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Internationalizing Canadian Higher Education through North-South Partnerships: A Critical Case Study of Policy Enactment and Programming Practices in Tanzania

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Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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By

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Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The contemporary internationalization of Canadian higher education promotes the formation of North-South (N-S) partnerships to facilitate access to new research sites and opportunities for international programming. International service learning (ISL) is a particularly popular pedagogy and model to engage North American university students in global learning opportunities. This study conceptualizes N-S ISL partnerships as an extension of one high education institution's internationalization policy. In the current context of tertiary internationalization, there is a reliance on higher education to produce economic benefits to support national economic objectives. There are particular concerns, however, with a practice of N-S ISL partnerships that are enacted within communities located in the Global South. Internationalization policy does not adhere to the principles of N-S partnerships outlined in OECD multilateral agreements and in a context where higher education internationalization is increasingly focused on the production of economic returns from investment in partnerships projects, local interests are subordinated. This research focuses on the enactment of a specific N-S ISL partnership in Tanzania to consider the effects of higher education internationalization on local communities. It raises critical concerns for a socially just practice of international partnership.

Keywords: Higher education internationalization, North-South partnership, Policy, International Service Learning, Globalization, Postcolonial

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Chapter 1

How is it possible to reconcile what I learn
in the field with what I teach for a living?

(Spivak, 2012, 97)

Introduction

1.1 Overview.

I am a teacher. Over the course of the past twenty years, I have had the opportunity to practice my profession in partnership with many international community organizations. Together with these organizations, I have brought students to study and learn in sites that include Tanzania, Kenya, Guatemala and El Salvador. Initially, I engaged students and communities in international service learning (ISL) programming. At this time, I was confident in the power of an emancipatory model of education that could potentially be a driving force in the “righting of wrongs” inflicted throughout Global South¹ through a

¹ References to the division between formerly colonized regions of the world and North America/Europe are referred to in this research by the binary terms Global North and Global South. I have struggled with and experimented with different terms (such as, one-third, two-thirds world, Mohanty, 2006) but in the end I settled on terms that reflect the geographic imaginary, drawing on Said’s (1979) analysis that I believe underlies the ISL imagination. This is also to reflect participation in ISL, which is primarily from OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries in North America and Europe.

history of colonialism and contemporary neocolonial socioeconomic arrangements (Spivak, 2004). This research begins with my observation and concern with the contradictions embedded in and the effective limitations of a pedagogy that is insufficient in and of itself to wholly transform ISL participants (Kiely, 2011; 2005), or the communities that host them (Crabtree, 2008; Green, 2000), and the inherent possibility that ISL practices may do more to inscribe inequality on host communities than to transform them and Global North participants. Increasingly, Canadian higher education internationalization policies promote neoliberal values that promote singularly economic benefits through North-South (N-S) partnerships. These policies are founded notions of the knowledge economy, which increasingly favor an approach to university education centered on the potential economic outputs from research versus a commitment to collaborative and inclusive knowledge production for the common good (Ball, 2012; Peters, 2002; Stiglitz, 2003). In the current high stakes environment of higher education, the pressure to secure international partnerships is closely integrated with broader national political and economic agendas with serious implications for the practice of Global North-South educational partnerships.

The current context of Canadian higher education is driven by calls to internationalize campuses and curriculum, to provide global learning opportunities for students and to secure North-South (N-S) partnerships for institutions. Internationalization strategies and policy are found in nearly every Canadian university today, and in a recent survey by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada, internationalization ranks in the top 5 priorities for institutions among university president respondents (AUCC, 2007). The political and economic interests of federal and provincial governments, the private sector and higher education are increasingly intertwined, each having embraced the principles of the production of knowledge to fuel the economy (Kenway et al, 2006). As a result, universities are now positioned centrally in discussions of national economic policy (AUCC, 2012). As an outgrowth of internationalization efforts, global learning pedagogies, including ISL, are engaged to mobilize students in order to gain international experiences.

This research conceptualizes N-S ISL partnerships as an extension of higher education internationalization. N-S partnerships are promoted to achieve the ends of internationalization which are to engage higher education in international activities, facilitating a broader national economic agenda (AUCC, 2012). The incorporation of a neoliberal notion of partnership is a technique promoted by key global agencies, including the OECD and the World Bank, as important features in “the current reconfiguration of education within the frames of neoliberal governance” (Seddon et al 236). Recent research specifically identifies the incorporation of education partnerships with community volunteering and philanthropic initiatives, with implications for decision-making, interest conflict, direction of resources and democratic participation (Seddon et al, 2007). One of the key concerns in this study is the practice of ISL and the potential consequences for host communities. It is an effect that parallels those of N-S development NGOs and private voluntary organizations (PVOs) engaged in development practices in Global South (Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Baas, 2005). Power asymmetries typically continue to privilege the interests of dominant Global North partners. These effects are obscured, however, in the case of N-S higher education partnerships, due in some part to the ambiguous role of the university (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). In a larger political and economic framework, universities do not conform to a specific role or status of international development NGOs, yet there has been an increase in their engagement in development activities in the recent decade (Naidoo, 2008; Marginson, 1999).

This case study conceptualizes N-S partnerships as one extension of higher education internationalization policies. It examines the implications for the enactment of internationalization policies and programs on local host partners engaged in an ISL partnership. It is a study that brings together a critical analysis of internationalization policies from a large, research-intensive Canadian university, (named Northern University throughout this study) considered in the context of critical policy sociology (Gale, 2003, 2001). Institutional policy and national internationalization strategies are examined in this research against an analysis of the principles of (N-S) partnership agreements produced by United Nations committees (OECD, 2013b 2013c), and local development policy produced in Tanzania (MKUKUTA, 2011). To address a gap in the

research literature on global education policy, it engages an empirical analysis of the enactment of ISL partnership in Mji, Tanzania. The study is qualitative, seeking to establish the effects of internationalization enactment on local communities from partners' perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Lather, 2007). The positivist expression of the benefits of N-S partnership, expressed in internationalization policy, are challenged in this case study by issues of race and socioeconomic class, as well as contradictions between the ISL program agenda of the university and local development goals. It is a case study that exemplifies an N-S ISL partnership and program that failed to anticipate, in a self-reflective way, the impact that a racially, culturally and socioeconomically different Northern ISL group might have on the community of Mji.

Table 1.1 outlines the interactions between enactment of internationalization policy through a N-S ISL partnership and the expectations for partnership among local interests.

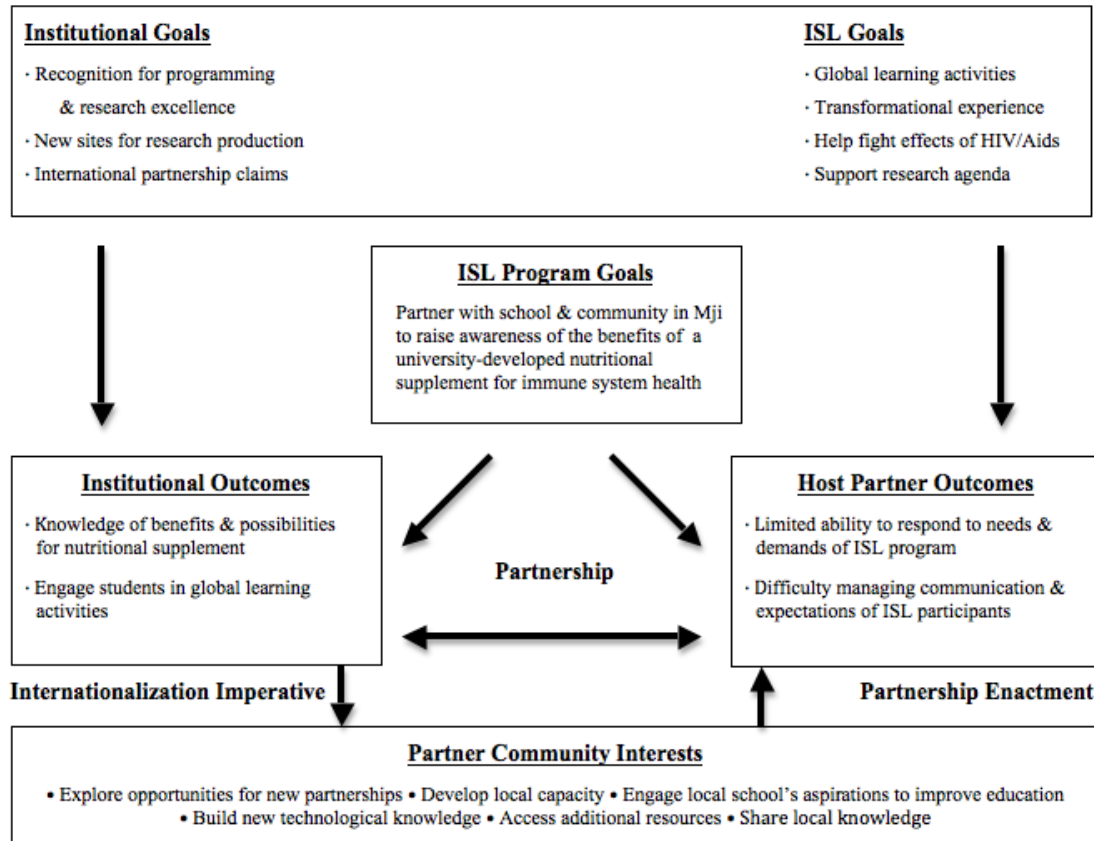


Table 1.1 Conceptual framework for the analysis of N-S ISL partnership enactment

As a critical pedagogy, ISL is a practice originally founded on the notion of consciousness-raising, or conscientization (Freire, 1974), and a call to civic action (Longo & Saltmarsh, 2011). Freire's analytic framework does not easily translate into a method; rather, his model is designed as a revolutionary pedagogy to foster critical consciousness, to interrogate inequality and to promote social change; it is a call to social action, not a mere extension of classroom learning and teaching practices into the Global South community by Global North institutions (Glass, 2001, 20). Engaging ISL as a method to attract students to global learning programs strips it of its revolutionary and irruptive potential to intervene in hegemonic cultural, political and economic relations between North and South.

Originally, ISL theorists envisioned a critical pedagogy conceived of to expose students to the reality of social oppression and exploitation in the hopes that the transformation of students could contribute to resisting interests that exploit and marginalize vulnerable communities and environments for economic or political gain (Porfilio, 2011; Plater et al, 2011). However, in the context of an ever-increasing intensification of internationalization in Canadian higher education, an apolitical practice of ISL is now emerging on university campuses. Driven by students eager for international experience, or the desire to contribute to “making a difference,” ISL programs offer higher education the possibility of attracting students to programming as well as intensifying their understanding of social issues specific to particular communities worldwide (Kiely, 2011). In this study, the concerns raised consider the impact of programming on host communities as an extension of contemporary higher education internationalization interests that seek to reposition the role of the university nationally and globally. Devoid of a critical consideration of power relations or the effects of privilege within and on host partners and communities, ISL becomes a technology in service of policies designed to produce globally competent and mobile students—an outgrowth of a broader agenda to enhance institutional and national status on the competitive global stage. In an era of increasing student mobility and information transfer, it is not surprising that ISL assumed a prominent role in the field of international education (Rizvi, 2009; Kenway & Fahey, 2008). The location of the majority of ISL programs in the Global South positions it favorably in a higher education agenda that seeks to form significant institutional partnerships with communities and institutions in that region (AUCC, 2013).

The call to form North-South partnerships in Canadian higher education is a reflection of the growing desire to link universities to research and recruitment opportunities perceived to exist in the Global South. The ideas and intentions behind the formation of North-South partnerships are closely aligned with the new objectives of contemporary higher education internationalization: to position the university globally within the field of first-class research institutions. A simple reading of the possibilities inherent in partnership outlined in policy narratives include: the potential infusion of new research sites, access to the best and brightest minds, and international learning opportunities to expose students to difference and prepare them to be globally competent graduates. Policy is

more, however, than the narratives of the policy text (Taylor, 1997). Taylor argues for a critical analysis of the policy processes that exist prior to the formulation of the text and the processes that reverberate after its production, both as a statement of values and in practice (Taylor, 1997, 28). The effects of higher education internationalization policies through the enactment of ISL partnerships in local contexts form the central focus of this case study. The reality of North-South higher education partnerships is highly complex, particularly when considered from the perspective of the Southern partner. The balance of power, commensurate interests and cultural contexts influence the distribution of the benefits of partnership (Seddon et al, 2007). This research investigates the assumptions, interests, contradictions and complexities produced through the implementation of the ISL program.

The particular experience of Global North university partnerships with North American community organizations is in many ways analogous to that of development organizations, or NGOs, operating in the Global South region. There are wide gaps between the operational frameworks of universities and the attempt to transfer knowledge to the community organizations with which they seek to establish partnerships. The translation between the transfer of knowledge, produced in the university and delivered to the community encounters myriad barriers to implementation (Ozga & Jones, 2006). Ozga and Jones (2006) note that in an evidence-based context, the transfer of knowledge produced by research in universities is “urgently demanded by policy makers” (2006, 3), to be exported to the public sector, yet there is “little recognition of the complexity and conflict” that accompany attempts to apply research knowledge in the community (2006, 4). Partnerships and programs that position the community as recipients or test sites for the application of research knowledge reduce the notion of partnership to a transactional exchange, eclipsing opportunities to build meaningful and mutually informing relationships (Bringle and Hatcher, 2002).

The past decade witnessed a rapid proliferation of NGOs, headquartered in the North yet working in the Global South on community development projects (Barry-Shaw & Jay, 2012). The proliferation of NGOs is documented in the research literature and has brought intensified international attention to issues related to poverty. In Tanzania alone,

the site where the fieldwork for this study took place, the number of registered NGOs operating in-country to address a spectrum of issues ranging from health and education, to micro enterprise and the environment, rose from 41 in 1990 to more than 10,000 in 2000 (Barry-Shaw & Jay, 2012).

