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Perspective Transformation Amongst Student Interns

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**PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMATION AMONGST STUDENT INTERNS
IN AN EAST AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL SERVICE-LEARNING PROGRAM: A CASE STUDY**

(Monograph)

By

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Faculty of Education

**Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education**

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Abstract

This case study is an attempt to understand the impact of an International Service-Learning (ISL) experience on changing the world view or perspectives of 25 student participants in a three month internship to East Africa through a large Canadian research intensive university in response to the HIV/AIDS crisis. Using Kiely's (2004) model of emerging global consciousness and a post-colonial lens, findings indicate that participants' 'common sense' assumptions are disrupted and that they experience complex, ambiguous and varied shifts in their world view. The study identifies some of the experiences and contexts that contribute to perspective transformation and highlights the significance of self-reflexivity and mitigating asymmetrical power relationships in the process. Importantly, this study provides some evidence that participants in the ISL program have been able to persist up to six years after the internship experience, to translate their new world view into meaningful action in the face of dominant hegemonic Canadian values.

Key Words

International Service-Learning, Post-Colonial Theory, Perspective Transformation, Emerging Global Consciousness

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Rationale

There has been a proliferation of ‘voluntourism’ programs, providing little more than travel and career-building experiences for students, which have raised concerns that International Service-learning (ISL) programs may do more harm than good. In fact, it has been argued that the intellectual tourist approach or student as explorer which is popular in the Global North, acts to reinforce the binary thinking of the superior ‘Western’ ‘self’ and non-‘Western’ global ‘Other’ (Mohanty, 2006). Globalization has also placed demands on universities, requiring them to work in an emerging global education market for their economic sustainability leading to their motivation for ‘internationalization’ to be questioned (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Tarc, 2009;). Therefore, more needs to be known about the impact of ISL and the accountability to funders, institutions, host communities and the public good. It is important to make this research an ethical imperative (Tonkin, 2011). Specifically, there has been a great deal of research on domestic service-learning and the benefits to students in terms of attitudes, skills and career development, but much less on international service-learning (ISL). Though one of the explicit goals of ISL is to affect world view (perspective transformation), cross-cultural understanding, and social justice oriented citizenship, there has been little research focused on these outcomes (Kiely 2004; Tiessen, 2007; Hanson, 2010, Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Longo & Saltmarsh, 2011). This case study is an attempt to understand the impact of an ISL experience on changing the world view or perspectives of student participants.

1.2 Self-Positioning

I have been the project director with this International Service Learning Program (herein after called the Program¹) since its inception in 2002 and have a background of twenty-six years as an activist in anti-violence and diversity education. It is important to me that the work in which the ISL Program engages, and the collaboration with our partners in East Africa, involves reciprocal learning and is mutually beneficial. I have heard many students talk about how the internship experience in East Africa had changed their lives or had them see the world in a different way. I heard from past interns who had pursued careers in international development or global health and indicated their passion was inspired through the internship experience. I, myself, had the opportunity to personally come to know local community partners and experienced a shift in my own assumptions and perceptions about poverty in East Africa as a global issue which led to a greater sense of social responsibility to work as an ally with international colleagues. I was therefore interested in learning more about the factors that may contribute to perspective transformation and how we might improve the program to enhance this potential within the ISL experience.

1.3 Background of This Case Study

The case in this study is an International Service-Learning program which is a large Canadian research intensive university's community response to the HIV/AIDS crisis in East Africa. Students are placed in Tanzania, Kenya or Rwanda for 3-4 month internships to collaborate with women's groups and community partners on a microenterprise health program based on probiotic yoghurt. Students have a faculty advisor and usually receive course credit or conduct research for master's or PhD theses. There is research that shows that many students engaged in these types of programs bring with them the 'Western' or Global North perspective of a 'monolithic' Africa; a perception of an 'orientalized Other'; of a people who are poor, suffering and in need of help. (Said, 1979; Ferguson, 2006; Hanson, 2010; Kapoor, 2004; King, 2004; Mohanty in Joseph, 2008; Urraca et al, 2009). If students are learning from the perspective of the

¹ 'The Program' is the pseudonym for the name of the ISL program studied.

West, it is not a surprise that they may go on study/volunteer abroad programs with these perspectives and bring these values abroad (Tiessen, 2007). This study aims to demonstrate whether or not students who formed equal and reciprocal relationships with East African partners, experienced perspective transformation where their previous assumptions were shaken and re-evaluated.

Evaluations by government organizations focus on skill development by the student participation in ISL and their subsequent employment opportunities (Tiessen, 2007). However, there is a gap in research into the ‘pedagogical value’ of ISL experiences (Bringle & Tonkin, 2004, Kiely, 2011, Tiessen, 2007). As Tiessen (2007) writes,

Students often report that they consider the experience abroad to be rewarding and life changing. Beyond that sound-byte, however, we know little about the real impact pedagogically on the participants and the pedagogical needs that arise because of these programs (Tiessen, 2007, p. 77).

Furthermore, the little qualitative research about ISL has not been useful to researchers in the field as they have not been explicit about methodological choices and most have not taken perspective transformation over the long term into account. There remains a serious need to build on existing ISL research and theory (Kiely, 2011). Therefore, this study explored if the three month ISL Program internship in East Africa had an impact on global consciousness and perspective transformation of student participants. Specifically, using Kiely’s (2004) ‘emerging global consciousness’ model as a structure, I addressed the following questions:

- To what extent do the ISL Program interns experience and sustain perspective transformation (PT)?
- What experiences contribute to perspective transformation?
- In what ways is the ISL Program enhancing the potential for Perspective transformation?
- How can the ISL Program be improved to increase the potential for perspective transformation?

1.4 Overview of Thesis and Chapters

The goals of this case study are to gather thick, rich data about the ISL Program intern experience to better understand if, when and under what circumstances, perspective transformation takes place. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on the impact and benefits of community service-learning and international service-learning. Specific literature on international service-learning and perspective transformation is then reviewed followed by a critique of gaps in the literature and how this case study contributes to the literature. Chapter 2 ends with outlining the theoretical framework for this case study. The application of post-colonial theory to ISL is discussed and Kiely's (2004) model of emerging global consciousness is detailed. Definitions are provided for his concepts of 'Envisioning, Transforming Forms, and Chameleon Complex.' Chapter 3 presents the research design including methodology, case study design, study participants, research instrumentation, data analysis and limitations of the study. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the case study and the data presentation is structured around Kiely's (2004) model of emerging global consciousness. Chapter 5 reports on the analysis and discussion of findings and Chapter 6 focuses on implications and conclusions.

Chapter 2

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Power dynamics are intimately connected to the success of any relationship and are especially critical in developing and sustaining reciprocal engaged partnerships, the foundation for service-learning and community engagement. -- Sandmann, Moore & Quinn (2012)

This chapter provides a review of the literature on the impact and benefits of community service-learning and international service-learning (ISL). First, a review is provided of international service-learning literature specific to perspective transformation and this concept is defined. A critique of the literature is provided and a description of gaps in knowledge and how this study contributes to filling those gaps in the field of international service-learning. The chapter ends with a description of the theoretical framework for this case study.

2.2 Community Service-Learning Impact and Benefits

Bringle and Hatcher (2011) define international service-learning as the intersection between community service-learning, study abroad and international education. It has been argued that community service-learning is not a new concept, but one that has its roots in the university based extension programs of the 1860s, Dewey's philosophical pragmatism and the university/community-based organizing initiatives of the 1960s civil rights movement (Stanton, Giles & Cruz, 1999). Cipolle (2010) takes the many definitions of service-learning available and summarizes that,

Service-learning is a learning strategy in which students have leadership roles in thoughtfully organized service experiences that meet real needs in the community. The service is integrated into the students' academic studies with structured time to research, reflect, discuss and connect their experiences to their learning and their worldview (p.4)

Furthermore, Cipolle differentiates between community service, service learning and critical service learning, using the example of a youth leadership group in a community clean-up program. Cleaning up a river bank is community service, examining water samples in a science class is learning, and science students analyzing samples from a river and presenting these to a pollution control agency is service-learning. The science students creating public service announcements to raise awareness about pollution to change attitudes and behaviour is critical service-learning. To add social action aimed at changing community attitudes and behaviours constitutes critical service-learning (Cipolle, 2010). Service-learning, Lisman (1998) argues, bridges the gap by preparing students for the workplace, while understanding their role in civic life and critically examining the social and political goals of society. Where volunteering as 'community involvement' may benefit the community organization, service-learning enhances our civic capacity through intentional processes connecting meaningful experiences to academic learning and political and societal issues. Cress et al. (2005) underscore the role of reflection in service-learning and propose deep reflection emphasizing connection of experiences to oneself and to the world around us. Deep reflection is composed of observation, personal relevance and connection to make meaning of our experiences and to use that learning to adjust previously held assumptions (Billig & Eyler, 2003).

Service-learning has been described as a new pedagogy where students actively create knowledge in collaboration with community partners, the teacher is more a facilitator than lecturer and students share a role in determining class outcomes. An important principle is reciprocity – both the server and the served must profit from the experience (Godfrey, 1999). Service-learning then, is an important tool to build civic capacity and to

help students understand their connection to broader social issues and their responsibilities as global citizens (Cress et al, 2005; Bringle, 2003).

There has been a great deal of research on domestic service-learning and the benefits to students in terms of attitudes, skills and career development. Eyler (2011), in a review of the extensive body of service-learning research, showed how participation in service-learning contributed to personal outcomes (personal efficacy, reduced stereotypes and increased tolerance, personal responsibility and moral and spiritual development), academic outcomes (test scores, performance, intellectual development, problem solving, reflective judgment and pro-social reasoning) and social and community engagement outcomes (civic engagement, political interest, connectedness to community, social responsibility and life skills). She also notes that domestic service-learning research provides a solid base for future ISL research and she claims that the large and consistent body of literature negates the need to repeat research that shows the relationship between service-learning and personal, social and academic development (Eyler, 2011).

2.3 International Service-Learning Impact and Benefits

On the other hand, there is a very limited body of qualitative research in understanding how international service-learning (ISL) impacts participants' views of other cultures, their roles as global citizens, and their abilities to think critically about international issues (Kiely, 2011; Kiely & Hartman, 2011). As evidence for the impact of international service-learning, a study of an ISL experience for medical students showed an increasingly meaningful sense of what it means to be vulnerable and marginalized, a heightened level of awareness of the social determinants of health and the related importance of community engagement, and a deeper appreciation of the health advocate role. A social justice-oriented approach to service-learning, coupled with critical reflection, was found to provide potentially viable pedagogical approaches for learning the health advocate role (Dharamsi et al., 2010). Another study of American students on an international service-learning experience to Bolivia challenged American cultural biases that emphasized personal comfort and individual self-fulfillment over acceptance

of foreign ways of life. The study highlighted the unique learning experience of political turmoil and finding oneself in the role of the 'Other' (Urraca et al., 2009). Physical Therapy and Occupational Therapy programs increasingly integrate international service-learning into the curriculum with evidence that the experience promotes the development of core professional values of social responsibility, justice and altruism, together with ethical practice and recognition of individual and cultural differences (Lattanzi et al., 2011).

Much of this literature addresses whether or not students who participate in ISL programs become what we might broadly consider to be global citizens. However, as O'Sullivan and Smaller (2013) claim in a study of two high school service-learning programs, there is a tension between two types of global citizenship education approaches. Liberal global citizenship emphasizes awareness raising and social action oriented citizenship (critical or transformative). However, defining global citizenship is quite complex and challenging. For example, global citizenship educators favouring critical pedagogy argue that the liberal approach does not take into account social injustice or asymmetrical power relationships. While the critical pedagogy camp further contends that the liberal approach may reinforce the status quo, there is actually a broad range of world views within liberalism from narrow conservative to radical. Furthermore, there are key similarities between liberal and critical approaches as both groups are concerned with deep reflection and critical thinking about global issues for students to become active citizens (O'Sullivan & Smaller, 2013). Though global citizenship is a contested concept, the authors conclude that it is important for educators to encourage the development of globally aware and globally active citizens.

2.4 International Service-Learning and Perspective Transformation

Much of the ISL and global citizenship literature utilizes Mezirow's (1978, 1991, 2000) transformational learning theory as a framework for examining how students experience perspective transformation. For Mezirow, transformative learning occurs when individuals become critically aware of how their assumptions can constrain how they

perceive and understand the world, change those assumptions to become more inclusive, and then act on their new understandings (Mezirow, 1991). Consistent with Freire's (1970) concept of 'conscientization', once individuals become critically aware of how oppressive ideologies and relationships are reproduced through cultural perspectives, rituals and social institutions, they can take action to transform unequal power relationships. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) define a social justice-oriented citizenship that goes beyond charity; to engage students in transformational learning to understand the underlying political, cultural and economic roots of social injustices such as poverty and the HIV/AIDS crisis.

Kiely (2004) builds on Mezirow's transformational learning theory to develop a model of emerging global consciousness that describes the pattern of students' perspective transformation in ISL experiences. This model consists of what Kiely refers to as a) envisioning, b) transforming forms, and c) chameleon complex. Envisioning involves the initial shift in perspective to a deeper understanding of the historical, political and cultural roots of social injustices and a commitment to work to address these. Transforming forms refers to a dynamic shift in how students see themselves and the world in at least one of six types of perspective transformation (political, moral, intellectual, cultural, personal and spiritual). The chameleon complex represents the long-term challenges and struggles students experience in trying to change their own lifestyles and engage in social action in their home communities.

A common theme in the literature on perspective transformation through international service-learning is to disrupt the student's notion of reality or 'defamiliarize,' where one breaks away from the 'taken-for-granted' (Kiely, 2004; King, 2004; Joseph, 2008; Dharamsi, et al, 2010; Urraca, et al, 2009). This destabilizing experience not only allows new perspectives to be assimilated into the student's existing beliefs, but does so in such a way that they themselves become the subject of critical examination (King, 2004). Furthermore, Rizvi (2009) argues that cosmopolitan learning requires new ways of learning about others and intercultural exchange. Learning about others requires learning

about ourselves to recognize that cultural differences are deeply interconnected and relationally defined (Rizvi, 2009).

Both global citizenship programs and ISL pedagogy emphasize social justice orientations, where attention is paid to mutuality, reciprocity and power relationships. However, with the proliferation of ‘voluntourism’ programs, providing little more than travel and career-building experiences for students, there are concerns that ISL programs may reinforce stereotypical conceptions of ‘Other’ and do more harm than good (Guttentag, 2009). Such initiatives can result in vulnerable communities serving the students’ own needs rather than serving the community’s identified needs and facilitating empowerment of its members (Dharamsi et al, 2011). In fact, Mohanty (2006) argues that the intellectual tourist approach or student as explorer which is popular in the Global North, may act to reinforce the binary thinking of the superior Western ‘self’ and non-Western global ‘Other.’ Rather than taking a solidarity approach to work from the local understanding, Westerners take brief forays into non-Euro cultures and address issues from a Eurocentric gaze enhancing the sense of difference (Mohanty, 2006).

2.5 Internationalization and Higher Education Critical Approaches

Researchers have shown that globalization has placed demands on universities, requiring them to work in an emerging global education market for their economic sustainability leading to their motivation for ‘internationalization’ to be questionable (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Tarc, 2009). Therefore, more needs to be known about the impact of ISL as is intended by the proposed study. Accountability to funders, institutions, host communities and the public good, make this research an ethical imperative (Tonkin, 2011). As Knight (2004) points out, defining internationalization in higher education is one thing, but approaches and implementation are different in different contexts. Knight argues that it is important to pay attention to the manner in which internationalization is conceptualized and implemented and to ensure it is understood and seen to contribute to human, social/cultural/scientific, and economic development.

There has been a shift in recent years to counter or resist the marketized, neoliberal approach to international service-learning due to a more complex understanding of internationalization and globalization. Some argue that, while nonprofit universities have also entered the international market, their main motivation is for internationalization, not financial. Some universities wish to enhance research and knowledge capacity and to increase cultural understanding (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Rizvi and Lingard (2010) note that we have come to realize that globalization cannot be viewed as a generalized phenomenon, but one that reflects varying cultures, histories and politics within different nations and appreciates the importance of agency in the interpretation of policy. They argue that the global financial crisis has given rise to the urgent need for a new social imaginary that not only deals with the economic and social consequences of the failures of neoliberalism, but begins also to consider new ways of conceiving education policy and practice (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Tarc (2009) points out how the International Baccalaureate Organization deemed disciplinary knowledge insufficient to promote international understanding in an interdependent world and that there is an emerging focus on values for an international perspective. In fact, Knight (2004) maintains that international and interdisciplinary collaboration is central to solving many global problems such as those related to environment, health, and crime issues. It is essential that the emphasis shift from nationally oriented citizenship and global education to global citizenship (Davies et al., 2005). It is also critical that there not be a surface approach to global citizenship work and international mindedness, but that attention is paid to epistemological and ontological frameworks in the interplay of knowledge construction, curriculum and pedagogy (Joseph, 2008). International service-learning has the potential to address these issues in partnership with communities.

