

Service learning as post-colonial discourse: Active global citizenship.

Abstract:

In this chapter we discuss, critically analyse, and report on a practice that is prevalent in global citizenship education: that of local and global service learning. Using Postcolonial Theory and Critical Pedagogy, we examine these practices, focusing on and contesting traditional conceptions of 'service' by questioning, 'who is providing a service to whom? Who benefits? And how can it be reconceptualised to enable all in the relationship to enact their entitlement as active global citizens? Our findings indicate that a critical understanding of both identity, and the socio-political and historical contexts are needed to engage as 'active' global citizens.

1. A definition of the area of study

In this section we define service-learning (SL) and show how, whether enacted locally or internationally, it can take on a neo-colonial form. Service-learning is experiential and thus is 'active' citizenship. We argue that while the intentions of SL are usually to make a positive difference to the communities in receipt of the service, the actions themselves often unwittingly reinforce the status quo due to a lack of understanding of the socio-political and historical factors that affect the server-recipient relationship. To highlight these factors we provide an overview of postcolonial theory, which we use as a framework for our research into service-learning.

Service-learning.

Service-learning, sometimes called community service-learning, is a form of experiential learning. Experiential learning has been around for almost a century (Kraft, 1996), and is based largely on the work of John Dewey, Jean Piaget, Paulo Freire, David Kolb, and Ivan Illich. Kolb (1984) defines experiential learning as '...the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience' (p. 38). Dewey (1938) notes that not all of these experiences '...are genuine or equally educative...everything depends on the quality of the experience' and affects our future because, 'every experience lives on in further experiences' (p.25-26). Dewey's instrumental and foundational contribution to the field include: 1) linking education to experience, 2) democratic community, 3) social service, 4) reflective inquiry, 5) education for social transformation.

Two types of service-learning are commonly identified: traditional service-learning and critical service learning, both of which are practiced at different scales, locally and internationally. Traditional service-learning, a widely recognized and much used pedagogical approach in education, has been used as mediating tool between educational institutions and the community for civic involvement. At local levels, we

generally see civic engagement at local food banks, working at shelters for the homeless and so on whilst at the international level, institutions in the global north tend to send their students to the global south to learn and serve in the fields of health and medical fields, business, education and development. This traditional and highly varied practice may provide students the necessary knowledge about the community through civic engagement, however this conceptualization of service-learning has the potential to reinforce, perpetuate, and reproduce notions of privilege, inequity and power.

Critical service-learning is envisioned as a politicised and social justice oriented pedagogical practice that not only attempts to meet the needs of a particular community but also, '...embraces the political nature of service and seeks social justice over more traditional views of citizenship' (Mitchell, 2008, p.51). Thus it becomes 'a problem-solving instrument of social and political reform' (Fenwick, 2001, p.6) resulting in a more complex politicised project that attempts to raise critical consciousness, self-reflexivity and engagement in advocacy for social and civic transformation.

In our respective research projects into service-learning, we use postcolonial theory as an analytical lens for interpreting policy, practice, and our data. A theory from the Global South, it shows how colonial ways of knowing and being prevalent during the spread of imperialism are still privileged in relations between the Global North and the Global South today.

Postcolonial theory

Joanne Sharp (2009) makes a distinction between post-colonial, with a hyphen, and postcolonial, without a hyphen. The former refers to a period after colonialism in countries (often in the Global South) that were formerly colonized and gained independence. The latter is the term given to a theory that developed in the Global South as a coherent set of ideas that enabled those who were colonized to 'speak and write back' to the colonizers (Spivak, 1990). Central to the theory are a number of key ideas, including:

1. The world is in a post-colonial era. However, postcolonialists argue that while this has brought political and some economic independence there has yet to be a 'decolonization of the mind' (Sharp, 2009).
2. Postcolonial theory focuses on the politics of knowledge. It shows how colonizing societies used a binary, hierarchical structure of knowledge to create distinctions between self and the 'Other' (Said, 1985) creating a binary power-relationship of us-them, like-unlike, civilized-savage. Colonized countries were put in a inferior, deficit light by the standards of the colonizing countries that perceived themselves as superior - modern, industrial, technologically advanced, democratic and able to generate wealth through the processes of high mass consumption.
3. The colonizer-colonized relationship was based on an exploitative model whereby colonized countries were dominated and plundered for high value resources, including human beings, for the colonizers' economic benefit. It enabled colonizers to argue that the 'savage, backward, Other' had little sophisticated use for physical resources, and that as savages they were somehow less than human.
4. The positioning of the 'Other' as less than human enabled colonizers to justify taking power, since the colonized were depicted as helpless, childlike, unable to make

rational decisions, and in need of a father-figure to help them develop towards modernity.

Postcolonial writers emphasize that the legacy of colonialism is visible in the structures and inter-relationships of the twenty-first century at a variety of scales, locally and globally. Sociologists use the concept of the 'imaginary' (Anderson, 1991; Taylor, 2007) to describe how representations of people, cultures and societies are often more to do with the imagination and symbolism than with reality. For example, a colonial imaginary is often based on notions of identity that are simplistic rather than multidimensional, exotic rather than everyday, and are essentialist (based on the idea that the characteristics of groups are a matter of nature). In the colonial imaginary the characteristics of, for example, Africa and African identity have become fixed into a stereotype that the Nigerian author, Chimamanda Adichie, describes as both

'a place of beautiful landscapes, beautiful animals, and incomprehensible people, fighting senseless wars, dying of poverty and AIDS, unable to speak for themselves, and waiting to be saved by a kind, white foreigner' (Adichie, 2009).

Stuart Hall (2007) argues that it is necessary to deconstruct the colonized imaginary if people in the West are ever to learn to live with difference. His ideas can be applied to global relations including activities such as international service-learning. Andreotti (2011) observes that in deconstructing the colonizing discourse the aim is not to privilege another discourse in its place, but rather to raise awareness of the discourses that are evident, which discourses or ways of knowing and being are silenced, and to offer a pluralistic way forward.

2. Issues in global education and service-learning: deconstructing global citizenship discourses in Canada and the UK.

The practices of service-learning and global citizenship are not neutral. They are underpinned, consciously or not, by particular ideologies or orientations (Van Dijk, 2006). In this section we explore the influence of different ideologies on global citizenship and service-learning, as evident in policy and curriculum documents. We are both involved in an international project on Ethical Internationalism in Higher Education that has identified four broad ideologies for global citizenship education (Table 1).

Ideology	Educational Aims
Neo-liberal	To produce citizens who are economically productive, mobile and able to successfully compete in a global economy
Classical	To produce national citizens who have gained cultural knowledge and are able to be nationally-integrated autonomous subjects

Liberal	To produce citizens who are personally autonomous, compassionate, able to think for themselves and to act for the betterment of the world
Critical	To produce citizens who are oriented towards change of a radical kind, being critical of systems that reproduce injustice and seeking to destabilize the status quo

Table 1: Four ideologies for global citizenship education (adapted from <http://eihe.blogspot.co.uk>)

These ideologies intersect with different ‘imaginaries’. In the context of service-learning and global citizenship, we identify two imaginaries as being particularly influential on education policy and practice: the political (as evident in policy documents) and the social (as evident in popular social discourse). In the following, we explore the political and social imaginaries evident in Canadian and British global citizenship education policy, and the ideologies that appear to underpin them.

Canada has no national curriculum – each province makes its own arrangements. In Saskatchewan, Citizenship is identified as one of three broad themes that should be integrated into the nine curriculum areas of study. There is an emphasis on developing *engaged* citizens as shown in the following educational outcomes:

“Students demonstrate confidence, courage, and commitment in shaping positive change for the benefit of all. They contribute to the environmental, social, and economic sustainability of local and global communities. Their informed life, career, and consumer decisions support positive actions that recognize a broader relationship with, and responsibility for, natural and constructed environments. Along with this responsibility, students recognize and respect the mutual benefits of Charter, Treaty, and other constitutional rights and relationships. Through this recognition, students advocate for self and others, and act for the common good as engaged citizens” (<http://curriculum.gov.sk.ca/?lang=en>).