The issues that emerge from research on international development partnerships persistently confront issues of power relations, relative partner authority, resource distribution, mutuality and accountability. Within the research literature on international NGO and host community partnerships, extensive attention is given to the asymmetries of power between North and South; a number of studies focus particularly on the effects of the displacement of local development agendas in favor of projects designed within and directed by the Northern partner organizations and institutions (Elbers & Arts, 2011; Elbers & Schulpen, 2010; Baas, 2007; Mawdsley, et al, 2005; Mawdsley et al, 2002; Cooke & Uthari, 2001; Ashman, 2000; Mahotra, 2000; Lister, 2000). In the absence of educational studies exploring the effects of the growing presence of Global North universities partnering with Global South NGOs, this research engages elements of the frameworks of studies conducted on NGO-host community partnerships along with empirical research engaging local host partners. The research was conducted while working with a Canadian university in a community in North-central Tanzania to explore the effects of an ISL partnership in the community of Mji (the Swahili term for “city” which will be used as a name for the site where this research was carried out). Local partner responses and insights into the experience of partnership contribute to an interrogation of the epistemic values embedded in higher education internationalization discourses that drive the formation of North-South, university-community partnerships. This case study is research that engages a postcolonial conceptual framework to investigate the effects of difference, to highlight the impacts of hegemonic practices and to challenge neoliberal discourses that suppress recognition of history, race, economic status and culture in N-S ISL partnerships. It is a study that considers the degree to which partnerships further or obstruct social justice for host partners, including their ability to participate as peers within the terms of the relationship (Fraser, 2008). Ultimately, this study questions the viability of the university as a participant in international development partnership and programming, given the current demands on

the institution to act as a key economic driver within the broader, national economic strategy (AUCC, 2012).

The concern in this case study is with an increasingly instrumental approach to ISL pedagogy and N-S partnerships. In the current neoliberal policy context, the multilateral principles of N-S partnerships, specifically the Paris Accord and the Accra Agenda (OECD, 2013c), and the Busan Agreements, (OECDb), seek to foreground the concerns of local communities; however, these frameworks for N-S partnership are eschewed in favor of a market-driven approach, based on the notion that the benefits of partnership will accrue in some measure to each participant. This strategy is embedded within neoliberal internationalization policy discourses. It is in this context that a politically neutral practice of N-S ISL emerges, commensurate with broader trends in higher education policy seeking to provide multiple international learning activities for students (Labi, 2008). It is an educational practice of N-S ISL that corresponds to performative practices assumed “to have a positive impact on measureable performance outcomes for the group, the institution and increasingly for the nation” (Ball, 2010, p. 126). Relative measures of inequality are not factored into the partnership equation, since they are considered to be distortions of market efficiency and ultimately irresolvable by redistributive interventions (Clarke et al, 2002).

The efficacy of a marketized approach to internationalization within higher education is challenged by research that resists the possibilities for democratic development through unregulated investment or partnership between North-South institutions (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Bush, 2007). In this analysis, there is a tension between critical and social justice programming—conceived of to right the wrongs of historical interventions—which is contrasted with an ahistorical, economized approach to internationalization. The risks for global educational policy, linked to neoliberal, profit-oriented practices, include perpetuating further oppression, marginalization and growing social inequity (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Seddon’s research on educational partnerships highlights similar concerns; he argues that it is important to “bring to light ‘big picture’ questions of the day-to-day workings of partnerships to reveal the workings of neoliberalism and the counter-rationalities at the level of individuals and their identities” (2007, 249). The

formation of partnership in and of itself is not enough to address the deep structural and institutional biases and conditions that precede and potentially benefit through educational partnerships.

There is a hegemonic effect of internationalization policy, as a text produced and published with an authoritative and self-legitimizing status, that it “often masks whose interests they actually represent” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, 6; Gewirtz, 1998). In this way, policy discourses produce the objects and subjects about which they speak (Foucault, 1972). Ball (2013) engages Foucault’s discursive analysis in education policy to examine the epistemes constitutive of the truths produced in policy texts. These epistemes produce “the unconscious codes and rules and holistic frameworks that ‘define problematics and their potential resolutions and constitute views of the world comprising the most fundamental of identificatory and explanatory notions such as the nature of causality in a given range of phenomena’” (Prado in Ball, 2013b, p. 20). This study problematizes the notion of internationalization and partnership, tracing the linkages between higher education and broader national discourses that seek to conflate humanitarian development along with economic agendas and political interests (Brown, 2013).

1.2 Asymmetries in North-South policy and partnership

There is a tension amidst internationalization policies that do not discriminate between partnerships between North-South interests and institutional relationships with partners of commensurate power; the former engagements run the same risks of power relations and hegemonic oppression documented above by NGOs and other corporate interests in partnership. The asymmetries of power relations in North-South partnerships are contested and resisted in multilateral documents produced by committees of the OECD (OECD, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) including the Paris Declaration, (2005); the Accra Agenda, (2008) and the Busan Agreement for partnership (2011). Each of these documents outlines the grounds for equitable partnerships. These guidelines highlight a need to recognize the asymmetry of power embedded in N-S relationships. They issue a

firm call for local ownership over and direction of international development project initiatives.

The effects of international partnerships that exploit institutions or organizations, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, are documented in several excellent studies that caution an aggressive engagement with Global North institutions (Obama, 2013a, 2013b; Jowi, 2012; Ndikumana & Boyce, 2011; Obama & Mwema, 2009; Agathaneglo & Ling, 2009; Samoff & Carol, 2004). The salient theme in these studies is the exploitation of Southern institutions by Northern public and private interests. Each study illustrates the effects of past policies, including structural adjustment programs, which curtailed funding to tertiary education in countries receiving World Bank aid, and are critical of the past promises of partnership that ultimately did little to benefit African higher education institutions.

1.3 Research Questions.

The questions that frame this research engage the higher education internationalization policies with empirical research, drawing on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with twelve local ISL host partners, extensive ethnographic-style observations of a five-week ISL program in the community, as well as professional correspondence over the course of twelve months post-program. This case study engages Weis and Fine's (2004) compositional methodology and critical bifocality (2012), to map the linkages between the impacts and effects of internationalization, through N-S ISL practices on host partners, "to fracture the ideological coherence" presented in internationalization policies, to "imagine where there are spaces for resistance, agency and possibility" aiming toward Lather's catalytic validity to provoke action (Weis & Fine, 2004, xxi). It is research that raises questions of the ethics of partnership and the effects of the practice of ISL within Global South communities. The project is guided by and engages with critical and postcolonial theories to interrogate educative practices that potentially reinscribe coloniality on local a community in Northwestern Tanzania. This research begins at the intersection between international higher education internationalization policy, the

practice and formation of ISL partnerships and the effects on the local community and partners of Mji, Tanzania.

This study specifically investigates internationalization policy and its effects on host partners and seeks to answer the following primary and secondary questions:

- How do internationalization policies of a Canadian university, influence the enactment of North-South (N-S) international service learning (ISL) partnerships with community organizations located in the Global South?
 - Whose interests and intentions are embedded in or privileged through internationalization policy enactment?
 - How is this North-South (N-S), international service learning (ISL), partnership shaped by the enactment of the discourses of internationalization as stipulated in official higher education policies?
 - How does the enactment of this N-S, ISL partnership interact with the local context and community stakeholders?
 - What are the implications for social justice through the enactment of this N-S ISL partnership?

The purpose of this research, as a case study, is to consider the effects of a particular N-S ISL partnership in the context of Mji. It challenges practices which assume a normative version of partnership, suppressing local interests and prioritizing the agenda of northern institutions. The practices of Northern university are ambiguous in this case study, however, they are not neutral. The findings of this case study illustrate the need to interrogate the formation of N-S partnerships to ensure practices that foreground the mutual recognition of each partner's values and intentions and secure equitable distribution of the benefits of partnership (Fraser, 2008).

This case study is bounded in time by a specific program that took place over the course of five weeks in Tanzania, supplemented by interviews with key stakeholders from local community agencies. Its findings are triangulated by field observations throughout the

course of the program and subsequent correspondence with participants (Patton, 2002). It chronicles the patterns of this N-S ISL partnership and presents critical moments, shared by the study's participants, that highlight the incongruity of the visiting ISL group's actions with local values. The setting for this N-S ISL program is Mji, Tanzania, a fast-growing city in the north central region, where the desire for partnership hinges on the twin needs to attract needed resources and to increase local capacity for development.

1.4 The Research Setting: Mji, Tanzania.

The last afternoon with the Canadian and Tanzanian ISL program participants

By late afternoon each day, the heat of the sun in Mji drives many from the streets and marketplaces of this growing city to seek cooler spaces. There are few trees in the city; the streets are rutted and dry at this time of year. The rainy season has come and gone. Outside of the central business district of the city is a quiet neighborhood where several locally developed public health and social service NGOs are located. It is here where the African Nutritional Supplement Network (ANSN) is located. It is a ten-minute walk from the center of town, past schools where cows graze on the schoolyard, and clusters of men, scrubbing used shoes in the small creek that runs through the center of town. Advertisements for Coca-Cola paint many of the buildings red; it is an easy way to earn a few more dollars, turning a home or small business into a multinational corporate billboard.

In this city, rarely is an opportunity to earn extra income turned down, no matter who is offering.

The courtyard behind the house out of which ANSN operates, shares the space with a small cluster of NGOs, all dedicated to local social services, focusing primarily on families and health. The house is small and older; it is sparsely furnished but always busy and full of clients and community workers meeting in small rooms. It is the backyard behind the house, where lush gardens surround an enclosed patio that surprises visitors

with an aura of oasis in the midst of the dry, dusty heat of the city. Here one can find respite, and if timed right, delicious, home cooked food. A new initiative from one of the NGOs is the launch of a small café where neighborhood women provide light lunches, cooked in the kitchen of the main house. Here, I often meet with the local host partners of the ISL program to talk about the days' events, to eat fish and ugali, and drink whatever juice of the day they concocted from local fruits.

The courtyard is nearly always bustling as well; clients of the NGOs come for advice and services, and often the backyard is filled with local representatives of different agencies, attending workshops or meeting to plan for future programming. The trees, shrubs and bougainvillea make it a beautiful, and peaceful setting; it is rarely an empty space. In my current Northerner's reaction to the afternoon heat, I am amazed by the stamina I see among the social workers and community development assistants at this time of the day, gathered to debate and discuss the latest policy directives from local municipalities. It drives home to me that the poverty that persists in Mji is not from lack of effort, commitment or leadership.

On this particular day, I am here to meet with the school partners and the Canadian ISL participants to observe the wrap up of the program they have hosted for the past five weeks. Any field trip away from the school, to another suburb of Mji, for the students is rare. The costs of *dala dala* (small vans used as public shuttle transportation) travel are prohibitive given the school budget, so even making the trip across town (approximately fifteen minutes) will be a significant cost. Many students rarely leave the immediate surroundings of the village where they attend school; this is a special *safari* for them, an opportunity to have lunch with the Canadian *muzungu* service learning students before they depart.

The Canadian student participants are already waiting in the courtyard. They are seated at the plastic tables in plastic chairs, swatting at flies and trying to avoid the cats lurking about in anticipation of the fish lunch about to be served. These students are excited; the program may be ending but their adventure is about to begin. A planned climb for

Kilimanjaro begins in two days. They sit at the tables and swap smart phones, laughing at the photos they have accumulated thus far on their trip, and worrying if they are still in good enough shape to make the climb. A few will forgo the trek in favor of heading straight to the beaches of Zanzibar where they will meet the climbers upon their return. It has been a long few weeks for them, with a few falling ill to typhoid and malaria; after the first couple of weeks, the heat was starting to get to them too, but the discovery of a swimming pool at a nearby hotel has provided an opportunity for them to cool off at the end of the day, and to grab a couple of Kilimanjaro beers.

The students from the local Mji high school arrive a bit late, many more of them than can possibly be accommodated in the few remaining chairs. They find places, sitting on one another's laps, or on the crumbling retaining wall. Huge trays of food come from the kitchens, but in Tanzanian tradition, although everyone is hungry and ready to eat, there are speeches to be delivered.

First, the head teacher rises and speaks, thanking the students, graciously, for the opportunities and friendship they have brought to the community. He speaks very formally for ten minutes acknowledging the Canadian leaders, and the respect and esteem the local community has for them. Just as he sits down, the Canadian students move to queue for food, but the head boy student stands to deliver his speech. The Canadian visitors return to their seats and prepare to listen again. In overly formal English, he thanks the "honorable" Canadian leaders and students for traveling to Tanzania to participate in the ISL program, and expresses his sincere hope for opportunities to work together again in the future. Two more carefully prepared speeches follow, also from students, thanking the Canadian students and their leader and looking toward future possible programs. Finally, the head teacher turns to the Canadian ISL leader and asks her to address the group, but the Canadian contingent politely declines and thanks him for the offer. The ritual formalities of meetings and celebrations are integral to Tanzanian culture, a contrast to the more informal approach that this group has taken to their engagements with the local host partners of the ISL program.

It is time to eat.

After lunch, one of the students stands to read a farewell letter to the Canadian students. Joaquin is ambitious and articulate; he made consistent efforts throughout the past month to engage with students and to communicate his gratitude and desire for a continued partnership. “We have come together again at this beautiful place for afternoon lunch. It has been by your favors so far to be here to day, we appreciate so much...We hope to take a tour to one of our national parks here in Tanzania one day and hope that one day we too will take a tour to Canada to facilitate our relationship even more...” (Joaquin). Joaquin’s words at the close of the final lunch of this ISL partnership reflect the desire for relationality and partnership found throughout the course of this study. He also identifies the vast material difference that divides and ultimately isolated the Canadian ISL participants from their hosts’ experiences.

The socioeconomic context of Mji, Tanzania

The latest UN Human Development report entitled, *The Rise of the South*, (UN, 2013) refers to the tremendous economic growth and improvement on a number of key quality of life indicators in specific regions of the Global South. The findings of this report are voluminous and the tone is generally enthusiastic and hopeful, particularly given the encroaching ‘end’ of the Millennium Development Goals project (2015) and the general desire to lay claim to significant progress. While there is clearly reason to celebrate progress observed in many individual countries, particularly Brazil, India, China and other emerging economies in Latin America and Southeast Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa (Rwanda excepted) remains a region mired in chronic poverty despite also posting record economic growth rates, fuelled by resource-extraction industries. In the region where this study is situated, growth has been 6% on average for the decade 2000-2009 (CIA Fact book, 2013). The vast growth in revenues, however, has not resulted in redistribution of income or a broader improvement of quality of life indicators in Mji.