In promoting international-mindedness, especially in work with ‘developing’ countries, and global citizenship education, the literature shows that ISL appears to be ideally suited to promote a meaningful, transformative experience. ISL in citizenship education helps students develop skills of perspective consciousness in a globalized world: they learn to approach judgments and decision-making with open mindedness, anticipation of complexity and resistance to stereotyping (Bamber & Hankin, 2011). Perspective

transformation is an important outcome of ISL and a social justice framework is a crucial element. Transformational learning is not about accumulating knowledge, but seeing the world in a profoundly different way leading to personal commitment and action (Eyler and Giles, 1999). ISL may be a new locus and solution of social problems linked to social arrangements; questioning current social institutional arrangements; commitment to social justice; and intent to change social policy (Kiely, 2004). The problem is that there is very little empirical research in these areas.

One of the explicit goals of ISL is to affect world view (perspective transformation), cross-cultural understanding, and social justice oriented citizenship, yet there has been little research focused on this outcome (Kiely 2004; Tiessen, 2007; Hanson, 2010, Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Longo and Saltmarsh, 2011). Kiely and Hartman (2011) contend that future research should focus on theoretically grounded, qualitative ISL studies situated within the existing literature and that related issues such as global citizenship and transformation be further developed. In addition, the authors suggest drawing on critical, feminist and multicultural theories to continuously ask practical and political questions about the relationship among research, social structures, context, knowledge and power (Kiely & Hartman, 2011). When students better understand the asymmetrical power relations between themselves and the host community in ISL programs, they will work more systematically to uncover and address the sources of unequal relations (Camacho, 2004).

By utilizing Kiely's (2004) theory of emerging global consciousness, this case study builds on existing theory and research in the field and will add to the qualitative knowledge about ISL programs and experiences where currently a gap exists, especially in higher education (Kiely & Hartman, 2011; Tonkin, 2011).

2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My study utilizes Kiely's (2004) theory of emerging global consciousness and perspective transformation in conjunction with postcolonial theory in order to understand the impact of an ISL experience on university students. In this section I describe the key concepts associated with the theoretical framework I am using in this study.

Emerging Global Consciousness & Perspective Transformation

Kiely (2004) developed a model of emerging global consciousness based on a longitudinal study of twenty-two students' perspective transformation over a seven year period from 1994-2001 following a Nicaragua service-learning experience. His conceptual framework follows Mezirow's transformational learning theory where participants in ISL become critically aware of long-held assumptions that affect how they perceive the world and reformulate these assumptions to become more inclusive and discriminating. These individuals then make decisions or act based on their new understandings. Kiely noted that previous research (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Rhoads, 1997) showed perspective transformation occurred where there was an explicit social justice orientation and that it involved substantial moral, political and intellectual change. However, most research focused on the short-term, positive aspects of individual perspective transformation and skill development and assumed this led to long-term change and social action.

Kiely found that the transformational learning of the students in his study involved more than simply intercultural knowledge and a desire to make changes in their own lives and to engage in social justice work. In fact, though students were initially committed to changing lifestyles and working for social justice, they often ran into barriers translating their awareness into meaningful action. The long-term impact of changes to their lifestyle habits and acting on their new world view was met with resistance by cultural norms and the status quo so that personal change and social action was often ambiguous and problematic.

Through his research, Kiely (2004) developed a model of emerging global consciousness that included three learning dimensions to give more complex, differentiated views of long-term transformational learning in international service-learning. These learning dimensions describe the overall and ongoing pattern of emerging global consciousness and include envisioning, transforming forms and chameleon complex.

Envisioning involves the sense of empowerment and the **‘intention to act’** on their emerging global consciousness to promote social justice when students return from the international service-learning experience. Students initially express a commitment to changes in their personal life-style, relationships and social policy that underlies the systemic nature of poverty, inequality, social injustice. Envisioning stems from the confidence students experience from connecting and collaborating with international community partners to improve conditions and contribute through the service-learning experience. Students express motivation to raise awareness about poverty and inequality and build solidarity to promote social change upon returning home. Envisioning is the student’s initial action plan and commitment to make a difference as a result of a change in their frame of reference or world view. Kiely differentiates envisioning, as the intention to act, from taking action to create change. Importantly, he notes that the hopeful optimism entailed in envisioning becomes more complex and ambiguous as students negotiate personal, interpersonal and institutional barriers in their own country.

The next dimension that Kiely discusses is called ‘Transforming Forms.’ In his study, he found that each student experienced a profound shift in world-view in at least one of six dimensions of perspective transformation from the international service-learning experience. He calls these six transforming forms the dimensions of political, moral, intellectual, cultural, personal, and spiritual transformation (see Table 1 which I describe next).

Table 1: Transforming Forms (Kiely 2004)

Transforming Forms	Meaning of Transformation	Characteristics and Examples
Political	Expanded sense of social responsibility and citizenship that is both local and global.	More active involvement to advocate on behalf of global poor, raise consciousness on poverty, and change unjust institutions and political policies that oppress global poor.
Moral	Develop a relationship of mutual respect and care and sense of solidarity with Nicaraguans.	Learn from daily struggle of Nicaraguans. See Nicaraguans as friends rather than recipients of health care. Look for ways to build allies with people living in poverty.
Intellectual	Question assumptions re: origin, nature and solutions to problems.	Question relief model of service. Value local knowledge and see how contextual factors shape social problems.
Cultural	Rethink dominant U.S. cultural and social values, norms, and rituals; question U.S. global hegemony.	Resist dominant U.S. norms (i.e., consumerism, materialism, and individualism); see and act on privilege, power, and position relative to Nicaraguans in new way.
Personal	Rethink previous self-concept lifestyle, relationships, and career.	Actively develop more individually and socially conscious lifestyle, relationships, career, and educational choices.
Spiritual	A movement toward deeper (un)conscious understanding of self, purpose, society, and greater good.	Search for spiritual practices and organizations to connect with community of likeminded individuals and to help sustain ability to challenge systemic injustice.

Political Transformation. *A political perspective transformation would involve the student rethinking their citizenship role from passively voting or volunteering to an expanded sense of citizenship as global² rather than just national (Kiely, 2004).* The students express an increased understanding of the unequal distribution of power and resources amongst ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ countries. They may express

² Although Kiely does not expand upon his definition/understanding of global citizenship, it is important to note here that it is a contested term with many different conceptualizations ranging from more liberal to critical approaches, as noted above on page 9.

greater responsibility and accountability to address persistent poverty as global citizens in alliance with their international community partners. The difference between envisioning and political transformation is that students translate transformation into ‘**action**’ through presentations to educate on disparities, a change in career path to more actively engage in political activities and to help advocate on behalf of those experiencing oppression and poverty. There is a diversity of depth and range of actions from consciousness raising to career action and these often mean sacrifice and struggle to challenge institutions and policies that perpetuate inequality.

Moral Transformation. The moral dimension of transformation involves changing one’s sense of moral obligation and affiliation. Poverty and social injustice transforms from an abstract idea to empathy and caring through relationships with the local people (Kiely, 2004). There is a shift to better understanding the daily lives and struggles of the poor in a developing country and a deeper connection to the people and their livelihoods. Local community are no longer seen as recipients of charity and aid, but the relationships become reciprocal and students gain from the knowledge, resilience and abilities of the community. Students express being involved and caring beyond what they could have achieved through a book or television program. Students feel an obligation to build *solidarity with the poor* and to use one’s own power and privilege to support change efforts rather than simply giving to the poor. Moral transformation is apparent in setting one’s own thoughts on solutions aside and truly understanding and acknowledging the wisdom and ability of the local people to accomplish so much with so little and supporting existing efforts. Students may support local organizations that are working to mobilize change and raise awareness amongst friends, family and home community. There may also be moral solidarity for women around women’s rights in the face of significant oppression and discrimination.

Intellectual Transformation. Intellectual transformation entails students questioning assumptions regarding the origin, nature and solutions to social problems (Kiely, 2004). For example, students may question the value and effectiveness of service that provides relief such as health clinics and donations of medicine which is a temporary or band-aid

solution and does not solve the underlying cause of the health problems. There is a shift from a desire to go in and ‘fix’ the problem and the ‘Western’ approach to charity to support some people to an understanding that this will only temporarily help a few rather than address larger social problems. Where moral transformation emphasizes global citizenship in solidarity with the poor, intellectual transformation involves questioning of hegemonic policies and an increased valuing of community knowledge and expertise and the importance of context in understanding and addressing poverty and injustice. There is recognition of the need to learn from local knowledge and let go of preconceived notions of why people don’t change their circumstances or demand changes of their governments. There is a questioning about the value and impact of development aid.

Cultural Transformation. Cultural transformation occurs when students rethink dominant [‘Western’] cultural and social values, norms, and rituals and question [‘Western’] global hegemony (Kiely, 2004). It is not about the culture shock of adjusting to a new environment or intercultural competency skills, but rather recognizing one’s own privileged lifestyle and questioning ‘Western’ hegemony that supports consumerism, materialism and individualism (and the difficulties in resisting these values). Cultural transformation means students begin to see how their own cultural values shape and distort their frame of reference. There is a shift in how one understands the fundamental ideology of ‘Western’ culture and the arrogance of assuming superiority or indifference to social injustices outside Western countries.

*Personal Transformation. Personal transformation involves the process of re-evaluating one’s identity, lifestyle choices, relationships and career path and **acting** upon their new understandings (Kiely, 2004). The individual becomes more aware of their own personal weaknesses or shortcomings and, as a result of the intense experience, undergo changes in their level of confidence and skills to overcome these. They describe increases in self-esteem and self-awareness as they overcome fears and personal challenges.*

*Spiritual Transformation. Spiritual transformation entails a *movement toward deeper (un)conscious understanding of self, purpose, society, and greater good* (Kiely, 2004).*

The dissonance students experience as a result of the extreme poverty, suffering and injustice may cause them to reflect more deeply on their role in society and their ability to make a difference. Some may identify the importance of a spiritual base to renew their faith or find strength to work for greater social justice, while others reexamine their spiritual beliefs. The intensity of the international service-learning experience leads students to seek a deeper meaning in who they are and how they connect with surroundings and the world. Spiritual transformation may also be reflected in efforts to seek ways to reenergize or retreat to find balance or inner peace as they channel the powerful impact of the experience.

The final dimension in Kiely's model of emerging global consciousness is what he calls the chameleon complex referring to the struggle participants experience upon returning from the ISL experience as they learn to translate this new consciousness into action in their lives. The commitment to act on social justice concerns as they had envisioned is much more complex and problematic in their home environment. Participants undergo significant internal struggle as they resist or conform to dominant norms, rituals and practices within 'Western' culture. They experience difficulty communicating the experience to others and maintaining relationships when challenging dominant 'Western' values and practices such as materialism, consumption or individualism. They may feel disillusioned when others seem not to care or get defensive when they talk about the social injustices in the world. As a result, participants frequently hide their 'true colours' and blend in to avoid the challenges or repercussions which leads to feeling frustrated with themselves for bending to the formidable status quo.

Past studies have focused on short-term, positive perspective transformation and have supported the envisioning dimension of a new perspective and a serious intent to act on social change, but assumed that intent to act leads to action. Kiely's study made an important contribution to understanding international service-learning by identifying the conflict and tension between the desired actions and external constraints. His model of global consciousness is a helpful framework to understand how students experience multiple forms of perspective transformation over time, and highlights the ongoing

challenges confronting students when translating their transformational learning into action. Kiely's study also adds two new dimensions to theory on perspective transformation through international service-learning; the chameleon complex and the transforming forms which add knowledge about the long-term meaning of students' perspective transformation (and multiple ways they experience change) and its relationship to individual change and social action.

Postcolonial Theory

A post-colonial approach helps to deconstruct and understand the power relationships which are consciously and unconsciously reproduced and significantly impact relationships between community and research partners in the Global North and South. According to postcolonial theorists, the identities of both the colonized and the colonizer are constructed, prescribed and constrained in colonial discourse and operate hegemonically to legitimize inequalities (Tikly, 2001; Ninnes and Burnett, 2004). The colonial identity requires a focus on the differences of 'Other' to define itself and the colonizers as superior and then re-make 'Others' in their own image (Ninnes & Burnett, 2004). At the same time, mimicry of outsider values by the colonized does not always mean compliance and that resistance by local agency often leads to hybridized values and knowledge. The postcolonial perspective draws attention to an understanding of the complexities, tensions, ambiguity and ambivalence within power relationships and how the dominant ideology impacts upon economics, policy (including education policy) and culture throughout the world (Ninnes & Burnett, 2004; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007).

My theoretical framework draws upon the following key postcolonial constructs addressed in much of the literature which will be defined below: "orientalized Other," center-margins, agency and resistance. The strength of postcolonial theory in service-learning and community engagement is in its application for utilizing relevant constructs first to highlight oppressive power structures, and then to ameliorate them to some degree (Sandmann, Moore and Quinn, 2012). The authors argue that an understanding of the postcolonial concepts of center and periphery, orientalized 'Other', and power dynamics

present in binary relationships are essential to reflexively engaging community partners in ways that are conscious of power imbalances and promote mutual and reciprocal relationships. In the section that follows, I describe in more detail, the main postcolonial constructs that I use in this case study.

'Other'

The imaginative examination of things oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign 'Western' consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an oriental world emerged...governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments and projections (Said, 1974, p.9).

In Said's (1974) analysis of French, British and American literature, he demonstrated how the West's notion of 'Orientalism' represented various kinds of racism, imperialism and superiority of the European identity. All non-European cultures, by comparison, were depicted as backwards, static and dogmatic. Said also argued that construction and maintenance of cultural identity required an opposite or 'Other' alter ego. In contrast to the 'backward' Middle East, the West was defined as culturally and intellectually superior and natural. This provided justification to colonize and develop the 'unfortunate' non-European countries. Said's Orientalism marked the beginning of a concern for postcolonial theory with the analysis of colonialism and racism as discursive practice (Tikley, 2001). The danger, as Rizvi (2004) and others have noted, is that the acceptance of power imbalances and inequalities, and the presumption of European superiority, dominate the cultural discourse and often go unchallenged.

Spivak (1995, 1998) builds upon Said's (1978) concept of the 'Other' to establish that the subaltern 'Other' does not truly have a voice in the colonial power structure and even more importantly, has no means of being heard. 'Othering' obliterates any subjectivity of third world women and the third world is seen as a dark, 'uninscribed' territory waiting to be colonized and civilized (Spivak, 1995). The third world is presented as a homogenous, undifferentiated group living truncated lives as victims of their own

traditions and customs as well as our Eurocentric history (Mohanty, 2006). At the same time, the orientalized indigenous people come to internalize this representation of themselves as inferior and view the West as superior (Memmi, 1972; Ninnes & Brunette, 2004). Still, according to Spivak (1995) and Bhabha (1985), the subjective experience of the subaltern means that they maintain difference, agency and struggle within their groups and participate in resistance through their engagement of the complex power relations, ambivalence and hybridized enactment of the imperialist agenda. This concept of Other, then, is important when analyzing the power relationships, dynamics and interactions between the 'Western' privileged student interns and the local women's groups and community partners in East Africa. As Mohanty (1994) states, "it acknowledges difference that is not benign variation or diversity, but asymmetrical cultural spheres situated within hierarchies of domination and resistance involving conflict and struggle. By acknowledging and mitigating these power relationships we are engaging in revolutionary social change" (p.146)

Centre/Margin

At the heart of 'Othering' is the notion of 'center and periphery' in postcolonial theory and the related concepts of binary relationships and power imbalances. The colonizer (centre) is the dominant group with the power to prescribe cultural norms and values while the colonized (periphery or margin) do not have access to the colonial power structures (Spivak, 1995; Sandmann, Moore & Quinn, 2012). Reflection upon these concepts is crucial in working with, and establishing partnerships between the Global North and South because power relations are ever present and affect who speaks, who may be heard and helps resist the unconscious (or conscious) reproduction of colonial relationships. Postcolonial thought is conscious of illuminating the impact of power relationships, identifying strategies of resistance and breaking down binary separation in the investigation of colonialism and imperialism (Sandmann, Moore & Quinn, 2012; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007).

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) assert that the binary structure of imperial logic (enlightener/enlightened, rational/irrational, civilized/primitive, university interns/local

poor) seeks to dominate the people in the margins while reinforcing 'Western' identity. Binary oppositions support the imperialist project to exploit and civilize the backward and primitive or helpless 'Other'. Postcolonial theory, on the other hand, exposes the ambivalence, complexity and hybridity in the overlap or spaces between the binary opposites as they are set out and recognizes (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007).

These spaces between the binary opposites become central to understanding both the international service-learning experience for students and context within which perspective transformation is possible. The interactive and dialectic effects of the working relationship between the centre (students from the West) and periphery (East African community partners), has the potential to break down binary thinking and create the space of a new understanding of oneself in the world. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) state,

An important consequence of this disruption of imperial binary systems is a particular emphasis on the interactive and dialectical effects of the colonial encounter. Imperial binarisms always assume a movement in one direction—a movement from the colonizer to the colonized, from the explorer to the explored, from the surveyor to the surveyed. But just as post-colonial identity emerges in the ambivalent spaces of the colonial encounter, so the dynamic of change is not all in one direction; it is in fact **transcultural**, [emphasis in original] with a significant circulation of effects back and forth between the two, for the engagement with the colonies became an increasingly important factor in the imperial society's constitution and understanding of itself (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p.21).

It is important then, to break down colonial binary thinking and focus on interactive dialectic effects that recognize change is not all in one direction, but is transcultural with a back and forth circulation. Since discourse and actions are constructing the relationship, actively attending to the dialectic, who is speaking, who is listening, challenges the colonial relationship and is creating a new understanding of 'Other' and of oneself.