The focus on democracy, legal rights and sound economic management reflect elements of the neo-liberal and liberal ideologies. It could also be argued that the inclusion of ‘shaping positive change’, sustainability and interdependent relationships with social, built and natural environments provides a liberal orientation with elements of criticality. However, Tupper (2006:45) notes that ‘citizenship operates in schools to espouse a vision for students and teachers of what is “good” and “responsible” without really interrogating the concept itself’. She argues that the notion of citizenship as a universal idea, as indicated in ‘for the common good’, masks ‘the inequities that exist for many individuals attempting to live fully as citizens’ (Tupper, 2006:47). In the enacting of citizenship, rather than developing an understanding of what might be involved in ‘shaping positive change for the benefit of all’ (ibid), the focus is on acting responsibly within existing socio-political structures – doing ‘good’ being reduced to individual actions of recycling, voting, making charitable contributions and obeying laws.

In the UK a national curriculum for citizenship has been in place since 2002 (DfEE/QCA). The citizenship curriculum aims to,

“provide pupils with knowledge, skills and understanding to prepare them to play a full and active part in society. In particular, citizenship education should foster pupils’ keen awareness and understanding of democracy, government and how laws are made and upheld. Teaching should equip pupils with the skills and knowledge to explore political and social issues critically, to weigh evidence, debate and make reasoned arguments. It should also prepare pupils to take their place in society as responsible citizens, manage their money well and make sound financial decisions”.

This suggests a relatively even balance across the neoliberal, classical and liberal ideologies. Although criticality is mentioned, it is against a backdrop of upholding current laws, developing knowledge of current systems, and taking place in society as it is, rather than as it might become. However, the political imaginary for global citizenship is much more neoliberal in orientation. UK education policy is full of references to global citizenship education being an instrumental political tool to maintain the UK in a prime position in the world economy (Andreotti, 2011). The social imaginary, on the other hand, is more aligned to liberal goals based on ideals of ‘voluntourism’ (Elliot, 2013), a term coined to reflect the desire of many in the West to combine exotic tourist experiences with volunteering. As Zakaria (2014) points out, ‘as admirably altruistic as it sounds, the problem with voluntourism is its singular focus on the volunteer’s quest for experience, as opposed to the recipient community’s actual needs’. We argue that the voluntourism imaginary has strongly influenced how students position themselves in International Service-Learning, which has become threaded through by a ‘White Saviour Industrial Complex’ (Krabill, 2012), where the orientation towards the service provided is based on sentimentalism. Although social and community engagement is promoted as a form of social justice, the reality is often ‘about having a big emotional experience that validates privilege’ (Krabill, 2012: 52).

From a postcolonial perspective, the ideologies show different aspects of the legacy of colonialism. Neo-liberalism is based on exploitation and domination of global markets and economic capital; classical ideology is based on reproduction of western forms of knowledge, cultural capital and privilege; liberalism is based on paternalism and the saviour mentality. Critical ideology is the only one that aims for radical change of a systemic kind, but even here there is the danger that at the point of contact and interaction, unless deeply held assumptions based on a colonial mindset have been challenged and deconstructed, inequalities will continue to prevail. This process of decolonizing the mind (Thiong’o, 1986) is the subject of the two pieces of empirical research that we go on to report below.

3. What research have you undertaken (theoretical or empirical research) that can provide a perspective on this context?

Two ‘cases’ are presented, one local and one global, because both are positioned as being part of education that produces global citizens.

