for the town but for the whole country.

"We saw all the matches because we went to the final. In the end, we bought the Peru shirt because it felt like we were part of them. The best memory was in the semi-finals where we were in the town and we saw the match in, we ate in like a bar but it was in the middle of the street where they had small tv and we were there just watching the match and we were watching with all the organizations…and Peru won! We were there and they were happy and we were happy and we were all celebrating and at that time I was able to say "Ok, we are integrated here." We are not strangers, we are from here."

Although the university program had emphasized that there will be both high and low moments, Claudia did not feel much of the latter as there was just so much going on all the time, both in and out of work. In the process, she realized she had gained a lot of independence and confidence to try new things. This had manifested in some of her interactions with family and friends upon her return.

"We didn't have a part where we said "Why am I here?" I thought about staying until December which is a big decision… But I can't because of the visa so my mom said "Ok, Claudia, I don't think that's a good idea." I proved to myself that I can stay alone and it was really good that I do things alone. It was harder to come back here because I arrived here in a different mood. My family also stays all summer in the beach with a lot of friends and I come back and it was like I was not part of anything…an outsider. It was not harder but I was like "don't disturb me, I'm okay…I don't need to be on a phone 24/7 or have a lot of people around me…" I have to go somewhere alone or do other things, I don't care. Some of my friends are

asking "Ok, Claudia, why are you not coming with us?" and I say I have other plans. I don't have to be with the same person all the time and some of these things were not easy for them."

Claudia still wanted to pursue consulting or banking after graduation, so she also pursued a second "traditional" internship. She hoped to apply the lessons she took with her from her experience in Peru.

"In a normal internship, you don't have your own time. The things about the culture, we know different points of view, you think one way and then when you go to another place after a long stay, you change your thinking and now you have both… I saw that when you view different views and ways of thinking in the same project, then the solutions multiply."

3.5.2. From liminal strangers to agents of change

Drawing from the students' narratives of their experiences both abroad and at home, I develop the concept of the "liminal stranger" in service-learning through the three orientations as a stranger, which the students ultimately reconcile as a homecoming of the self, envisioning themselves as agents of change. I present the theoretical model in Figure 3.

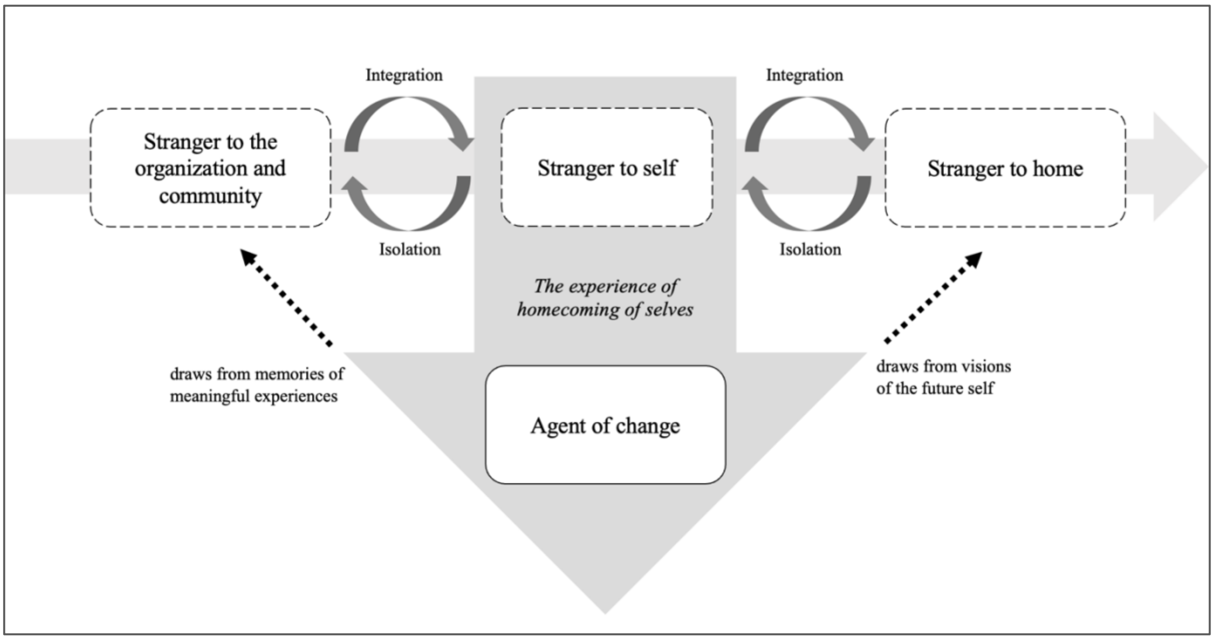

Figure 3 Liminal strangers as agents of change

3.5.2.1. Stranger to the organization and community

As their internships began in these new places and organizations, students entered into a phase wherein they were strangers to these communities and colleagues they interacted with.

Culture shock. Given the almost year-long preparation the students underwent through coursework to understand Latin America, they had a general idea of cultural differences to expect. However, all the students still reported adjustments, especially in the beginning, for both in and out of the internship or work setting. This is supported by findings regarding cultural boundary spanning in both the expatriation literature and study-abroad literature (Varela, 2017), as individuals improve their cultural intellegince through these international experiences. Students reported various cultural differences to navigate, from how work is conducted in the professional space, to how personal relationships are managed.

Recognition of social realities. Fulfilling the aims of the pedagogy, the students engaged in a process of observing and experiencing different social realities. As the service-learning literature has already heavily emphasized these outcomes (Salimbene et al., 2005; Vega, 2007), it does not come as a surprise. What the data does present, on the other hand, was a variety of social realities that students paid attention to. For example, for students who either stayed in rural areas with an abundance of natural resources or cities wherein pollution was high, broader thoughts on climate change were triggered. For more intense experiences, such as seeing how domestic abuse or the refugee crisis were attended to, students felt disbelief at how these social issues persist and are simply tolerated.

Spotlighting privilege and difference. As Claudia demonstrated with the story of her blonde hair and buying a cap to cover this up, attracting attention towards differences was not a pleasant experience, and was something to contend with. Although they foresaw this happening prior to leaving, the discomfort led to questioning the issues of inequality through the privilege the students carried. As mentioned earlier, these ingroup/outgroup tensions made identity work more salient (Caza et al., 2018).