Agency and Resistance

Agency refers to whether individuals can autonomously initiate action or whether the things they can do are limited by their constructed identity. It speaks to the ability of the post-colonial subject to initiate action that engages or resists imperial power (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007). It is therefore worth paying attention to who leads, who is listening, who is teaching in the relationship between the student interns and community partners. The notion of individual agency also counters the essentialist notions of a race and ‘pure culture’ recognizing the dialectic effects resulting from one culture encountering another culture (Ashcroft et al., 2007). Resistance in postcolonial theory refers, not necessarily to oppositional acts of political intention, nor the simple negation or exclusion of the content of another culture, but the effect of an ambivalence toward dominating discourses in the articulation of cultural difference and deferential relations of colonial power – hierarchy, normalization, marginalization and so forth (Bhabha, 1985) Both agency and resistance are important constructs to engage with given the asymmetrical power relationships and the need to consciously disrupt the flow of knowledge typically in one direction from West to East. Attending to local agency and indigenous knowledge is important to avoid the essentialistic tendency to lump together all indigenous cultures as one, while at the same time maintaining an understanding of the nearly worldwide oppression of indigenous peoples and the destruction of indigenous knowledges (Semali, 1999). In the same way, referring to the many failures and problems of the monolithic ‘Africa’ only serves to blame the struggles of colonization on the colonized and depoliticizes issues of inequality (Ferguson, 2006).

From a post-colonial perspective, international service-learning has the potential to work for global citizenship development because, in working with ‘developing countries’, self-reflexivity is essential both for the student’s learning and to consciously avoid appropriating the voice of the subaltern or projecting one’s own world onto the ‘Other’ (Kapoor, 2004). If students operate from a place of charity and ‘doing for’ another, they are not as likely to reflect on their privilege, power and the potential to produce unintended consequences. Moreover, when service-learning programs operate in partnerships that are egalitarian rather than hierarchical and when opportunities for

structured reflection are incorporated into the experience, students are more likely to value and learn from the perspectives of those they are serving. When students have the opportunity to cross social, economic and cultural borders and form caring relationships, critical reflection becomes possible (King, 2004). Therefore, personal relationships play a significant role in perspective transformation resulting from an international service-learning experience. The fear of the backwards ‘Other’ and the need for contrasting ‘Other’ to promote and reinforce the ‘Western’ identity as superior (Said, 1978) dissolves through relationship and caring and is replaced by critical self-reflection. Spivak also emphasizes the necessity of a one to one relationship that is intimate, caring and non-exploitive to help keep the cultural and institutional power imbalance in check (Spivak in Kapoor, 2004).

Kiely’s model of emerging global consciousness and postcolonial theory fit well together as a theoretical framework for this study. The overlapping concepts related to power relationships, the challenging of ‘Western’ values and global hegemony, and the impact of one to one relationships are important elements of perspective transformation. The model of emerging global consciousness engages three learning dimensions to give more complex, differentiated views of long-term transformational learning in international service-learning. Postcolonial theory also emphasizes the complexity, ambiguity and tensions in collaborative relationships between the Global North and South.

CHAPTER 3

3. Research Design

3.1 Introduction

This research project is a qualitative, interpretivist study based on case study method, examining students' experiences of perspective transformation following a three month internship with an ISL Program in East Africa. This chapter outlines the research methodology including a description of the qualitative, interpretivist approach and case study method used. The sampling method is then presented followed by a description of participants, the research instruments, data analysis process and limitations of the study.

3.2 Qualitative, Interpretivist Approach

In contrast to a normative study which is positivist in approach, the interpretivist paradigm is concerned with the individual experiences of participants and seeks to understand their subjective world (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). The interpretivist approach does not seek a universal theory, but the theory is developed from the experiences and understandings of participants. The interpretivist approach was used for this case study to examine the experience of the ISL Program internship through the eyes of the student participants. I want to understand how the attitudes and behaviours of this group of participants evolved through the internship experience which is context specific for this group of interns and not generalizable. How did they interpret the experiences and how do they describe the impact on their lives and global consciousness? The complexity of the experience and varied contexts meant it was important to gather thick descriptions (Geertz, 2003; Denzin, 1975). It is a mixed methods research project utilizing a survey obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data, and an analysis of intern blogs. Emerging theory came from the meanings and understandings the participants shared about their international service-learning experience.

3.3 Case Study Method

Case study methodology was chosen to explore the real-life, complex, dynamic and unique events, surrounding the human relationships and other factors specific to the experiences of the Program interns (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Case study methodology is highly suited to programs such as this ISL Program since they are bounded by time and activity. As a qualitative research methodology, case study accommodates the experiential understanding and multiple realities expected and the ongoing interpretive role of the researcher (Stake, 1995). Stake (1995) also states that meaning from cases is made through both direct interpretation of individual instance and through aggregation of instances until patterns emerge so that something can be said about them as a class. In this case study, aggregate data facilitated the emergence of patterns and consistencies within particular conditions and individual cases provided deeper understanding of the phenomena. The case study research has practical application to program improvements while, at the same time, contributes to theory by extending transformational and intercultural learning theories (Kiely & Hartman, 2011).

3.4 Participants

The participants in this study were drawn from the larger sample of former student interns who spent 3-4 months in Kenya, Tanzania or Rwanda. They worked with women's groups and local partners to establish and promote the sustainable development of micro-enterprises based on probiotic yoghurt known to build immune response and nutrition for people living with HIV/AIDS and people who are nutritionally compromised. The former interns remained on a Program mailing list and all were provided with a letter of consent and link to the questionnaire. All interns were also invited to participate in an interview if needed and permission was sought to include their blogs as data in this study.

Purposive sampling was used to focus on the lived experiences of the students who had participated as interns in the ISL Program between 2005 and 2011. Purposive sampling allows participants to be included in a research study based on their possession of the particular set of characteristics being sought, the ability to make comparisons amongst

unique cases, and to allow greater depth to the study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Between 2005 and 2011, 46 students representing a cross-section of faculties at this large Canadian university completed 3-4 month internships in Kenya, Tanzania or Rwanda. The vast majority of students received course credit or conducted research for their honours and graduate theses. All 46 of these students were invited to participate in this study, to complete a survey which explored the students' global perspectives, experiences of perspective transformation, and global consciousness. Twenty-five agreed to participate in the survey and these participants consisted of 6 males and 19 females (76% female). This sample can be considered representative of the total number of 46 interns where the population included 10 males and 36 females (78% female). Of the study participants, 3 interns were placed in Rwanda, 6 in Kenya and 16 in Tanzania. This distribution also makes sense given the program started in Mwanza, Tanzania and it is the country where the majority of activity takes place. The participants ranged in age from nineteen to twenty-six years of age with the majority being between twenty-one and twenty-four. See Table 2 on page 29 for demographic details about participants who agreed to participate in the study.

One participant identified ethnicity as Asian/Pacific Islander, one African/African Canadian/Black, four Multiple Ethnicities, nine identified as European/White, and the remainder did not complete this question. Of the 25 study participants, 3 returned for a second internship and one completed 3 internships. The individual completing three internships was in two countries (Tanzania & Kenya) and internships were undertaken as an undergraduate, Master's and PhD student. Three other participants were in a Master's program during their internship and the remaining 21 participants were undergraduate students. There was also a relatively good distribution of respondents over the years from 2005 to 2011. Four interns were placed in 2005, three in 2006, three in 2007, three in 2008, four in 2009, six in 2010, and two in 2011. Of the fifteen respondents who completed the questions about traveling and living abroad prior to their internship, ten said they had traveled abroad before the internship and seven had lived abroad in the past. Most who indicated they lived abroad prior to the internship had done so for between three months and one year. It may be that the seemingly high number of interns who

had traveled and lived abroad in the past were drawn to the ISL Program internship because of this previous experience and due to the selection process where previous experience abroad would strengthen one's intern application.

Eight participants gave permission for this study to use the blogs kept during their internships which were still available online. Blogs ranged in length from four to twenty-one pages in length with the average being 13 pages.

TABLE 2
Participant Demographic Information

#	Name *	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Academic Program	Year Study	Country Placed	Internship Dates	Travel Abroad	Lived Abroad
1	Anna	24	F	Euro/white	Business	Undergrad	Kenya	2009 2010	Yes	No
2	Liz	32	F	Euro/white	Health/Geo	Undergrad Master Phd	Tanzania Kenya Kenya	2006 2007 2009	Yes	No
3	Madison	28	F	Asian/Pacific	Health/Med	Undergrad	Tanzania	2007	Yes	No
4	Brent	31	M	Euro/white	Health/Med	Master	Tanzania	2005	No	Yes 6m
5	Carrie		F			Undergrad	Tanzania	2005		
6	Diane		F		FIMS	Undergrad	Tanzania			
7	Dennis	23	M	Euro/white	Info Tech	Undergrad	Tanzania	2011	No	No
8	Gabby	28	F	Afri/Cdn/Black	Health/Med	Undergrad	Rwanda	2009	Yes	yes
9	Susan						Tanzania			
10	Jack	23	M	Euro/white	Business	Undergrad	Tanzania	2010	No	No
11	Barry	28	M	Euro/white	Health/Med	Undergrad	Tanzania Tanzania	2005 2006	Yes	No
12	Cindy		F		French/Arts	Undergrad	Rwanda	2009		
13	Any	26	F	Multiple	Media/Journ	Undergrad	Tanzania	2006	Yes	Yes
14	Tina	29	F	Multiple	Health/Med	Master	Tanzania	2008	No	No
15	Laura		F	Euro/white	Nutrition	Undergrad	Tanzania			
16	Oliver	26	M	Multiple	Business	Undergrad	Tanzania	2008	Yes	Yes
17	Sharon	23	F	Euro/white	Nutrition	Undergrad	Tanzania	2011	No	No
18	Rita	23	F	Multiple	Business	Undergrad	Kenya	2009	Yes	Yes
19	Aleta	21	F	Euro/white	Health/Med	Undergrad	Tanzania Rwanda	2010 2012	Yes	Yes
20	Katie	**	F		Business	Undergrad	Kenya	2010	Yes	Yes
21	Pat	**	M		Business	Undergrad	Kenya	2009		
22	Carmen	**	F		Nutrition	Undergrad	Tanzania	2006		
23	Esther	**			Business	Undergrad	Kenya	2010		
24	Ariel	**	F		Health/Geo	Undergrad Master	Tanzania Tanzania	2007 2009		
25	Barb	**	F		Health/Geo	Undergrad	Tanzania	2008		

* Pseudonyms have been changed to protect the confidentiality of the participants

** Demographic information on the survey was not completed. This may be due to the location of this segment at the end of the survey.

3.5 Data Collection

A research service known as Campus Labs was used to administer the questionnaires online and collate the data. A letter of introduction and consent (Appendix A) was created by the researcher and sent via email by the research service to all past interns who fit the criteria for this study. The letter of consent provided a brief overview of the purpose of the study and sought their willingness to participate. It was noted that response to the questionnaire indicated consent to participate in the research. The questionnaire also sought permission to use intern blogs as data in the study (see Appendix B).

The letter of consent was sent out through the Campus Labs system using a mass mailing feature and the letter included a ‘hot link’ to the online survey. Each email address (participant) received a unique link which allowed the participant to access the survey one time. If an individual quit the survey before completion, they were able click the link and return to the survey where they left off. Reminders were also able to be sent out to non-respondents only. While the researcher conducting the study was introduced in the letter of consent, the “reply –to” went to the Administrative Assistant for the Program in order for interns not to feel pressure to respond to me directly. Participants were provided with a two week period within which to complete the survey. A reminder was sent out at one week and again three days prior to the close of the survey. The end date was extended by an additional week through a final reminder and thank you.

A total of 25 participants responded to the survey, a response rate of 54%. Of the 25 respondents, 6 completed only the first two pages of the survey related to motivation and feelings about their ISL Program internship while 19 completed the survey. Eight participants, whose blogs were still available online, gave permission to use their blogs as data in the study. As there are no clear rules on sample size in qualitative research, size is informed by “fitness of purpose” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011) the number of survey responses and extensive qualitative data received were deemed more than sufficient to answer the research questions. Theoretical saturation was reached and no

additional data would have modified, advanced or extended the theory developed (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

3.6 Instrumentation

The questionnaire (Appendix B) was divided into three parts. Part I explored motivation and feelings about living and working in East Africa. Part II was the largest segment probing the impact and experiences of the internship on the students. Part III included background questions about the student internship (location, dates) and personal background (age, gender, ethnicity, area of study, past experiences living/travelling abroad). These questions were intended to establish some of the context for the international service-learning experience and potential patterns related to intern backgrounds. They were positioned at the end of the questionnaire as they required less thought and reserved energy to avoid survey fatigue for the questions requiring more thought and reflection. This may explain why six participants did not complete the demographic data section of the survey.

Part I of the questionnaire begins with a section exploring the motivation of the student to embark on the internship in East African. Students rated 8 factors on level of importance for them from 'not at all important' to 'essential'. The items explored issues of altruism, self-interest/skill development, and the opportunity to learn generally. Part I also explored intern feelings about living and working in East Africa both before and after their internship experience.

Part II of the questionnaire focused on the impact and experiences of the internship on the student. Open ended questions and scalar responses explored issues such as the intern's perspective and beliefs about poverty as it is experienced in East Africa, similarities and differences of home community and host community, expectations and benefits to student and host community, power and privilege, assumptions held, global and cultural issues, relationships with community partners, and actions taken as a result of the internship. These questions were aimed at exploring global and self-awareness and global responsibility. Questions were also tailored to examine the interns' experiences of

Kiely's (2004) theory of emerging global consciousness: 1) Envisioning; 2) The six transforming forms; and 3) The chameleon complex.

In Part II, participants were asked to rate a list of 45 items representing opinions, beliefs and perceptions about life in East Africa and their ISL Program internship on a scale from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Participants were asked to consider their perspectives on each item both before and after the intern experience to capture any perceived differences in their opinions and beliefs and trends amongst intern experiences.

Part II of the questionnaire also involved short answer questions which provided more detailed qualitative information about the intern experiences, opinions, beliefs and perceptions that were touched upon in the quantitative scalar questions. Questions explored a) the depth of relationship with local partners, b) challenges and frustrations experienced by interns drawing on postcolonial theory, and c) experiences related to the cross-section of poverty, power, class, and inequality. Power relationships and assumptions and beliefs were important aspects of this study. Students were asked to think of critical incidents that exemplified their experience. The last segment of Part II of the questionnaire explored the perceived impact on the student's career path, changes in assumptions/beliefs and recommendations for the Program. The survey took approximately 45 minutes to complete.

3.7 Data Analysis

The analysis process was inductive and attempted to discover, explore, develop, analyze and uncover themes, categories, patterns, tentative hypotheses, relationships and theories that emerged from the research (Patton in Kiely & Hartman, 2011). Using quantitative and qualitative questions elicited exploratory and explanatory data since the quantitative survey data provided an overall sense of how all Program interns experienced issues related to perspective transformation and global consciousness, while the qualitative questions provided deeper, richer understanding of the factors that contributed to transformational learning (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011).

Grounded theory methodology consists of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories ‘grounded’ in the data themselves (Charmaz, 2008). Using grounded theory method for data analysis in this study, the researcher began with the survey results and grounded theory from the data. Themes and categories were identified, commonalities in student data, and meaningful differences so that a pattern of what was salient emerged about perspective transformation. The quantitative data identified trends and commonalities amongst student experiences related to key items in the survey such as their sense of global responsibility, their perspectives on East African people, and their views on poverty. The qualitative responses provided a deeper understanding of these patterns that arose and provided the themes and categories that illuminated student experiences of the international service-learning internship – especially related to perspective transformation. Further triangulation of the data took place with coding and analysis of the intern blogs.

Quantitative data from the surveys was first aggregated by question for frequencies and percentages of participant responses to the item on the rating scale to identify patterns or significant impact of the intern experience. Where questions sought a retrospective opinion or perspective of an issue both before and after the internship, this data was placed in graphs side by side to visually show any change on the item and for easier comparison. Emergent patterns and significant percentage changes were then noted with the graphs.

Next, qualitative questionnaire data was aggregated and organized by each question with numbers assigned to individual intern responses. In this way, similarities, differences, categories and patterns amongst intern experiences would become apparent by issue/item. At the same time, the assigned number would allow the researcher to follow a pattern or theme amongst one individual respondent. Interpretivist researchers attempt to understand the interpretations and meanings their participants attach to experiences. Theory emerges from particular situations and is grounded in the data (Cohen et al., 2011). Using this idea of grounded theory method, the data formed the foundation of the

research theory and the analysis of this data generated the concepts constructed (Charmaz, 2008). The coding of the statements and actions of the qualitative data then took place for each question to determine what analytical sense could be made of them. Using line by line, in vivo coding (Charmaz, 2008), the researcher began to conceptualize the data using the words and phrases of participants. Then coded views and events described were compared so that analytic groups began to emerge. As Charmaz, (2008) writes, understanding how participants made sense of their experiences, we began to make analytic sense of their meanings and actions. A modified version of the constant comparison method was used which involved making comparisons at each stage of the analysis (Charmaz, 2008).