3a. Canada: Local critical service learning with active global citizenship dimensions

In Canadian educational institutions, Aboriginal students are the most disadvantaged (Riecken, Tanaka, & Scott, 2006) resulting in few reaching and completing tertiary level education. Some of the reasons include that mainstream educational institutions in general, among other variables continue to use assimilative and ethnocentric curricula, have insufficient role models, and have minimum requirements for intercultural education. In Canada, the term Aboriginal refers to three groups of peoples: First Nations, Metis (people of mixed white and First Nations ancestry), and Inuit. For the purposes of this paper, I use the terms Aboriginal and First Nations interchangeably.

The ensuing academic struggles of Aboriginal students are then depicted from a deficit perspective where students, parents and community are seen as being responsible for the lack of academic success. In order to better understand ways in which equitable and successful learning opportunities could be facilitated for this group of students, a culturally responsive literacy education course with a critical service-learning component was created to explore ways in which to educate young adolescent Aboriginal students who are 'at promise' to both achieve the academic demands for secondary school completion and to participate in an increasingly complicated cultural and technological society. Following Swadener & Lubeck (1995) I use the term 'at-promise' (Swadener & Lubeck, 1995) to indicate that these students demonstrate potential; potential to succeed, thus moving away from positioning the students from a deficit lens as a starting point.

This local critical service-learning project took place in a mid-western province in Canada between two institutions, the faculty of education at a medium sized university and a residential alternative school (OTAS) for students in care where more than 80% of children and adolescents are of Aboriginal descent. The compulsory requirement was tutoring an Aboriginal student on a one-to-one basis, twice a week for 45 minutes each over 6 weeks in a fourth year 13-week elective course on literacy assessment, diagnosis, and instruction course that is offered to teacher candidates in their final term prior to teacher certification and to postgraduates working towards their certificate of inclusive education.

Nineteen female teacher candidates enrolled in the Elementary Years Program took part in this study. Eighteen of these participants self-identified as white, monolingual (English) and from middle or working class socioeconomic backgrounds. One teacher candidate self-identified as being from First Nations ancestry, bilingual (Cree and English) and from a working class background. Their ages ranged from 22 to 33.. Nineteen urban adolescents of First Nations ancestry enrolled in grades 7,8, and 9 who were identified as struggling readers were selected by their classroom teachers to participate in the tutoring program. Their school records indicated that they were from low socioeconomic backgrounds and had high levels of transciency prior to attending OTAS. Pseudonyms are used for confidentiality.

In the first six weeks of the course, the teacher candidates were exposed to anti-oppressive literacy pedagogy including learning about Canada's colonial legacy in relation to some of the First Nations historical, political, and current context; funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992), culturally responsive pedagogy

(Ladson-Billings, 1999) critical literacy (Comber & Simpson, 2001), multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996) and white privilege (McIntosh, 1988). Consciousness-raising tasks and discussions around identity, power, privileges, and institutional racism were critically analyzed to understand how hegemonic ways of being, viewing and doing the world does not serve all students.

Throughout the semester, the teacher candidates were required to keep an in-class and a bi-weekly reflection log to reflect on class discussions, readings, their tutoring, and the context that they were working in. These provided them with opportunities to critically and reflexively examine conceptualizations of race, identity, and discrimination in relation to citizenship, democracy, and social responsibility. Additional data included the teachers' portfolios and interviews with classroom teachers, the parents, school-aged children and administrators at OTAS. The data reported in this chapter is based on the teacher candidates' in-class and on-going reflective logs. Critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2006) was used to analyze the data.

Active citizenship in a local context

In the first few weeks of the course, the teacher candidates were asked to reflect on issues of alternative education and youth from First Nations backgrounds. This was based on class readings and discussions which scaffolded them in critical literacy to enable them to analyse identity, stereotypes, racism, and educational opportunities. Analysis of the reflective logs at this point demonstrate that more than three quarters of the students used neo-liberal discourses to situate the youth.