Guilt in reciprocity. One of the fundamental components of service-learning as a pedagogy is that there is a significant contribution to the community as well (Godfrey et al., 2005). Despite the students being able to demonstrate their competency in assisting the organizations they were assigned to with tangible outputs, majority felt that their work was simply not enough, given the richness of what they took from the experience, beyond the professional growth. This was something that weighed on them even after the internship, indicating the students had grown aware of the power dynamics behind the partnership between the university and these organizations.

Emotional distancing. Balancing their care for the community and locals they interacted with, with maintaining a healthy level of attachment, the students were aware of their liminal positions especially towards the end of the internship. They felt the tension of "being part" of the country for a meaningful time in their lives, but also being aware this was not forever, even for those who wanted to extend their stay.

3.5.2.2. Stranger to the self

Given that this particular internship was new to all of the students, even for those with prior international volunteering experience, students grew conscious of the extent of their self-concept and had experimented regarding its boundaries and limits, as if they got to try on a different version of themselves (Beech, 2010).

Escapism. Ironically, although the students were leaving one "bubble" (Rosenbloom & Cortes, 2008), they were excitedly entering another. The opportunity to live abroad and do a very different kind of internship marked a different phase for their lives. The openness for new experiences and adventures provided a sense of thrill and escape from the mundane.

Expansion of perspectives. Similar to how the students saw new social realities, they also engaged in introspection regarding their worldviews. This entailed challenging and refining their values, and questioning how they have previously lived their lives.

Self-empowerment. When asked what changes they had observed within themselves, most students proudly reported being more capable both at the personal and professional level. Especially with the independence required of the nature of the international program, students found themselves in situations they had not encountered before and thus, this allowed for experimentation and testing what they could do versus what they previously thought their limits were in their comfort zone.

3.5.2.3. Stranger to home

The configuration of the students' lives back home remained the same, and yet they were aware that they were no longer the same person who was accustomed to this.

Temporal disorientation. Students felt the sudden shift in pace between their experience abroad and being back home. Even with guidance from the program to help process these changes, the return to their usual schedule with the new semester starting again left the students feeling out of sync. Coming back with many emotions and questions, the students were disoriented (Johan et al., 2019) to find that their lives as university students had other demands and responsibilities that now required their immediate attention.

Boundary-setting to family and friends. As the students had felt that their experience was profound and meaningful, they struggled to convey this to the friends and family eager to hear their stories. They came to the realization that the unique experience they had just undergone would not be understood by others the way they did. Despite most of the students posting on social media of photos of memorable moments along with thought-out captions, they claimed it ultimately felt like a futile exercise discussing the experience. This frustration prompted the students to keep conversations at a superficial level, simply describing their experiences without delving into what it meant for them. In some cases, this had even become a point of tension and conflict with some family members as they could no longer act the way they used to before. Regardless of the intensity of the disconnect between the students and their friends and family, they "felt so out of touch with everything" and sought out space and silence.

Sensemaking through shared experiences. Whatever disconnect the students felt with peers coming back home had moved them closer to fellow classmates who had undergone the program as well. The understanding they desired from their friends and family was instead found in them instead, and having gone through similar experiences, regardless of the country and organization. In the pre-internship retreat, many of the students did not know each other, despite being in the same year and program. The intense experiences they shared accelerated the creation of strong bonds with these companions in the service-learning journey. Upon return, students stayed in touch with their co-interns and processed experiences together, without necessarily the guidance or prompting of the program. This triggered a sense of nostalgia over the shared memories they had, and the collective experience of a profound chapter of their lives.

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4. Holding Power to Account: Social-Symbolic Work in Collective Action

In the third essay of this thesis, I look at agents of change in the context of collective action through an exploratory study of a citizen initiative in the COVID-19 crisis in the Philippines.

4.1. Abstract

The COVID-19 crisis challenged governments around the world to quickly coordinate organizations and institutions. With the grant and use of emergency powers, opportunities for corruption arose and hence, accountability and transparency became even more essential to save not only resources but lives. Through a virtual ethnography, I look at the case of the Philippines, wherein the inconsistency of the allocation and spending of public funds to address the pandemic became a pressing issue, amidst a rapidly evolving political landscape. I follow the case of the Citizens' Budget Tracker, a citizen initiative that aimed to hold the government accountable and campaign for better governance. Answering the question, "How does a movement create audits?" I contribute to the organization studies literature on audit and collective action. Subsequently, I also present how numbers facilitate collective action as a social-symbolic object. Through these insights, I develop an understanding of the interplay between organizing action and social identity in the audit process.

4.2. Introduction

"*These numbers are not just statistics for us, that's why we take so much care with our sources and every line item in that document — because it represents real people. And I think holding the government accountable means first, the truth, and then, people having a right to better governance and help.*"

– Citizens' Budget Tracker volunteer

The COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 has been one of the worst outbreaks in recent history, with over 700 million cases and over seven million deaths as confirmed by the World Health Organization. Aside from the serious impact on health to over 200 countries, COVID-19 hit the global economy with businesses forced to shut down or shift to remote work as unemployment rates rose up. The health, economic and social damage brought on by COVID-19 shocked and continue to shock the world, and its impact will continue to be felt for years, if not decades.

In the face of such high stakes, governments around the world were challenged to manage the crisis by designing and implementing policies to save not just resources, but lives. The responsibility of safeguarding public health did not rest on a single government agency or actor, but rather, multiple units across levels. Tasks that required much cooperation among these units included mass screening, confinement enforcement and providing social welfare, all of which relied on the timely allocation and disbursement of funds. Through a report on various government policy responses to COVID-19, the OECD (2020) emphasizes that coordinated fiscal action is crucial to tackling the pandemic. The outbreak occurred the same time as most governments were just beginning to implement their budget for 2020. Recognizing the need to address short-term priorities while also planning for the 2021 budget, the IMF stresses the need for enhanced transparency and accountability as governments manage funds to address the pandemic (Curristine, Doherty, Imbert, Rahim, Tang, and Wendling, 2020). Opportunities for corruption increase with the government's expanded role, therefore threatening to undermine existing efforts to manage the crisis and eroding public trust.