After the aggregated responses for each question were coded, a memo was written summarizing the key themes and categories that emerged. Quotations exemplifying these themes were recorded and researcher reflections and theorizing were also included in each memo. Through the memos, the researcher then further studied the events and experiences described to pursue hunches and analytical ideas about them and the conceptual categories that arose (Charmaz, 2008). In the next step of coding the intern blogs, the conceptual categories were kept in mind in examining the recorded experience of interns in the field.

Grounded theory methods are not neutral and the researcher brings assumptions to the research and enacts these in the process (Charmaz, 2008). It was thus important for the researcher to recognize the guiding interests and background assumptions that led to bringing concepts that help sensitize and ask certain questions – to provide shape and a loose framework (Charmaz, 2008). For example, the theoretical framework I used incorporates a post-colonial lens examining power relationships, perspective transformation exploring a shift in assumptions and beliefs, and a social justice perspective engaging reciprocal rather than charitable relationships. It was important in the early stages of data analysis to use in vivo coding and record the intern's lived experiences and events and not interpret meanings or try to fit with prearranged categories, theories or hypotheses. I was very self-reflexive about describing the

statements and actions as experienced by the participants and my own assumptions and hunches were recorded separately in memos. It was also important for me to be aware of my own biases and work to avoid preconceptions and judgment of what I was reading and learning in the early stages of the research (Patton, 2002). My position as the program director for the ISL Program and direct supervisor of the student interns during their placements, required me to be conscious of my own biases and beliefs about the impact and experience of the Program interns. It was important for me to set aside my judgments as to what I thought the internship ought to be like for students and what I expected them to gain from the experience.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

This study draws upon a constructivist paradigm in conceptualizing the research methodology and analysis of data. The constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (that there are multiple perspectives), a subjective epistemology (that the knower and respondent co-create meaning), and a naturalist set of methodological procedures. Data sources for this study consisted of quantitative survey data, qualitative survey data, intern blogs, researcher reflection notes, and data analysis was done according to grounded theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The varied data sources helped triangulate the data to increase research validity and I maintained clear records (audit trail) of how decisions were made in coding and other conclusions. Converging results across multiple methods allowed for triangulation of data to increase understanding, confidence and generalizability about research findings (Bingle, Hatcher & Williams, 2011). Trends identified in the quantitative scalar questions of the questionnaire were triangulated with qualitative short answer questions. Analyzing themes and data from intern blogs added a third method to triangulate data.

To address validity in qualitative research, criteria were developed for trustworthiness and authenticity. The four criteria for trustworthiness are: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The criteria for authenticity include: fairness, ontological, educative, catalytic and tactical (Kiely & Hartman, 2011). To address credibility I used reflexivity at every stage in the research process to make my values,

bias and beliefs transparent (Kiely & Hartman, 2011). I ensured transferability by using thick, rich descriptions so that the reader can determine what part of the findings might be useful in different contexts. The research exhibits dependability through a transparent paper trail and detailed reporting to allow other researchers to follow the process, logic and decisions to see that results are consistent with data collected. Confirmability is apparent in this research project through grounding findings in participant's voices in the form of direct quotations of student interns. Authenticity is evidenced by the quality of the research process and the attention paid to embrace reciprocity, inclusivity and to ensure that minority voices were heard.

3.9 Limitations and Ethical Considerations

Though students were informed during their involvement with the Program that they may be contacted in future about research into their intern experiences, it has been seven years since some participated in the international service-learning experience. The time passage may have affected participation since former interns had moved on in their lives and may not have had the interest or motivation to respond to the survey. Also, the retrospective nature of this study means there is a potential for recall bias and participant memory of details of the experience may have been compromised or reduced. At the same time, the knowledge was constructed from the lived experiences of participants and they shared the impacts of the ISL encounter on their lives. Therefore, though memory and reformulation are issues, they are inherent issues in any memoir. Given there have been few longitudinal studies done on student travelers several years after the ISL experience, this study is an important contribution to that work. Since its inception in 2002, the Program has also evolved with more pre-departure preparation with students and better advance planning with local partners. These issues would affect the intern experience and may therefore have an unknown impact upon perspective transformation and emergent global consciousness of participants. Thick descriptions by interns of their experiences countered some of the effect of changes in the program over time as interns were very specific in their descriptions about what experiences affected their transformational learning.

As previously mentioned, the researcher is the former intern supervisor and, though there was no possible repercussion given that participants were no longer under the program director's supervision and most were no longer students at the university, there is a possibility of response bias. It is possible that some respondents reported positive outcomes or answered questions the way they thought I would want them to answer, rather than give their true opinions or beliefs. The researcher emphasized that the study is seeking the students' positive and negative experiences of the internship to better understand the impact of the program and to improve the program for future interns. There is also a possibility of self-selection bias since most participants in such programs are already predisposed to cross cultural learning, international experiences, and open-mindedness.

The evaluation design created certain limitations with respect to outcome evaluation given there was no pre-test to establish a baseline to determine quantitative aspects of change or cause and effect relationships (Hanson, 2010). The survey relies on the participant's memory of his/her perceptions about a particular item both before and after the internship experience. While still gaining the participant's perspective on any change after the experience, it is unknown how the time passage may have impacted participant's recollection and perceptions on an item before and after the internship. Although all Program interns since 2005 were included in the purposeful sample, there is a possibility that those who responded to the survey were those who were highly motivated people and this may have skewed results. However, the study does provide a collage of student experiences and perceptions on emerging global consciousness, the effectiveness and impact of the ISL Program internship experience, and insights into how to improve the experience and enhance factors that contribute to perspective transformation.

3.10 Confidentiality

As this research project is a case study, participant identities were required to be known to the researcher. Participants were informed in the letter of consent that the information collected was to be used for research purposes only, and neither the participant's name

nor information which could identify them would be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. All information collected for the study was kept confidential. All of the hard data collected (paper) was stored in a locked cabinet in a secure office and electronic data was stored on password protected electronic devices in a secure office during the study and will be destroyed 5 years after the results have been published.

CHAPTER 4

4. Findings: The ISL Program Student Internship Experience

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes what the twenty-five respondents revealed in the Intern Experience Questionnaire about their lived experience of the 3-5 month sojourn in East Africa, specifically focusing on perspective transformation. The quantitative measures show patterns that emerged about the respondents' feelings, opinions, beliefs and perceptions about life in East Africa and their internship experience. The short-answer questions elicited qualitative information to further explore the respondents' opinions and beliefs about issues related to global and self-awareness, perspective transformation, mutual and reciprocal partnerships, power relationships, poverty, class and inequality. Power relationships and assumptions and beliefs about others were important aspects of this study. Students shared critical incidents that exemplified their experience. The data also shows the perceived impact of the internship experience on the participant's career path and recommendations for the Program.

Ten key categories or themes emerged in the coding and analysis of the qualitative data. These represent the patterns of the most frequent and significant topics around which participant comments focused and where the potential for perspective transformation exists. The ten main categories to emerge were privilege, language/culture, relationships, infrastructure, poverty, pace of life, health, agency/empowerment, corruption and career impact. These themes are embedded in the presentation of findings which follows. Triangulating the data, the blogs illuminated the same ten major themes that arose in the Intern Experience Survey as having the greatest impact on respondents. There is often overlap amongst these issues as reflected in this blog entry by Rita (2009) where there is an intersection between poverty, privilege, health and living day by day.

I had a pretty chilly experience with one of clinic's patients who was interested in joining the study but we could not accept her as we had

reached our quotas for the number of men, women and children required. To appease her, Ray (local project coordinator) said that she can be part of the 2nd group, the control group, for the study which begins in 6 months. Before leaving she looks at me, dead in the eye, and says, ‘I will be back in 6 months if I am not dead.’ Not to sound like a weakling but I had to sit down as it hit me once again that most people, especially in hard hit regions such as Oyugis, don’t have the luxury to plan for the future. They have to concentrate on surviving today, and maybe perhaps planning for the immediate tomorrow if they are able to, but even planning ahead for the month is far too down the road for many.

The findings are organized according to Kiely’s (2004) model of emerging global consciousness to show the respondents’ complex and differentiated experiences of perspective transformation. The section on envisioning presents participant experiences related to their initial shift in perspective related to the historical, political and cultural roots of social injustices and their ‘intended’ commitment to work to address these issues. The section on transformative forms presents participant experiences related to dynamic shifts they described in at least one of the six types of perspective transformation (political, moral, intellectual, cultural, personal and spiritual). The chameleon complex segment presents participant experiences of challenges and struggles to change their own lifestyles and engage in social action in their home communities.

4.2 Envisioning

Questions about the participants’ experiences of extreme poverty, and whether or not there was a change in their beliefs/perspectives after their time in East Africa, elicited data on their initial shift in perspective related to the historical, political and cultural roots of social injustice and their ‘intent’ to work for change. It is apparent from the findings that the majority of participants experienced a shift in their perspective about East Africa, the roots of social injustice and their commitment to work for change and envisioned changes to their lifestyle, relationships or politics.

84% of respondents indicated that their beliefs/perspectives had changed after their time in East Africa and 72% said that they came back with the intention to engage in social change and social justice activities. Where just over half of participants 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that, before the internship, their knowledge of social injustices in East Africa made them committed to learn more and work for change, this number rose to 88% after the intern experience. The vast majority of the nineteen respondents who provided qualitative responses related to this question talked about increased knowledge and awareness with respect to such issues as the root causes of poverty, the complexity of culture and values at play, the impact of colonialism, police corruption, 'Western' privilege and the lack of infrastructure and resources. As Barry, an intern in Tanzania in 2005 describes,

I feel I became more educated in understanding the root causes of these different themes. Talking to people from and living in East Africa, you begin to gather a lot of perspectives that I simply was not exposed to ever before. For example, my Swahili teacher often did history lessons on Tanzania that helped us understand the structure of society/language/culture – which in turn provides better perspective on root causes of poverty.

Diane's (2005 intern) comment below captures the increased knowledge about the intersection between the effects of colonialism, gender issues and poverty:

I came to understand the lingering effects of colonialism, and to understand the vulnerabilities of post-colonial society. I gained an understanding of how women's rights (and lack thereof) certainly contribute to the perpetuation of poverty. Working on a project that aimed at empowering women not only health-wise, but economically, felt really important. I was so proud to see the mamas working so hard and was inspired by the possibilities of empowering women.

Amy's (2006 intern) statement reflects her ideas about the complexity of social injustice issues underlying poverty and that the problem lay not with the individual, but at a broader level:

I have learned that there is no single root cause of poverty. Poverty exists and persists due to complex and intertwined socioeconomic factors that cannot effectively be addressed in isolation.

Finally, two respondents noted that their perspective did not shift, but that they deepened their pre-existing knowledge and understanding of social injustices in East Africa.

Similar to the shift found in the respondents' knowledge of social injustices and commitment to work for change, there was a commitment to act and advocate on behalf of the poor which rose from 61% to 83%. It is noteworthy that there was a substantial increase in the number of respondents who 'strongly agreed' that they sought ways to be an ally with people living with poverty which grew from 11% before the internship to 39% afterwards, showing how the experience strengthened their commitment. One considerable finding was that before the internship experience, 46% of respondents indicated their experience with extreme poverty and social injustice had them reconsider their roles in society and their ability to make a difference and after the intern experience, this number rose to 94%. Participants talked about their desire upon returning, to get involved in activities such as building a school, or getting into a career in international development, the global health field, or something related to social change with their deeper understanding of poverty and social injustice in their host country. Anna, a business student intern placed in Kenya in 2009, has pursued a career in international development with youth and connects becoming an ally with people living in poverty with her eye-opening experience and deeper understanding of what she refers to as the cycle of poverty during her internship:

Poverty is usually not a choice... it's the result of being born into a family that couldn't provide for you. A child is born into a family that could not support them to go to school. As a result, the child is forced to drop out of school and cannot get a decent job. The cycle continues... We have a phenomenal education system in comparison to East Africa, and therefore we do not have a lot of poverty. This meant that my eyes were opened to so much more. My life changed. I saw the world differently. I saw

people of a different economic status differently. I understood poverty and Africa differently.

4.3 Transformative Forms

The following data on transformative forms presents participant experiences related to dynamic shifts they described in at least one of the six types of perspective transformation in Kiely's (2004) model (political, moral, intellectual, cultural, personal and spiritual). The significant impact of severe poverty in East Africa on the intern experience, as expressed by Anna above, and the perspective transformation of respondents in this study, is clear throughout the data. The sheer visibility, lack of previous exposure, and participants' beliefs that education, food, housing and health care are basic human rights appeared to create a significant dissonance for respondents to disrupt their notion of reality so that the familiar became unfamiliar and created the opportunity for them to break away from the 'taken for granted.'

Significantly, before the internship experience, nearly all respondents 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that access to education, food, housing and health care are basic human rights (94%) and 100% after the experience. Given this perspective for all respondents, and the issues around access to education, food, housing and health care in East Africa, all were witnessing daily what they would define as human rights violations. Respondents reported that prior to the internship experience, 33% agreed or strongly agreed that they had many interactions with people of poverty whereas this number increased to 83% after the experience.

The qualitative responses further elucidated the perspective shifts found in the quantitative data with respect to daily experiences with extreme poverty. Most respondents commented on the scale and visibility of severe poverty in East Africa as compared to Canada where it seemed more hidden. They emphasized that since poverty was the norm in East Africa, there was no associated shame, but rather pride in what people had as compared to Canada where poverty was seen to be hidden in certain neighbourhoods. The large gap between rich and the poor, the lack of social programs,

and complexity of the lived experience of poverty (including the strong sense of community and the happiness with living in the moment in spite of circumstance) garnered much attention and comment by participants. Aside from poverty, nine other themes emerged most frequently amongst respondents as the areas where they experienced significant dissonance and rethinking of previously held assumptions and beliefs. These themes included ‘Western’/white privilege, cultural differences, relationships, infrastructure, health/healthcare, language barrier, career impact, slower pace of life and corruption. They are embedded in the discussion below.

Political Transformation

Political transformation refers to an expanded sense of social responsibility and citizenship that is not just local, but global (Kiely, 2004). Different from the intentions of ‘envisioning,’ political transformation involves students taking action to advocate on behalf of the poor, raising awareness about global poverty, and attempting to change unjust institutions and policies. Political transformation was evident in the findings of this study where, before the internship, 55% of participants indicated their sense of citizenship had expanded beyond national to global responsibilities and accountabilities and 95% after the experience. Where just over half of participants indicated they were committed and act to advocate on behalf of the poor before the internship, 83% indicated so after the experience. The increased awareness and commitment to act as allies with the poor is seen in the comments of Barry (Tanzania, 2005), Gabby (Rwanda, 2009) and Carrie (Tanzania, 2005). Barry’s comment shows his sense of citizenship expanding beyond the national to the global level when he states,

People have the same dreams and problems (although to different degrees) as back home. People want to provide for their family, give their children an opportunity to go to school, accomplish something meaningful to society and their community.

Gabby, who indicated she is exploring how to go about building a school in East Africa, shows in her comment how the experience has galvanized the importance of taking action when she comments,

[The experience] made me more passionate and further instilled in me the importance of doing humanitarian work. Has made me more ambitious to accomplish my goals so that I can give back somehow.

Seven years after being in Tanzania for three months working with the first women's group, Carrie says,

Being in East Africa made me more aware of poverty overseas and allowed me the opportunity to do fundraising for various communities abroad.

Among those who 'strongly agreed' that they were well versed in global affairs, there was a substantial increase from 6% of participants before the internship to 33% after the ISL experience. It was interesting that most respondents (83%) indicated before the internship that they believed Canada has a role to play in addressing poverty and HIV/AIDS in East Africa and this number grew slightly to 94% after the internship experience. At the same time, participants indicated an increased awareness that Canadian university ideology and cultural beliefs are imposed upon East African community partners through the ISL program and through the interns themselves. Those 'agreeing' or 'strongly agreeing' with this statement grew from 28% before the internship to 61% after the experience. Finally, where approximately half of participants believed the internship would lead to reevaluating their relationships and career choices before the experience, the number increased to 70% afterwards. Political transformation is heard in Liz's account of social justice activities since her internship in 2006.

I was the member of a team that wrote and submitted grant applications for funds to expand the project in other areas of East Africa. [I] planned and organized a Global Health Conference focusing on the problems/challenges/solutions affecting the Global South. [I was] a member of an international committee and organized a conference supporting the advancement of science in Africa.

Carrie (2005) described how she took action in her personal relationships and in her work when she states,

To make family and friends more aware of the injustice and inequality East Africans face. I also worked with a youth group at home and would talk to them about my experience in East Africa.

Laura (2010) expresses a deeper understanding of the unequal power relationships and a commitment to global citizenship through advocating on behalf of the poor and working together with the local women's groups rather than a charitable approach to the relationship. This statement also reveals the overlap between political transformation and moral transformation which involved building alliances with the poor.

Despite being a female and being a [white minority] living in Mwanza, I took for granted at the beginning that this still put me in a place of authority in the continuum of power dynamics. I think it was very important to be aware of what my presence within this culture signified and not contribute to upholding a colonial system that works to suppress by its very nature, the people I wanted to work with. Being humble and learning from the women was very essential to ensuring that the relationships were built on mutual benefits and understanding.

The intern blogs while in country also showed political transformation through experiences such as Aleta's (2010) where she touches upon both privilege and inequality of wealthy 'Western' countries as compared to 'developing' countries. At the same time, the effect of personal relationships on transformative experiences is seen in this example where her good friend Hussan lost an infant nephew whom she had met.