This was evidence in their use of mainstream lifestyles to make judgements about their students which automatically positioned them as deficient, '*students who attended the alternative school either were or had been in trouble with the law...students often had attendance issues in the past...lacking in social skills and communication skills*'. This was accompanied for some pre-service teachers by low expectations, with racist overtones evident in the assumed inferiority of the 'Other', '*These students would benefit very much from life skills training (home economics, industrial arts, skills in the trades)*'. There were indications of some understanding that students are 'bad kids' because of external pressures, but on the whole this was contextualised within the family/community rather than societal structures. However, there were exceptions to this as shown in the following teacher candidates' reflections where she identifies elements of institutional racism in the dominance of mainstream cultures of schools over those of indigenous youth.

"Again, I have little experience with students who may attend alternative schools, but they may be students who just have a difficult time performing in a mainstream classroom. This may have nothing to do with their ability to learn, but their life circumstances may just prohibit the type of learning that is expected in these schools. I believe these are students who just need to go about school in a different way, a way that adapts to individual needs and expectations." (TC, January 15 2008.)

During their service-learning element of the course, the teacher candidates began to show an element of conscientization - becoming aware of their own privilege, '*as a student in high school I never felt that I was privileged*', and that the issues indigenous youth face are not ones that '*many children in mainstream schools, myself included, are*

faced with'. For some this led to a more critical lens as they shifted from an individualisation of 'blame' to an understanding that it is difficult for indigenous youth to *'succeed because they are marginalized by society'*. At the same time this teacher candidate continued to hold on to deficit views stating that *'school is valued differently by children who attend mainstream schools'*, suggesting that students in alternative schools do not value schooling. In another mixture of neo-liberal and liberal ideologies, a pre-service teacher felt lucky that she *'did not have to contend with the societal and structural pressures that our culture and people at large was and is pressing down upon minorities,'* but continued to believe that whatever circumstance one is born into, *'what we do have control of is our future and our choices'*, suggesting that Aboriginal youth, the most marginalized in Canadian society, only need to get control of their lives to succeed thus negating the consequences of Canada's colonial project that caused the 'bad luck' in the first place.

At the end of the course, course evaluations included a discussion about what they had learned. All four of the ideologies can be seen in their evaluations, but few teacher candidates teachers fitted neatly into one category. One of the criticisms postcolonial theory makes of categories is that they can appear as fixed with firm boundaries, whereas most people will have multiple aspects to their identities and often apparently conflicting views, one or other of which might be revealed depending on the situation.

One teacher candidate continued to adhere to a neo-liberal, colonial discourse that privileges self over other, and assumed an unquestioning 'right' to exploit the Aboriginal youth for their own academic ends,

I really wonder though if there should be some sort of contract for ... tutoring students at [OTAS] based on their expectations of what is to happen. For example, I am still working on my diagnostic report because my student was not available for testing. So I have to go on my own time which is fine, but it requires me to inconvenience some of my family members, interrupt a teacher's time by pulling the student out, have the student miss work that they need to know I know it is a learning experience but it is hard not to be frustrated. (HA, March 31 2008)

While another showed a mixture of neo-liberal and liberal discourses where on the one hand there was an assumption that once the tutoring is over *'I am concerned that she will not have this positive role model any longer in her life'* while at the same time being grateful for the chance *'to make a difference'*. The patronising, saviour discourse, as discussed above, is a strong element of the social imaginary in Western countries and can be traced back to the feminisation of the 'Other' during colonial times.

These examples were in the minority, and overall the teacher candidates wrote about how necessary the experiential, practical component was to their understanding of social justice. The relevance of the critical literacy approach to service-learning was appreciated as being not *'abstract or idealistic, but ... presented in such a way that I feel I can actually do this!'* In this excerpt there is evidence of connecting theory to practice, providing a critical rationale for learning to read, and questioning her own complicity in the lack of culturally responsive methods and curriculum in mainstream classrooms.

“It was only once I submerged myself into teaching that I began to understand the implications for social justice. Seeing first hand some of the challenges that the students at [OTAS] faced made me realize, or rather put the connection to what I was seeing and what I was reading about: ...It is sometimes difficult to truly look at ourselves and ask honestly if how or what we are teaching is truly in the best interest of the ALL our students.” (BL, April 10, 2008).