The Philippines, the setting in which the exploratory study takes place in, presents a unique case for citizens holding the government accountable amidst the pandemic. The country's first case of COVID-19 was recorded on January 30 and eventually, the first local transmission on March 7, which was the beginning of a rising curve the country struggled to flatten. By March 23, Philippine Congress enacted a law, the Bayanihan[3] to Heal as One (Bayanihan 1) Act, which granted President Rodrigo Duterte emergency powers and the authority to control facilities such as public utilities and health facilities, and to allocate and spend a supposed budget of Php 275 billion (4.9 billion €) from the national budget of Php 438 billion (7.8 billion €) allotted for 2020. The Bayanihan 1 Act mandated the President to report weekly to Congress regarding the utilization of such funds. President Duterte typically addressed the nation late at night, sometimes even past midnight, and on March 30, he boldly assured the public, "There's no need to fear; I'm telling you, I have the money." However less than a week later in another late night address, the President completely reversed his position on national funds saying, "There's not enough money to go around" and instructed the Secretary of Finance, "Steal or borrow, I don't care. Produce the money." (Punongbayan, Suzara, Mangilit, Abad, Villanueva, & Morales, 2020) With the country already facing fiscal difficulties due to the pandemic (De Vera, 2020), President Duterte's inconsistent response shocked the nation, prompting citizens and the press to demand, "Where did the Php 275 billion go?" (Rey, 2020) A group of concerned citizens took it upon them to seek answers to that question themselves.

This essay follows how citizens self-organized to hold the government accountable and ensure that national funds were properly allocated and used for fighting the pandemic through an initiative called the Citizens' Budget Tracker (CBT). Using social media, this small group of friends and former colleagues with experience in auditing and financial analysis came together and have grown to over 60 volunteers tracking the government budget and communicating their findings in a public campaign for transparency and good governance. Their outputs included policy statements, webinars and a website for the general public to access open-source budget data which were typically difficult to access and understand. Within weeks upon public release, the CBT initiative had garnered a lot of attention on the national scale, from journalists and media reporting their findings on the budget to local government units reaching out to implement similar measures. Furthermore, as a follow-up to the

[3] *Bayanihan* is a Filipino tradition of mutual aid and cooperation with one's community

Bayanihan 1 Act, the Bayanihan to Recover as One Bill (Bayanihan 2), which extends the President's emergency powers, actually took into account the findings and recommendations of the CBT team and was ratified on August 20, 2020, demonstrating the impact of the CBT on the national level. The volunteers continued to work on multiple accountability efforts, broadening the departments and local government units the CBT monitors and reports on.

At the heart of the CBT initiative is the audit, which builds, maintains and ensures public trust and accountability. Such trust is critical for the stability of institutions and defines the relationship society has with government. In his work on auditing and its role in the production of legitimacy, Power observes, "That accounting is more than a neutral technical practice is well established; it shapes preferences, organizational routines, and the forms of visibility, which support and give meaning to decision making" (2008: 379). Accountability systems are a form of systemic power which play a role in institutional control (Pas, Wolters & Lauche, 2019). With institutional theory scholars calling for more discourse on institutions and power (Lawrence & Buchanan, 2007), I aim to build on current understandings of audit in organization studies by presenting CBT as a case of empowered citizens working towards accountability, specifically creating the collective through numbers as a social-symbolic object. My virtual ethnography aims to invesitgate the collective distributed production of accountability by addressing the research question, **"How does a movement create audits?"** Consequently, I also aim to present how numbers facilitate collective action. In answering this research question, I develop our understanding of the interplay between organizing action and social identity in the audit process.

4.3. Theoretical background

4.3.1. The state and the accountant

Shore and Wright (2015) crticially assess audit culture and its relation to governance and state power. They describe the increasing quantification of society:

> *To be audited and inspected is now regarded as an axiomatic part of personhood: an inevitable and natural aspect of being a worker, student or company employee today. Our lives are increasingly governed by – and through – numbers, indicators, algorithms and audits and the ever-present concerns with the management of risk*

which, in turn, seem to require the ever more sophisticated systems of knowledge and power that indicators and rankings provide. (p. 23)

This understanding of today's audit culture is our theoretical starting point. Shore and Wright (2015) explain "governing by numbers" as the reduction of "complex processes to simple numerical indicators and rankings for purposes of management and control" (p.22). This use of numbers has allowed governments to exercise institutional control, and as the pandemic unfolded, statistics dominated headlines and a government's success or failure was determined by key figures: number of COVID-19 cases and deaths, infection rates, hospital and ICU occupancy, vaccinations and government spending and debt. Such statistics shaped governments's decision-making, but also allowed them to form a narrative, which may or may not be accurate to the social reality experienced by individuals. In a period of uncertainty, these numbers allowed citizens to make sense of the situation and grasp the extent of the pandemic. Rose (1991) describes democratic power as *calculated* power, asserting that neoliberal mentalities of government depend on *calculating* citizens and *calculating* authorities. My work presents a case of the calculating citizen, as they presented their own figures contrary to those of the government, gaining power and institutional control to a certain extent. As the literature on governing by numbers has developed, I provide the other side of the picture, which we can see as *resisting* by numbers.

For the purpose of architecting the social structures in which audit is enacted by specific actors, we turn to the accounting profession. Professions have been fundamental to the study of institutions, with professionals as agents in the creation, maintenance, and disruption of institutions (Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings, 2002; Muzio, Brock & Suddaby, 2013). Using an institutionalist lens, Suddaby, Cooper and Greenwood (2007) describe in detail the profound shifts undergone by the accounting profession, particularly the erosion of traditional professional governance with the rise of the Big Five accounting firms. They contend that the accounting profession, previously ruled by the logic of professional elitism, had instead subscribed to neoliberal market logic, as accounting firms increasingly catered to large corporate clients and transcended geographical boundaries as multinationals. With these transformations in the structures of regulation, the relationship between the profession and the state has changed significantly. Quattrone (2015) notes that accounting has become a taken-for-granted institution, in its legitimization of power and operationalization of efficiency and rationality. Through a study of Jesuit accounting practices, he provides an alternative view to accountability systems and rationality, thus presenting an unfolding rationality that is procedural rather than substantive. These understandings of rationality and the role of accounting as social order inform my work.