I can't stop thinking about Hassan's little baby nephew who passed away this week. It just makes me feel ill. I get this pit in my stomach, this empty feeling in my chest. I wonder how many poor children die due to poor medical systems in the developing world. I wonder how many people suffer just so we in our rich countries can live the lifestyle we so wish.

The complexity and ambiguity of the political transformation and the intern role became visible where interns talked about struggles with the hegemonic 'Western' approach

imposed upon the yoghurt mamas³ and local community by their own expectations and that of the ISL program and ‘Western’ institutions. The problematic impact of one’s own power and privilege was at times confusing or concerning. This can be seen in Madison’s (2007) account of the theft of funds by the local project coordinator that she brought from Canada for a community partner.

This surprised me because I am a very trust worthy person. To hear about her theft and the collaboration with the bank and police made me very aware of the corrupted systems in Tanzania and the difficulties the Mamas had in trusting others, including the ISL interns who were cycled in and out very frequently.

Tina (2008) also found a similar experience where she struggled with her own power and difference while traveling on a crowded bus where children often take a seat on the lap of strangers. She describes the situation as follows:

We were sitting at the back and the young girls rushed over to sit with us, and in fact, the older girl plopped on my lap. The mother quickly grabbed them and instructed them not to sit with the ‘mzungu’s⁴. This was the first time I had experienced a mother not wanting their child to be near me. I had never considered myself to come across as a threat to anyone and the experience upset me. I learned that while many Tanzanians are friendly and welcoming towards Westerners coming to their county, there are others what see our presence as unwanted – the root cause I don’t know exactly.

Moral Transformation

Moral perspective transformation, as Kiely (2004) states, refers to the respect, mutual care and solidarity with the local partners/community. The local community and partners

³ The term ‘mama’ is a commonly used courtesy title used to address adult women (often assumed to have children).

⁴ Mzungu is an East African term for a person of foreign descent, usually European. It literally translates to ‘white skin.’

are no longer seen as unfortunate ‘Others,’ in need of charitable aid, but instead, students seek ways to build alliances with people living in poverty. Through close relationships with local people, poverty and social injustice transforms from an abstract idea to empathy and caring. Students consciously use their power and privilege to support the local knowledge and solutions rather than imposing their own thoughts on solutions.

As previously noted, 100% of participants agreed that access to education, food, housing and health care are basic human rights and yet they witnessed deficits in all of these areas as part of the daily struggles of poverty in East Africa. As with political transformation, moral transformation involves an increase in knowledge of social injustices in East Africa and a commitment to learn more and work for change, though based more on relationships and solidarity than social responsibility to change of institutions and unjust policies. Respondents expected that living in a developing country would make them more aware of social injustices and inequality in the world (89%) and yet their awareness grew to 94%. Where only 33% reported having interactions with people of poverty before the international service-learning experience, 83% reported many interactions afterwards. Significantly, 94% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that they saw East Africans as friends rather than recipients of assistance after the internship as opposed to 61% before the experience. Gabby’s (2009) comment captures the experience of coming to know the community better and, in seeing them as more than a faceless ‘social issue,’ is moved to a commitment to advocate for change.

The people were friendly and eager to get to know me. People there were equally as religious [as me] if not more so. My perceptions have definitely changed. I would like to do more. I plan on living in East Africa and doing some humanitarian work there. I am unsure in what form but I do have a passion for it.

Respondents also indicated they felt more strongly about seeking ways to be allies with people living in poverty after the internship. The strongest theme from the seventeen respondents who commented about how they benefited from the internship experience centred around their increased knowledge and awareness of East African culture, the

roots of poverty, and their changed perspective on the effectiveness of ‘aid.’ Interns indicated a greater awareness and stronger belief that ‘development’ needs to be directed by local communities. Laura (2010) captured these sentiments when she responded to a question about how she benefited from the experience. She says,

Experience working in another cultural setting – learning the language and experiencing another way of living. Helped me to identify some key beliefs regarding ‘aid’ and how through collaboration, solutions that are culturally appropriate, we can support communities to better themselves, rather than trying to ‘help’ or even that we believe we can fix it.

Those who indicated a deep understanding of the poverty people live with in East Africa and the strength and resilience they possess to live in these conditions grew from 45% before the internship experience to 78% afterwards. Importantly, those who strongly agreed with this statement increased from 6% to 40%. Participants who believed their relationship with community partners was more a reciprocal relationship of solidarity to end poverty and social change than charitable helping, increased from 65% before to 76% after the internship. Again the greatest change was in those who ‘strongly agreed’ which increased from 18% before to 47% after the ISL experience.

Finally, there was a substantial change in those who believed the collective spirit and wisdom of their host community helped them understand how to support existing efforts and goals rather than providing short term help (35% before internship to 70% after the experience). Laura’s (2010) reflection on working with her host community is indicative of the shift many commented about.

I hope that I was able to show them that we are willing to work with them rather than patronize them with ‘our way is the best way’ attitude. Just as a culturally superior attitude would work to reinforce a systemic racism, I hope that we as interns reinforced a more balance of power dynamic that through each interaction aims to reduce systemic racism.

Data from the blogs also showed moral transformation where comments indicated that some interns no longer saw the experiences of people in East Africa as distant or abstract, but through personal interactions, they felt more connected and in solidarity with their host community. Children often played a role in insights respondents had with respect to cultural differences (corporal punishment, responsibilities, education privilege), similarities (playing, routines, human nature), and poverty. Amy (2006) highlights this point when she says,

I don't think that there is any better way to feel more comfortable in a new culture than to play with kids; they are living proof that, regardless of how far people are separated by land or sea or language or beliefs, we are all fundamentally the same.

Sharon concurs with this perspective when she states,

The longer I live in Tanzania the more I learn that people are just people. We all have a lot of the same struggles, same personalities, same feelings. The poverty is what has the greatest impact on the people of Tanzania. It affects every aspect of life in Tanzania.” Referring to children she states, “When watching them you quickly learn that they have nothing, yet they are so content. They find joy in everything that they do. They are almost always smiling and laughing and are so friendly to visitors.

At the same time, participants’ experiences of moral transformation included ambivalent feelings about their relationships and collaboration due to cultural differences, language barriers, and their own privilege. It is worth noting that ambivalence is a concept in postcolonial theory which is taken up in the Chapter 5 analysis. The push-pull of this ambivalence can be heard in Madison’s (2007) statement.

During the trip I felt very close with the Mamas because of our intimate workings, however I do not communicate with them regularly now. There was also a bit of apprehension to get closer because they knew we were only there temporarily. I also feel like I could have engaged more into the Mamas’ personal lives a bit more to truly understand their everyday living

situations. While in East Africa it was easy to fall into a comfortable routine of spending time with my roommates and other ‘Western’ volunteers.

The tension between the historical colonial past and the student experiences of moral transformation was apparent in participant responses to a question about their perceptions of host community expectations of the interns. Ten out of eighteen comments touched upon the expectation by community partners for students to have answers, fix problems or bring funding and resources. Katie’s (2010) comment captures some of these sentiments:

Sometimes it felt as if we had an immense burden on our shoulders because everyone wanted us to fix their problems, help them to succeed and live a more profitable life. While that was a lovely compliment and we were happy to help, sometimes the pressure to perform (or our ability to do so) became a little overwhelming.

Intellectual Transformation

Intellectual transformation, according to Kiely (2004), involves the students questioning the value and effectiveness of service that provides relief or band-aid solutions but do not solve the underlying cause of the social problems. There is some overlap here with moral transformation where there is a desire to move away from the ‘Western’ approach of charity or imposing solutions, to an approach of valuing local knowledge and understanding how context shapes social problems and injustice. There is recognition of the need to let go of preconceived notions of why people do not change their circumstances or demand changes of their governments.

Amongst study participants, there was a decrease from 55% to 22%, of respondents who believed African countries need external intervention to end poverty and change their circumstances. This reflects an increase for participants in their valuing of local community knowledge and expertise. There was also an increase amongst participants in their understanding of how the political situation in the host country fit into the larger

picture of the country's struggle to improve their living conditions. Intellectual transformation is apparent in those participants who questioned whether or not 'relief' or 'development aid' was making a difference increased. Before the internship, 53% questioned relief and aid. This number grew to 94% after the experience in East Africa. The questioning of development aid and relief seemed to stem from participants' concerns with externally imposed solutions from the West which did not acknowledge local knowledge and seemed to cause more problems than assistance. Another significant shift in intellectual perspective was seen where 47% of participants before the internship believed African's have the traditional knowledge to improve the social problems they face increased to 94% after the internship experience.

Nineteen respondents provided comments about how their beliefs/perspectives changed after their time in East Africa. The vast majority talked about increased knowledge and awareness of issues such as the root causes of poverty, the complexity of culture and values at play, impact of colonialism, corruption of police, and the lack of infrastructure and resources creating barriers for people. Respondents spoke of hearing different perspectives they had not heard before regarding social values and culture. Many interns commented about their greater understanding of the richness of family values, strong sense of community and the pride people have in what they do have. For instance, reflecting upon the benefits of the internship experience and the learning she gained, Katie (2010) shows the questioning of aid and charitable helping when she says,

Increased cultural awareness and understanding. Better understanding of the process of international development and the flaws in charity. More respect for small/medium sized entrepreneurs and their passion to excel.

Anna (2009) shares a similar concern for development work in her learning of how some NGOs operate from a charitable approach, creating dependency on development aid in Kenya:

NGOs and foreigners working in East Africa... it's very, very challenging and difficult when other NGOs and foreigners are causing more harm than good.

Laura's (2010) comment also shows how she learned to respect local knowledge and context:

You learn a lot from those you are working with, more so than you will ever be able to teach them. I learned that you cannot expect solutions that fit a Canadian context will work for them and that you have to listen to them for how they want to run their organization.

Equally as dramatic as the high number of participants who questioned the value of relief and development aid was the number who indicated they saw how the social problems of East Africa are shaped by the local environment and contextual factors which grew from 41% before the internship to 94% after the experience. Most participants commented about a deeper understanding that poverty is not a lack of motivation by individuals, but of lack of infrastructure, education, opportunities, socially constructed colonial relationships, international aid and trade policies, and the complexity of socioeconomic factors. As Barry (2005) states,

When I think of poverty in East Africa, I think more of the social constructs and barriers that prevent people from living the lives they wish. Domestic violence against women, corruption, and unequal wealth distribution are a few of the things I think of when reflecting on living an impoverished life.

The blogs generally reflected learning as a priority for interns as they described new experiences. Some participants had specific titled sections such as "Interesting Things Learned and Seen," "A few things I've learned from being in Tanzania," or "Lessons." The theme of learning and understanding more about the diversity and complexity of East African culture was also apparent in the blogs. An example is found in the comments by Anna (2009) who was present in Kenya during the World Cup for the World Cup and Jack (2010) who was in Tanzania.

Anna states,

I'm happy that the people of Africa get to be proud of something so incredible (World Cup) and that they have the opportunity to show the world that Africa is much more than disease, poverty, and violence.

Jack comments,

I want to add that I think having the World Cup in South Africa is great for this continent in more ways than I previously realized. When people think of Africa, minds generally go straight to the poverty and charity and to the general burden it puts on the world.

Tensions and contradictions

Interestingly, there was a slight decrease in participants who felt their internship can make a difference (78% before internship and 66% after). This may be connected to idealistic hopes some participants had at the outset of the internship and may reflect a change in perspective about their own role with respect to solutions. The change may also be related to the difference between expectations to 'efficiently' accomplish tasks as they had done in Canada and the reality of lack of infrastructure on the ground as seen in Madison's (2010) comment:

I thought that it would have been more difficult to implement into the government programs but at the same time, I thought that I would be able to make more progress on simple tasks that I take for granted living in Canada (i.e. emailing, organizing meetings with officials, transportation, getting documents sent, signed and received).

Another interesting contradiction emerged related to intellectual transformation and valuing local knowledge as most interns recognized the importance of local leadership and working with community partners on goals they themselves have identified, while simultaneously feeling the pressure as they are approached with their privilege to 'fix problems.' This highlights the importance for interns to resist the temptation to 'do for' local partners thereby creating dependency rather than utilizing their power and privilege to support local goals and initiatives.

Cultural Transformation

Cultural transformation, according to Kiely (2004), involves recognizing one's own privileged lifestyle and questioning 'Western' hegemony that supports consumerism, materialism and individualism (and the difficulties in resisting these values). Cultural transformation means students begin to see how their own cultural values shape and distort their frame of reference. There is a shift in how one understands the fundamental ideology of 'Western' culture and the arrogance of assuming superiority or indifference to social injustices outside Western countries.

The internship experience in East Africa had a strong impact on respondents' recognition of their own privilege. When asked if they often thought about the power and privilege differences and if they reflected upon how community partners interact with their world and with the interns, 50% agreed before the internship and 100% indicated they often thought about the power and privilege differences afterwards. Respondent comments reflected how they experienced their privilege as positive at times with privileged treatment and negative at other times with power dynamics in relationships. Most participants talked about receiving privileged treatment such as immediate respect and trust, being treated better than local partners, more rapid attention of government officials, people listening to what they have to say, and being invited to family celebrations or funerals. This sentiment is captured in Madison's (2010) comment:

I definitely felt different because of my skin (colour). We were ushered into the Prime Minister's Office easily, received bursaries and were bumped up along the waiting list for TASAF (Tanzanian Social Action Fund) and the NGO application.

Participants often expressed becoming more aware of their privilege in Canada and appreciating the health care, social programs infrastructure and security.

Themes of agency, empowerment, and respect for local knowledge were also seen in the blogs such as Anna's (2009) comment about the leadership of the women's group and Rita's (2009) post about the teaching leadership of the Mwanza, Tanzania mamas with the Oyugis, Kenya yoghurt mamas. Anna states,

Closer to the end of our internship we would like to discuss long-term goals and a strategy for sustainability. We want to emphasize that these are meant to be group discussions rather than lessons from the interns.

Rita (In describing how the Mwanza, Tanzania mamas arranged teaching the Oyugis, Kenya yoghurt mamas):

They took it upon themselves to split the Oyugis Mamas in Groups A and B so the training held was smaller. Originally the Training was supposed to last for 3 days, but that was extended to 6 days so the Oyugis Mamas were given the training to fully prepare themselves for production. I thought it was great how the women took control over the training sessions.

The negative side of their power and privilege was described as being seen as white or 'mzungu' first and that this involved being charged higher prices for purchases, viewed as a source of funding or sponsorship, and difficulty getting to know people at times (especially female children who were wary). Some participants expressed feeling guilty about their privilege amongst such severe need. Diane's (2005) comment describes the experience of becoming aware of one's own privilege for the first time and the experience of being 'Other:'

It made me very aware of my race and privilege for the first time. I felt very self-conscious about my appearance and peoples' perception of me.

The complexity, tensions and contradictions of power relationships was apparent where many participants talked about building personal relationships as key to true partnerships, building trust and moving beyond being seen only as a 'mzungu'. Ten out of sixteen respondents described their relationships with community partners as well acquainted and caring or very close and personal friends. At the same time some talked about how one can never fully be trusting due to theft, corruption and because foreigners are always perceived as wealthy and a potential source of money. As described earlier, some interns also felt there were expectations at times that the 'mzungus' would fix the problems or have the answers. Most participants described how with time, collaborative

work and learning more of the language, the relationship evolved to a good, and often close relationship for collaboration, but that their power and privilege were ever present. This process is seen in Laura's (2010) perception of working with community partners,

I think that interacting with local community members they were on the surface happy to have interns, but there would likely be a deep-rooted mistrust. Being open to collaboration, working with them helps to break down those power dynamics innate in our relationship going in.

The complexity of power relationships and privilege is captured well in Oliver's comment:

As a person of colour myself, I think I occupied a somewhat paradoxical place. Many people tend to associate being 'Western' with being white. So, for many people, there was a kind of cognitive dissonance in seeing a non-white Westerner. So I think our interactions were shaped not just by 'Western' privilege, but also by complicated racial politics.

Another tension was apparent where the interns privilege was most often useful and helpful in the yoghurt mamas successfully achieving goals such as packaging, funding proposals or business strategies, but at times had an unintended negative consequence as noted by Madison (2007),

We also had a negative impact on the mamas because the community felt like they were being treated better and personally given money where this was not the case. The Mamas felt discrimination because of the relationship with Westerners.

The impact of power and privilege was shown to have both benefits and drawbacks for participants. 100% of respondents (18 who responded to this question) indicated they often thought about the power and privilege differences and made a connection between this and how their community partners interacted with them and with the world.

Further evidence that many participants experienced cultural transformation is found in their responses to the question about their opinion as to whether or not they agreed that

people do not need many material goods to survive. Before the internship, 73% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this statement and 95% agreed or strongly agreed after the experience in East Africa. Similarly, where 72% agreed before the internship that people do not need many material goods to be happy, 94% agreed after the experience. Most dramatically, there was a significant increase from 22% to 72% in respondents who ‘strongly agreed’ with the latter statement that people do not need many material goods to be happy.⁵ Many respondents commented about feeling guilty about privilege and lifestyle back home and a number commented on becoming more aware and questioning ‘Western’ hegemonic values of materialism, consumerism and individualism. Liz (2006) captures these sentiments when she states,

Our home communities place a great deal of value and measure the value of a person on their ability to acquire material possessions. In East Africa, you are accepted for who you are and are often made to feel comfortable in accepting yourself for who you are beyond the superficiality of your physical appearance and belongings. You truly realize how dependent we are on measuring our worth based on what we own and how others perceive us if we are unable to meet societal standards/expectations. Despite the adversity and abject poverty the people still find the strength to smile, laugh, sing and dance. There is a different appreciation of life.