The need for change in the profession was identified by most of the teacher candidates, and a few went beyond this and reflected on how professional change had to go hand in hand with personal change.

“ Above all, I feel the most integral aspect of this course, which will not only inform my future teaching practices but my own attitude, governance, and integrity in my daily life, was our practical experience at [OTAS]... my ideas towards social justice issues were challenged and transformed. I engaged with asking the “why,” wrestling with the issues behind the lives of the students at [OTAS]. My eyes were opened to the injustices of our society, and how truly privileged I am. (VC, 10 April 2008).

It is the critical dismantling of the socio-political and historical contexts and the nature of the questions posed that enabled teacher candidates to become aware of multiple discourses and the ideologies that underpin them, that we return to in the final section of the chapter.

3b UK: Global Partnerships as Sites for Mutual Learning.

The research reported here investigated a study visit for teacher candidates in a UK university to a Children’s Home in Southern India. The study visit took place over three weeks in July 2010, with ten days spent in the children’s home for the service-learning component. The preparatory phase in the UK consisted mainly of managerial tasks such as getting visas, informing about health requirements, and doing some initial research on the areas to be visited. Once in India, the days in the children’s home were preceded by an orientation weekend in a tourist site on the coast, and followed by a return to this area for a final few days with time for relaxation and reflective sessions to help process what they had learnt.

The aim of the research was to try to understand what types of personal and professional learning took place as a result of the study visit. Data were gathered from both the visiting group (n=12) and the host community (n=10), using participant observations, tape-recording reflective sessions, and semi-structured interviews with a smaller sample before, during, and 6 months after the study visit. For the purposes of this chapter the focus is on the learning of the visiting teacher candidates (see Martin & Raja, 2013, for findings from the host community). The UK group were encouraged to keep a private reflective learning journal that acted as an aide-memoire during discussions, written evaluations and interviews. During the service-learning component they were also invited to take part in daily critical reflective sessions.

In the following section I focus on findings that indicate changes in perspective, disruptions to previous ways of thinking, and resistance to change.

Active citizenship in an international context

One of the tutors, who devised the form that the study visit took and co-led all of them from 2000 to 2010 when data were collected, summarised his view of the main purposes of the study visit thus:

It's eye opening and challenging because ... it throws into sharp relief all the different assumptions and theoretical and philosophical stances which underpin one's own practice [in a way that is] extremely difficult to identify while you're in the UK. It is the process of standing outside [the UK] and looking in from a distance. It suddenly challenges your identity in a big way. (Interview with group leader, July 2010).

These purposes were not explicitly shared with the teacher candidates before the visit as the tutors believed that this might limit their learning. Through study visit documentation and the focus of pre-visit gatherings, the course leaders conveyed that the children's home was funded by a UK-based charity, that the teacher candidates would be helping house mothers and doing some teaching in the on-site primary school, and that they would need to prepare themselves for coping in a country that is hot and where Western facilities are lacking. Data gathered by the UK research assistant, a fully participating member of the study visit group, confirmed this neo-liberal view. During a social gathering before leaving for India, she recorded that

'... someone was telling me that there would be no showers and that you have to wash you hair with a bucket' and that one pre-service teacher 'had raised £500 through abseiling ... and was going to take footballs and other things out there', (RA research diary, June 2010).

These factors are now briefly explored through two 'cases'. Pseudonyms are used for confidentiality: Teresa, a white, British female in her final year of a Bachelor of Education degree, had secured her first teaching post for September; William, a white, British male, was in the second year of a three-year Education Studies degree.