4.3.2. Collective action in crisis

I also draw on the crisis management (James et al., 2011) and extreme context (Hällgren et al., 2018) literatures which have featured various crises of multiple types, such as natural disasters (Boin et al., 2014; Weick, 1993) and accidents (Beck & Plowman, 2014). Antonacopoulou & Sheaffer (2014) state that the process and purpose of crisis management is it "entails the execution of well-synched activities aimed at containing and isolating damage" (p.6). The chosen empirical context of COVID-19 offers a rich setting to observe collective action in crisis and will be valuable to the literature for the following reasons. First, organization and governance are particularly salient and critical in a crisis situation such as the COVID-19 pandemic. During a crisis, actors must quickly respond to a changing landscape through decision-making and sensemaking (Weick, 1993). Considering that thought and action may be reversed in sensemaking as compared to traditional paradigms of rational decision-making, Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld argue, "action is always just a tiny bit ahead of cognition, meaning that we act our way into belated understanding" (2005: 419). Second, the process of coordinating in situations of crisis offers unique organizational behaviors and strategies, such as in the case of a study of a volunteer group acting as a sharing platform to help in the refugee crisis (Kornberger et al., 2018; Kornberger et al., 2019). Finally, with many institutions facing a crisis of accountability, the empirical setting allows us to build on current theoretical paradigms of audit, trust and public inquiry (Mueller et al., 2015).

4.4. Method

4.4.1. Research context: Citizens' Budget Tracker

Timeline of events. Faced with the President's inconsistency and lack of transparency regarding the COVID-19 budget, the question "Where did the Php 275 billion go?" (Rey, 2020) became a source of frustration. This resonated particularly with Ivan[4], who was appalled by the lack of funding in his province for personal protective equipment (PPE) for healthcare workers, some of which were his own relatives. As a former government employee at the Department of Finance and now a policy researcher at a university, Ivan understood the intricacies of public

[4] Name has been changed

finance and budgeting and felt the urge to put these skills to helping ordinary citizens understand where the COVID-19 funds are going. On April 1, he publicly posted on Facebook a simple question, “Anyone making a tracker on PHL government budget allocation and spending on COVID19?” which garnered 178 likes, 48 comments and four shares. Within a matter of hours, Ivan had gathered a small team of volunteers who worked together to compile sources of financing for analysis and by the next day, he posted their beta test, Version 0 of the CBT, which at the time was a simple Google spreadsheet, along with some preliminary findings. This post quickly grew viral, with 641 likes, 66 comments and 905 shares, easily reaching thousands outside of Ivan’s original network. In the days that followed, the CBT team launched Version 1 and the first dashboard, which again went viral, and as a result, media outlets had picked up on the initiative and conducted interviews with the core volunteers. As the team continued to publish their weekly findings and participated in webinars, the CBT gained even more public interest when the report was cited by a Senator in an official memo. One of the CBT’s major breakthroughs was dispelling the original figure of Php 275 billion in the COVID-19 budget, which is not actually mentioned anywhere in the Bayanihan 1 Act but rather, simply mentioned by the Deputy Speaker. Instead, the team found that the real size of the budget is Php 390 billion under Bayanihan 1, which grew to Php 584 once consolidated with Bayanihan 2, indicating that there were significantly much more funds to address the pandemic.

Within a month and a half, the team had rapidly expanded to include functions aside from auditing, such as communications, web development and design. On May 16, the CBT website, which provided data visualizations and write-ups based on the data from the spreadsheet, was launched, increasing the CBT’s accessibility to the general public. In the “About Us” section of the website, alongside the list of the volunteer names and functions, the description states: *“We started this initiative to help track the government's effort in solving the COVID-19 crisis. We hope to promote public awareness of how our funds are being spent and to hold our government accountable for a timely response to this crisis.”* As the CBT underwent several iterations of improvement, they hit several milestones of public recognition, not just from media outlets, but offices of government official, plus the latest and perhaps greatest feat, the direct inclusion of their findings and recommendations in the Bayanihan 2 Act.

The pandemic unfolded amidst a rapidly evolving political landscape in the Philippines, with events that threatened civil freedom and human rights. On July 3, President Duterte fast-tracked through Congress and signed into law the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020, which Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch warn of the possibility of government critics being labeled and prosecuted as terrorists due to its definition and scope of terrorism. This development came along a series of blows to press freedom, first, with the largest TV network of the country, ABS-CBN Corporation forced to shutdown in May due to the refusal of Congress to grant its franchise renewal. The loss of one of the pillars of journalism and media meant one less news source in a critical time where receiving up-to-date information was essential, and the massive lay-offs putting thousands in an even more precarious situation. Another setback to Philippine media was the arrest and conviction of Maria Ressa, the country's most prominent journalist who serves as editor-in-chief of a news site and is a known critic of the Duterte administration. On June 15, Ressa was convicted of cyber libel, a highly controversial charge that press unions deemed as politically motivated. These events made international headlines, with Al Jazeera, the BBC, the New York Times, Reuters and the Associated Press, among many others, reporting on them. As citizens have taken to the streets to protest the clamp down on press freedom even with a lockdown mandated, human rights groups and media watchdogs continue to call for vigilance in such developments.

On top of the pandemic, the world's strongest storm in 2020, Typhoon Goni hit the Philippines on November 1. The storm is the most powerful storm to hit the country since 2013 when Typhoon Haiyan caused massive destruction and killed over 6,000 people. President Duterte was missing in action as Typhoon Goni made landfall, and his absence in the televised emergency briefing prompted "#NasaanAngPangulo" (*Where is he*) and "Patay na ba" (*Is he dead*, alluding to speculations of his poor health status) to trend across social media. At the moment of writing, the extent of the damage of Typhoon Goni is still being assessed but officials estimate about 370,000 people displaced, with several provinces suffering widespread infrastructure damage. In towns that were heavily flooded, some villages were submerged and are now buried under mud. Although the pandemic hit the national calamity funds hard, the Budget Secretary assures there are sufficient funds for the disaster response. Citizens have turned to social media to raise doubts about this, sharing photos and videos of the massive destruction in their area.