Where 44% of respondents indicated before the internship that they have become more conscious of consumerism, materialism and individualist values in Canada, and have attempted to make changes in their lives and raise consciousness of others, 76% agreed after the experience. The depth of that impact is seen in the number of participants who ‘strongly agreed’ that they became more conscious of these Canadian values and attempted to make changes in their lives which grew from 18% before to 47% after the internship experience. Anna’s (2009) description of a critical incident shows the learning that many interns had around materialism and individualism,

⁵ I understand that the issue of materialism and happiness is a complex one that this survey question was not able to tease out.

A young boy (age 9) collapsed on the road outside the yoghurt kitchen. He was alone, very ill, and only had about \$1.50 in his pocket. He was on the way to the hospital. He didn't have enough money for what he needed... I learned the value of family, family that can support you financially. I learned that life isn't about materialistic things (although I already knew that, it was reinforced in a stronger way). I learned that people can be very, very happy with very little. I learned that people should be more grateful for what they have.

Cultural transformation regarding one's own power and privilege is also apparent in the earlier quantitative data where participants indicated an increase in awareness about the power and privilege we have in Canada compared to East Africa (from 41% before the internship to 88% after). Laura's (2010) consciousness of power and privilege, and challenging her own use of language that privileges Western culture reflects this shift amongst many participants.

I think I was very conscious of the fact that I was from the Global North. Even that terminology I use now to reflect my dissatisfaction with the implications of using 'third world' or 'developing' as if to say we in the 'first world' or 'developed nations' are the gold standard to what they must achieve.

The blogs also reflected the complexity and tensions interns described in the survey data with respect to the differences in power and privilege and how this impacted relationships; the tensions between the notions of local agency and knowledge versus images of the oppressed poor in need of help; and the similarities with human nature in contrast to the differences of work ethic, corruption and appreciation of life.

Personal Transformation

Kiely (2004) describes personal transformation as involving the process of re-evaluating one's identity, lifestyle choices, relationships and career path. The individual becomes more aware of their own personal weaknesses or shortcomings and, as a result of the

intense experience, undergoes changes in their level of confidence and skills to overcome these. They describe increases in self-esteem and self-awareness as they overcome fears and personal challenges.

Participants described significant personal transformation related to learning more about themselves, overcoming fears, building confidence and re-evaluating or confirming career directions. Participants indicated they better understood the experience as a minority in East African culture (from 50% before the internship to 80% after the experience). 74% agreed before the internship that they would learn a lot about themselves from the experience and this increased to 94% after the internship experience. What was quite striking was the number who 'strongly agreed' with this item which grew from 22% to 78% after the internship experience. Before the internship, 41% of participants indicated that the dissonance experienced would have them more self-aware to overcome fears and challenges, this number grew to 64% after the internship. Another substantial change was in the number of participants who indicated that they were less fearful of the world which grew from 30% before the internship to 71% after the experience. These shifts revealing personal transformation were elucidated further in respondent comments.

As previously mentioned, 72% of participants indicated their career path was affected by their ISL internship. Thirteen of the fifteen participants who responded to this question provided detail about how their career path was affected. Nine respondents talked about a direct impact on the career they chose in either international development work or global health. As Anna (2009), a business student indicates when referring to how her career path was affected,

It completely changed. I am now developing my career in international development, focused specifically on entrepreneurship. I found my true passion and what I want to do for my career.

Liz (2006) found the experience in East Africa confirmed her career direction.

The experience helped to solidify my career path. Prior to the internship, I knew that health and development were areas of interest to me; however, it became clear in my mind and inner being that it was part of my calling.

Other participants commented the internship gave them experience which led to interviews or helped build towards their current career. A few suggested the experience led to incorporating a focus on social justice, social enterprise, or advocating for underprivileged groups in work not directly related to these issues as in Madison's (2007) case.

I am currently a Naturopathic Intern working with HIV/AIDS patients at [a large health centre] and volunteering at [a centre for at-risk youth]. I also plan on volunteering my time as a Naturopathic Doctor to people living in low socioeconomic or underprivileged community.

Another respondent said the experience had him rethink whether he was meant to pursue a career in development or the non-profit sector as he had intended.

The blogs also provided evidence that intern education and skills, connected with privilege, meant interns often had opportunities for experiences that would help advance their careers. Some talked about medical experiences with AIDS testing, some with international development, and in the following example, a computer technology experience that was beyond what Dennis (2011) had done before or imagined having the opportunity of doing at this stage in his career.

The discussion quickly became about what I am educated in, and Paul saw there was a bigger need for my "expert" help on bigger projects. I never anticipated this opportunity, and the projects are of extremely high interest to me.

As noted earlier, the intern's privilege not only opens doors to opportunities for their own benefit, but creates the possibility of using privilege to foster social change. This potential is often overlooked where the interns may come back home, overcome the chameleon complex, and contribute to making a difference.

A common theme amongst participants was how their time in East Africa contributed to an increase in confidence in international travel, learning a new language, living and working in a different culture, and doing it independently. As Dennis (2011) states,

My confidence in traveling and living in a different country meant I can look anywhere for my next job, instead of staying in Canada. I may not go looking specifically at helping people in East Africa, but the confidence and comfort is transferable.

In addition, personal transformation may be seen in participants where 34% anticipated that after their time in East Africa, their political ideology changed and after the experience 50% agreed this was true. Importantly, those who strongly agreed with this statement rose from 6% to 33%. Furthermore, 41% of respondents believed before the internship that the dissonance they experience would make them more aware of themselves and have them overcome their own fears and challenges. After the experience, 64% of respondents agreed with this statement. Those who 'strongly agreed' increased from 6% to 29%.

An interesting contradiction appeared between the respondents' reported effort and confidence with learning the local language and their feelings that the language barrier limited relationships and understanding of the local culture. For instance, respondents indicated that before the internship experience, 44% thought they would work hard at learning and using the local language. After the experience, 84% indicated they did work hard at learning and using the local language. Many interns talked about an increased self-esteem and confidence in getting by and in their grasp of the local language in only 3 months. At the same time, many interns talked about the language barrier limiting relationships or their true understanding of local politics and issues. As Oliver (2008) states,

I think language training could help, as interns could then start looking at local papers or other cultural materials to help them better understand the world view.

Dennis (2011) also noted the impact of the language barrier and related ambivalence, especially in Tanzania. He states,

Not so much frustrating, but challenging was the language barrier. When I was in public I was okay as long as someone didn't use more complex words, but that meant our conversations were extremely brief and simple. This was a hindrance to developing more meaningful friendships/acquaintances during my stay.

Spiritual Transformation

According to Kiely (2004) the dissonance students experience as a result of the extreme poverty, suffering and injustice may cause them to reflect more deeply on their purpose in life, their role in society, and their ability to make a difference. Some may renew their faith or find strength to work for greater social justice, while others reexamine their spiritual beliefs. The intensity of the ISL experience leads students to seek a deeper meaning in who they are and how they connect with the world.

Before the internship, 46% of participants indicated that the experience with extreme poverty and social injustice would have them reconsider their role in society and their ability to make a difference. This number rose to 94% after the internship experience. The destabilizing and de-familiarizing experience had an even greater impact on participant perspectives that the experience would have them reexamine who they are in society and how they connect with the world. Before the internship 36% agreed with this statement and this number grew to 95% after the internship experience indicating a transformative experience related to ones beliefs, self-concept and role in society. Madison (2007) captures this transformation in her thinking about extreme poverty from a place of only sadness to a place of solidarity for change.

A part of me believes that hardships (including poverty) despite the difficulties, also inspires community and relationship between people that is not only appreciated, but necessary. Poverty in my mind had a significant shift while in East Africa because I no longer saw it as solely

depressing, rather a space for unity and support for change and hope of a better way of life.

As noted earlier, others also talked about understanding the extreme poverty as being different than the one dimensional presentation we see in the media in North America. Many of the students are seeing and appreciating the agency of local people and the importance of working together rather than simply charitable giving.

There was also an increase from 25% before the internship to about 60% afterwards in respondents who indicated the experience renewed their spiritual beliefs or gave them strength. When asked if the experience sustained their energy and desire to work for social justice, half of the participants anticipated this would happen before the experience and 70% agreed after the internship. The depth of their desire to work for social justice is also seen in the number who 'strongly agreed' which rose from 12% before the internship to 35% after the experience. Interestingly, there was a decrease from 30% to 24% in participants who indicated they seek ways to re-energize themselves and retreat to find inner peace to be able to balance their lives and work with the injustices in the world. Indeed, those who disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement rose from 12% before to 58% of participants after the internship experience.

Spiritual transformation also involves seeking to connect with a community of likeminded people to help sustain their ability to challenge systemic injustice. Diane (2005) talked about how she became more deeply aware of injustices towards women and how she was inspired to engage in the women's rights movement to make a difference.

There were several incidents wherein my safety felt threatened, where men approached me in ways that would not be acceptable in Canada. I learned how important it is that a society values women as equals, not as second-class citizens. This inspired me to become more of a women's rights advocate, and helped me gain a stronger grasp on the importance of feminism.

It is worth noting here that these examples that I have used above to demonstrate spiritual transformation could also be interpreted to represent political or personal transformation. I address the problems with these categories in the conclusion of this thesis.

4.4 Chameleon Complex

Kiely (2004) describes the chameleon complex as the struggle participants experience upon returning from the ISL experience as they endeavor to translate their emerging global consciousness into action in their lives. Participants may experience significant internal struggle as they resist dominant norms and values of 'Western' culture such as materialism. They experience difficulty communicating the experience to others and may feel others do not care about the social injustices in the world. As a result, participants frequently hide their true feelings or avoid conflict and feel frustrated with themselves for bending to the status quo.

Pertaining to the experience of chameleon complex upon returning to Canada, participants were asked a number of questions addressing the above related issues. Half of participants indicated they wanted to act on their new perspectives on the world, but ran into many barriers back in Canada. 59% stated they wanted to resist materialism, consumerism and individualist values, but the dominant Canadian culture made this very hard and just over half agreed that they were unable to resist Canadian values of consumerism even though they tried to make changes upon return. 41% (seven participants) indicated they wanted to talk to friends and family about what they experienced, but it felt like nobody understood them or what they went through. Of those seven participants, three 'strongly agreed' with this statement. Similarly, 47% of participants said they often felt down-hearted when friends/family seemed detached or less-than outraged about issues of global poverty. Finally, 24% of participants indicated that when they tried to talk to people about the poverty and social justice issues people looked at them like they were 'radical' or got defensive whereas 71% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. It is apparent from the above responses that the participants did, indeed, find implementing their new global consciousness quite complex and difficult in their home environment. As Kiely (2004) indicates, the chameleon

complex may result in some participants choosing to withhold their experiences, not out of fear, but to avoid defensive responses or being disillusioned by others who seem not to care. This may be underlying Dennis' (2011) hesitancy to engage in creating awareness and social action as he states, "Only on a small level...I'm not afraid to voice my opinion, but also not looking to stand up and shout it from the rooftops."

However, it appears the majority of participants persevered in some way to incorporate their new world view and learning into their lives and their work and resisted some of the pressures to completely give in to the dominant cultural values, norms and practices. For example, 89% of respondents indicated they disagreed or strongly disagreed that they often hid their true feelings and thoughts to avoid being chastised for radical views or losing friends. When asked if they had stopped trying to convince people the world needed to address global inequality it would not make a difference, only 18% agreed or strongly agreed, while 59% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Some indicated, as did Dennis above, that they engaged in social action with a small 's' or as Barry suggests six years after his internship experience, subtly incorporated social change into his career,

I didn't have any specific ideas at the point of coming back but knew I wanted a long-term career that helped benefit society (call it social change). Over the years that developed into the area I'm in now (which is a leadership position within the United Way)

The persistence of participants, despite the chameleon complex, can also be seen when participants were asked if they came back with the intention to engage in social change and social justice activities and 72% of respondents indicated yes. Thirteen of these participants provided comments explaining their response and the activities with which they became involved. Given the resistance and challenges participants experienced incorporating their new global consciousness into their lives, it was surprising that the majority presented direct links between their experience with the international service-learning program and the social justice activities in which they subsequently engaged.

It is important to note that the social action activities varied greatly amongst participants and represented a range from low to high impact. This shows the complexity of the transformation that occurred based on the lives and environments of individual interns. For example, five described a desire to create awareness or become involved in social action included social enterprise work, joining committees on international and global health, speaking at high schools, planning to build a school in East Africa, or to speak out about social justice issues. Another participant described acting on raising awareness of social justice issues at work and amongst family and friends. Six respondents described engaging in social action through their careers and choosing to work in employment related to social justice activities. These individuals talked about doing master's research on the impact of perceptions of Africa on aid, sitting on international committees on science in Africa, organizing international conferences, incorporating social justice in health fields serving underprivileged communities and people living with HIV/AIDS. Finally, five respondents talked about continuing to be involved in social action/justice through the Program student committees, public engagement and student led initiatives.

Exemplifying the persistence to engage in social justice activities despite the struggles of the chameleon complex, Diane (2005), who went on to complete a master's thesis on 'Western' perceptions of 'Africa' and its effects on international aid and development, participated in this study seven years after her internship experience. Her ability to persist is apparent when she states,

Women are not treated equally to men in Tanzania – there is more of a spirit of community and giving in Tanzania than in Canada. My perceptions about the need to advocate for women's rights were changed greatly. They were heightened. I came back a much more patient and giving person, less afraid to share my opinions.

Brent, who was an intern in 2005, explains how he incorporated his commitment to social action into his career in internal medicine seven years after his internship,

I have been an active member of the international health committees and as a resident in Ottawa, arranged to do my community health block in Vietnam. I did manage to get back to

my old high school to talk to students about my experiences in Mwanza and to encourage them to look into the Program and other programs to get involved in international aid.

Amy who completed an internship in 2007 comments, “I continued to pursue a career in social justice, with a focus on international development.”

It is significant that eleven of the thirteen respondents who provided comments about their experience of the chameleon complex and challenges implementing their new global consciousness had participated in the international service-learning experience between 2005 and 2009 – at least 3 years before this study was undertaken.

As Brent identifies seven years after his internship experience:

I had read about Tanzania’s socialist beginnings, however, it wasn’t until Mama Jane invited us into her home where she took care of her 13 children/grandchildren/etc. for a dinner in which she loaded up our plates while she and her family seemed to barely get enough, that I really experienced the love and generosity for fellow man. To this day, I still consider the people that I had the pleasure of interacting with in Mwanza to be some of the most giving and generous people I have ever known.

CHAPTER 5

5. Discussion: Learning from the ISL Program Intern Experiences

This study set out to better understand the experience of the ISL Program interns who spend three months working with East African partners on the sustainable development of social enterprises based on health giving probiotic yoghurt. Specifically, the researcher was interested in the extent to which participants experienced perspective transformation, what experiences contribute to perspective transformation, how the program can enhance the potential for perspective transformation and how the program could be improved. This section discusses the findings in relation to these questions using Kiely's (2004) model of emerging global consciousness and a post-colonial lens for a deeper understanding of the context and factors that impact upon perspective transformation. A post-colonial perspective is important to understanding how the world view or perspective of the Global North focuses on what the West can do to help 'Other' countries characterized as weak, poor or powerless. If students are learning from the perspective of the West, and the role and impact of the West in other parts of the world, it is not a surprise that they may go on study/volunteer abroad programs with the Canadian foreign policy approach of projecting Canadian values abroad (Tiessen, 2007). Furthermore, a post-colonial approach will capture the tensions, complexities and ambiguities of local adaptations of globalization as described 'from below' (Semali, 2009) which students often experience during the internship.

The findings in this case study showed that 100% of respondents witnessed what they would define as human rights violations, a lack of infrastructure and resources preventing community partners from achieving their goals, an unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, and a culture very different from their own. These experiences appeared to have a 'defamiliarizing' effect on most participants, disrupting their notion of reality and what they had previously taken for granted, which the literature describes as setting the

stage for perspective transformation (Kiely, 2004; King, 2004; Joseph, 2008; Dharamsi, et al, 2010; Urraca, et al, 2009). Ten key categories or themes emerged in the analysis of the qualitative data. These represent the patterns of the most frequent and significant topics around which participant comments focused and where the potential for perspective transformation arose. The ten main categories to emerge were privilege, language/culture, relationships, infrastructure, poverty, pace of life, health, agency/empowerment, corruption and career impact.

In terms of Kiely's model of emerging global consciousness, the majority of participants seemed to experience 'envisioning' where they expressed an initial commitment to engage in social change and social justice activities. In fact, nearly all participants indicated the internship experience had them reconsider their role in society and their ability to make a difference. The destabilizing experience seemed to, as King (2004) noted, allow new perspectives to be assimilated into the student's existing beliefs in such a way that they themselves became the subject of critical examination.