Teresa

Teresa took part in the study visit because she wanted to experience poverty first hand,

I think, if I had the choice, I probably would have picked Africa ... I think that's a continent where poverty's ... highlighted more ... like on comic relief¹. (Pre-visit interview, 8/7/2010)

and she wanted to '*the challenge of actually working and living in the basics*' as it would help her appreciate a lot more '*what [we've] got*'. She demonstrates racism in her attitude towards the volunteerism aspect of the study visit which verges on being insulting towards the host community. For example, she also anticipated finding children who '*value education as a way of getting out of their life*', demonstrating a neo-

¹ Comic Relief is a UK charity that every two years conducts a fund-raising campaign to help alleviate poverty in the UK and Africa. This campaign is targeted at young people and called 'Red Nose Day' (<http://www.rednoseday.com>)

liberal, patronising understanding of the 'Other'. This neo-colonial imaginary was evident in her response to photographs during a preparatory session,

I thought it [the children's home] was going to be kind of some....stereotypical, like run down little place, but it's not, it looks quite modern on the outside and really, sounds horrible, but clean, sort of, stuff like that, which really surprised me to begin with,

In general, both the prevalent colonial imaginary and the media are complicit in perpetuating colonial representations and stereotypes of those in the Global South. The strength of these images acted as a filter to how she made sense of the study visit from start to finish. In her interview at the end of the study visit, she found it perplexing that people in tribal villages 'would have things like mobile phones and satellite dishes' and that families were quite small rather than with the 'eight or six children you kind of sometimes have been led to believe'. Although she saw that 'modern' and 'traditional' could co-exist, she was not yet questioning, or even apparently aware that her views were based on a modernist, stages of development model (Rostow, 1960). Nor did she show awareness that modern and traditional co-exist in her own society.

In general, Teresa's concerns were more about what she could apply to teaching in her new post:

'I've got a lot more resources to help aid my teaching' ... 'I think when I sort of go to teach [India] I will kind of try to express what I've seen but then be very specific about the place that is ...and maybe sort of develop their thinking as well and develop life skills so they can actually challenge aspects that I've said'.

Although some consciousness-raising has occurred, it was nonetheless partial, hence the need to develop critical literacy skills. Additionally, she was confident that her new surface level understanding of culture and society knowledge would bring a certain authority to her teaching. A little knowledge can be a dangerous thing.

William

William's motivations for applying to take part in the study visit were very much related to his active membership of the Rotary Club - an international organisation that has a service mission:

'I had sort of a Rotary upbringing ... there are sort of Rotary principles which you know Rotarians follow about fellowship, global outlook and helping people, service above self encapsulates all those sort of ... service above self'.

William's experiences in Kenya included raising money for a new school generator, decorating classrooms and so on. He said that his aim in going to India was not based on any particular agenda, and seemed unaware that he also held an aim that was exploitative - using the Other for his own betterment.

'I am not even going to go with an idea of what I really want to focus on looking at I am just going to avoid all of that kind of work, go with a completely open mind, absorb the stuff as it comes and when I come back pick out bits which I see that are going to help me in the future'.

In his interview immediately after the study visit there was evidence that William was becoming aware of the limitations of a stages model of development. He observed that India was 'developing in many different ways' and that this was about achieving potential rather than meeting any one particular [Western] standard. He could see that superiority of the giver is an issue in a donor-recipient relationship, but he was clearly struggling with reconciling his new perspectives with his previous understandings.

'What's wrong with giving them something which we have and they don't have? ... It depends what ... standards you're trying to bring them up to'. ... 'I think that sometimes we feel ...that we are developed in the western world, when we're not, but we feel like we are ... and that we don't need to be taught anything, that we know best'.

Six months later, in the post-visit focus group interview, William seemed better able to articulate how his experiences in India had transformed aspects of his identity. Before going to India William had tried to read Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1972) but had found that he '*couldn't understand what he was trying to say, where he was coming from or put it in any kind of context*'. On return he felt drawn to read the book again and found that he

'could then start to understand what he was trying to say and the context was put into place, because of what I had experienced in India and the people I'd met in India, ... I felt that ... I could relate my experiences of India into some of what Paulo Freire was saying'.