Organization process of the CBT. The CBT's core function is to audit budget data and present the information in a timely and accessible manner. The first set of volunteers, who are now considered the core members, were accountants and financial analysts with experience in various settings such as in corporate or government. With the early rounds of publishing their reports, this core group built the organization's system and processes for retrieving and analyzing data, before more functions were created and volunteers were added onboard. In Figure 4 below, I present the core flow of tasks that has remained constant, with the exception of growing complexity as the team aimed for more difficult but urgent tasks in auditing the budget data. The team applied this flow of tasks across various government agencies and COVID-19 related initiatives, such as testing data, disbursement of social welfare and PPE procurement.

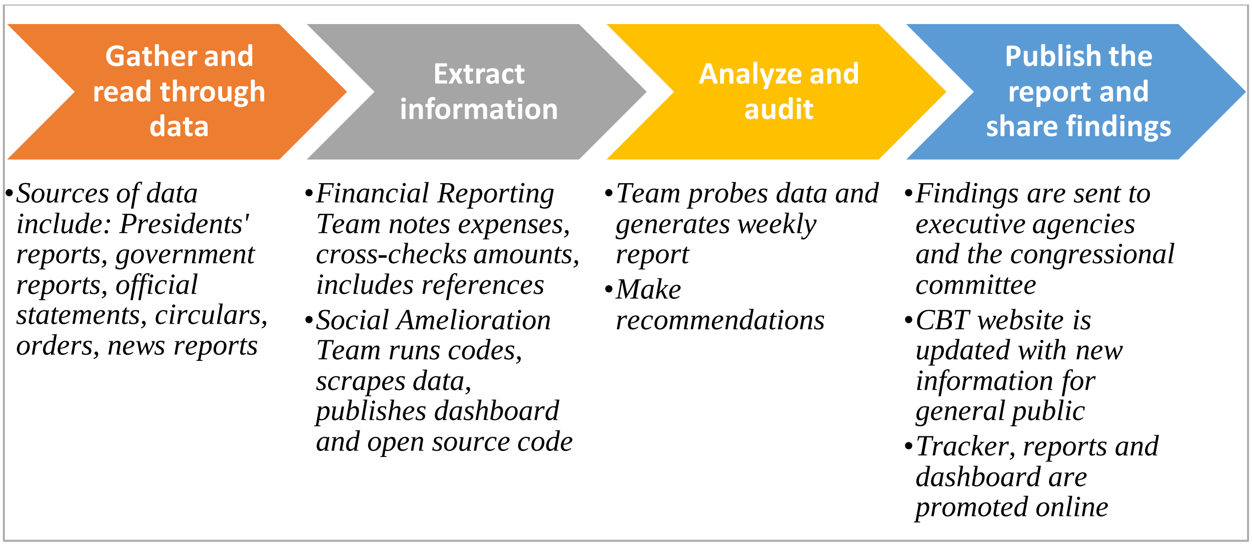

Figure 4 CBT Reporting Process

4.4.2. Virtual Ethnography

I began this research project in May 2020 as the COVID-19 crisis persisted, with the goal of observing the phenomenon as closely as possible, even with the limitation of social distancing and confinement. With organizational environments rapidly evolving, new forms of organizational ethnography have developed (Rouleau, de Rond, & Musca, 2014). Kozinets (2002) developed the term "netnography", or "qualitative research methodology that adapts ethnographic research techniques to the study of cultures and communities emerging through computer-mediated communications" (p. 2) and establishes its value for research through its accessibility and unobtrusiveness. Using the term "web ethnography", Puri (2007) describes the web as a social forum: "a living, responsive, interactive community that is in itself replete with insights about the consumers we are interested in studying" (p. 387). With the pandemic keeping people at home, online spaces and communities became even more essential, as they turned to these not only to work from home but also socialize and connect with one another. Hence, doing a virtual ethnography allowed me to address the research question by capturing the unique and unprecedented nature of the pandemic and how actors have organized in the midst of it. In a literature review of online ethnographies in organization studies, Tunçalp & Lê (2014) warn that the lack of physical displacement of ethnographers in this method may lead to myopic approaches to obtaining data and writing field notes. To address this and strive for methodological rigor, I ensured to increase our virtual touchpoints with the CBT team and stayed closely in touch with key informants whenever possible, especially synchronously, to achieve a more holistic online immersion.

4.4.3. Data collection

As the study is approached inductively and phenomenon-driven, the data collection is shaped by concurrent interpretation of data and the insights that emerge. I conducted the virtual fieldwork with the objective of achieving a level of intimacy with the phenomenon (Bansal & Corley, 2011). The data set is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3 Data collected

Qualitative Data Articles	Quantity or quality	Use in the analysis
News/media articles	21	• Tracing the CBT project's development in the context of national events
Webinars or Facebook Live videos	13	• Understanding of the organization's outputs and campaigns
Interviews	10 (9 with CBT volunteers, 1 with journalist) - over 400 minutes of audio	• Construction of the timeline of the organization's formation and members' involvement • Detailing the organization's activities and member's specific roles and tasks • Expressing volunteers' personal narratives with their individual insights and feelings
Social media posts	Over a year's worth	• Understanding the organization's campaign strategy • Characterizing public perception of and reaction to the CBT initiative
Organization documents	Powerpoints, spreadsheets, meeting agenda, chat logs	• Confirmation of consistency between public information released with internal information

Field notes of participant observation	Excel sheet	• Triangulation of observations

Media/press articles and documents. I collected news articles, media interviews and webinars that had covered or featured CBT. Through a media analysis, we first constructed a timeline of events that unfolded to contextualize CBT as it quickly arose. This was validated with internal documents (e.g. CBT spreadsheets, notes, meeting agenda and minutes, powerpoint presentations) that the team had provided me access. Each article and document provided a snapshot of CBT's development at the time and together, they showed how the team and the budget tracker had progressed beyond a simple call to action on Facebook. This media analysis informed the succeeding steps in our data collection.