Most participants also appeared to experience some degree of shift in their world view in each of the six areas of transforming forms defined by Kiely (2004). The most striking perspective shift in political transformation was that nearly all participants indicated their sense of citizenship expanded beyond national to global responsibilities. In moral transformation the greatest change was that 94% of interns viewed East Africans as friends after the internship, rather than recipients of assistance. Madison and Diane illustrate in their comments, the relationship many interns developed with the local community. Diane says,

Coming together as a family, laughter and kindness that transcended language, sharing. My hesitations about visiting different parts of the world were wiped away. My closest friend during my time in Mwanza was Beti, our housekeeper who spoke only two words of English. I learned that friendship does not rely on common background or shared tongue, but on kindness and openness.

Madison too was tentative about the ‘help’ she had to offer and was then overwhelmed by the personal relationship. She states,

I wasn’t sure how the Mamas would accept my help but I was overwhelmed by love after building a strong bond with them.

The greatest world view shift in intellectual transformation was that most participants now questioned the impact of relief or aid. In cultural transformation virtually all participants thought about the power and privilege differences and most became more conscious of materialistic and individualistic values in Canada. The most significant shift in personal transformation was that nearly all participants indicated that they had learned more about themselves and were less fearful of the world. In terms of spiritual transformation, 16 out of 17 respondents reexamined who they were in society and how they connected with the world.

While there is evidently substantial perspective transformation, there are also examples of participants struggling against the reproduction of colonial relationships and asymmetrical power dynamics. For example, participants often identified being seen immediately as wealthy and as an avenue of access to resources as ‘‘mzungus.’’ Though they witnessed the economic empowerment of women and mutual benefits in the collaboration, some grappled with the ‘Western’ hegemonic values imposed upon the yoghurt mamas and community partners by the program and Western institutions. Laura illustrates this point with the ‘Western’ value of efficiency and goal orientation when she states,

They live day to day, which at times was difficult coming from a Canadian culture where things need to get done today because xyz must get done in a set time line.

In responding to the question about what the participants found most challenging or frustrating about working in East Africa, Anna touches upon the impact foreigners imposing their ideas about development work as noted earlier when she states,

NGOs and foreigners working in East Africa... it's very, very challenging and difficult when other NGOs and foreigners are causing more harm than good.

The problematic impact of their own power and privilege induced feelings of guilt at times or was confusing and concerning for them such as when they gained access to government officials before local partners and at times were treated with more respect. As Memmi (1972) noted, even though the colonizer may wish to disavow colonization in favour of humanitarianism, he will always experience privilege as it is relative. "He [sic] enjoys the preference and respect of the colonized themselves, who grant him more than those who are the best of their own people who, for example, have more faith in his word than in that of their own population." (Memmi, 1972, p.12). Anna exemplifies this experience when she says,

They automatically respected and trusted us. Government officials and powerful people would speak to us just because we were Westerners. They treated us like we were so much better than them... when we aren't.

If interns were simply complicit in accepting this superior treatment and assumed they were entitled, this experience of privilege could have the impact of reinforcing reified views of the 'Western' identity being somehow better. Resisting reproduction of the 'Western' identity and maximizing the potential for perspective transformation can be achieved through hyper-reflexivity and self-awareness. Furthermore, the Program was established to transfer knowledge and technology to East African communities. As (Steiner-Khamsi, 2000) points out with educational reform and policy worldwide, policy borrowing is politics borrowing and includes the transfer of discourse, not just practice and the inherent value system has a tremendous impact as the hegemonic project expands to the 'developing' world. Therefore, the Program must take into account, the politics and discourse passed along with the knowledge transfer through the interns and partnerships.

Where some students may have had expectations prior to the internship that they were going to help the less fortunate ‘Others’ and bring ‘Western’ solutions, most learned that East African communities possessed the indigenous knowledge and solutions to resolve their own social problems. Participants frequently talked about ensuring that decision-making and direction of activity came from the local women showing how they were consciously moving themselves towards the periphery and the local women to the centre. In addition, the ‘Western’ notion of Orientalized ‘Other’ appeared to diminish with most participants as personal relationships brought about a moral transformation – not only putting a face to the suffering, but a recognition of the strength and resourcefulness of local partners and a commitment to work in solidarity with the women’s groups and the poor.

The students’ perception of agency and diversity amongst East African community members and partners moved participants away from the binary thinking of us/them, developed/undeveloped, superior/inferior and away from the essentialized, uni-dimensional images of Africa portrayed in the mass media. This point is illustrated by the following three quotes by Anna who spent time in Kenya, and Oliver and Laura who worked with the women’s groups in Tanzania: Anna states,

You only know what you see on TV and hear in the media...it is SO different. The longer you live there, the more you learn and East Africa and developing countries are so much more complex and so different that what the media portrays.

Oliver’s comment speaks more to the rich diversity of East Africa when he says,

One similarity that I found was that there was multiculturalism in both communities. This changed my perception because prior to my time there, I did not think of East Africa as a multicultural place (out of pure ignorance on my own part). But, after having lived there, I realized that people from many different cultures and religions live together there.

Laura acknowledges the agency and indigenous knowledge when she explains,

Going to East Africa has reinforced the idea that these are not helpless people and we need to work with them, not tell them what to do based on our ethnocentric Western lens.

The international service-learning experience, therefore, shifted participants more into the gap between binaries where the complexity and challenges of true relationships exist amid asymmetrical power relationships. As Butin (2005) describes,

Service-learning as a postmodern pedagogy may thus be seen as a riposte against the foundationalism implicit in ‘commonsense’ thought. It is a pedagogy immersed in the complexities and ambiguities of how we come to make sense of ourselves and the world around us. These are not easily embraced perspectives; service-learning engages in what I have termed ‘contested knowledge’ in that content knowledge is viewed as potentially disruptive of a student’s sense of self and thus to be resisted (p.98).

As we have seen in this case study, it can be challenging to incorporate changes in worldview given the ambivalence and complexities resulting from colonial histories and asymmetrical power relationships. Considering that positive relationships and respect for indigenous knowledge are key elements that contribute to the potential for perspective transformation, more attention needs to be paid to challenges with the language barrier. Some interns felt accomplished in their learning of the local language, though most commented on how the language barrier was the most challenging and frustrating issue and that increased language training would be helpful. Participants talked about how the language barrier prevented relationships from becoming closer, limited participation in community events, and decreased a deeper understanding of local history and politics. For example, Aleta (2010) states,

I felt very segregated from the community where I lived in Kigali and a personal effort definitely has to be made to go out and meet people. The language barrier can also prove to be a problem, but in larger city-centers, many people do speak English, which makes it easier. Host organizations have English speaking staff, but

working with the Yoghurt Mamas or interacting in the community was more difficult without local language skills.

As Brent (2005) says,

I think that as an intern one needs to make a conscious effort to talk to people in the community and try to understand their views/beliefs/values. Otherwise, more language training either in Canada, or more beneficially, supporting language training in East Africa would be of immense value (especially in Tanzania).

Cultural differences, particularly the impact of privilege, can affect the intern's ability to develop close relationships. The "mzungu" power position is always present affecting even close friendships. Therefore, a postcolonial perspective is helpful for interns (and researchers) to heighten reflexivity and self-awareness to mitigate power differences and the postcolonial lens then, may contribute to the context within which perspective transformation is possible. Spivak (1995) emphasized one to one relationships to avoid institutional power structures and to truly listen to the subaltern. Interns described friends they had made, close relationships with the women's group members, and connections with children which helped mitigate power differences. One to one relationships and reflexivity are also supported by Ashcroft et al. (2007) who state that, since the discourse and actions are constructing the relationship, actively attending to the dialectic, who is speaking, who is listening, challenges the colonial relationship and is creating a new understanding of 'Other' and of oneself. Furthermore, Kapoor (2004) and Andreotti (2007) have argued, while Spivak has been criticized in her positions on the inability to speak for the subaltern and the necessary reality to acknowledge privilege and power differences, it is important not to throw up one's hands feeling there is no use in attempting collaborations (research or development) between the Global North and South. In fact, it is by paying attention and grappling with how to mitigate the power differences and move the 'Other' to centre that the world will change (Andreotti, 2007).

This case study has shown that perspective transformation appears to have taken place amongst the student interns and that attention to power relationships contributes to ensuring that interns from the ‘West’ shift their perspective rather than inadvertently reproduce colonial relationships. Self-reflexivity contributes to interns consciously keeping local women’s groups and community partners at the ‘centre’ of the collaborative relationships and decision-making. In doing so, the work is relevant to local realities and consistent with indigenous knowledge systems. Laura highlights this point well in her earlier statement when she said,

Despite being female and being a [white minority] living in Mwanza, I took for granted at the beginning that this still put me in a place of authority in the continuum of power dynamics. I think it was very important to be aware of what my presence within this culture signified and to not contribute to upholding a colonial system that works to suppress by its very nature the people I wanted to work with. Being humble and learning from the women was very essential to ensuring that the relationships were built on mutual benefits and understanding.

The service-learning experience has the potential to destabilize assumptions about power, knowledge and identity -- it deviates from the status quo and disturbs our society’s desire for order and control which is synonymous with safety. Service-learning is anything but safe and anything that promotes such disturbances to the individual, institution or community is political and contested (Burin, 2005). Many of the Program participants experienced times where they felt unsafe or insecure which again created a dissonance and context for a shift in perspective or world view.

The experience of feeling unsafe was discussed by participants within the ten key themes that emerged in the case study and represent the experiences around which Program interns experienced ‘defamiliarization’ or a disruption in their notion of reality. These theme areas were privilege, language/culture, relationships, infrastructure, poverty, pace of life, health, agency/empowerment, corruption and career impact. It is clear that the majority of these themes are connected to issues of power relationships, indigenous

knowledge/agency and social justice concerns. Therefore, the Program internship experience enhances the potential for perspective transformation through the many dynamics at play with community partners as discussed above. Participants suggested a number of ways to improve pre-departure training to enhance the internship experience. The most frequent suggestions were related to more language preparation, increased knowledge of local history and politics, spending some time with past interns (overlap where possible) to smooth the transition, reinforce flexible goals and more information about the social enterprise operations. This case study has also revealed that there is more the program can do to better prepare students with a post-colonial lens and an explicit social justice perspective (Kiely, 2004). The increased pre-departure preparation, together with the tools to better understand and process the dissonance interns experience, and to reflexively engage community partners, would enhance the potential for perspective transformation.

Returning now to Kiely's model of emerging global consciousness and the 'chameleon complex,' the case study demonstrated that interns did, in fact, find implementing their new perspective or world view difficult and complex upon returning to Canadian culture. It was difficult to resist the dominant cultural values, norms and practices. However, the majority of participants persisted to incorporate the new values, beliefs and learning into some aspect of their lives and work. The fact that eleven of the thirteen participants who provided data on the experience of chameleon complex had participated in the ISL experience more than three years before the survey is quite significant. The majority made a direct connection between the ISL experience and their current commitment to social justice activities within their present day lives. That six of these individuals had the ISL experience six or seven years prior to the survey provides some evidence of a sustained transformation. However, more research is needed to understand the conditions that contribute to potential perspective transformation and sustained commitment to social change.

This case study has revealed areas of development to strengthen and improve the Program in pre-departure training, conduct during the internship experience and in

implementation of learning upon re-entry. While the principles of critical service-learning, social justice, and attention to power relationships have been part of the Program and preparation of interns, it has not been explicitly articulated as the approach and requires more in-depth learning prior to the ISL experience. Ideally, this would take the form of an internship course to formalize and structure the pre-departure learning and preparation. In addition, increased language training and interaction with past interns would better prepare students and smooth the transition. The course would engage prospective interns in learning about the historical and political impact of colonialism on the Global South and equip students with the tools for a post-colonial analysis to reflect upon themselves in the ISL program. Understanding their own power and privilege and working to ameliorate the impact of the power differences will promote conditions to enhance the possibility of perspective transformation.

During the internship experience, more structured reflection activities that focus attention on power relationships, critical ‘defamiliarizing’ incidents, and the interns’ own values and beliefs in connection to their experiences will further build upon the potential for perspective transformation. The need for more structured reflection is supported by a general observation of the blogs which contained narrative about what the interns were doing and seeing, but little personal reflection on why the experiences had a particular impact on them or how the experience related to their own lives/experiences. Students may also develop a contract or ‘covenant’ outlining actions they intend to take, barriers they might encounter, and strategies to persevere upon returning home. This case study showed many participants believed that they persisted and incorporated social justice actions into their lives. However, more research is needed into the conditions that contribute to the possibility of perspective transformation. Another strategy after the ISL experience that may address commitment and persistence in the face of the ‘chameleon complex’ is a post-program course to provide students with opportunities to develop and implement action plans associated with their emerging global consciousness (Kiely, 2004).

Chapter 6

6. Implications and Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

At its most ambitious, this pedagogy [ISL] is an attempt to get students to think critically about their place in relation to the knowledge they gain and to transform their worldview fundamentally by taking the politics of knowledge seriously. It is a pedagogy that attempts to link knowledge, social responsibility and collective struggle. And it does so by emphasizing the risks that education involves, the struggles for institutional change, and the strategies for challenging forms of domination and by creating more equitable and just public spheres within and outside educational institutions (Mohanty, 2006).

The ISL program in this study and other study abroad programs, are part of an array of strategies to enhance internationalization at this university. It is therefore essential to conduct research into how international strategies such as ISL contribute to global consciousness and global citizenship. Though most universities approach ISL with the motivation of internationalization to enhance research and knowledge capacity and cultural understanding (Altbach & Knight, 2007), are they going about it in the right way? Are students getting more than a charitable volunteer or 'intellectual tourist' experience and are they conscious of reciprocity and a mutually beneficial experience with local partners?

6.2 Perspective Transformation and Context

This case study adds to the knowledge about ISL programs and perspective transformation. It has tested Kiely's (2004) model of emerging global consciousness to explore the complexities and reaffirms the existence of multiple forms of perspective transformation, therefore building upon existing theory and pedagogy. Kiely's transforming forms were useful constructs to examine the complex and varied

experiences of perspective transformation. However, one of the limitations experienced with this case study was the fluidity and overlap between the definitions of the transforming forms. For example political, moral and spiritual transformation all touch upon an increased awareness of the root cause of poverty, complexity of cultural values and commitment to social justice. The subtle difference is in how students act upon this awareness: political is taking action; moral is allying and working alongside the marginalized; and spiritual is seeking the deeper meaning of who they are and how they connect with the world. Still, the varied focus areas and corresponding diverse questions elicited very rich data from different vantage points.

The results of the case study revealed ISL participants in the Program are experiencing shifts in their world view and identified some of the experiences and contexts that contribute to perspective transformation. The ten key themes that arose in the case study, around which many participants experienced a ‘defamiliarizing’ affect that challenged their perceptions of the world, are important factors to consider in pre-departure training and in participants reflection and journaling activities while on placement. Furthermore, the significance and centrality of asymmetrical power relationships in the intern experience and the impact on perspective transformation was underscored in the case study. The need to increase preparation of participants with the historical and political context of the host community vis a vis themselves, and the tools to better understand and mitigate the power relationships was apparent. Learning about others requires learning about ourselves and cultural difference is deeply interconnected and inter-relationally defined (Rizvi, 2009).

6.3 Post-Colonial Tools

A post-colonial perspective can and should provide some of the tools for students to deconstruct the ‘Western’ values they bring to bear on the ISL experience, to be highly reflexive and to ‘learn to learn’ from the local community (Kapoor, 2004; Andreotti, 2007). Andreotti (2007), a postcolonial theorist, highlights the significance of students examining their place of privilege, and connections between language, power and knowledge, to transform relationships and to reason and act responsibly. Mohanty (2006)

argues for a solidarity model as the most useful and productive pedagogy for cross-cultural work as it provides a way to theorize a complex relational understanding of experience, locations, and history that moves through the specific context to construct a real notion of the universal and democratization rather than colonization. A solidarity model (consistent with an explicit social justice model) begins with local understanding and allows for the basis for deeper solidarity across differences and unequal power relations (Mohanty, 2006, p.238-239). This model establishes a context for reflexivity and ethical relationships (Spivak, 1995), and allows students to live within what Ashcroft et al. (2007) call the gap between binaries where new knowledge and relationships are co-created. Specific post-colonial constructs helpful to prepare students to deconstruct their experiences and interactions include the notion of ‘centre and periphery,’ the concept of ‘Other’ and ‘Othering,’ colonial binary oppositions and the construct of agency and resistance. Therefore, this ISL program should incorporate these concepts into pre-departure training materials to assist students in focusing on their reflexivity with respect to power relationships, reciprocity and mutually beneficial partnerships.

6.4 Critical Service-Learning

Pampa (2005) contends that at the core of service-learning are relationships based on equality and collaboration so that service is seen more as an act of working with people in need rather than working to serve them. Saltmarsh (2009) asserts that ‘how and why’ universities engage in service-learning is as important as the activity itself that is taking place in the community outside the university campus. Critical service-learning emphasizes the ‘how and why’ in the activity because, while the approach meets community needs and connects to classroom work, takes a step farther to engage changing attitudes and behaviours (Cipolle, 2010). This approach fits with the global citizenship literature that calls for social justice-oriented citizenship where students reflect upon the root causes of the community problem with which they are engaged and promote social change (Longo & Saltmarsh, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Kiely, 2004).

