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ARTICLE

Community-Engaged Learning for Immigration Justice: Building Solidarity through Praxis

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Abstract

This article argues for the use of community-engaged learning to teach about migration in anthropology. Using community-engaged learning centers justice-based praxis and builds solidarity by working to dismantle the unjust structures creating migration crises and inhumane conditions for migrants. We analyze our partnership between an anthropologist, a leader of a non-profit organization providing affordable legal services to local migrants, and a collaborating student as a case study. The design of our partnership, the construction of the migration seminars Bennett teaches, and an emphasis on justice-oriented outcomes for both the students and the community center our anti-racist, anti-classist approach to building solidary. We argue that community-engaged learning address anthropology's (re)current crises around our colonial legacies not only epistemologically and methodologically but also pedagogically.

Keywords: community-engaged learning; migration; solidarity

Introduction

As the human rights crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border grows, the holistic, humanistic lens of anthropology can prepare students to critically engage with ongoing debates about migration and contribute to improving the conditions that led to this crisis. But teaching about migration can perpetuate the very structures that harm migrants if it does not work toward justice. In anthropology, classroom-based teaching and the use of problem-oriented ethnography do not always center strategies for change. Justice-oriented pedagogies strive to dismantle the structures of power and privilege that replicate inequity in our society (Butin 2007; Conley and Hamlin 2009; hooks 1994; Kumashiro 2015). In this article, we argue that practicing community-engaged learning to teach about migration in anthropology can center justice-based praxis and build solidarity. We present a case study of our partnership between an anthropologist, a leader at a non-profit organization that provides affordable legal services to the local

migrant community, and a collaborating student. We describe how we use community-engaged learning to build solidarity to work against racism and classism and towards justice.

We draw on best practices from the interdisciplinary field of Service-Learning and Community Engagement (SLCE). Scholars have shown how community-engaged learning can be key for educating students about race and elitism (Augustine et al. 2017; Dunlap 2013; Liston and Rahimi 2017; Vogelgesang and Astin 2000). Yet community-engaged pedagogy brings several challenges. It is time-intensive and risky, especially for structurally insecure faculty (Abes et al. 2002; George-Paschal, Hawkins, and Graybeal 2019; Kilgo et al. 2015). Community-engaged learning can be difficult for community partners because partnerships are often one-sided, benefiting campus members more than the community partners (Alcantara et al. 2015). Community-engaged learning can overwhelm students if it is not structured well and students are not supported through the entire experience (Northeastern University Center for Community Service 2011), and it can particularly burden and alienate students of color (Hickmon 2015). Perhaps most concerning for this article, SLCE can perpetuate injustice, especially racism and elitism, both between the university and community and among students themselves (Grande 2018; Hickmon 2015; Mitchell et al. 2012; Rogeaux Shabazz and Cooks 2014; Santiago-Oritz 2019; Tuck 2009).

To address these challenges, we build on the work of scholars who identify anthropology and community engagement as working together at the pedagogical level to work towards justice (Cole 2017; Fukuzawa 2019; Ginsberg 2020). Solidarity is a central component of our justice-based practice. We center Freire's classic understanding of solidarity: "The oppressor is in solidary with the oppressed only when he stops regarding the oppressed as an abstract category and sees them as persons who have been unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in the sale of their labor" (1993, 49-50). Co-authors for this article include Joyce Bennett, an anthropologist at Connecticut College, a private, residential liberal arts school in the Northeast; Mike Doyle, the founder of the Immigration Advocacy and Support Center (IASC), a non-profit organization that provides affordable legal services; and Margaret Giacalone, a student at Connecticut College. All of the authors identify as white, as do most faculty at the majority of U.S. institutions (Davis and Fry 2019), and we do not yet have leaders who are Black, Indigenous, or other people of color (BIPOC) in our partnership (Saad 2020; Mitchell et al. 2012; Santiago-Oritz 2019). Working towards justice requires that we take up the work of allyship through solidarity in our pedagogical approaches (DiAngelo 2018; James 2015; Saad 2020). Our pedagogical decisions seek to build solidarity by humanizing and restoring agency at every opportunity. We practice solidarity as anti-racism and anti-classism through the design of our partnership, the construction of the migration seminars Bennett teaches, and an emphasis on justice-oriented outcomes for both the students and the community.