Social media and Internet forums. As the CBT project began on Facebook, social media posts would be crucial for our data set. I followed select individuals on the CBT team and combed through their timeline from April 1 onwards, encountering both public and private (limited to personal network) posts which we had gained access through sending a friend request using the personal account of one of the authors with prior communication of my researcher status. I collected Facebook statuses and links shared, taking note of interactions that occurred in the comments section of these posts and the reach garnered through shares. To a lesser degree, I also looked at Twitter accounts and tweets shared regarding CBT or the pandemic. All participants were informed and fully aware that I would be going through their social media pages**.** CBT members also informed us that there had been discussions of their tracker on Reddit, an online forum divided into sub-forums for specific topics and interests wherein users are typically anonymous. I created a working database to track select posts and wrote down observations of these. Although all these posts are archived (including live videos on Facebook) and thus, easily retrievable at any time, I systematically set a schedule for entering the online field to observe any real-time interactions and take field notes as the synchronous experience can be different (Tunçalp & Lê, 2014). Due to the limitation of social media posts being possibly deleted or access being restricted at any given time, I have taken screenshots as a back-up record.

Interviews. I conducted ten semi-structured interviews conducted over Zoom, each averaging 60 to 75 minutes, in a mix of English and Filipino, all except two were recorded and transcribed. Initially, I approached core members of the CBT team who oversee the main functions of collecting and analyzing the budget data, and coordinated the rest of the team. I then reached out and spoke to other volunteers in different functions, such as design and social media strategy. Questions focused on probing how and why participants got involved with CBT, the work they contribute and how their sub-team functions. Subsequently, I interviewed a journalist who had been covering news on the national budget and had featured CBT, to gain insight on issues of government transparency and citizen efforts. For each interview participant, I generated a code for the attribution of quotes to protect their anonymity. These interviews helped identify other important actors outside of CBT such as members of coalition networks and civil society groups, local government units and government officials such as mayors or senators with whom CBT has collaborated or is affiliated.

Participant observation. Having been given privileged access to CBT communication channels such as Slack and being included in online team meetings introduced as a researcher, I was able to preserve chat logs and observe team dynamics in the virtual space. Such observations allowed us to take field notes of how decisions are discussed and made, and how tasks are assigned and completed. Taking on a documentation role, I voluntarily contributed to the CBT team by sharing our database of news articles and webinars and offered to do secretarial duties, but did not actively participate in any meetings, discussions or decision-making.

4.5. Data and findings

4.5.1. Navigating a rapidly shifting landscape for accountability

Part of the challenges of the CBT team was navigating the political tensions and rapid changes in how government officials reacted to the pandemic. The journalist (J-1) I interviewed covered the national budget beat and provided an insight to how the lockdown changed access to information from public officials:

"When COVID happened, everyone was like, "No, we're not going to let in media in the Senate hall" so all interviews had to be online. It was really challenging because it's not like before when you're there, you can just say "Hi Sir" and approach them or pull them to the side to ask questions or set some time, because it's like, they don't lose anything by doing that. Now you can't do that anymore because they can easily read your message and just leave you on "Seen"

or not answer your calls. So even if you're nagging them already for comment, still nothing, they really won't mind you. And that's where we are now." [J-1]

It became clear that transparency had to be demanded. On the series of political events that occurred during the pandemic, as a member of the press, J-1 adds:

"What we're experiencing, we know it's political. And we have no choice but to weather whatever attacks or harassment or their ignoring of us just because we're [news outlet]. That's it. It's part of the job. Does that make sense? It's really part of the job. If you let yourself be defeated, then it's a disservice to the public. So that's my mentality now, that even if they ignore me, I need to find a workaround, like talk to other officials or other departments that could confirm whatever I'm asking." [J-1]

Such background of events certainly shaped the way CBT volunteers acted and proceeded with the project. A volunteer on the core auditing team [V-2] expressed concerns regarding these:

"I'm even afraid for our team because of the Anti-Terror Law, so it really affects us, we feel it deeply. When the Anti-Terror Law happened, for days I had insomnia, I read the constitution, I reviewed the Bill of Rights, that kind of stuff. But of course we have to stabilize ourselves because there is work. Literal work, but also, we have to move forward in CBT. So yeah, it affects us." [V-2]

These sentiments resonated with the whole team because they saw themselves as complementary to journalism with the CBT initiative, sharing the same goal of delivering the truth.

"When ABS-CBN was shut down, all of us in the team were so upset, that even if normally we release the report Wednesday night, we said, "Friends, we need to adjust to ABS-CBN" so we agreed to publish our report by Monday afternoon even if we were all so burnt out and tired. That was our way of helping and standing with journalists. We see our role as helping journalists report the news and the truth.". [V-1]

This points to how the landscape of accountability had shifted with the pandemic and the current administration, with more and more threats to the ecosystem of truth and information. The CBT volunteers organized completely cognizant of these threats and designed their strategy around addressing these more discreetly without putting themselves at risk. For example, when the tracker had begun to gain wider attention, a post on Reddit on the sub-forum "r/memes" posted a meme (see Figure 5 below) that jokingly expressed how the founder and coordinator of CBT poses a threat to politicians. The original post had been upvoted over 9000 times with 47 comments, some of which were saying how they would not be surprised if he had gone missing like other whistleblowers. The team confirmed with us that this was just one of many instances wherein both friends and strangers on the Internet would joke about how the CBT was a project that politicians do not want, especially under the current administration wherein critics had been silenced in various forms. However, in spite of personal risks, they continue with their work, typically drawing on feelings of anger and frustration as motivation.

Figure 5 Reddit meme (volunteer's face was not blurred in the original post)

First of all, I entered this (profession), I need to live up to it. And second, it's not like I was forced into it… It's important for us to do the job we're doing, because some people are relying *on it. I'm not saying [news outlet] is God's gift to journalism, but this brand of journalism, we want to continue. And that is unearthing whatever shit the government is doing. The public deserves to know because… for me, because I cover budget, it's the taxpayer's money… I guess it's my ongoing anger for the substandard service that people are getting everyday that makes me keep going. [J-1]*

In spite of these sentiments, the individuals felt a contrast against the very factual nature of auditing. This creates an interesting tension between the objective and the subjective, which I aim to explore in further data collection.

We already have so many feelings, but one of the things we want to do in CBT is provide objective information we can react to. Not just reacting to everything, but are we emotionally responding to facts? So we want to provide those facts that people can respond to emotionally and drive action towards. [V-2]

Lastly, another element of the pandemic that shaped the project was timeliness. Every week, new reports and datasets were released and needed to be checked. The quick pace of CBT operations, on top of the regular day jobs all volunteers had, challenged them to release outputs as soon as possible. A volunteer assigned to the CBT social media pages works at a design firm, and noted the difference between working with regular clients and working on the CBT.