Mji is one of the fastest growing cities in East Africa. Here, a new arrival confronts a multi-cultural blend of ethnicities, tribes, dialects, and religions, co-existing in the midst

of wide-range socio-economic circumstances. It is a city in transition. The contemporary economic conditions place Tanzania among the bottom twenty global countries according to the United Nations Human Development Index. However, during the period of 2006-2011, it moved up in several places on the UN scale (6 spots) in areas including life expectancy and school access (primary), making it one of the top performing countries over this period with respect to quality of life improvement (UNHDP, 2012). Mji is growing rapidly in terms of population and in-migration and although some statistical indicators suggest a measure of progress on some material scales, most indicators suggest the majority of citizens continue to be challenged by entrenched un(under)employment, weak social infrastructure and poverty.

The most recent report on Mji's economy, conducted by the municipal City Council, suggests a grim scenario by any standard. More than 70% of the population is unemployed and a significant number of residents are underemployed; the sidewalks of Mji are filled with informal vendors who sell from a small inventory of occasional items such as plastic kitchen wares, used clothes, backpacks or personal items. Men gather near small creeks off of the side of main roads to scrub used shoes or backpacks for resale, and women sell diverse food items such as dried fish, vegetables or ugali. Children are active participants in the informal economy as well; they carry plastic bowls of fruit, vegetables or prepared food to sell in marketplaces and on city streets. Although Tanzania has made significant progress toward universal primary schooling, even the existence of nominal fees, for uniforms or supplies, make attending school beyond the reach for many families.

Housing is a serious health and safety issue in the city; more than 90% of residential housing in Mji is not zoned, often constructed on steep, rocky inclines outside of the city center. These settlements are insufficiently serviced and not easy to access. Many of these neighborhoods lack schools, roads, electricity, medical services or sanitation. Waste management is a serious issue in Mji where, "70% of the daily generated solid waste is, in most cases, left uncollected and forms heaps of rotting garbage all over Mji" (Municipal Council Report, 2006). During the rainy season, November-February,

uncollected refuse is washed away into stomata drains and released into the lake. The majority of residents consider this water to be potable. Current census statistics place the population of Mji at approximately 3.5 million residents, with a population density of 150 people per square kilometer. Without strong investment in urban infrastructure, these problems will be exacerbated by the city's current strong growth rate: the natural population of Mji is estimated to be growing at 3.2% annually (Mji City Council Report), but rural to urban migration increases this rate by another 8% per annum. Although the city council has produced plans that identify immediate needs and have designed strategies for municipal upgrades, there are consistent budget shortfalls and many projects require donors to ensure completion.

The local imaginary in Mji is closely linked to international events and developments through the media. More than a dozen daily newspapers are published and sold on the street; although many residents cannot afford to purchase them, it is very common to see large groups at the newsstands reading the day's headlines. The pressures of international politics are clearly present in local media. Nearly every day newspapers feature editorials that reference history, the experience of colonialism or lament the international relationships and structures that reinforce chronic deficits in domestic development. During the course of the fieldwork for this research, in the spring/summer of 2012, Europe was plunged deeper into an economic crisis.

The implications for Africa were clear in the articles and political editorials; most cautioned that Africa should prepare for some of the crisis to be deflected onto its territories, as Europe would need to seek sources for economic stimulation through mining or agriculture partnerships, or the dumping of European products. One particular headline referenced Cecil Rhodes, the infamous explorer and enthusiastic colonizer, who in response to growing popular anger over the persistent poverty and economic crisis of 19th century London, proclaimed, "If we want to avoid civil war, we must become imperialists," (*The East African*, 2012). Known best for the formation of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and as the founder of the DeBeers Diamond Company, Rhodes vigorously promoted the colonization of Africa as a means to enrich the British Empire, as well as a

solution to a worsening economic recession in Britain. He argued “in order to save the forty million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, our colonial statesmen must acquire new lands for settling the surplus population of this country, to provide new markets...” (Simpson & Jones, 2009, 237).

Media publications and political editorials in the Global North have refocused on the mineral and agricultural wealth in Africa. In 2000, *The Economist* has radically reformulated its assessments of Africa’s economic potential; where it once labeled Africa as “the hopeless continent,” the journal enhanced Africa’s status by 2011, referring to it as the “rising continent.” Now in 2013, in recognition of its strong growth over the past decade, it was referenced in a recent piece as “the hopeful continent” (Brookings, 2013). At a time of shrinking revenues in North American governments at all levels, there can be no doubt that the extraordinary economic growth in Africa over the past decade, fuelled in large part by vast mineral wealth, coupled with the potentially enormous consumer market, tempts governments, businesses and even universities to seek new revenues, partnerships or research sites in the region.

Education is a particularly challenged sector in Mji. A recent report by Haki Elimu, a national education think tank in Tanzania, points to the devastating effects of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) on the domestic education system. The MDG goal for education focused nearly exclusively on primary school enrollment, effectively suppressing issues of quality for quantity, and neglecting the secondary and tertiary sectors. According to their state of education report for Tanzania in 2009,

...the pass rates of the primary school learning exam continued to drop in 2009, falling to less than 50%...Form 4 pass rates reached an all-time low of 15%. This current pass rate is less than half of the ten year average: whereas on average 33% of secondary students passed the Form 4 exams from 1999-2008, only 15% passed in 2009. This wasn’t a gradual decline in learner outcomes: this year’s pass rate cut in half that of 2008 (Haki Elimu, 2009).

The impact of the MDG's (Millennium Development Goals) singular emphasis on primary schooling, and the subsequent redirection of funding away from higher education in Tanzania to fund primary education, has resulted in a weak tertiary education sector (Obama, 2013). Poverty is clearly entrenched by other social, political, historic and economic factors in Tanzania, but contextualization and democracy are suppressed by the discourses of multilateral political and financial organizations that impose neoliberal policy and programming on countries such as Tanzania (Hill & Kumar, 2009; Giroux, 2009). A recent blog post, in an open forum sponsored by the Tanzanian Knowledge Network, reflects the local struggle to regain autonomy over national resources and development agendas, pleading for the citizens of Tanzania to engage in

serious soul searching and interrogations on why Tanzania, despite its sound economic performance...is not making significant progress in reducing poverty of its people...It is obvious that economic growth does not automatically translate into poverty reduction, i.e. always trickle down to the poor. Economic transformation may be defined as a process entailing the changing of the structure, path and speed of economic growth... One does not need to be held back to allow fulfillment of the other (Tanzania Knowledge Network, TAKENET), (June 26, 2013).

Tanzania publishes its own human development report as a response to that produced by the United Nations. Entitled *MKUKUTA* (2011), it is in part a defense of national strategies implemented to engage more of the population in the dramatic economic growth of the past decade. The publication is also in part a national resistance narrative to assessments published by external multinational organizations, such as the World Bank or International Monetary Fund, and attempts to contextualize the national failure to leap forward socially and economically. The report notes with irony that over the past decade, despite posting an average of nearly 5% revenue growth in the Tanzanian export agricultural sector, more than 80% of the Tanzanian population remains engaged in subsistence agriculture. Reinvestment within Tanzania of the profits derived from other international activities, such as mining and other resource extraction, is difficult to insure; some estimates suggest that nearly 97% of all profits from sectors are drained from the

country. The reasons cited in the report range from weak governance and infrastructure to monitor earnings and levy taxes; a weak commitment to holding companies to just contracts for operations in-country and corruption (MKUKUTA, 2011). These are just a few of samples of the challenges confronting the social and economic development context of Tanzania in 2013.

In the years following independence from Britain, Tanzania's powerful socialist leader, Julius Nyerere, committed to a democratic, independent Tanzania. He was aware of the potential hegemonic creep of Western ideas and interests through education. Assie-Lumumba (in Erasmus, 2011) points to "Nyerere's education philosophy, (which) contributed valuable insight in terms of the contention that developing countries should be wary of situations in which they are forced into juxtaposition with eternal ideas and realities but should rather be pro-active and strive toward 'fusion by choice'" (351). The Arusha Declaration of 1967 outlined Tanzania's targets for education and development, post-independence. Forty-five years later, few of these goals have been achieved (Tanzanian Government, 2013; Vavrus, 2002). The new, ambitious strategic plan for Tanzanian development, *Vision 2025*, documents contemporary impediments to development: a donor dependency syndrome and a dependent and defeatist developmental mindset, a weak and low capacity for economic management, and failures in good governance and in the organization of production and ineffective implementation syndrome (MKUKUTA, 2011).

In the most recent policy documents produced within Tanzania, there is a foregrounding of the need to reassert authority and direction with respect to long-term development programming. In the government's recent document mapping out the next fifteen years of development strategy it identified the need for a "long-term development philosophy, if they were to be owned and sustained by the people..." (Tanzanian Government, *Vision 2025*). It is in this context—linking the history of Tanzania's desire for agency and autonomy to the surrounding global structures (political, financial, and educational)—that in a high stakes, competitive environment intervene, obstruct and instantiate a continuing condition of uneven development, oppression and marginalization (Weis & Fine, 2013,

186). This critical case study analysis of higher education internationalization and partnerships with community agencies begins with a sense of hope that by “interrogating and filling the linkages that bond global to local, history to present,...that we might begin to understand the circuits of solidarity that need to be connected for educational justice to be realized” (Weis & Fine, 2013, p. 196).

1.5 Summary.

This research is motivated by my past experiences with ISL and my growing concern that current higher education internationalization policies, conceived of within the context of neoliberal policy measures, relying on the market economy to best distribute human and natural resources, has significant implications for host partners in the Global South. The objectives of higher education internationalization are aligned with global economic objectives: to produce knowledge for export and consumption. When partnering with communities in the global south for educational programming, the differences in relative resources and understanding of local culture and traditions, positions Northern partners to reinscribe a relationship on colonial terms. This research is framed as a composite case study, to explore the particular experience of a N-S ISL partnership and the enactment of internationalization policy within the community of Mji (Weis and Fine, 2012, 2008, 2004). This study brings together a critical, postcolonial analysis of the effects of Canadian higher education internationalization policy and the process of a N-S ISL partnership enactment. It investigates the effects of program implementation on host partners and communities, through interviews with local partners and field observations (Creswell, 2012). The current social and economic context in Mji, along with the interactions of students with community conditions, influence, intervene and interrupt this particular ISL partnership. It is my hope that this case study will contribute to the formation of future N-S partnerships that will carefully consider the impact and implications for socially just relationships between Canadian institutions and Global South community partners. This is a goal that is not beyond the reach of Northern universities, but it is one that will require a rethinking of the institutional processes that guide the university along with a decoupling of higher education from national economic imperatives.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Frameworks

2.1 Overview.

There is a growing demand in the field of educational research for studies that engage a dual focus on the global institutional structures that produce policies which govern and impact vulnerable communities throughout the Global South (Ball, 2012, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Kenway & Fahey, 2009a, 2009b; Singh et al, 2006; Kenway & Bullen, 2006; Gewirtz, 2006; Apple, 2000; Lingard, 2000; McCarthy & Dimitriades, 2000). Few studies link the effects of programming and practices to their effects within local communities through empirical analyses. At a time of intensifying international engagement, the effects of international service learning demand to be explored as an extension of globalized learning practices. This chapter will consider the theories that inform the conceptual and analytical framework of this study. A postcolonial perspective complements critical policy sociology in this study to analyze the effects of partnership enactment, considered through the lens of fieldwork conducted in the Mji community with host partners in an ISL program over the spring/summer of 2012. It is research pursued to promote awareness of the implications for social justice through international ISL programming, conducted outside the parameters for N-S partnerships established by the Paris Accords (2005) (OECD, 2013c) and Canadian expectations for participation in Official Development Assistance projects (Government of Canada 2013a).

Responding to the call for global educational studies to examine the impact of educational processes and partnerships, this study conceptualizes the effects of partnership enactment within a postcolonial framework. This chapter first outlines the theoretical rationale for conducting educational research that focuses on global structures and local effects, specifically the strategy of bifocality, a method designed to critique the local effects of global structures, institutions and policies (Weis & Fine, 2012). The framework for postcolonial analysis includes consideration of the role of the academy in producing knowledge of and on the postcolony.

The term postcolonial is widely contested; it is a term defined differently in response to a wide spectrum of interests and is taken up differently in individual disciplines. It is engaged here to refer to the largely Eurocentric colonial past and the enduring effects of neocolonial relations between (broadly defined) the Global North and South. In this study, the postcolonial does not signify a discrete historical era or a particular set of activities. I am drawing on literary, cultural and development critics who ascribe multiple meanings to theorize the effects of slavery, colonialism, neocolonialism and contemporary globalization (Andreotti, 2011a).

The ambiguities of the term postcolonial stem from accusations that it is “ahistorical, universalizing and potentially depoliticizing” (Shohat, 1992, p. 99). Spivak’s (2012, 2004, 1999, 1993, 1988) deconstruction of the attempts of Western researchers and the academy to speak for or to produce knowledge about the Other is a central feature of this analysis. Her critique is supported by Said’s (1979) identification of the development of discourses in the Western academy that secure the supremacy of Western knowledge and circulate power through the institutions, political and economic practices globally. Cultural studies critique the “unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order” (Bhabha, p. 171). The modernity/coloniality framework, developed by Latin American theorists extends the boundaries of postcolonial analysis, arguing that the dominance of Westernized interests over formerly colonized regions, began well before the official start date of colonialism citing the arrival of conquerors in the 16th century as the beginning of Westernized oppression in the Americas. This dichotomy continues to be held in place by

a sophisticated matrix of interests engaging global economic and financial institutions, theological interests and the omnipresent threat of physical suppression to ensure compliance in the Global South (Mignolo, 2011).

This study explores the continuing effects of postcoloniality, defined by Quijano (2008) to unveil the hidden side of “modernity.” Quijano (2008) argues for a critique of contemporary N-S relationships that recognizes enduring coloniality, as a counterpart to globalization, acting both as an effect and a technology of global capitalism. Theorizing N-S ISL partnerships through a postcolonial lens troubles the narratives embedded within internationalization policies that elide history, culture, power and the potential production of knowledge that reinscribes subjugation for Global South partners.