While our work focuses on pedagogy, we see the use of community-engaged learning as a way to also address anthropology's current (and recurring) crisis. Anthropology is undergoing an "epochal shift" because we have not adequately reckoned with the colonialist roots of our discipline (Jobson 2020, 259). At the same time, Beliso-de Jesús and Pierre call for anthropology to confront racism and how anthropology reproduces white supremacy pedagogically by centering whiteness, white authors, and "whiteness of theory" (2020, 70). Implicit in these arguments is the elitism tied to whiteness as embodied in universities. We join Beliso-de Jesús and Pierre in arguing that this crisis not only affects our epistemological and methodological norms, it deeply implicates anthropological pedagogy and the ways that we continue reproducing colonizing impulses through our teaching, especially around issues of migration. To address anthropology's crisis, Jobson called for the adoption of "thick solidarity" and the integration of collaborative knowledge production in our research methodologies (Jobson 2020, 266). We argue for using "thick solidarity" as a foundational component of our pedagogical practices and for using critical community-engaged learning as a means of rejecting the colonialist, racist, elitist roots of anthropology.

The Problem with Traditional Pedagogies

Scholars in SLCE and critical race theory have long demonstrated how traditional pedagogical approaches can reproduce classism and white supremacy. For example, not only does the educational system in the United States maintain established racial and class hierarchies from epistemological to individual levels, the system was intentionally designed for this very purpose (Grande 2018; Zamudio et al. 2011). Critical race theorists note how traditional pedagogical approaches reproduce whiteness by centering white history and authors; mostly white faculty value and replicate the norms of middle- and upper-class whiteness while devaluing and limiting opportunity for people of color and those with lower class backgrounds (Scheurich and Young 1997; Tannen et al. 1997; Zamudio et al. 2011). Traditional pedagogies in which professors and their classes remain within the university and do not engage in the surrounding community reproduce inequities even when they study social injustice because they do not contribute to a solution (Augustine et al. 2017; Lynn 2004; Parker and Stovall 2004; Zlotkowski 1995).

In teaching migration, anthropology runs the risk of replicating whiteness, white privilege, and classism. Whiteness is "a collection of everyday strategies [that are] characterized by the unwillingness to name the contours of racism, the avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or group, the minimization of racist legacy, and other similar evasions" (Leonardo 2002, 32). Whiteness and racism can be easily perpetuated by using "strategies of instruction that consciously or unconsciously reinforce norms and privileges developed by, and for the benefit of, white people in the United States" (Mitchell et al. 2012, 613). Many of our actions can perpetuate whiteness and middle-class norms as standards, especially when we talk about the "underprivileged" and the "marginalized" (Boyle-Baise 1998; Mitchell et al. 2012, 614). Even our choice of

ethnographies comes into play. Of particular issue in anthropological studies of migration is the perpetuation of the white gaze. Anti-racism activist Layla Saad defines the white gaze as "the white supremacist lens through which people with white privilege see BIPOC" (2020, 230). While many anthropologists are BIPOC, the institutions in which anthropologists work, the publishing industry, and the very structures of academia are overwhelmingly white-centered and elitist (Grande 2018; Mitchell and Donahue 2009; Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008; Wilder 2014).

Common ethnographies used in migration seminars are problem-oriented, meaning that they raise awareness of current, pressing issues (Holmes 2013; Slack 2009). However, such ethnographies perpetuate the white gaze by subjecting migrants of color to academics' and students' gazes. "They" are there for "us" to study, to learn from, and to enrich ourselves and our knowledge so that we might be informed, learned people. In many ways, reading these ethnographies becomes part of what Saad calls "optical allyship," or "the visual illusion of allyship without the actual work of allyship" (2020, 228). In other words, teaching problem-based ethnographies without working concretely to change the structures that marginalize migrants in the first place furthers racism and classism.

Asset-based approaches can combat the white saviorism and classism – "a colonialist idea that assumes that BIPOC need white people to save them" – lurking in the background of problem-oriented ethnographies (Saad 2020, 230). Rogeaux Shabazz and Cooks note that "deficit discourses need to be addressed not only or primarily in communities of people of color but among white people who intend to work toward a more just society" (2014, 73). They suggest reframing discourses in SLCE to be asset-oriented, stating, "assets are the strengths and talents already present in communities that often go unrecognized in a server-client or needs-based framework. Assets are not merely a code word for resources, but are the result of a strategy that requires the identification of deeply held values and defining problems and developing solutions from within the community" (2014, 74). Examples of asset-oriented ethnographies on migration include Foxen (2007), Gomberg-Muñoz (2011), and Chávez (2017). Including asset-oriented ethnographies is an important step in anti-racist work, yet reading them does not alone contribute to change or shift the conditions that create the need for migrants to be resilient in the first place. To teach migration in anthropology without reproducing oppression, we turned to the well-established field of SLCE.