A lot of it was driven by a sense of urgency. That's why I think it was a lot more, because everything was urgent, we worked faster. We had to understand each other more. Like, okay, here's my free time and if someone else isn't available, then fine, I'll be the one to adjust. Those type of things. Or like, how it's unrealistic to have a two-week deadline for a visual direction, but because it's urgent, let's just do it. [V-3]

4.5.2. Creating a safe and accessible space for dialogue

Strategies have emerged for how the CBT sought to hold the government accountable. The weekly rigor of collecting budget data to analyze and then publishing these findings and recommendations was not enough; the team had to engage the public and various stakeholders tasked to manage the crisis. This entailed ensuring the accessibility of their work, making sure non-experts in finance and budgeting would understand what was happening to the Php 584 billion, and why it wasn't actually Php 275 billion as originally stated. The communication and visual strategy made use of the water metaphor for budgeting in economics. Across all CBT platforms, cash available is represented as water, budget is represented as a pail that carries the water, and the outputs for spending is a garden. This was V-1's vision from the beginning, as it made the idea of a national budget less intimidating and complex. In reports, presentations and webinars, questions the team presents to the public typically are the following: 1) How much water do we have in the well? (cash) 2) How big is the pail to carry water? (budget) 3) Is the garden being watered properly? (programs) These questions were central to their auditing process and communications. Aside from the visual metaphors, CBT relied heavily on straightforward rhetoric in their campaigns, such as "#SpendFasterToStopHunger" and "#TestTraceTreat". As they had already found that cash was not the problem since the government had enough based on their analysis, their goal was to shift the conversation to asking if there is enough money to how quickly funds were being disbursed, particularly to social amelioration and health programs. Even if the process of arriving at these insights entailed very detailed scrutiny of line items in the budget, the complexity of a financial audit was translated to simple campaigns that highlighted key figures.

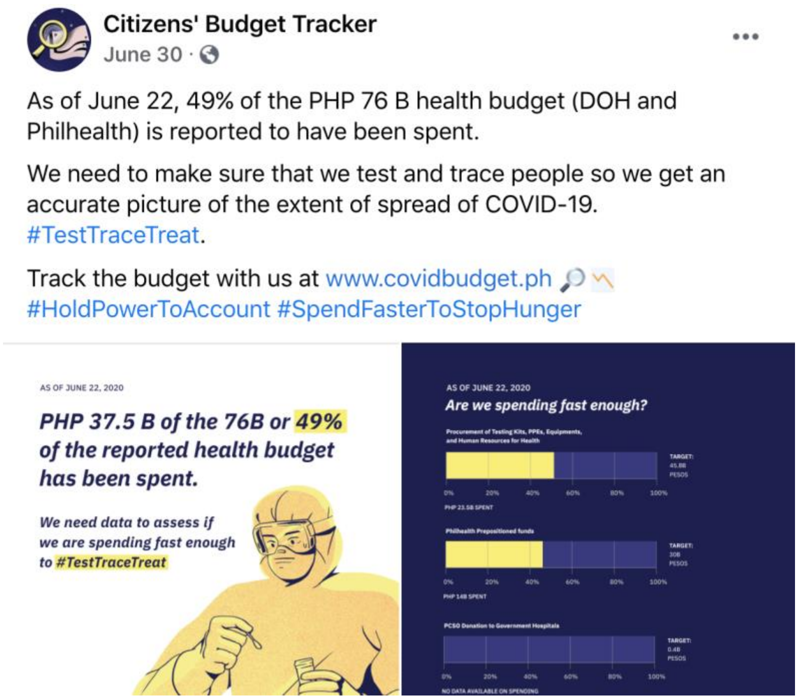

Figure 6 Sample post of social media campaign

Another strategy that became evident was the neutralization of the message, so as not to seem critical of the government or challenging it in any way. Regardless of the strong emotions of the individuals on the team about governance or the political situation, the CBT communications had to be depoliticized as for them, the matter of budget boils down to numbers and figures. This was important to the group as they were afraid being perceived as critical and unfair would hinder openness for productive political discourse, especially with government officials. The tight balance in the CBT advocacy is evidenced in the following examples:

"But I think the principle that drives us, or me, as I went into this work is, if you report fairly and with empathy, people both outside of government and inside of government will resonate with the message. So for example, we are not the team who will tell you, "The Department of Social Welfare and Development is a failure!" That can't just be your messaging. The messaging is: this is the largest social amelioration program in history. With social welfare employees and barangay (local government) workers that are constrained because they can't go out of the house and have to verify the lists. We also have to empathize with the frontliners because social welfare employees are frontliners. We have to advocate for them. So if that's your type of message, it's hard to refute it to be honest. So even if we differ, it's like, a government official can never tell us that we are heartless.". [V-1]

"It's very straightforward, very objective, very little room for false interpretation. Because the numbers are what they are. And that's what I love about this kind of volunteer work. There's little room for subjectivity, which is great. Because we need all the hard and fast facts that we can get." [V-2]

That public perception of impartiality was the priority even with the opportunity of project funding from external organizations that supported such initiatives. The team was careful to weigh the costs and instead, choose to protect their autonomy and not be misunderstood as biased towards particular sides of the political spectrum, even if this was not necessarily the case. V-2 explains the decision:

"I guess at this point what's most valuable to us as a group would be our independence. So when you get funding, of course the funders also have an agenda. We don't have very hardcore operational costs anyway, so maybe, to really preserve our independence, and so that when we are scrutinized by either the government, the public or the press, we can really say that we are not catering to anyone else's interests but what we believe in is you know, the interests of us the citizens and the general public. So that was one of the early decisions that we made." [V-2]

Such careful treatment of their public perception helped highlight their intentions as sincere. In an article in a leading newspaper, a columnist was assessing the COVID-19 situation and made mention of CBT, describing the group: "*They have no partisan ties, and are motivated simply by the desire to help—both the government and their fellow citizens*." This showed the success of the group in avoiding any political baggage associated with particular factions. Furthermore, the company of one of the volunteers, a Big Four accounting firm, had even shared the volunteer's involvement in the CBT initiative on the official website as an example of their employees creating social impact through community service. While the company does not take any political stances, it showed support for such organizing.