One could argue that he had developed a schema or consciousness about the contexts and realities of the people he had encountered in India, and that it was the space (in the form of his university assignment) for continuing critical reflection and dialogue with alternative perspectives that enabled this to happen.

4. Tensions, challenges and the future of service-learning as active global citizenship.

A postcolonial reading of the two studies shows that the divide between North and South exists at both the global and the local level. The international service-learning shows a division between the Global South (India) and the Global North (UK) while the local community service-learning shows a division between Canada South (First Nations) and Canada North (European settlers). In each case issues of exoticisation, racism and development live on creating an ideological and racist divide, which is part of the colonial imaginary. This imagined division is felt as a reality and guides people to act and position themselves in dichotomous ways. McQuaid (2009) argues that education in Western countries 'continues to teach learners to divide the world' (p.12), and this division is not only through actions, but also the orientations that actions are based on.

A key tension emerging in the twenty-first century is that while policies in Western countries are neo-liberal and colonial, there is a growing movement in the practices of global education and service-learning that shows the limitations of such policies. This has led to the use of critical pedagogies in many local service-learning programmes. However, as globalisation drives higher education institutions to increase opportunities for international service-learning (ISL), as the practice is scaled up it appears to meet

the imaginary of the 'white saviour industrial complex' (Krabill, 2012). Thus, while in the ISL above the intent of the tutors was to decolonize the teacher candidates minds, this was largely unsuccessful because a critical understanding of the socio-political contexts was not explicitly developed. In effect, both SL and ISL are forms of local-local interaction, affected by global forces. The challenge for leaders of service-learning is to develop a critical, relational imaginary as a basis for alternative practices that dismantle the colonial imaginary without being oppressive itself. This is something we are exploring in the next phases of our work.

In this chapter we have discussed the trend towards neo-liberal interpretations of global education, and argue for more critical approaches, that include unsettling historical, political, contextual discourses in order to prevent the perpetuation of hegemonic agendas. We discussed how the term service-learning sets up a neo-colonial imaginary and thus is doomed to fail as a means of achieving social justice. To be effective in changing systemic inequities, such as institutional racism, requires an active citizenry who have a critical understanding of the contextual issues based on the local, global, political and historical contexts. We argue that to develop practices that are equitable and provide access to education, resources, and employment for *all* global citizens, the goals of global citizenship education must include developing and engaging in practices that foster pluralism rather than multiculturalism. Understanding identity is crucial to this process. Identities are always in a state of flux and are constructed and reproduced through social action. Unless one is able to see how issues of power and privilege, and how the historical and political dimensions of colonization have affected local and global relations and life chances, there is the danger that neo-colonial patterns of relating along dichotomous lines will continue. Interrogating the relationship between history and identity is an essential part of developing positive relations in the present, as the following teacher candidate's reflective evaluation of his service-learning course in Canada, 2008, testifies.

Canada has not only failed the Aboriginal population but has gone to great lengths to systematically destroy it in order to "civilize" them. Historically, Canada has used tools like residential schools to separate Aboriginal individuals from their cultural background. Atrocities have been done to children as young as three by separating them from family, friends, community, language, and spiritual beliefs. Because these children often spent the majority of their childhood away from parents, they missed out key developmental lessons especially relationship and family interaction lessons.

What we are now dealing with, and by we I mean all of us, educators, aboriginal peoples, and non-aboriginal peoples, is the fall-out of these catastrophic events. We talk about white privilege, but what needs to be understood is that this privilege came about through force, bloodshed and tears. This historical perspective must be understood in order for educators to make an impact. There is a lot to overcome and the sad part is our society is not quite there yet. People still make ignorant comments about the "free pass" those "Indians" are getting. Until people acknowledge the past, it will be a hard climb in the future. Is this a social justice question? You're damn right it is. Am I implicated in it? I am Canadian and therefore I am. I am a white Middle class Christian male. This is the exact model of "the oppressor". But I can live my life with the goal of bettering all students who walk into my class, regardless of their ethnicity, socio-economic status, religion, and sexual orientation.

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