SLCE practitioners have long recognized that pedagogical decisions run the risk of reproducing and reifying structures of inequality. For example, leading scholar Mitchell calls out the potential for reproducing whiteness in SLCE: "without the exercise of care and consciousness, drawing attention to root causes of social problems, and involving students in actions and initiatives addressing root causes, service-learning may have no impact beyond students' good feelings" (2008, 51). Instead, Mitchell suggests a critical approach to service learning and community engagement that is "unapologetic in its aim

to dismantle structures of injustice" (2008, 50). Mitchell's article sparked a movement in SLCE towards a more critical use of community engagement, and subsequent work has called for explicit work against racism and classism within and through SLCE (Mitchell and Donahue 2009; Mitchell et al. 2012; Reed-Bouley and Kyel 2015).

SLCE also runs the risk of disproportionately burdening students of color, making them feel unwelcome in institutions of higher education. Hickmon, who identifies as a Black woman, noted that, "I have not always known how to handle the assumptions made about my connections to the communities I engage with, especially when those communities are made up of people who look like me" (2015, 86). To ensure that SLCE does not place students of color in such difficult positions, SLCE scholars recommend engaging in positionality work with students prior to working in the community and always using an asset-based approach (Hickmon 2015; Rogeaux Shabazz and Cooks 2014; Santiago-Ortiz 2019).

Despite the potential pitfalls, we argue that using a critical approach to SLCE focused on solidarity and justice-based work is one way to teach migration within anthropology while simultaneously working against the issues that push anthropology into its "recurrent crises of legitimacy" (Jobson 2020, 266). Our use of SLCE is particularly important given our identities as white-identified people and is a way for us to practice allyship through solidarity. Recent scholarship indicates that allyship is often performed to claim the title of ally rather than actually transform unjust conditions (Sumerau et al. 2020). Solidarity, on the other hand, "layers interpersonal empathy with historical analysis, political acumen, and a willingness to be led by those most directly impacted" (Liu and Shange 2018, 196). In other words, solidarity attempts to flip traditional power structures inherent in higher education, inviting the privileged to learn from the marginalized while collaborating to address unjust conditions. Centering our justice-based approach allows us to integrate the practice of allyship through solidarity into our partnership.

Our Partnership

The work described here is located in New London, Connecticut, a coastal city with a growing immigrant population and three institutions of higher education (López-Anuarbe, Cruz-Saco, and Bennett 2017). New London has an estimated population of 27,000 people (U.S. Census 2018). The city is geographically small with just six square miles. Given the growing immigrant population and lack of affordable legal services, Doyle launched IASC in 2014 (Baldelli 2014). Bennett, who has used SLCE pedagogical strategies for more than a decade, was working to establish long-term relationships in the city when IASC launched, and she approached Doyle about working together in early 2015.

Bennett and Doyle agreed to collaborate in a project-based format, meaning that we worked collectively on one project or a set of projects instead of sending students to

IASC for a given number of hours to do whatever work was available. Project-based learning has the benefit of allowing all students in a course to know what other students are doing, making the material easier to integrate into class discussion and to assess. On the other hand, constantly having to determine the next project for each course is burdensome, especially for the community partner (Alcantara et al. 2015; Hartman 2015; Sharpe and Dear 2013). To ensure reciprocity in our partnership, Bennett generally asked Doyle how the courses could be of use to IASC without overwhelming them. Bennett also secured honoraria for Doyle to compensate his time in the classroom. Working to ensure more equitable exchanges through boundary setting, revisiting the boundaries at various points in the semester via pre-scheduled check-ins, and maintaining clear communication were key to maintaining a respectful relationship.