For the team, public engagement did not simply stop at awareness, but creating a space for political dialogue so that important issues can be raised and addressed. Based on our field notes, we had observed from majority of the team's public posts and reports that they often end these by saying that questions and suggestions are welcome and encouraged, even providing multiple channels to reach them. V-1 expressed the openness to critique:

"I used to pray this prayer a lot, like a prayer for research, "Lord grant me the grace to desire critique." Because eventually in almost any work, whether it's research or policy-making, there is so much public input that goes into the process, and you have to go into it not just feeling defensive about critique but really wanting it. So what has changed is that God has given me the grace to desire critique. And it's a wonderful grace, and it makes life so much easier. And it's a joy to see the response of the people when your attitutde is like that towards critique." [V-1]

The team made all their datasets open-access and shared their methods so others may work on them if they wished to. Based on the documents we had access to, there was not much difference with files internal to the group and the ones they published to the public. This spirit of transparency was palpable with the CBT volunteers and perhaps, made for an effective strategy in their campaign for good governance and accountability.

4.5.3. Envisioning a new model of civic engagement

V-2 shared how CBT offers a different form of volunteerism. While many of the volunteers have been used to participating in relief operations, medical missions or donating to the poor, V-2 stresses how the knowledge worker plays a role in civic action. Due to the highly technical tasks of the CBT team, members leveraged on their professional expertise which some have said they have not used as much in other volunteer experiences. For example, rather than being hampered with typical bureaucratic constraints of formally organized movements, the team improvised using Internet tools and skills they have already used in their jobs as digital natives.

This model presents promise in its portability towards future engagements and ripples for future change. One volunteer (V-5) in the auditing team needed to part with CBT as work at their regular job was getting busy again, but expressed how much they learned from the experience and how they could take CBT's practices of civic engagement in future endeavors:

"Not sure if you follow the NBA but it's like LeBron, my personal journey: I won't go back to CBT not because of anything bad, but it's because I have a job... Similar to the LeBron analogy: Now I know an engagement model that works, how to get an agenda to the national-local government level, from [volunteers]. I can apply that into the different things I do. I will pirate a lot of what CBT did. I'd like to say, in an engagement, helping and participating in the recovery efforts - CBT is almost like Miami Heat for me. Now I have more things specific to Finance, which is like Cleveland." [V-5]

4.6. Conclusion

As volunteers of the CBT engaged in social-symbolic work to hold the government accountable, the role of numbers and the audit as social-symbolic objects became critical to protecting the group against threats. As auditors, they were able to uphold the perception of objectivity while also strategizing politically. Members of the CBT, regardless of function, leveraged their professional identities to engage the public in dialogue and get across their policy recommendations. Through this exploratory study, I present the social-symbolic work to a collective action context, and present strategies of agents of change in bringing about accountability.

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5. General Conclusion

5.1. Implications

Crossing both literatures of management education and organization theory through the contexts of service-leaerning and collective action, this thesis offers implications both to scholars and practicioners. For service-learning scholars and practicioners, I have assessed the literature on the level of contexts, processes and outcomes to reveal gaps in the literature in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Given its origins in education, psychology and philosophy, the pedagogy may benefit from an organizational perspective, viewing the students as agents of change embedded in both local communities and their respective universities. I also present the management theories that are most relevant to further developing the field, such as stakeholder theory, identity theory, institutional theory and ethic of care. For service-learning practicioners and instructors, they may find this review particularly helpful as a reference for successful case studies, especially with the sample being mostly focused on outcomes, providing justification for use of the pedagogy. They may also find the diverse processes across different national contexts of use, as they apply it to their specific institution.

As Chapter 3 looks at a specific case of service-learning, I present a theoretical path between management education and organization theory, as I apply the lens of social-symbolic work, particularly with a focus on identity. I advance the scholarship in service-learning by presenting a theoretical model of how students act as liminal strangers, undergoing recursive experiences of isolation and integration in relation to their community and organizations, their selves and their family and friends back home. This addresses the call for finer-grained understanding of how management education can live up to the promise of social change through students as agents of change. The final essay, Chapter 4, presents a case of social-symbolic work in collective action and offers the concept of the audit and accountability as social-symbolic objects, in relation to actors that aim to shape it within a tumultuous socio-political context. The collective actors engaged in social-symbolic work to navigate their shifting landscape, both online and offline, to create a space for necessary dialogue. On the theoretical and practical level, I offer a new model of civic engagement, which matters for how we understand how social change occurs.

5.2. Limitations and future research

This thesis recognizes its theoretical and methodological limitations. First, given the pandemic occuring in the middle of data collection, I was limited with the amount of face-to-face interviews and opportunities for participant observation I could conduct. This made me consider online methods more, particularly as the research progressed. For Chapter 3, the case of service-learning, I did not have any communication with the side of the communities and organizations, who have their own perspectives in the students involvement as interns. This also raises the ethics of pedagogies that engage with marginalized communities as learning opportunities. Through my future work in management education research, I aim to develop theoretical frameworks that allow for a more just and equal partnership wherein reciprocity is foundational to the learning process.

In Chapter 4, the case of collective action that I presented was highly contingent on the Philippine socio-political configuration which heavily relies on online interactions as a means of communication. This is worth considering for scholars who look into collective action and activism, as certain idiosyncracies of the case may not be applicable on a broader organizational level.

5.3. Conclusion

Through the three essays in this thesis, I present the social-symbolic work of agents of change as they purposefully organize towards shaping the various social-symbolic objects as evidenced by their identities and strategies. Integrating various forms of work as part of the broader issue of organizational life, I apply this perspective to the contexts of service-learning and collective action. Beginning with a systematic literature review of service-learning, I assess the contexts, processes and outcomes of the pedagogy as it addresses the critique of modern management education. This provides the theoretical foundation of my empirical work investigating business school students who undergo an international service-learning program and understand their position as liminal strangers not just to their assigned communities and organizations, but also to their own selves and family and friends upon return. While the second essay only presents a depiction of potential agents of change as they are merely emerging through the identity work that they do, the third essay presents a manifestation of this intention specifically through collective action. All in all, my thesis looks at how agents attempt and organize towards social change, and how in the process, they too have been changed for good.