2.2 A postcolonial conceptual framework

This study employs postcolonial theory to conceptualize the effects of partnership enacted between institutions from the Global North and communities in the Global South. Postcolonial analysis focuses on the effects of policy on communities marginalized within the broader global order, deconstructing narratives produced in the West to consider their effect on the Global South (Shohat, 1992). Postcolonial theories specifically consider the effects of relationships between institutions and interests in the West on the South. It is a conceptual framework engaged in this research to critique the logic of neoliberal internationalization policy discourses embedded in higher education policies that promote North-South partnerships. In this study, postcolonial theories challenge modern, Eurocentric or Global North centered epistemologies to illuminate the heterogeneity within and resistance to Western educational practices which reproduce hegemony and dominance on local partners and communities located in the Global South. It is a perspective that challenges practices of international development that privilege Westernized technologies to solve Southern social issues and current neoliberal attempts

“to wipe the historical slate clean to recalibrate relationships” between North and South according to a purely market-oriented agenda (Spivak, 2004, p. 334).

The term “postcolonial” continues to be contested and applied to a broad spectrum of fields and critical positions (Shohat, 1992). Arguing against the spatial and temporal notions implicit in the term postcolonial, Mohanty (2006), argues that postcoloniality is a struggle to defy and subvert the logic of European modernity and the “law of identical temporality (p. 120). Postcoloniality suggests an “insistent, simultaneous, nonsynchronous process characterized by multiple locations, rather than a search for origins and endings” (Mohanty, 2006, p. 120). Postcolonial analyses challenge dominant neoliberal narratives embedded in internationalization policies to address what Spivak charges is the danger where engagements between Northern institutions and Southern communities becomes an “alibi” for social justice, “unless it is placed within a general frame...that resists the production of current neocolonial knowledge by placing colonialism/imperialism securely in the past, and/or by suggesting a continuous line from that past to our present” (Spivak, 1999, p. 1). Postcolonial critiques challenge an apolitical assumption that the colonial era is located safely in the past. Dimitriadis and McCarthy (2001) argue “the ‘post’ in the postcolonial is not to be understood as a temporal register as in ‘hereafter,’ but as a market of a spatial challenge of the occupying powers of the West by the ethical, political and aesthetic forms of the marginalized” (p. 7). Spivak’s (2004) analysis of Northern interventions in Southern communities problematizes the implications of the “post” prefix aligned with colonial, which potentially signifies a clear aftermath of that historical era. The effects of colonialism linger, evolve and continue to adapt to contemporary conditions throughout the formerly colonized regions of the world, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, where the policy mandates are enacted in this study. In this research, postcolonial is taken to:

- Problematize the representation of the Third World and issues of power, voice and cultural subordination/domination.
- Question notions of development and visions of reality that are imposed as universal.
- Recognize the violence of colonialism and its effects, but also acknowledges its

productive outcomes.

- Challenge Eurocentrism, charity and ‘benevolence.’
- Consider issues of identity, belonging and representation, and the romanticization of the South.
- Interrogate dominant discourses of internationalization and higher education that privilege the interests and objectives of states located in the Global North (Andreotti, 2011a).

A postcolonial conceptual perspective troubles the narrative of North-South partnerships insisting on a critical, historical reading of the implications for and impact on the community engaged in ISL for the Global South. A postcolonial perspective positions this research to engage in scholarship to critique the relationship between the Global North and formerly colonial Global South. It is a term that encompasses a broad literature, engaging representation, politics, policy and temporality, categories that are challenged by these research findings and the intentions of ISL as a potential reinscription of past hegemonic educational enterprises. However, the ‘post’ in postcolonial may suggest a false sense of the completion of an era, and has been widely challenged for assuming an apolitical intention in contrast to terms such as neocolonial or imperialism (MacEwan, 2001). Shoat argues that the

‘post-colonial’ inadvertently glosses over the fact that global hegemony, even in the post-cold war era, persists in forms other than overt colonial rule. As a signifier of a new historical epoch, the term postcolonial, when compared with neo-colonialism, comes equipped with little evocation of contemporary power relations; it lacks a political content which can account for the eighties and nineties style U. S. militaristic involvements in Granada, Panama and Kuwait...and for the symbiotic links between U. S. political and economic interests and those of local elites (1992, p. 105).

Engaging postcolonial theories in this research does not signify the completion of the era of colonialism; this research draws on work by African, Latin American and other subalterns who are critical of both the historical effects of the colonial period on the former colonies as well as the enduring structural and institutional affects that continue to

subject those regions to the political and economic power interests of the Global North. In this research, the “post” is intended to “emphasize rupture and deemphasize sameness between Global North and South, and to create space within which to consider the implications of ISL partnerships on communities” (Shoat, 1992, p. 106). It is a position that rejects a view toward a linear, progressive unfolding of history; postcolonial critiques encompass the discursive, internalized and contextual effects of colonialism on local populations.

Colonizing the mind and the imagination of the colonized through discourse and representation were and are key to the management of colonial populations (Said, 1979, 1982; Nandy, 1987). Critical to the postcolonial critique of relations between North and South is Said’s (1979) analysis of the production of discourses by the West to contain knowledge of the Orient. The discourses produced by the West were “a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient’s difference with its weakness” (p. 204). The internalization of discourses of supremacy, narratives produced by the West about the East, simultaneously legitimized domination by the West, facilitating the psychological and spiritual as well as the physical domination of the South (Young, 2001).

The incorporation of negative images of poverty and suffering in the Global South is used to support and justify interventions in Southern communities to respond to poverty, suffering and underdevelopment. The effect is to create a renewed dependency where the technical expertise of the West is essential to solve social problems in the South. This is particularly salient for this case study that focuses on an ISL program responding to the needs of community coping with the effects of HIV/AIDS. The response to Global South communities from a position of benevolence is grounded in a western humanist response to social crises that is uncritical of the broader global structures which contribute to the production of inequality (Andreotti, 2011a). The resulting dependence on external sources, a key criticism of ISL programming (Crabtree, 2008), contributes to disempowering local responses to critical issues. Staudt (2002) links the effect of development dependency to the Hegelian relationship of the master-slave, where the “weak-willed slave, preferring life to liberty, accepts his subjection to the victorious

master. The slave is now a dependent thing whose existence is shaped by the conquering Other” (p. 58). The effect is degrading to both master and slave, resulting in what Nandy conceptualizes as a “psychological decay” resulting from “ruthless social Darwinism, an instrumental view of human relationships... and a relative lack of self-scrutiny” (Nandy, in Prasad, 2003, p. 132).

The discourses of neocolonialism continue to inform education policy through the reproduction and normalization of Western values, attitudes and objectives in and through international education practices. Rizvi & Lingard (2010) argue that colonial histories must be considered to understand the effects of educational policies within the context of globalization (p. 48). They argue that a discourse of disadvantage continues to frame the relationship between Global North and South, particularly when considered from an academic perspective. “Social theories developed in high status universities of the Global North often sideline other voices, treating the nations of the South simply as sites of empirical research and provide sites for the application of theories developed elsewhere (Lingard & Rizvi, 2010, 43). They argue for the importance of individual case studies to account for the context of specific policy enactment and impact, attentive to location and research positionality.

The production of knowledge on the postcolony in higher education is linked to the continued production of colonial discourses. Spivak critiques the contradictions between the accumulation and wielding of power and the production of knowledge in the Western academy, which co-opt and essentialize marginal identities (Spivak, 1993). She argues that the academy is an “apparatus of Euro-American (history) where weapons for the play of power-knowledge are daily put together, bit-by-bit, according to a history rather different from our own. If we are taken in by this ruse, indeed propagate it through our teaching, we are part of the problem rather than the solution. Indeed, it maybe that the problem and the solution are always entangled, that it cannot be otherwise” (1993, p. 53). In her analysis, there is a potentially unresolvable problematic, that of an education of resistance and the desire for engagement in the production of authentic, subaltern knowledge. Spivak’s (in Andreotti, 2011a) ruse is the attempt by educational institutions

to secure colonialism in the past, beyond reproach, and to disavow the continuing experience of neocoloniality of institutional relationships.

Notions of partnership between North and South in higher education tend to reduce relationships to simple binary constructions, isolating a particular aspect of Global South communities, related to a specific research interest, versus a holistic embrace of the complexities that would make up an authentic project of cultural studies analysis or reciprocal partnership (Spivak, 1993; 1999). Spivak (2012) argues that academics and others who would engage with the Other must embrace the heterogeneity and complexity of difference to be authentic. They must acquire indigenous languages to deconstruct local meaning and intent and step outside of the epistemic filter of English, the signifying language of the West. Her argument supports studies that seek to move beyond the discourses, such as those found with internationalization policies, that over-simplify engagements between North and South. These narratives generally aim to give a “more or less continuous and controllable” understanding of non-Western subjects and cultural objects (Spivak, 2012, p. 57). Spivak (2004) argues that the subject (or policy maker) positioned in the West writes, reads and codes a particular understanding of a problem or social context onto the Other (in this case study, the partner in the Global South). It is a reading of Others and their communities that assumes a linear translation of ideas and goals across cultural, historical and institutional boundaries. The implications for knowledge that travels via policy and the effects of its implementation on local sites is addressed below in a discussion of critical policy analysis (Ozga & Jones, 2006). Spivak (2012) resists and contests analyses or policy that exclude recognition of cultural difference or presume universality. The Canadian ISL participants underestimated the complexities the local culture would pose to the implementation of their program goals, and in the end, missed opportunities to engage collaboratively and uncoercively with the community of Mji. The results of this case study have pedagogical implications for future collaborative and equitable practices of educational N-S partnerships.

Postcolonial critics challenge N-S engagements founded on the principle of benevolence (Andreotti, 2007, 2006; Jefferess, 2008a). In the desire to right contemporary wrongs, programs that isolate social problems from historical and cultural context misidentify the

true sources of the problem. Co-mingling of knowledge production with development practice, Spivak argues that participants engage in what they believe to be the right solution to the perceived wrong or problem, yet the solution is inadequate on many levels: symptoms are taken for causes, future effects of interventions are not anticipated or there are few material effects, merely a polite engagement between actors (2004, p. 538). Spivak (2012) argues that “as far as human rights goes, only prior and patient training can leaven the quick-fix training institutes that prepare international civil society workers...including uncomplicated standards for success” (p. 532). The depth of study required to overcome the epistemic blindness that obscures efforts between North and South partnerships can only be refocused by an education (and approach to partnership) that engages the knowledge(s) of the cultures one intends to engage (2012).

Postcolonial scholars are critical of pedagogical practices that do not exercise vigilance over hegemonic and unreflexive practices. Western positivist and universalist approaches to teaching suppress attempts to reconstruct knowledge, to integrate subaltern epistemologies, by lapsing into the default position of academic rhetoric versus authentic engagement with the Other (Spivak, 1993). Ilan Kapoor (2004) in his analysis of Spivak and higher education, concurs, stating “universities have tended to pride themselves as institutions where knowledge can be pursued for its own sake, and where education is delivered in a neutral and objective manner,” (p. 632). Moreover, Spivak (in Kapoor, 2004) contends that Western researchers continue to exploit Third World sites, motivated by personal and institutional interests; they travel to the Third world for “information retrieval” using Global South communities as “repositories of ethnographic studies (on) cultural difference” (p. 632). The impact is imperialistic as Global North researchers reconstitute their findings from the South into theories and generate papers and reports to produce knowledge on formerly colonized peoples and communities (Kapoor, 2004; Visweswaran, 1994).

African postcolonial critiques focusing on or produced from within Africa focus on a critique of the West versus an engagement with the effects of colonialism on local culture. Appiah (1997) argues that postcolonialism in Africa is “grounded in appeal to an ethical universal” and is critical of it as “a weak attempt to make sense of the

postcoloniality of contemporary African culture” (p. 432). The insights of Achille Mbembe (2001) are critical of Western academic engagements in Africa in the postcolonial era. Mbembe (2001) argues that Western interests in Africa are essentially arbitrary, a site of experimentation and a culture founded on fable versus the sound reason of the West (3-7). Further, he is critical of development efforts that rely on a “neoliberal catechism about the market economy, ..current fads for ‘civil society,’ ‘conflict resolution’ and alleged ‘transitions to democracy’” (p. 7). He criticizes development efforts in Africa that are not concerned with “comprehending the political in Africa or with producing knowledge in general, but with social engineering” (p. 7). These critiques challenge the enactment of ISL partnership under analysis in this study, where the success of the project (a public health awareness campaign to promote a nutritional supplement) trumped the need to engage the community, to learn its values and participate in its traditions.

In this research, Mbembe’s (2001) analysis of Western interventions in African communities is represented through two conceptual metaphors: (1) *displacement*, to signify the ignorance by Western interests of local knowledges, development agendas and collaboration, and (2) *entanglement*, to describe the complicated interactions between the intentions of partnership from Northern and Southern perspectives, the contradictions between a competitive notion of partnership and the goals of local development agendas (pp. 11-14). In this research, ISL partnership with an African community inadequately engages partners on both sides; at best, it provides a measure of resources to a community struggling to respond to profound needs but at its worst, it reaffirms the power of the Northern partners to disengage and exploit the local community to achieve its own ends.

Mbembe (2001) deconstructs the intellectual relationship between Western interventions in Africa and those implications for Westernized knowledge produced on Africa. His work identifies several conceptual predispositions of the West toward Africa, which are constitutive of contemporary educational interactions or partnerships between the Global North and Africa. Mbembe (2001) argues that the West typically views Africa as a headless figure threatened with madness, and quite innocent of any notion of center, hierarchy or stability, portrayed as a vast dark cave where every

benchmark and distinction come together in total confusion and the rifts of a tragic and unhappy human history stand revealed: a mixture of the half-created and the incomplete, strange signs, convulsive movements, in short a bottomless abyss where everything is noise, yawning gap and primordial chaos (3).