Bennett and Doyle worked together for several years until Doyle moved to another organization in 2018. During that time, Bennett and Doyle collaborated through many courses and summer internship programs. Giacalone, the third co-author on this article, supported the collaboration during two different summers (2016 and 2017) and throughout the academic year. Bennett teaches about migration in two related courses at Connecticut College: a First Year Seminar (FYS) called *Transmigrants in New England* and a 400-level seminar called *Globalization, Transborderism, and Migration*. Bennett offered the FYS in the fall of 2015, and 15 students enrolled. The course goals were to introduce students to fundamental conceptions in migration studies and to the migrant community and activism in New London through SLCE. Taught in the spring of 2016 and 2017, the goals of the 400-level seminar were to analyze migration as a component of globalization, to understand migration issues locally, and to practice anthropological methods and work towards social justice in our collaboration with IASC. The course enrolled nine students in 2016 and 16 students in 2016. The course cap was 16 because it is a methods-intensive seminar.

Our partnership exists in a context where community perceptions of Connecticut College as the "college on the hill" abound, replete with the associations of our students, faculty, and staff as privileged, ungrateful, and sometimes abusive of the city. Such issues often surface around ill-behaved students engaging in nightlife downtown or, for faculty and staff, the fact that Connecticut College does not pay taxes to the city (Smith 2018). What benefits Connecticut College brings to New London are often questioned in such debates. This history is common for many institutions of higher education and factors significantly in SLCE relationships (Bringle and Hatcher 2002; Morton and Bergbauer 2015; Sandy and Holland 2006). In the next section, we detail how we designed and managed our partnership to prioritize solidarity and work towards justice.

Solidarity through Partnership Design

In this section, we outline the steps we took in designing our partnership to center solidarity and dismantle whiteness and elitism. Our first step in building solidarity was teaching students about positionality by supporting students' processing of their own identities and how they relate to each other and the community. Students read an excerpt from McIntosh's (1988) classic piece on the knapsack of privileges, used an identity processing worksheet to work through their own positions, and then identified their own privileges in writing and in discussion. The conversation was supported and guided by a staff member from the Holleran Center for Community Action at Connecticut College. This initial step follows best practices in SLCE with the goal of creating an inclusive environment for all students, including students of color and non-traditional students (Dunlap 2013; Hickmon 2015; Mitchell and Donahue 2009). Approximately 20% of the students enrolled in Bennett's migration courses are students of color, a higher percentage than Connecticut College's 12.1% students of color, making this work of the utmost importance (Connecticut College 2020).

Our project design process is also focused on working towards solidarity. We consistently design projects to be justice-oriented in that they contributed to already-existing community strengths and to community-organized efforts meant to empower the local migrant community. The projects differed from semester to semester, but some remained consistent according to the needs of the community. For example, most semesters, IASC has offered a citizenship clinic. At these clinics, which are free to clients, IASC volunteers, some of whom are students in Bennett's classes, assist clients in filling out the N-400. The N-400 is the form that allows U.S. permanent residents to apply for citizenship. Students perform a variety of roles at the clinic depending on their comfort level. Prior to the clinic, IASC trained all students on the N-400 during a class session and provided students with an annotated copy explaining each question. Given that the form is 40 pages long, this training is essential. The day of the clinic, students check clients in, organize documents according to a checklist IASC provides, assist clients with filling out the N-400, fill out fee waiver forms, or make photocopies of documents. Attorneys double and triple check each N-400 the day of the clinic and later in the week before submitting them.

Citizenship clinics are key in our justice-based work and in building solidarity. Walking through the detailed N-400 application with clients is in many ways akin to gathering a life history. This exercise requires students to listen and understand more than anything else, a critical early step in building solidarity. Assisting clients in applying for citizenship is a priority for IASC given that up to 80% of permanent residents eligible for citizenship do not apply (Enchautegui and Giannarelli 2015; Lee and Baker 2017; Sumption and Flamm 2012). Over 40 people who participated in the clinics during our partnership

became citizens.[1] The clinics assisted immigrants through the difficult, inaccessible legal system (Baynton 2016; Marisa and Hajnal 2015) and towards citizenship, which would afford them the right to vote. This work thus contributed to strengthening immigrant voices and participation in democracy.