Perspective transformation is most likely to occur when students are self-reflexive about asymmetrical power relationships, are open to listening and learning from local partners, and make the effort to personally get to know their host community and partners. When students see up close, the intersections of poverty, power, inequality and class, their notion of ‘general poverty’ is re-politicized and they begin to understand that referring to the many problems and failures of the ‘monolithic’ Africa only serves to blame the struggles of colonization on the colonized (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Ferguson, 2006). Importantly, a critical service-learning model, with an explicit social justice approach will also enhance the experience of perspective transformation. Adding more structured reflection tools and activities for interns in this ISL program will help interns go beyond descriptive narrative to reflect upon why an experience had a particular impact on them or how it related to their values and beliefs.

ISL pedagogy has the potential to transform the university as well. If service-learning is a pedagogy where students actively create knowledge in collaboration with community partners, and teachers and students share the role in determining class outcomes; then researchers and community partners too must create knowledge together and researchers must consciously mitigate asymmetrical power relationships in the process. Just as the student intern must be self-reflexive about ‘how’ they engage international community partners – so must the institution be reflexive in international research and development partnerships.

The emphasis is on the *how* of the experience, how service-learning works in its micro-practices: how, for example, we develop our notions of ‘servers’ and ‘served,’ how power relations (between students and teachers or the college and the community) are revealed or hidden, how we come to legitimate certain forms of knowledge and practice rather than others. By exposing the construction of such boundaries, categories, and norms, a postmodern conceptualization of service-learning works to disrupt the ‘commonsensical’ and ‘natural’ presumptions of our culture’s grand narratives (Butin, 2005, p. 91).

Rizvi (2009) calls for the development of a critical global imagination based on the recognition that all have elaborate interests and capabilities in constructing world pictures and he emphasizes the importance of grassroots global networks to interrogate dominant social imaginaries. International service-learning should intentionally aim to destabilize dominant social imaginaries and encourage reflexivity to honour the experiences and knowledge of 'Others.' The social justice lens brings into focus the power relationships to better incorporate experiences and knowledge of developing country partners rather than a charitable approach which reproduces colonial relationships and the superiority of 'Western' ways of knowing . The connection to global issues as defined by international partners engages the grassroots voice (through personal relationships) and mutually respectful reciprocal relationship. University internationalization should be assessed based on the manner in which it is conceptualized and implemented to ensure it is understood and seen to contribute to human, social/cultural/scientific, and economic development (Knight, 2004). Just as Kapoor (2004) advocates for operationalizing Spivak's arguments to improve development work by casting a keen eye on the 'familiar and taken-for-granted', universities need to learn with a critical, post-colonial lens to continuously and critically reflect upon the 'how' and process of internationalization. In this way, institutions may best collaborate with marginalized groups on serious global issues, challenge inequalities and examine social justice issues.

(We) must interrogate our positions and interconnectedness of the global, national and personal within educational contexts, we should emphasize as best we can – given the current sociopolitical global order and the present market-driven goals of education – the pursuit of knowledge that can help us transform the world that we share to be more equitable, more inclusive, more just and more humane (Joseph, 2008).

This study reveals the need for further research into pre-departure preparation incorporating postcolonial concepts and the strategies or best practices students use, or may use, to mitigate asymmetrical power relationships. Since relationships are central to international work and development, research into factors that contribute to successful North-South relationships is needed. This is particularly important since students are

engaged with the complexity of hierarchical and power relations including such issues as age, gender, race and student status. A longitudinal study with pretesting and post testing immediately upon return, and at a follow up date more than one year into the future, would help better understand the factors and experiences that contributed to sustained perspective transformation. In my experience as project director with this ISL program and through my research, I have a sense that we can learn more about different degrees of perspective transformation and commitment to social action/social change. Just as Westheimer defined three levels of citizenship, from personally responsible citizen to justice-oriented citizen, the participants in this study indicated a range in the extent of their actions and commitment to incorporate the perspective transformation into their lives. For example, one intern may have made a presentation in a classroom upon return, while another pursues a career in international development and organized conferences related to global health. More research into the different levels or degrees of social action and whether or not there is a correlation between the level of activity and the intensity of the perspective transformation may provide more information on how to enhance the ISL experiences.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Letter of Consent

*INTERNATIONAL SERVICE LEARNING:
A CASE STUDY OF THE INTERN EXPERIENCE OF THE ISL PROGRAM*

LETTER OF INFORMATION

My name _____ and I am the Program Director of the ISL Program and a master's student in Comparative and International Education in the Faculty of Education. I am currently conducting research into the impact of international service learning on ISL Program student interns. Dr. _____ in the Faculty of Education is my supervisor on this research project. As a past intern, I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

The aims of this study are to understand:

- former student interns' experiences of the international service learning placements,
- factors that impact students' 'world view' or global perspective, and
- how the ISL program can be improved to enhance the intern experience

If you agree to participate in this study you are asked to complete an online electronic survey about your experiences, as well as your opinions and beliefs about poverty, HIV/AIDS and life in East Africa. The survey is expected to take approximately 45 minutes of your time. I am also seeking your permission at this time to review your blog (if one was kept during your internship and available online) to examine themes that arise from the intern surveys in conjunction with intern thoughts at the time of the experience. At the end of the survey you will be asked to indicate whether or not the researcher may use your blog for the research study. Completion and submission of the online survey indicates your consent to participate in the survey.

The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. Recorded information will not include your name, only an identification code. All of the hard data collected (paper) will be stored in a locked cabinet in a secure office and electronic data will be stored on password protected electronic devices in a secure office during the study and destroyed 5 years after the results have been published.

There are no known risks to participating in this study. Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your status as a student (if applicable).

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Office of Research Ethics. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me or my thesis supervisor, Dr. _____. This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

To complete the survey, click on the following link. Note: you may need to copy and paste the link to the online survey into your web browser. (insert link here)

Appendix B: Intern Experience Survey

Intern Experience Questionnaire

Thank you for taking part in this survey of the international service-learning experience of past Program interns. We are seeking a critical review of your experience as a Program intern in order to better understand how the experience may have affected your ‘world view’ and how we might improve the program.

PART I. MOTIVATION AND FEELINGS

Please place a check mark or X in the box that best describes **the importance of each of the following in your decision to be a Program intern:**

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Essential
To have some adventure and fun				
To help people less fortunate than myself				
To have the opportunity to learn				
To better understand those who are different from myself				
To build alliances and partnerships to end poverty and HIV & AIDS				
To help me with my future career				
To work with local community on social justice concerns (poverty, health, etc.)				
To improve my C. V.				
Other (specify):				

Feelings before and after the Program internship

When I think back on my feelings about living and working in East Africa before and after the Program internship I feel...

Please place a check mark or X in the box that best describes your feelings before your internship (column A) and after your internship (column B)

A) Before my Internship					B) After my Internship			
Not at all	Somewhat	Very	Extremely		Not at all	Somewhat	Very	Extremely
				Thrilled				
				Nervous				
				Curious				
				Scared				
				Enthusiastic				
				Empowered				
				Excited				
				Worried				
				Confident				
				Unique/Special				
				Confused				
				Hopeful				
				Prepared				
				Interested				
				Patient				
				Trusting				
				Proud				
				Other:				

PART II: IMPACT and EXPERIENCES of INTERNSHIP

1. Poverty

a) Please describe your experience with how poverty was lived/experienced in East Africa? What did it look like? Was it different than poverty in Canada? What did it mean to you?

b) Before you went on this internship, what did you think were the causes of poverty in East Africa? *(check as many of the following causes as you wish)*

CAUSES OF POVERTY IN EAST AFRICA (beliefs before internship)	X
Corruption	
International Aid policies	
Trade policies	
Cultural differences	
Health/Illness	
Lack of Education	
Work ethic/less motivated to work hard	
Colonial past	
Lack of business skills/entrepreneurial spirit	
Global economy	
Other (specify)	

c) Did your beliefs/perspective change after your time in East Africa? If so, please elaborate:

2. **Similarities and Differences of Home community and Host community**

- a) Describe one critical incident or moment of uncertainty that shook you up and challenged what you previously took for granted. Describe what you learned from it.
- b) What did you find to be the major similarities between the norms, practices and values of your Canadian community and those of your East African host community? How, if at all, were your perceptions affected or changed by your time living in your host community?
- c) What did you find to be the major differences between the norms, practices and values of your Canadian community and those of your East African host community? How, if at all, were your perceptions affected or changed by your time living in your host community?
- d) What do you believe were the expectations that your host organization/community held of you as an intern?

- e) What were your expectations of the host community?
- f) One of the most important things I learned from my host community/organization was...
- g) One of the most important things I think my host organization/community learned from me was...
- h) List three ways you benefited from this internship experience?
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

- i) List three ways the community/organization benefited from your internship experience?
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
- j) Describe one way in which you think the power and privilege you hold as a “Westerner” from the global North affected how you interacted with the local community and how they interacted with you?
- k) Have you become aware of at least one assumption you held about East African people that constrained the way you perceived them. If yes, explain what it was and how it has changed.
- l) Did you come back with the intention to engage in social change and social justice activities? If yes, what were your ideas and what did you do?

3. Beliefs and Opinions Before and After the Internship

The following items are a list of opinions, beliefs and perceptions about life in East Africa and your Program internship. Please consider your perceptions both before the internship (column A), and after the internship (column B) and rate the item from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

(Please check the box that is the most appropriate response in both column A & B)

A) BEFORE my Internship						B) AFTER my Internship				
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral (Don't know)	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral (Don't Know)	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
					Canada has a role in addressing poverty and HIV/AIDS in East Africa					
					East African countries need external intervention to end poverty and change their circumstances					
					People do not need many material goods to survive					
					People do not need many material goods to be happy					
					Canadian university ideology and cultural beliefs are imposed upon East African community partners through the Program and interns					
					I have a good understanding of how the political situation in the country of my internship fits into the larger picture of the country's struggle to improve their living conditions					
					My internship contribution is making a difference					
					I worked hard at learning and using the local language					
					Access to education, food, housing and health care are basic human rights					
					I had a positive experience as a minority in this culture					
					I learned a lot about myself from this experience					
					When I first learned of the social injustices in East Africa, I was committed to learn					

					more and work for change					
					I often thought about the power and privilege differences and reflected on how community partners interact with their world and with me.					
					After this trip, my political ideology will change/changed					
					My original expectations will be/was met from this internship					
					I will work/worked hard to make friends and have close relationships with members of my host community					
					East African countries will develop their own solutions and only need the resources/capacity					
					After this trip, my spiritual beliefs will change/changed					
					Living in a developing country made me more aware of social injustices and inequality in the world					
					I am well versed in global affairs					
					I have volunteered on many occasions					
					I have had many interactions with people of poverty					
					I have become more committed and acted to advocate on behalf of the poor					
					my sense of citizenship has expanded beyond national to global responsibilities and accountabilities					
					I see East Africans as friends rather than recipients of assistance					
					I have sought ways to be an ally with people living in poverty					
					I have a deeper understanding of the poverty people live with and strength and resilience they possess to live in these conditions					
					my relationship with my community partners will be/was more of a reciprocal relationship of solidarity to end poverty and social change than one of charitable helping					
					the collective spirit and wisdom of my host community helped me understand how I can support their existing efforts and goals rather than providing short term help					

					I question whether 'relief' and 'development aid' are making a difference					
					I believe East Africans have traditional knowledge to improve the social problems they face					
					I see how the social problems in East Africa are shaped by the local environment and contextual factors					
					If people worked harder, they could get out of the poverty they experience					
					I have become more conscious of consumerism, materialism and individualist values in Canada and have attempted make changes in my life and to raise consciousness of others					
					I consciously buy fair trade products					
					I see the power and privilege we have in Canada compared to East Africa and this has changed how I act or incorporate social justice advocacy into my life/work					
					I believe my internship will lead to/led to reevaluating my relationships and career choice					
					the dissonance I experience will have me/had me more aware of myself and to overcome my own fears/challenges					
					the experience with extreme poverty and social injustice had me reconsider my role in society and my ability to make a difference					
					the experience will renew/renewed my spiritual beliefs or will give/gave me strength					
					the experience will have me/had me reexamine who I was in society and how I connect with the world					
					I am less fearful of the world					
					the experience will sustain/sustained my energy and desire to work for social justice					
					I seek ways to re-energize myself and retreat to find inner peace to be able to balance my life and work with the injustices in the world					

4. Post Internship Challenges

Indicate the extent to which you experienced the following when you returned from your Program internship:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral (Don't know)	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I wanted to act on my new perspectives on the world, but ran into many barriers back in Canada					
I wanted to resist materialism, consumerism and individualist values, but the dominant Canadian culture made this very hard					
I wanted to talk to friends and family about what I experienced, but it felt like nobody understood me or what I went through					
When I tried to talk about the poverty and social justice issues, people looked at me like I was 'radical' or got defensive					
I often hid my true feelings and thoughts to avoid being chastised for radical views or losing friends					
I sometimes felt down-hearted when friends/family seemed detached or less-than outraged about issues of global poverty					
I feel like I have been sucked back into Canadian norms and consumerism, even though I tried to make changes when I returned					
I have stopped trying to convince people the world needs to change to address global inequality. Words won't help, they don't change frames of reference					
I wanted to talk more to friends and family about my experiences, but found that people quickly grew tired of hearing or changed the subject					

5. Relationships

How would you generally characterize your relationships with your host community and community partners? (please circle one)

Very close & personal friends	Well acquainted & Caring	Comfortable & Productive	Professional & non-personal	Distant & uncooperative
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6. Frustrations:

- a) List the three (3) things you found most challenging or frustrating working in East Africa. Rank order them from 1 (most challenging/frustrating) to 3 (less challenging/frustrating)

1	
2	
3	

- b) Why do you think these items were challenging/frustrating?

- c) What would improve the situation?

- d) Were there times when you felt local community members and partners were resisting work you were doing together? If yes, explain.

- e) Describe a time or situation in which you needed to adapt your approach to achieve a desired outcome.

7. Actions as a result of internship

- a) My career path has been affected by my experience of the Program internship?
(Please circle one)

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral (don't know)	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Briefly explain how your career path was affected by your experience with the Program internship:

- b) My assumptions/beliefs about 'developing countries' or life in East Africa changed as a result of my internship in East Africa (Please circle one)

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral (don't know)	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Briefly explain how your assumptions/beliefs about developing countries or life in East Africa have changed:

8. Recommendations for the Program internship program

- a) Name one thing that went very well with your internship experience? What is one thing you would do to improve in the internship experience?
- b) If you were to recommend any changes to help Program interns become more integrated into the local community, what would you suggest?

- c) What could be improved in the experience to have Program interns better understand the world view of East African communities with whom you worked?

PART III. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name:

Age:

Sex (circle one): Male Female

Ethnicity that best describes you:

- a) Multiple ethnicities
- b) African/African Canadian/Black
- c) Asian/Pacific Islander
- d) European/White
- e) Hispanic/Latino/Latina
- f) First Nation/Indian/Native Canadian
- g) No answer

Dates of Program internship:

Location of Internship:

Major field of study at time of internship:

- a) Health & Medicine
- b) Arts
- c) Business
- d) Law
- e) Education
- f) Social Work
- g) Geography & History
- h) Communications & Journalism
- i) Other?

Level of study at time of Program internship

- a) Undergraduate
- b) Master's
- c) PhD

How did you fund your internship? (Please check one)

X	INTERNSHIP FUNDING SOURCE
	Students For Development Grant (CIDA)
	Some funds from the Program and some of personal funds/own fundraising
	Personal funds/own fundraising only

Previous experience living/traveling abroad

a) Prior to your Program internship, did you ever travel abroad? Yes No

If yes, please list the countries and approximate amount of time spent in each:

b) Have you ever lived abroad? Yes No

If yes, please list the countries/regions of the world and approximate amount of time spent in each:

Curriculum vitae

Name: Robert Gough

Post-Secondary Education and Degrees: The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
1980-1983 B.A.

York University
Toronto, Ontario
1989-1990 Voluntary Sector Management Certificate

Honours and Awards John Robinson Award: contributions to ending violence against women
London Coordinating Committee to End Woman Abuse
1992
The Western Award of Excellence
The University of Western Ontario
2006
Lewis Perinbam Award in International Development
World University Services of Canada
2012

Related Work Experience Project Director, Western Heads East
The University of Western Ontario
2009 – Present

Assistant Director-Residence Education and Programs
The University of Western Ontario
1994 – 2009

Research Project Manager, Youth Relationships Project
The University of Western Ontario
1992 – 1994

Project Director, Family Violence Initiatives
Correctional Services Canada
1992 –1994

Instructor, Canadian Studies
Fanshawe College
1993

Senior Staff Development Officer
Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services
1991

Executive Director
Changing Ways (London) Inc.
1985 – 1992

Publications:

Gough, Robert (1994). The London Initiative to End Woman Abuse – Correctional Services Canada, Government of Canada.

Wolfe, David, Wekerle, Christine, Reitzel, Deborah and Gough, Robert (1995). Strategies to address violence in the lives of high-risk youth. In Peled, E., Jaffe, P., & Edelson, J., (Eds.), *Ending the Cycle of Violence: Community Responses to Children of Battered Women* (pp. 255-74). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Wolfe, David A., Wekerle, Christine, Gough, Robert (1996). *The youth relationships manual: A group approach with adolescents for the prevention of woman abuse and the promotion of healthy relationships*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

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