The use of hyperbole in Mbembe's analysis, (2001) to describe the relationship between the Western notions of African knowledges and Africa, here referred to generally as the continent as a whole, lays the foundation for an analysis of the relationship where the West, *a priori*, assumes an inaccessibility and untranslatability for Africa, which facilitates and justifies the actions and ideas taken on and about the African continent by Western interests. He argues "this alleged inaccessibility must flow not from the intrinsic difficulty of the undertaking, not from what therein is to be seen and heard...It flows from there being hardly ever any discourse about Africa for itself" (p. 3). The refusal to engage with Africa and to let Africans speak for themselves echoes Spivak's seminal query, *Can the subaltern speak?* (1988). Here the subaltern ultimately cannot speak because the language and discourse of the academy does not acknowledge or understand the language and meaning of the subaltern. Mbembe (2001) echoes the same deficit in Western encounters with Africa, where "it should be noted that with fieldwork, there is less and less. Knowledge of local languages, vital to any theoretical and philosophical understanding is deemed unnecessary. To judge from recent academic output, sub-Saharan Africa, wrapped in a cloak of impenetrability, has become the black hole of reason,.." (2001, p. 7).

Mbembe's (2001) condemnation of Western assessments of Africa is a holistic subjugation of local knowledge(s) and their exclusion from contemporary projects that produce knowledge on the region. His argument has implications for the enactment of the N-S ISL partnership examined in this study, particularly given the extraordinarily narrow focus of participants' interest within the community and nearly complete lack of knowledge of any local culture, language, history or traditions. This analysis of internationalization policies identifies the lack of local knowledge as an effort to redirect partnerships away from a focus on collaboration, and to signal a new attempt to silence partners in communities where internationalization N-S ISL programming occurs. The

omission of partners' voices is found not only in policy but in the empirical research on ISL as well.

The Western academy's assumption of knowledge on Africa is generally a simplistic assessment based primarily on a *via negativa*, according to Mbembe, where Africa is simply presumed to be everything the West is not; he then contrasts the scientific "facticity" of the West with the imagined "arbitrariness" of Africa (2001). Mbembe's (2001) insight underscores the strength required by Africans to resist Western discourses on Africa; African scholars must argue against a discourse that has "assigned Africa to a special unreality, such that the continent becomes the very figure of what is null, abolished, and in its essence in opposition to what is... There is the language that every comment by an African about Africa must endlessly eradicate, validate or ignore..." (p. 5). The representation of Africa as a void, empty and awaiting fulfillment corresponds to Western notions linking philanthropy to development.

The "politics of benevolence" positions Global South communities and partners as the recipients of Global North munificence and generosity, passive recipients of Western technology and resources to redress social issues and potentially raise communities to more modern (Western) standards of living (Jefferess, 2008). This perspective raises concerns for ISL research literature read from a postcolonial perspective. In his research, Jefferess (2008) critiques the discourses of benevolence that position some individuals and communities working *for* rather than *with* Others, criticisms emerging due to the inclusion of "service" in international service learning (p. 28). In a benevolent or service imaginary, human beings are bound together in a global community that elides history, inequality, dominance or oppression (p. 29). The epistemology behind a benevolent, charitable or service approach to engagement with the Other must be challenged on the grounds of exclusion and the absence of a critique of structural and institutional actions that impede local efforts to respond to community issues. It is inconsistent to exclude a full interrogation of the implications of the history of colonialism alongside the persistent production of poverty and inequality while presuming to respond to contemporary social issues.

2.4 Coloniality in Partnership

Power asymmetries between North and South facilitate the domination of Northern interests in development partnerships (Elbers & Schulp, 2013; Harcourt, 2007; Baas, 2005; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Critical and postcolonial scholarship challenges the normativity of Western technological and epistemological superiority (Spivak, 1999; Said, 1979; Bhabha, 1994). The modernity/coloniality analytical framework is a critique of contemporary global relationships, between Global North and South, positing that there is a global matrix employing political, economic, educational, theological and financial interests to secure the interests of the North in activities located in the South (Quijano, 2008). In this framework, existence of modernity is constitutive of the continued existence of coloniality. Globalization assists contemporary manifestations of the project of colonization operating along different axes including the economy, race relations and geography to exercise power through political, economic and cultural hegemony (Quijano, 2008). The key principles undergirding the modernity/coloniality framework relevant to this study are:

- There is no modernity without coloniality; the latter is constitutive of the former (in Asia, Africa, Latin America/Caribbean).
- The fact that ‘the colonial’ difference is a privileged epistemological and political space. The great majority of European theorists...have been blind to the colonial difference and the subalternization of knowledge and cultures it entailed.
- A focus on the modern/colonial world system also makes visible...those conflicts that take place at the exterior borders of the modern/colonial system—i.e. the conflicts with other cultures and world views (Escobar, 2010, pp. 39-41).

The modernity/coloniality framework theorizes the global production of knowledge as power by Global North, particularly through international development activities which showcase technology developed in the West as solutions to problems located in the South

(Mignolo & Escobar, 2010). Critical scholarship by Grosfugel (2008) on the relationship between modernity and coloniality argue that

The Western/masculinist idea that we can produce knowledges that are unpositioned, unlocated, neutral and universalistic is one of the most pervasive mythologies in the modern/colonial world. Universal/global designs are always already situated in local histories. Those in power positions in the European/Euro-American versus non-European hierarchy of the modern/colonial world often think in terms of global designs or universalistic knowledges to control and dominate colonized/racialized/subordinated peoples in the capitalist world system. To speak from the subaltern side of the colonial difference is to look at the world from angles and points of view critical of hegemonic perspectives (p. 97).

Postcolonial critics challenge the articulation of knowledge in the West that presume to constitute the whole of all knowledge, effecting a denial of the possibility of heterogeneity; anything outside of that depiction of this knowledge is categorized as of no value or non-rational (Mignolo & Escobar, 2010). Further, Mignolo (2011) argues that the progressive, emancipated, democratic, universality, which accompanies conceptualizations of Western education's ability to right wrongs and to liberate individuals and communities from oppression, depends on a constitutive denial and ignorance of the shadow side of neocolonialism, oppression and continued exploitation of people and populations in the formerly colonized world (Mignolo, 2011). Building on Mignolo's (2011) analysis, Andreotti (2011a; 2011b) argues specifically for the role education plays in perpetuating coloniality. She argues that educational interests in the South must be in constant engagement at three levels: a) the social, cultural and historical conditioning of our thinking and of knowledge/power production; b) the limits of knowing, of language and of our senses in apprehending reality; and c) the non-conscious dynamics of affect (the fact that our traumas, fears, desires and attachments affect our decisions in ways that we often cannot identify) (2011b).

The internationalization of higher education, however, is not focused on a reflexive production of knowledge about the historical and contemporary relationship between

Global North and South. Internationalization strategies seek to reap economic benefits from perceived opportunities in N-S development partnerships. These ideals supplant practices that would put education to work to right wrongs and to engage with Others equitably (Spivak, 2004). It is at this juncture that the practice of ISL is interrogated in this research, exploring the processes of educational partnerships and subsequent effects on host communities in a study of partners' experiences.

The effects of the period of colonial domination on the Global South were essentially threefold: first, the initial conquering of territories and imposition of an apparatus of external administrative management of regions of the South by the West (and later the U.S.) that wrested control of the local political economy and geographic territory of the colony; second, and more pervasive, local social and cultural institutions in the Global South fell under the ideological domination of the West, facilitated by a third move, the development of discourses and epistemologies by the West to rationalize and justify the dismantling of local cultures (Young, 2001; Said, 1979). The first phase is well-documented in the historical literature, whereas the post-colonial era, although there was a return of sovereign administration to colonial regions, the discourse of development in the post-independence era is built as a premise that coloniality never really ceased; in its stead, the domination of technology and knowledge transfer between the North and South, in order to raise the South to Northern standards, reinvented the relationship as one of perpetual need or dependency on the North (Pieterse, 2001; Escobar, 1995). The recognition and explication of the discourse of supremacy, drawing on Foucauldian discourse analysis, describes the invasive and comprehensive domination of the West over the East. The power of Said's (1979) analysis is in his explication of "Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and produce—the Orient: politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively," (p. 3).

Bhabha's (1994) analysis of the effect of colonial discourse identifies

an apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences. Its predominant function is the creation of a space for a subject peoples through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is

incited...The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction...I am referring to a form of governmentality that in marking out a “subject nation,” appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity. (p. 75).

Bhabha’s (1994) depiction of the effects of colonial discourse mirrors neoliberal strategies that seek to erase all aspects of difference including: race, socioeconomic, historic and power, to persuade participants that there is the possibility of a level, equitable field for educational partnership. The discourse of supremacy subordinates local knowledges to Western ideologies, disempowering local populations and remains entrenched in multiple forms, forming what Heron refers to as a “colonial continuum,” located in the work of international development, sponsored by institutions (government, business, philanthropic) from the North, all enacted within the Global South (Heron, 2007). In the practice of N-S partnership for development, conceived of under the competitive terms of the globalized economy, there is a displacement of voices from the South. Escobar (1995) builds on Said (1982, 1979) and Bhabha’s (1994) notions of colonial discourses, identifying the discourse of development as one that is governed by

an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World. This apparatus came into existence roughly in the period 1945 to 1955 and has not ceased to produce new arrangements of knowledge and power, new practices, theories, strategies and so on. In sum it has successfully deployed a regime of government over the Third World, a “space for ‘subject peoples’ that ensures certain control over it” (p. 9).

The effects of development discourses and activities are to extend external control by the Global North over communities in the South through three strategies: by increasing the number of problems within its domain and creating abnormalities such as malnutrition, illiteracy and absolute poverty to which the West alone has the solutions; by professionalizing development to the extent that only professionals could be called on to do the work within Southern communities; and finally, by undermining local centers of

power and knowledge and centralizing responsibility for development in large transnational centers such as the World Bank, IMF and the United Nations (Escobar, 1995).

2.5 Postcolonial Representation.

North-South partnerships incorporate images or representations of needy, desperate communities or individuals in the Global South to argue for actions to redress their situation yet the same actions, acted upon from a benevolent or neoliberal perspective, ironically reinscribes coloniality on those entities (Heron, 2007). The assimilation and dissemination of Third World tropes, exemplified by Mohanty's (2006) analysis of the representation of the Third World woman, (2006), is a danger inherent in research that crosses borders and engages Global South communities in an attempt to deepen knowledge of the effects of internationalization. Mohanty (2006) cites the declining power of self-governance among many poorer nations that is matched by the rising power of transnational and global institutions; further, the "hegemony of neoliberalism, alongside the naturalization of capitalist values, influences the ability to make choices on one's own behalf in the daily lives of economically marginalized..." (p. 229). Mohanty's position is supported by Lazreg (2002), who describes the tension that exists in development work where the appropriation, or discursivization, of women's voices by international development workers renders their position meaningless through the filtration of Western development workers interpretations (2002). Lazreg (2002) argues that attempting to speak for Third World subjects results in a normalization rather than a transformation of (Global South) women's existence. "They...(women in the South) continue to be there for "us" (Western researchers), for "our" understanding of their lives...we recuperate their experiences, mould them, channel them, conceptualize them" (p. 129).

The ambiguity intrinsic to international development relationships between Global North volunteers and host community representatives is illustrated in research conducted on the experience of white women development workers in Sub-Saharan Africa (Heron, 2007). Heron argues that the discourse of policy and practice in development agencies

normalizes the standards and practices of the North, "...the unspoken subtext is that what really counts and must be preserved are our standards, our perspectives, our national fantasies, our imaginings of the Other" (Heron, 2007, p. 4).

Mohanty's (2006) analysis of the construction of Third World Women by western authorities supports Said's (1979) analysis of the representation of the Other in that it promotes the authority of Western knowledge to produce and reify an image of the average Third World woman. In this context, the Third World woman is seen as ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domesticated, family-oriented and victimized, which facilitates and privileges the self-representation of Western women as educated, modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities as well as the freedom to make their own decisions (Mohanty, 2006, p. 200). Moreover, Mohanty (2006) argues that Western feminist studies, as a Western academic voice, have "discursively represented Third World women as a homogeneous, undifferentiated group, leading truncated or victimized lives" (p. 212). This image is reiterated today through news media in promotional materials produced by NGOs and charitable organizations soliciting donations and support for development programs in the Global South. Images of poor, starving children, women and men are appropriated by the West and used to affirm the idea that individuals in the Global South are needy, unable to care for themselves and dependent on Western institutions for guidance (Bailey, 2011; Mohanty, 2006).

The failure of the Western academy to respond critically to the images and discourses that depict the subordination of peoples and cultures in the Global South by Northern interests suggests an academy that is not reflexive or sufficiently concerned about the effects of the exercise of power through academic discourse and representation. This concept and position is key to my research into the practices of universities from the Global North that sponsor programming in the South and the concurrent policies that direct and support these initiatives. Power is situated overwhelmingly within the campuses of the Global North where programs are developed and designed; authority is reflected in the values, often political and market-oriented rather than cooperative and reciprocal (Heron, 2007). Historically, the values, narratives, images and ideas of the North are privileged over those of the South (Andreotti, 2011). This is particularly so in

the narratives of educational institutions and the curricula they produce (Andreotti, 2011a; Hickling-Hudson, 2009). Spivak (in Coloma, 2009) argues for a “persistently critical voice” to challenge the implications and assumptions embedded in programming and policy (p. 8). Challenges from the South to programming developed in the North criticize the superficial depth of knowledge of local values, traditions and practices that ISL practitioners or student volunteers bring to their work in Global South communities (Erasmus, 2011; Ann-Hickling Hudson, 2009; Heron, 2007). Local educational organizations, such as Haki-Elimu in Central Tanzania (Haki-Elimu, 2012) or the African Research, Education and Development Association (AFREDA), highlight problems between Northern volunteers and local communities:

Doubts were expressed about the quality of some of the volunteers sent to work in the South. Indeed, considerable frustration was expressed at the continued practice of using Northern “experts” over local people who possessed comparable academic and professional experience. Especially upsetting was the fact that most of the Northerners coming to the South lacked basic understanding of and respect for, local cultures and customs. (AFREDA, Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995).