Integrating the clinics into anthropology classes meant decentering the classroom, with Bennett becoming more of a collaborator than professor, Doyle becoming a co-instructor, and students becoming stakeholders in the course. For example, each time we wanted to host a citizenship clinic, we had to retrain all the students to ensure that all were capable of doing the work we asked of them. For Bennett and Doyle, this meant a certain amount of repetition and, thus, inefficiency, had to be accepted. The students always proved themselves hard working and bright, but they were new to the subject, system, and processes that are at the core of IASC's mission. Doyle was gracious enough to go through trainings time and again. Over time, Bennett learned to see such opportunities as a time to become a student herself; in each training she learned more and more from Doyle and with students. This was a difficult yet critical lesson for Bennett, and one that other anthropologists using community-engaged learning and research have noted (Cole 2017).

Using an asset-oriented approach is another core component of our partnership that works toward building solidarity. An asset-oriented approach is one that does not focus on "problems" to be fixed but instead thinks of possibilities and "invites collaborative visioning of the present and future that we can create by working with one another" (Bauer, Kniffin, and Priest 2015, 90). Bennett and Doyle explicitly acknowledged this framework on the first day of class with students, noting that we were not there to "fix" anything but to work together with community members and IASC toward shared goals. We designed and framed assignments as best we could to align with this asset-oriented approach. For example, we designed a project to highlight migrant contributions to our local community. Students interviewed local community leaders. Students, in collaboration with Bennett as part of their coursework, applied for IRB approval and obtained consent from leaders, practiced interviewing techniques before going out into the community, and were able to conduct interviews within the course of a semester. Students wrote short biographies of local migrant leaders that were submitted to IASC for publication. Listening to community members in this way was a critical component of our solidarity work.

In practice, we combined the asset-oriented approached with a high degree of flexibility to get the most benefit. Bennett and Doyle planned the semester's activities ahead of time. Bennett attempted to follow best practices for community learning by asking Doyle what would be helpful (Bringle and Hatcher 2002; Morton and Bergbauer 2015). Doyle suggested several IASC projects that could use support. Bennett and Doyle

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[1] Other key community members and Connecticut College faculty, staff, and students also supported this important endeavor.

then exchanged ideas until settling on project(s) for the semester. While projects were always pre-planned, Bennett emphasized to students in the first weeks of class that projects are always subject to change when working with community partners. For example, in the spring of 2017, Bennett and Doyle planned two major projects for the semester, but upon Trump's inauguration as U.S. President, needs changed. Community leaders immediately called for locally-relevant Know Your Rights materials, and within two weeks, students were producing such materials with both national and local resources. To make this happen, Bennett had to change the assignments for the first half of the semester, design a new assessment structure, and scaffold the work so that students knew what to do when.

Digital technologies helped increase our adaptability to changing needs. For example, Bennett knew that the syllabus for the spring of 2017 would likely change, so she created the syllabus in a Google Doc that was then linked to the course website. All changes were immediately reflected in the live document. Talking about this particular feature on the first day of class proved useful: students did not print out copies of the syllabus and instead learned to link to the digital copy. This use of technology helped meet the pedagogical goals of centering community needs while maintaining clear communication with students and the community partner.

Bennett also used the strategy of "teaching the partnership" to show how our partnership relates to place and historical processes of dispossession (Fine 2016; Liu and Shange 2018). Teaching the partnership means "that service-learning and community engagement (SLCE) educators must teach their partnerships – the specific histories, missions, and stakeholders involved – and thereby contextualize SLCE within the often problematic forces at work within and upon higher education" (Fine 2016, 107). To do this, Bennett integrated readings on local histories and intentionally took time at the beginning of each course to discuss the histories of engagement between the institution and the community. Doing so was intended to help students recognize the ways in which the very institutions we rely upon were built on the dispossession of Indigenous peoples and abuse of Black and brown people (Hallenbeck 2019; Liu and Shange 2018; Saad 2020; Siemers et al. 2015; Wilder 2014).

Building solidarity through our SLCE partnership also required us to work around the inflexibility of the university calendar. We see this inflexibility as a way of reinforcing elitism by giving advantage to the structurally secure, while making it impossible to be flexible and adapt to the changing needs of communities who survive day to day (George-Paschal, Hawkins, and Graybeal 2019; Mitchell 2008). For example, there are large periods in the year when there are no classes, and thus no body of students to draw from to support our partnership. As an academic, Bennett plans semesters in advance, while often IASC is working to get through immediate caseloads and pressing needs in the coming weeks. The fluctuations in student availability and the difference in how we structure our time was challenging. One way we worked around this was by using

Connecticut College's existing structures that support student summer research to place students at IASC.

Another way we worked against structurally replicating elitism was by demystifying university structures and procedures. Higher education has its own specialized lexicon that is relatively standardized across institutions but remains unknown/unknowable to minoritized individuals within the academe (such as women and BIPOC) and to the public at large (Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012; Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008). Demystifying those structures is critical to establishing and maintaining a productive partnership so that community partners can successfully navigate university structures on their own when they desire to do so.[2] For example, Doyle spent inordinate amounts of time learning what it meant for Bennett to be a visiting professor and then a pre-tenure professor, along with the acronyms for offices on campus that could provide grants. Similarly, Bennett spent time learning about the non-profit landscape in New London, other organizations that IASC worked with, and the relationships at play in the community. Unfortunately, this work was often more burdensome to Doyle than to Bennett because of the unequal power dynamics present in community-university partnerships (Bringle and Hatcher 2002; Mitchell 2008).

Finally, we built solidarity by letting go of the traditional syllabus. Leading scholars in community learning note that one of the most frequent issues in community-engaged classes is that instructors do not treat the community learning component as a text to be analyzed, instead leaving students to process and synthesize the material from community learning on their own (Eyler and Giles Jr. 1997; Howard 2001; Northeastern University Center for Community Service 2011). Ultimately, this diminishes the importance of the local community, placing importance instead on traditional canonical works as the most significant intellectual material. As a result, students are unprepared to handle community learning, and the use of community learning falls short in the kinds of goals it can accomplish in a course because it is not afforded serious treatment. Bennett integrated more readings on the local region, even if not anthropological, and integrated readings on community learning itself, which proved invaluable so that students could understand the significance of community learning. It also meant letting go of traditional academic products like large final research papers. Instead, Bennett now asks students to turn in the products that IASC requests plus reflection papers that require students to thoroughly integrate the community-based work into their learning. It also meant debriefing community learning components as one would any other course material, through written reflection and discussion in Bennett's courses. Doing this work was critical to embodying solidarity and treating the materials from our community with respect and dignity.

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[2] One might argue that it is the university partner's responsibility to navigate these structures for the community partner, which can certainly be true. In cases where partners want to navigate the system because it will benefit them or to have better understandings of each other, demystifying the structures still works towards dismantling whiteness.

Justice-Oriented Outcomes

Having designed our partnership to center solidarity and avoid reproducing whiteness and elitism, we worked toward justice-oriented outcomes meant to alleviate the structural inequities SLCE seeks to address. Our partnership contributed to justice in the community by working towards IASC's goals. When our partnership began, IASC was a very small organization with two employees, two dedicated volunteers, and a few interns. The quality and quantity of resources provided through our collaboration was monumental: we completed projects of a scope and breadth that would have been otherwise impossible. For example, in the fall of 2015, the First Year Seminar supported a concert event to benefit IASC. This event helped create more celebratory community space for immigrants in New London, and it raised enough funds to launch IASC's legal work. Students who distributed flyers around town, prepared marketing materials, and staffed the event were critical to its success.

Another way this partnership contributes to justice long-term is by influencing students' choices after leaving the classroom; many students continue working to develop the solidarity built through this community learning partnership. In SLCE, solidarity "develops in the student not simply emotional readiness, but a cognitive/imaginative readiness" for future action (Sheffield 2005, 49). In this sense, true authenticity in community partnerships as Mitchell discusses them (2008, 61) brings not just action during the course but continued commitment to the issues at hand even after the course has ended. Out of the two upper-level seminars Bennett taught with a total of 25 students, five students have gone on to law school, specifically citing the experience of this course as how they came to see themselves as future attorneys advocating for social justice. As one former student said via email to Bennett and shared with permission, "the course really made me think about my contributions to the world and encouraged me to pick this path [law school]." Students also advance social justice in other ways: through arts advocacy, volunteering, and careers in non-profits organizations. This is perhaps not surprising in light of recent findings by Mitchell and Rost-Banik, who showed that community-engaged learning impacts student career choice (2019). This outcome is especially important for a field like anthropology, which faces numerous calls to make our work relevant to our immediate communities and/or justify ourselves in a culture obsessed with jobs and careers (Anderson and Jegathesan 2019; Van Arsdale 2012).