2.6 Philanthropy and Postcolonial Theory.

Spivak’s (2004) arguments against philanthropic engagements with Global South poverty deconstruct the iterative effects of practices grounded in charitable actions that do not effect an authentic engagement with the subaltern or critique of the conditions that produced inequality. Her research calls for a decentering of the language of Global North NGOs and a pedagogic effort to learn the language and accept the culture of the subaltern that will bring about “lasting epistemic change for the oppressed” (p. 529). In Spivak’s (2004) analysis, benevolent activities are an alibi for representatives from the North, and an opportunity to demonstrate engagement with the Global South while leaving broader structures that perpetuate oppression unchecked; these efforts contribute to a “worldwide system of class apartheid” (p. 529) that is no more than a “discontinuous supplementary relationship...not a solution” to global inequity (p. 531).

Spivak's (2004) postcolonial framework moves the discussion of international educational engagements into a space of ambivalence and uncertainty, marked in contrast to the linear, progressive determinist focus posited by advocates for the knowledge economy. Her analysis of Western educational practices, specifically the desire to engage with Others through development or philanthropic engagements, is a misguided attempt to "right the wrongs" of history. Spivak theorizes the epistemic discontinuities and failures of education through three concept metaphors: hyper-self-reflexivity, complicity and learning to unlearn, or learning from below (Spivak, 2012, 2004). In her argument, these practices de-center educators and learners from the West, from the position of knowledge, power and authority to one of humility and vulnerability. It demands that educators from the West consider not only the shine but also the shadow side of Western education (Andreotti, 2011a). Spivak's (1999) contention that Western researchers that seek to reclaim a voice for the Subaltern continue to resist the notion that the problem is not that the Subaltern cannot speak, rather that Western sources choose not to hear. It is a problem embedded in notions of liberal humanism which prefers to focus on collective issues including human rights, sustainable development and notions of global citizenship founded on intercultural sharing (Andreotti, 2011a, pp. 94-95).

The narratives of higher education internationalization seek to normalize and politically neutralize the notion of North-South educational partnerships. Critical research, particularly from a postcolonial perspective, argues that there are assumptions embedded in modern notions of Western higher education that co-opt, fetishize or silence other knowledge's (Spivak, 1993; Smith, 2012). Problematizing and isolating particular social issues, such as the tragedy of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, and seeking its solution outside of the complexities of local context essentializes Africa and Africans in need of Western interventions (Harcourt, 2009). In an analysis of development efforts to respond to HIV/AIDS that ignore its constitutiveness to the larger social context, including the effects of poverty, Harcourt (2007) argues that "broader perspective prevents a more realistic assessment of why HIV and AIDS spreads; safe sex in economically stricken communities is difficult; in particular, within married couples practicing safe sex is not easy when blame, shame and violence can accompany a disclosure that a partner is HIV positive" (p. 149). Her analysis raises a critical concern for the North-South partnership

in this study, where the focus of the partnership is fixed on a particular response to HIV/AIDS: the production of a nutritional supplement without sufficient integration of social, cultural and contextual influences. This exclusion significantly affected the enactment of the N-S ISL partnership explored in this study.

A practice of internationalization that seeks to engage communities of the Global South in partnerships often unintentionally recreate the conditions of oppression that are paradoxically the conditions they are trying to address (Andreotti, 2012, p. 19; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). It is a conundrum partnership that requires recognition of the continuing hegemony of the West through political, economic and cultural institutions and interventions to deconstruct the complexities of social interventions by Global North institutions in Southern communities (Mignolo, & Escobar, 2010; Mignolo 2002; Mohanty, 2006). It is a dilemma that centers on the university as the central institution in the production of Western epistemology, education and the discipline of pedagogical and practical knowledge. It is particularly vexing when the university assumes the role of international development agency, bringing to bear its wisdom on communities of the Global South. The challenge, then, is to simultaneously participate in the project of a university education, while critically deconstructing its contributions to the structural norms that govern and produce knowledge, a site of tension explored by Spivak. She is highly critical of efforts by academics to engage in Global South research; the performance of “Third World ventriloquism” is a metaphor she fixes on research from the West that attempts to speak for and interpret the experience of the Third World Other.

There is a foreclosure of difference in internationalization policies aimed at producing partnerships designed to promote technology and knowledge produced in the Global North. Santos conceptualizes dominant epistemological thinking as “abyssal,” where one set of values and knowledge are reified as universal to the suppression and exclusion or erasure of all others (Santos, 2007). He explains abyssal thinking as

a division (where) the other side of the line vanishes as reality becomes nonexistent, and is indeed produced as non-existent. Nonexistent means not existing in any relevant or comprehensible way of being. Whatever is produced as nonexistent is radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the

accepted conception of inclusion considers to be its other. What most fundamentally characterizes abyssal thinking is thus the impossibility of the co-presence of the two sides of the line. To the extent that it prevails, this side of the line only prevails by exhausting the field of relevant reality. Beyond it, there is only nonexistence, invisibility, non-dialectical absence” (Santos, 2007, p.2).

The vanishing point referred to by Santos and inability to conceive of “co-presence” is evidenced in internationalization policy by the erasure of language that refers to partner contributions, collaboration and reciprocity. Santos’ argument of the impact of dominant epistemologies begs questions of the ethics of policies and practices that subjugate and subordinate local knowledges to facilitate the goals of dominant interests (Spivak, 1993).

These contradictions are present within internationalization narratives: on one side, there is a slender claim to international partnerships grounded in mutuality and an optimistic outlook on the profitability of new enterprises, however this version of partnership is contested by postcolonial theory where dominant discourses “continually put under erasure” those local values and epistemologies that challenge and resist the discourse of internationalization (Spivak, 1993). In this way, internationalization narratives reproduce abyssal lines of thinking (Santos 2007), and proceed along the logics of coloniality (Mignolo, 2011). Knowledge, technology and ideology from the West are presented to be inherently superior and communities in the South, such as Mji, are either a) the worthy recipients of benevolence or b) opportunistically regarded as sites to generate new profits.

2.7 Higher education, partnerships and the positionality of the research.

Rizvi and Lingard’s (2010) framework for an analysis of education policy in a global context requires clear acknowledgement of the positionality of the researcher. Spivak’s (2004) rhetorical question that precedes the introduction of this study summarizes a conundrum between praxis and theorizing in education that troubles my role in this study as one who has practiced ISL for more than twenty years. Throughout the course of this research, I was reminded by participants, that “*we cannot eat research*” (Malika). Their participation in this study was contingent on my promise to represent their responses in a

study that would be used to promote more equitable practices of N-S partnership. Meaningful change for marginalized communities is not effected solely through intellectual debate and discussion within classrooms of the West. Spivak (2012) argues “the problem could have been more easily solved if I had decided to ‘teach’ what I learned in the field. I hope you will work out from what follows why this is not an option...why that solution would have been more a part of the problem...than this incoherence. I give you the dilemma as its reconciliation.” (97). Similarly, in this case, to return from the field to simply teach what I learned and observed would not critically challenge the contemporary discourses of higher education internationalization and a practice of education that constructs communities in the South merely as sites for learning for Western students nor would it honor the promise made to the study’s participants.

Throughout the course of this research, I struggled with my complicity in the practice of ISL and education for development. The questions that pushed me toward initiating this research included where and how did I reproduce my Western beliefs and practices of education in ways that were oppressive to host communities? In my practice, did I take account of the complex epistemologies, local and Western, entangled in the process of knowledge production? How could I work toward a practice of education that would address the legacy of knowledges that make us blindly complicit in perpetuating wrongs? (Andreotti, 2012b). Kapoor’s (2004) challenge to Western academics to practice hyper-self-reflexivity demands an intense accountability for the practice of international education in vulnerable communities. Supporting this position, Amina Mama (2007) asserts that scholars from the West often superficially engage in research and activities that contradict or suppress the intellectual agendas of local African institutions and communities. She calls for an ethical approach to ethical academic engagement with African institutions and communities, founded upon

scholarship that regards itself as integral to the struggle for freedom and holds itself accountable, not to a particular institution, regime, class or gender, but to the imagination, aspirations and interests of ordinary people...guided by an ethic that

requires scholars to be identified with, and grounded in, the broad landscape of Africa's liberation and democracy movements (Mama, 2007, p. 3).

Contemporary higher education internationalization seeks to secure new sites to capitalize on the benefits of international research and programming anticipated to flow back to Canadian universities. Similar assumptions are implicit in much of the ISL literature, which argue for its potentially transformative effects on student participants (Kiely, 2011, 2005, 2002). The silence in research and policy on the potential effects on or distribution of benefits to host communities is significant. Internationalization policy narratives present a normative version of N-S partnerships that elides notions of difference. It is a strategy which presumes the ethnocentric benefits intrinsic to N-S partnership, without due consideration of the potential hegemonic effects of relationships which are clearly outlined in multilateral agreements produced by OECD working groups (OECD 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). Here the exclusions of host partners' contributions and the suppression of their contributions are troubled, probed and revealed. Through the analysis of partners' experiences, this study problematizes the competitiveness agenda of higher education (Ilon, 2010) and acknowledges the implications that race, socioeconomic privilege had on this N-S ISL partnership. The findings from this study demonstrate the effects of a practice of ISL partnership that pathologized the conditions of poverty and inequality present in this Tanzanian community, focusing on the effects of HIV/AIDS as an isolated health issue rather than a complex effect of persistent poverty and weak social infrastructure (Harcourt, 2007). It is research that seeks to "reverse the gaze of causality" to produce research that resists the "epistemological shrinkage" found in neoliberal policy texts (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 176). These contentions are grounded in Weis and Fine's (2012) argument that educational discourses that historically and structurally sanitize education policy narratives, potentially further inscribe oppression on communities and individuals such as those engaged in North-South community partnerships.

2.8 Conceptualizing Social Justice in N-S partnerships and policy

The intersection between internationalization policy, and the formation of community partnerships in education designed to accommodate research and programming such as ISL, have implications for social justice within the communities where the programs are enacted and for host partners.

In this research, I contend that social justice must be considered within local contexts, at the level where those most directly affected by policy enactment are positioned. The implications for N-S partnerships and the processes by which internationalization policies are implemented through ISL, are raised here to provide an “abstract conceptualization of what should count as justice in education against which educational systems, institutions, policies and practices can then be judged...” (Gewirtz, 2006, p. 70). The analysis of social justice in this research operates at the local level to consider the effects of contradictions, conflict and oppression of policy and program enactment in local context. The conceptual framework for the analysis of social justice in this research draws on policy research by Gewirtz (2006) and theoretical work by Young (2011) and Fraser (2013, 2008; 1997). Three areas for the consideration of social justice through N-S partnership enactment are raised in this study: recognition, redistribution and the possibility for participation at parity for all partners.

Gewirtz problematizes the suppression of recognitional justice through social policy and its effects on individuals in local contexts. Recognition refers to the absence of cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect” (Fraser in Gewirtz, 2006, p. 74). The effect of nonrecognition, particularly in a cross-cultural context, produces cultural imperialism, defined by Young (2011) where

the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one’s own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one’s group and mark it out as

the Other. Cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture and its establishment as the norm...Often without noticing they do so, the dominant groups projects their own experience as representative of humanity as such (pp. 58-59).

The effects of cultural imperialism are confusing and disempowering for those subordinated by its authority. For "those living under cultural imperialism (they) find themselves defined from the outside, positioned by a network of dominant meanings they do not experience...from those with whom they do not identify and who do not identify with them" (Young, 2011, p. 59). It is an experience of "double consciousness" a concept developed by W. E. B. Du Bois to describe "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Du Bois in Young, p. 60). Cultural imperialism is facilitated by the ability of the dominant group to "assert its perspective and experiences as universal or neutral...(T)he claim to universality operates politically to exclude those understood as different" (Young, 2011, p. 60). Young's interpretation of the effects of cultural imperialism aligns with the postcolonial challenges to N-S engagements and the effects of enactment in local context.

The equitable distribution of benefits in partnership is also a critical concern in this research. This research problematizes the goals of N-S partnership between the university and the local community and identifies significant contradictions including the lack of a mechanism in the relationship to ensure the primacy of local development agendas and an equitable distribution of the benefits of partnership. Fraser (1997) defines distributive justice as "the absence of exploitation, marginalization and material deprivation" (pp. 13-14). My concern in this study is the reiteration of oppression and marginalization of local interests as a product of the goals of the ISL program that are misaligned with local development agendas. Young defines marginalization as "the expulsion from useful participation in social life" (Young, p. 49). As will be demonstrated in the analysis of fieldwork findings for this research, local host partners were excluded from receiving many of the promised benefits of the program due to miscommunication and the unexpected events that erupted and complicated the planned

implementation of the program. Partners were in effect blamed and held accountable for circumstances that were often beyond their control, but which resulted in the Northern partner withholding promised revenue and resources to conduct the ISL program.

These actions obstruct what Fraser (2013) establishes as a threshold for social justice: full participation at parity as peers in social life. In this research, I am engaging her definition of participation at parity as a criterion by which to measure the extent to which N-S partnership and policy enactment may be considered socially just. According to Fraser's (2008) principle of parity, "justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life...Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interactions..." (p. 60). Fraser identifies three impediments to full participation as peers: (1) economic structures may deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers; (2) institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value may deny them the requisite standing to engage as peers; (3) they may be denied full participation by rules that refuse them equal voice in public deliberations and democratic decision-making (2008, pp. 60-61). These three barriers, economic structures, hierarchies of cultural values and denial of democratic decision making, are all present throughout the course of the partnership under analysis in this study; their identification and critique challenge policies that promote N-S partnership without adequate attention to power asymmetries and concern for the particularities of local context.

2.9 Summary.

The postcolonial conceptual framework constructed for this study engages in a critical analysis of higher education internationalization policies that frame the enactment of N-S ISL partnerships. The particular construction of North-South educational partnerships is situated in a context where power, authority, local histories and culture combine to produce material, professional, external and local effects, specific to the site wherein policy is enacted (Braun et al, 2011). The restructuring of internationalization in higher education, to conform to the objectives of a market oriented, knowledge economy

focused on particular outcomes, obscures and subordinates interests that lie outside of the economic imperative.