Our partnership encouraged students to become more civically minded, which can contribute to creating a more just world (Bringle and Wall 2020). As one student put it in an end of semester self-evaluation, "I have gotten better at thinking critically about academic works and applying them to New London and the world. The opportunity to engage with local immigrants has been very meaningful." Another student said, "I learned how anthropology can be applied through community-based research to make a real, beneficial change. I gained skills in critical thinking and reading, collaboration, and

discussing difficult topics." Such advantages of teaching anthropology through practice are documented for anthropological field schools. As Hall-Clifford and Frank note, "field visits bring topics from lectures, readings, and discussion into sharp focus, generating the 'being there' reality" (2012, 31). Community-engaged learning takes "being there" to the next level by contributing to students' awareness of their own positionalities, their understanding of the structures of whiteness and privilege at play in our community, and their ability to dismantle these structures.

The exposure to civic-minded content was especially beneficial for one long-term student engaged in the partnership, Margaret Giacalone. Giacalone worked with IASC in the summers of 2016 and 2017, funded by research grants from Connecticut College. For her, both summers presented opportunities for academic and personal growth. Giacalone found herself thrown into the demanding non-profit world that contrasted with her usual tranquil classroom environment. She had to learn through her anthropology classes and work with Bennett how to combine those two worlds. For example, Giacalone learned how to write and submit an IRB proposal, create materials for interviews, conduct interviews, transcribe interviews using the application Dedoose, apply and write for grants, and conduct research about migrants in New London.

Giacalone learned how to work collaboratively with others towards common goals, a method long highlighted as central to dismantling oppression in the academy and anthropology (Fluehr-Lobban 1991; Jobson 2020; Santiago-Oritz 2019). She worked with IASC's clients on immigration applications in the office and at citizenship clinics, learning how to ask different kinds of questions. She worked with Doyle to research and identify solutions to community-identified immigration problems. She contributed to events supporting immigrants and attended and participated in pro-immigrant events in the community. All of Giacalone's first-hand experiences at IASC humanized her understanding of the words "informants" and "clients," thus embodying the solidarity our partnership hopes to build.

Likewise, Giacalone's awareness of racialization and elitism developed from her time at IASC. As at many private liberal arts colleges, there is a disconnect between the school and local community. Most Connecticut College students have minimal contact with the community of New London, only passing through it for nightly activities or its delicious restaurants. However, Giacalone spent most of her days at IASC and at local community events hosted by other non-profits in New London. She learned not only about her own privilege and power as a white woman at a liberal arts college living in New London, but also what it means to be a part of its community and work through solidarity for a better future.

Conclusion

This article argues that integrating the techniques and best practices of critical community-engaged learning into anthropological pedagogy can help us teach about

migration in a way that advocates for justice and avoids replicating the discipline's colonialist, racist legacies. We use our partnership between a faculty member at a liberal arts college, the leader of a non-profit doing legal immigration work, and a collaborating student as an example of how to design a productive partnership around solidarity, and we explore the outcomes such partnerships can have.

We recognize that community learning can be harmful when not conducted with caution (Abes et al. 2002; Morgan and Streb 2003). But we also argue that to teach immigration in today's climate and not engage in community learning is a missed opportunity given the benefits it brings. With that in mind, we also recognize several situations where community learning would not be optimal. For example, community learning could be a burden and/or unethical for contingent faculty to engage in given their short-term contracts and subsequent inability to build long-term relationships with local communities, not to mention the extra hours, resources, and dedication it takes to teach using community learning. Furthermore, we recognize that not all colleges and universities are located in places where willing non-profits or other community collaborators exist to engage with faculty as we have demonstrated here.

Integrating community-engaged learning as a fundamental component of our pedagogies requires a great deal of planning, and for it to be justice-oriented requires constant adjustment and course correction. Doing this work addresses the issues in anthropology that drove Jobson to call for letting anthropology "burn" (2020). But doing this work also requires that we truly revamp not just anthropology but the university system. As Jobson said, "our own modular simplifications – disciplinary associations, academic departments, tenure and promotion committees, and peer-reviewed journals – need to be dispensed or significantly revised in favor of new measures and values of intellectual work" (2020, 263). Changing how we measure intellectual work and what we value as products could allow for centering anti-racist, anti-elitist, justice-oriented solidarity work as our most valuable product.

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