The negative consequences of policy implementation in this context are generally unintended, understood as unfortunate externalities with the promise of a trickle-down benefit to local stakeholders, however there are implications for social justice that demand institutions and partners recognize the mutual value of host partners and communities and take steps to engage local stakeholders as peers in the process of partnership (Gewirtz, 2006; Fraser, 2008). Postcolonial theorists challenge the desire or even the ability for Global North interests, translated through the activities of N-S, university-community partnerships, to engage with Others equitably without rethinking frameworks that do not readily recognize knowledge that lies outside of the domain of Western cultural values or knowledge traditions (Spivak, 2004). The conditions of modern partnerships risk compounding the continued coloniality of N-S relationships, identified by the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group, particularly within development-oriented activities that do not conform to the principles laid out in the Paris Accord (2005) and subsequent multilateral agreements that establish an operational framework for equitable N-S partnerships. The intrinsic competitive interests of neoliberal global capitalism forecloses the possibility of engagements that seek to mitigate the externalities of unequal power exercised through N-S partnership; to do so would induce market inefficiencies and unravel the broader ambitions of internationalization: to compete and succeed in the global economy (Mignolo, 2011).

Chapter 3

A review of select research literature

3.1 Overview

The literature reviewed for this study is organized into two sections in this chapter: empirical studies, including research on international service learning and related fields including critical development studies and critical policy sociology, including studies specifically focused on the internationalization of higher education. Several studies included for review in this chapter address the unique implications for N-S development partnerships, specifically between universities and Global South NGOs, linking postcolonial analyses to development interventions and providing critical insight into the implications for North-South (N-S) partnerships. Within the field of higher education internationalization, key studies address concepts such as the knowledge economy and the implications for the production of knowledge as exports or the formation of entrepreneurial and globally competent graduates and faculty, are also of significance for the analysis of findings in this study.

This literature review reveals the implications for competitive interests and ambitious agendas underlying the current neoliberal narratives within higher education internationalization policy, which promote the formation of North-South partnerships. In the intersection between those interests that drive partnership formation, and the interests of Global South communities, are the stakeholders who are intimately affected by the

enactment of policy through N-S ISL partnership and practices. There is a gap in the research literature between studies that critique the narrative and production of internationalization policy and empirical studies that examine the effects of local enactment on host partners.

3.2 Positioning International Service Learning in the field of International Education Research.

There is a strong discourse within Canadian higher education that normalizes the growing number of students who travel abroad each year to participate in ISL programs (Bringle et al, 2011). Universalizing the practice of internationalization through student programming is intrinsic to much of the research literature on ISL. The empirical research on ISL reflects the assumptions, embedded in higher education policy, that international experiences are potentially transformative opportunities to deepen student learning and thus have an intrinsic value to education in general. Enthusiastic support for ISL is found in Plater et al (2009), whose analysis appraises ISL experiences as “one proven strategy of engaged learning (that) stands out as an effective means of increasing global awareness and knowledge, of deepening cross cultural understanding and appreciation of diversity, and of experiencing some other part of the world first hand: *International Service Learning*” (emphasis in original)...(It is a)... “powerful means for helping to achieve higher education’s mission to prepare students as globally competent and globally aware citizens” (Plater et al, pp. 485- 502). Several studies link ISL to study abroad and notions of global citizenship education (Lewin & Van Kirk, 2009; Gillespie et al, 2009). Lewin and Van Kirk (2009) connect the experience of ISL as a trigger to inspire innovative social entrepreneurship, an increasingly common practice particularly within the applied sciences approaches to ISL. They argue for a practice of ISL, linking a liberal education to applied practices, where “it is essential that the purpose of liberal arts education be transformed so that it provides not only a broad base of knowledge and the requisite intellectual skills, but that it develops an entrepreneurial spirit and a sense of civic responsibility” (Lewin & Van Kirk, 2009, p. 545).

The notion of global citizenship is an often-cited by-product of ISL experiences on university websites and promotional literature, although the explicit meaning of global

citizenship is contested in the literature. Critical studies exploring the links between increased student mobility and international education programming point to notions of “global citizenship” as ideologically suspect (Rizvi, 2011). Here Rizvi expresses dissatisfaction with discourses of global citizenship, arguing for the colonizing effects of approaches to international education programming in higher education that do more to further the political and foreign policy interests of Western nations than to engage in democracy (Rizvi, 2011; Shultz, 2013; Andreotti & de Souza, 2011). Shultz (2011) identifies weaknesses inherent in an approach to global learning that focuses on the production of “citizens who are mobile, competitive and entrepreneurial,” versus engaging in a deeply critical analysis of what it means to be a “citizen in a globalizing world” (p. 17). Her critique challenges discourses woven through internationalization in higher education that seek to produce globally competent graduates who are firmly rooted in notions of personal responsibility, the demands of the global economy and entrepreneurialism (Schultz, 2011; Peters & Besley, 2006).

Scholarly critiques of the concepts underlying global citizenship do not prevent their inclusion in promotional literature designed to recruit students, both to the university and to particular programs. The stability of the notion of global citizenship is challenged by higher education’s use of international programming as an effective method of student recruitment (Rizvi, 2009; 2005). Administrations struggling to attract and retain talented students turn to the commercial draw of international education. Globalization, including complex networks of travel, technology and communication, simultaneously facilitates student mobility yet higher education requires more critical and sophisticated methodologies to analyze the effect on education practices (Rizvi, 2005). Rizvi (2005) identifies the universities’ responsibility to international education practices, where they must “create spaces in which a critical examination of this new space can take place...to explore the contours of global interconnectivity and interdependence, and their implications for questions of identity and culture” (p. 339). Research by Abdi (2011) presents further challenges to social justice for Western notions of global citizenship, highlighting the effects of increased student mobility and participation in international education. His criticisms address the need for research to move international education practices toward a focus on achieving a higher degree of equality between Global North

and South. Abdi's (2011) more material analysis of the effects of international education are supported by Andreotti, (2011a, 2011b, 2007, 2006), who calls for an "actionable postcolonial education" to engage the international education debate in a critique of Western epistemological prejudices and material limitations, developing a critical framework that has implications for the pedagogical foundations of ISL and higher education internationalization (2011a, 2011b).

The bulk of the empirical research literature on ISL moves beyond conceptual analyses of global citizenship education to a focus on the potential transformative effects on student participants. Several longitudinal studies by Kiely (2005, 2004, 2002) consider the impact of ISL on students' personal growth and transformation addressing the political, moral, intercultural and communication skills that emerge post-ISL and the growth of global social justice awareness within students. His research traces the process of identity construction among students, post-ISL, identifying the tensions that develop among affluent, predominantly white students from the experience of poverty and the dissonance between their prior assumptions of the causes for inequality and new historical knowledge of Western privilege (Kiely, 2011, 2005, 2004, 2002). Kiely's (2005) research specifically focuses on the nature of students' experiences and the disrupted assumptions regarding their personal values, specifically North American capitalist and consumer culture, that students struggle with upon return. Kiely's (2005) analysis describes a *chameleon complex* that emerges within students returning from ISL programs, representing the, "...internal struggle between conforming to, and resisting, dominant norms, rituals and practices in the United States" (p. 276). The production of dissonance from students' experiences in ISL confirms the presence and awareness among participants for social justice and global inequality; however, what is missing here is a recognition that students' experiences do not occur in isolation, there is a complementary impact of ISL on host communities, but these issues are not raised in Kiely's early work.

More critical studies acknowledge that ISL programs do impact Global South host communities (Renner, 2011; Grusky, 2003); however, these analyses are also positioned from the perspective of participants and do not engage host partners directly. Crabtree

(2008) describes her experiences as an ISL instructor and reflects on what the material implications of ISL on the host community after participants depart:

- Local children become enamored with the foreign students and the material possessions they take for granted.
- Students and other visitors leave piles of used clothing and other “gifts” behind after project completion.
- Community members fight about project ownership as development activities exacerbate internal political and interpersonal divisions.
- Members of neighboring communities wonder why no one has come to help them.
- Projects reinforce for communities that development requires external benefactors.
- National governments rely on NGOs to respond to the needs of their country.
- Many students return to pursue courses of study and careers with little apparent divergence from the path of/on privilege (pp. 18-19).

While Crabtree’s (2008) study illustrates the material effects of ISL on host partners, her study also points to the performative effects of N-S ISL partnership. The benevolent gestures and donations of gifts and trinkets construct a practice of ISL that repositions Southern partners as dependent upon Northern charity. The colonial effects of benevolent models of ISL not only reinscribe inequitable power relations between North and South partners, they potentially marginalize Global South communities further through displacement of local initiative, technology and local accountability for development (Townsend et al, 2002). Here the focus is on the unintended consequences of interventions in Global South communities versus intentions.

The effect of context, including local values, traditions and technology are often overlooked in favor of projects and processes developed in institutions and classrooms of universities in the Global North. Sutton (2011) focuses on the contradictions between the theoretical conceptualization of ISL and the enactment of projects in host communities.

Her work concludes “ISL spreads what has been largely seen as a Western concept...it sometimes enters into contexts where its terminology is foreign, its concepts at right angles to local frameworks of reference, and its understandings of engagement culture-bound” (Sutton, 2011, p. 136). Sutton (2011) argues deploying ISL without “close, thoughtful attention to local context and a clear understanding of the forces shaping that context” (p. 126) subjects the practice to charges of ethnocentrism, imperialism or neocolonialism. Sutton (2011) challenges approaches to ISL that “invoke a romanticized, well-meaning but nevertheless stereotypical version of ‘local culture’ as all the context one needs to know, assuming service means the same thing regardless of location, and restricting service placements to the kinds of organizations and issues relevant back home; this misunderstands local situations, devalues communities as coeducators, and creates a flimsy scaffold for ISL courses and research alike” (p. 126; Tonkin, 2011).

Studies identifying links between global institutions and social structures and their effects on local communities argue for a practice of Global Service Learning (GSL), to emphasize mutuality and reciprocity (Longo and Saltmarsh 2011). Although Longo and Saltmarsh’s (2011) analysis calls for a “deep and grounded knowledge of the culture of the people in host communities” (p. 75), the findings of their research point to an outcome-oriented approach to service learning, focused on intercultural competencies for student participants. Moving toward the engagement of local partners and probing their experience of ISL, Kahn (2011) presents a framework built on the use of visual methodologies to engage host partners in a photographic study. She provided host partners with cameras to “reverse the gaze” of the ISL experience (p. 125). Her work effectively illustrates the need to move beyond the rhetoric of international partnership and service through a material reversal of power achieved through photographic observation. Kahn (2011) argues against ISL programs that: (1) reduce marginal and vulnerable communities to arenas where students observe the effects of poverty; (2) test particular remedies or solutions to singular social problems through ISL programs; or (3) seek to gain first hand experience of abstract concepts such as violence and armed conflict (2011). The privilege of mobility combined with a lack of knowledge of local culture, history and language isolate the ISL learning experience rendering practices superficial exercises. Although Kahn’s study acknowledges the heterogeneity and

unevenness of ISL practices, ultimately her conclusions are limited to methodological and theoretical practices, and do not suggest new directions for more effective engagement with local communities.

Marginalizing the interests of local host partners is the focus of Erasmus's study on ISL partnerships between South African communities and U.S. universities (2011). Erasmus, a professor at the University of the Free State, South Africa, was originally introduced to ISL as a faculty member seeking a means to engage students in citizenship activities and education in the post-Apartheid era. She initially viewed ISL as a pedagogy that had tremendous potential to increase her institution's understanding of the opportunities for academic/community engagements to: a) increase a sense of citizenship among students in the post-Apartheid era; b) activate an appreciation of the value of critical reflection based on the community service experience; and c) cultivate reciprocal partnerships to address community needs (2011). Reflecting on her experiences with ISL she acknowledges "misgivings about the possibility of achieving reciprocity in service learning partnerships were expressed as...the politics of partnerships...The American model of ISL stress (the impact on (the) student, sometimes to an unsettling degree" (Erasmus, 2011, pp. 350-355). Moreover, she contends that "service learning is prone to unequal power relations as a result of the fact that the interests of one partner easily become dominant" (Erasmus, 2011, 355). She advocates a practice of ISL that foregrounds the building of capacity between communities and institutions to engage partners in equal dialogue and input so that programs reflect "joint ownership, design, control and evaluation" over projects (Erasmus, 2011).

Mahrouse challenges the allure of international volunteering and travel that produces "the tourist effect" through ISL participation; she argues that volunteer programs make superficial contributions to communities, for example the construction of schools or homes. She argues that "such efforts may emerge out of the desire of (participants)...to falsely imagine themselves as equal to those they are trying to assist" (2010, p. 176). The question of students' motivations for engaging in service learning is probed in recent longitudinal research, conducted with Canadian students participating in volunteer/education programs abroad (Tiessen & Heron, 2012). Their work suggests

superficial connection between students' motivations to participation in ISL or international volunteering programs, the depth of their learning and the implications for communities. Research participants indicated that the desire to travel, seek adventure or to add to their university resume are all top reasons for participating in volunteer abroad programs (Tiessen & Heron, 2012; Tiessen, 2009, 2008).

The research literature obliquely references the potential hegemonic effects of ISL (Green, 2000), but there have been few studies that specifically explore the host partners' experiences to more deeply understand the substantive consequences of ISL partnerships. A recent study by Tonkin (2011) notes "American models of ISL stress (the) impact on the student—sometimes to an unsettling degree (p. 193). In the context of these critical analyses, ISL reflects a solipsism that aligns with what African postcolonial critic Achille Mbembe (2001) identifies as integral to Western approaches to African issues and identities that historically viewed Africa as empty, dark and shadowy waiting to be filled and illuminated by Western knowledges. Local cultures, values and traditions are often obscured by a practice of ISL, which is performed as a palimpsest, a superficial and temporary immersion of students and faculty into communities, where short-sighted interests preclude an ethical engagement with host communities. In fact, much of the ISL literature "obfuscates the construction and naturalization of Western dominance and supremacy" over Global South communities, and

naturalizes a discourse of modernization in which colonialism is either ignored or placed securely in the past, so that we think it is over and does not affect—and has not affected—the construction of the present situation. The result is a sanctioned ignorance (constitutive disavowal) of the role of colonialism in the creation of the wealth of what is called the 'First World' today...(Andreotti, 2007, p. 69).

The development of a global consciousness, or global citizenship, is often cited as a goal in promotional literature developed by universities to attract participants to ISL programming. While arguably a step toward consciencizing students and citizens from Canada or North America in making lifestyle changes to incrementally work toward social justice or developing intercultural sensitivity, the multi or interculturalist approach

to ISL does little to challenge broader structures of power that produce inequality (Butin, 2005, 2003; Westrick, 2004; Tonkin & Quiroga, 2004). The exercise of cultural and institutional power through service learning is analyzed in Butin (2005, 2003). He argues for an examination of the power relations reproduced through service learning. His work concedes that ISL is a “culturally saturated, socially consequential, politically contested and existentially defining experience” (Butin, 2005, p. 97). Soft, multiculturalist or non-critical notions of social justice embedded in the practice of ISL provokes criticism of the ISL metanarrative to promote global awareness among student participants.

In the current drive to internationalize campuses in Canada, the number of ISL opportunities increased dramatically. Recent studies by Tiessen and Heron (2012; Tiessen, 2009, 2008) are critical of the impact that large numbers of North American students have had traveling and volunteering in communities of the global south over the past decade. Conducted more over than five years, their work is founded on a longitudinal study of Canadian university students, including interviews with student participants in international volunteering programs. They found students’ motivations for engagement in volunteering abroad were generally inchoate, motivated more by a desire to travel and simultaneously earn university credit, and were only superficially engaged with local hosts’ (Tiessen & Heron, 2012). Students’ experiences were complicated by the little preparation to engage in local communities (Tiessen & Heron, 2012; Tiessen, 2009). Spivak affirms the vague responsibility that volunteer development establishes for engagement with Global South communities. Universities and human rights organizations have “uncomplicated standards for success” and engage in “quick-fix training institutes” to prepare volunteers, where the idea of “being a helper” is sufficient in and of itself to dispatch students to the Global South (Spivak, 2004, p. 532).

Spivak (2004) recognizes a common dilemma in NGO or charitable organizations operating within the South that is key to the N-S relationship investigated in this study: local NGOs are generally dependent on Northern aid for their very survival and this reliance forces them to mimic the behaviors and responses local partners perceive are expected by the Global North NGO. Spivak (2004) reasons that “unless partnerships think differently and move beyond ‘consciousness-raising’ about human rights, and rising

literacy, local autonomy will never exist and this will continue to provide justification for international control” (Spivak, 2004, p. 526). Further, she challenges Western universities directly, that, if there is an authentic commitment to social justice, to engage in an educative practice that “unmoors it from its elite safe harbors, supported by the power of the dominant nation’s civil polity and be interested in a kind of education for the largest sector” of humanity, the rural poor of the Global South (Spivak, 2004, p. 526).

The alibi effect occurs when voluntourists (students) believe they have done their part by making the effort to travel and thus assume that the failure to progress socially lies with the local community. The turn to a global lifestyle-philanthropy approach to voluntourism is critiqued in research by Jefferess (2008) and Andreotti (2006) who conclude that “voluntourist” approaches to engagement in the Global South do little to change or challenge current conditions and may perpetuate marginalization through cultural imperialism. Simpson’s (2004) research on student gap-year volunteering finds that despite language in promotional literature that claims

a clear ‘mandate of change’ of ‘worthwhile contributions’ ... Such an approach, and such language, illustrate the gap year industry’s understanding of development as a simplistic process, one demanding primarily enthusiasm and labor. Consequently the industry aligns itself within modernist and westernization development models, encouraging the ‘third world’ to follow the West’s example and offering volunteers to set the example (p. 686).

Conran (2011) addresses key questions surrounding the cultural politics of voluntourism linking it to global discourses of neoliberalism and philanthropy. Her work is critical of what she identifies as a false intimacy between volunteers and host communities that further inscribes the logic of western superiority through volunteering projects. Most importantly for this study, Conran’s (2011) research links voluntourism to neoliberalism through a reduction in social services and the presence of policies that promote volunteering to redress social inequities. This analysis contributes to establishing a foundation for the critique of the discourses of higher education internationalization that engage students in ISL volunteering at the level of tourism. Programs that do not challenge the underlying inequities that produce poverty are proof of the “epistemic

discontinuity with the ill-educated, rural poor” of the Global South (Spivak, 2004, p. 527). It is a “sanctioned ignorance” that legitimizes the cultural supremacy of the West, naturalizing the subaltern Other again in a position of inferiority, grateful to the generous assistance of Northern volunteers (Andreotti, 2007, p. 70).

The questions that remain unasked in the ISL research literature are: How do local communities experience the impact of ISL program enactment? What interests benefit through the practices of N-S partnership and ISL link to the broader discourses of internationalization in higher education?

In this research, different avenues are traversed to consider how ISL impacts local communities. The methodologies guiding this study to explore the perspectives and experiences of local host partners are a means to interrogate internationalization policies, produced institutionally and nationally, considering the extent to which there is the possibility of a “pedagogic effort that may bring about lasting epistemic change” in oppressed communities where programs take place. In the current context of internationalization in higher education the emphasis on higher education N-S partnerships has shifted from one targeting development and cooperation to a marketized and competitive model, one which targets the production of knowledge exports and research opportunities to raise institutional profile (AUCC, 2007). This analysis seeks to map the intersections between the objectives of new policy discourses implicit in internationalization and the implications for N-S ISL programming in local communities.

The N-S ISL partnership in this study was initiated in response to the HIV/AIDS tragedy and its particular effect on women and children in East Africa, and has characteristics that align its conceptualization with soft development responses to crises in the Global South. Responding to calls from Stephen Lewis, the UN Special Envoy to Africa for HIV/AIDS, and a passionate advocate raising awareness of the ravages of this disease on communities throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, the program sought to assist communities through public health awareness programming of the benefits of a particular nutritional supplement developed by the university. Lewis’s work on Africa describes in detail the effect that “watching people die for the last four years” had on his personal life, and his continued frustration with the global political and financial structures that have hobbled

African nations in attempts to develop sufficient health infrastructure to meet the demands of this particular disease (2005). It is this “perpetual rage” (p. 4) that Lewis speaks of in his lectures, that motivated students, faculty and researchers to become involved in partnerships with local communities in Mji.

Development programs that pathologize and isolate social issues, for example HIV/AIDS, subsequently miss critical contextual influences that obstruct attempts to define and apply singular solutions to complex issues (Harcourt, 2007). Harcourt (2007) problematizes large development initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals’ focus on specific categories for development, for example, maternal health and HIV/AIDS. Harcourt argues that development initiatives that dismiss context and focus on medicalizing problems of poverty to fit into a market-led health policy logic are more about creating new arenas for investment and expansion of biomedical goods and services than about women’s rights or health (Harcourt, 2009). A similarly narrow focus on the production of a nutritional supplement believed to be beneficial for immune system health for those suffering from HIV/AIDS was the focus in this N-S ISL program. Harcourt’s critique of a response to poverty that isolates issues and attempts to redress them without attention to the larger context, highlights a key issue that affected the North-South ISL program examined in this study.

The salient point for the analysis of internationalization policy narratives that drive the formation of North-South partnerships in this research, is the question of why this focus on the ISL partnership? Who benefits? The benevolent intentions of ISL programs responding to critical issues such as HIV/AIDS, but failing to recognize the contextual influences that persist and contribute to producing the problem, reproduce a practice of N-S partnership and ISL programming that masks the effects of and the impacts that the imposition of external agendas have on local communities. The effects of Global North hegemony, clearly documented in the critical development literature, are reiterated through similar practices of higher education N-S ISL partnership.

The dominance of development initiatives by Northern interests is a concept extensively documented in the literature of critical development studies. Several excellent studies identify the impact that a donor mentality on the part of Global North partners, ensuring

that authority over resources, program direction, decision-making and control over project time frames, privilege the interests of the dominant partner (Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Jowi, 2012; Silvey & Rankin, 2010; Brohman, et al, 2003; Townsend et al, 2002; Dale & Robertson, 2002; Holmes & Crossley, 2002). Moreover, the effects of neoliberal policy and the application of managerial techniques, attempting to govern relationships with partners in the Global South, shift the focus in North-South partnership. Neoliberal international development focuses on identifiable measurables and outcomes that are often unilaterally determined by the Northern institution (Duffield, 2001; Clarke et al, 2000; Olssen & Peters, 2001). The goal is no longer specifically poverty alleviation, opening a new avenue to engagements that are not accountable for related social effects.

There are four inter-related themes in the field of critical development studies that raise significant issues for this research: exercise of power, distribution of authority, production of dependency and reiterating of neocolonialism in North-South partnerships. The balance of power between partners from the North and communities in the South continues to challenge development partnerships. At stake is the issue of local stakeholders' autonomy. Elbers and Schulpen's (2011) study on decision-making in North-South partnerships highlight the influence of trust, shared goals, respect and mutual influence as the basis for successful partnerships. One of their most significant findings demonstrates that the ability of Global South partners to participate fully in decision-making is key to mitigating the effects of power asymmetries inherent in North-South institutional partnerships (Elbers and Schulpen, 2011). Research by Brohman et al (2003) specifically focuses on North-South partnerships between universities and local NGOs and finds that engaging Southern partners is often challenging for universities whose faculty and representatives do not have the capacity to engage in local languages, and who have different interests and objectives for partnership; superficial attempts are often made to expand local ownership and control over the direction of projects (2003). The rhetoric of equitable participation in North-South partnerships loses its meaning when it is participation effected on terms that reduce local partners to facilitators for the production of partnership unilaterally directed by the Northern partner (Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Elbers & Arts, 2011; Baas, 2005; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Lister, 2000). Authentic partnership requires the time and effort to build trust and engage in processes

that promote collaboration. Mawdsley, et al, (2005) identify “face-to-face” interactions, including reciprocal visits and time spent in-country, between North-South partners as the single most important opportunity to developing trust and mutual accountability in partnerships.

Multilateral efforts to promote the decade of sustainable development in education continue to urge universities throughout the world to work together on projects related to sustainability and development, based on the fact that “universities educate most of the people who develop and manage society’s institutions. For this reason, universities bear profound responsibilities to increase the awareness, knowledge, technologies and tools to create an environmentally sustainable future” (Calder & Claxton, 2003). The notion of sustainable development conceptualizes “three interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars” (Wright, 2009, p. 106): economic development, social development and environmental protection; the intersection of these is where sustainable development occurs. In the literature of sustainable development, higher education has a particular “responsibility to become (a) physical model of sustainability” (Wright, 2009, p. 108). Yet the discourse of internationalization elides discussions of reciprocal partnership, social progress and development as cooperation.

Notions of cooperation and development, formerly cited as priorities in policies produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC, 2007) are giving way to projects that attempt to produce returns on humanitarian investments. This reality affirms Spivak’s (2004) observation that while the accords and declarations signed annually by the world’s nations to address key issues are laudable and contribute to global awareness of critical social, political and environmental issues, particularly for those less dominant regions and populations of the world, they are ultimately, unenforceable (Spivak, 2004). In theory, internationalization should produce students and research that is tolerant, reflective on global political, economic, cultural and environmental issues, seeking to provide ethical solutions to pressing problems. Yet in contrast, there is currently an ascendancy of discourses in Canadian higher education internationalization that focuses on promoting research, programming and partnerships leading potentially to profit or which promote selective foreign policy objectives.

In the context of global neoliberalism, efforts to diagnose poverty as a deficit of economic activity have redirected development efforts toward commerce and the rhetoric of social entrepreneurialism as a remedy to poverty (Dean, 2011). The potential to exploit communities under the guise of engaging local resources and stakeholders in economic enterprise, with hoped for trickle-down effects to the broader community, are not catalysts for development. Instead, neoliberal policies exacerbate the systemic deficiencies that produce poverty, particularly the lack of a strong educational and social services infrastructure or mechanisms to redistribute the benefits of economic gains throughout the community (Silvey & Rankin, 2010; Bush, 2007).

The attempt to replace humanitarian aid with a new form of governance has little effect on overall poverty reduction, particularly because it isolates the issue of poverty from the complexities of local context and relations to global institutional and economic interests (Townsend, et al, 2002; Harcourt, 2007). The continued drain on local resources through the inequities of global finance structures not only siphons off needed funds through exorbitant interest rates, the terms of assistance loans dictates the ways in which money is invested in local communities and social services (Ndikumana & Boyce, 2011). Citing the failure of forty years of humanitarian aid projects, McGinn (2000) is critical of the new rhetoric of partnership, collaboration and policy coordination to mask what is essentially a recycled strategy to international educational and development; these terms obfuscate the effects of programs that trap local partners in relationships, circumscribing activities contingent on Northern partners' consensus and agreement. Little local autonomy or independence is achieved for the Southern partner (McGinn, 2000; Ashman, 2000).

Higher education initiatives to promote sustainable development have encountered similar barriers to effective partnerships. The rhetoric of "Education for Sustainable Development" originated at the Stockholm conference on the Human Environment in 1972 (Calder & Clugston, 2003) and became the slogan of the UNESCO Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, 2002-2012 (UNESCO, 2013). In the case of higher education, however, there persists an asymmetrical distribution of benefits, privileging Northern interests. Samoff and Carol (2004) examine this issue in their study

on the continued dependencies engendered by institutional frameworks of higher education in the North that refuse to relinquish control of funding, programming direction and that displace local institutional authority. Their study challenges the donor mentality of universities engaged in research or programming in partnership with African institutions. Their findings are corroborated by several studies by African scholars, who identify the terms and conditions of partnership, generally established by Northern universities, as significant obstacles to expanding capacity in local universities (Ishengomo, 2011; Obama, 2013a, 2013b; Obama & Kimbwarata 2009; Okome & Vaughn, 2012). Although higher education partnerships potentially direct resources toward African institutions, the history of educational relationships suggests that local institutions have little directive authority over how resources are invested (McGrath, 2010).

3.3 Postcolonial implications of higher education internationalization

Postcolonial analyses of higher education and policy invoke the influence of globalization and its attendant pressures on institutions to engage competitively and exploitatively in Global South communities (Apple, 2006; Tikly, 2011, 2009; Hickling-Hudson, 2009). The master narratives that drive the internationalization on Canadian campuses center on the rise of the knowledge economy and the associated imperative that students, faculty and campuses must gear up to participate competitively in the global race, or risk being eclipsed by more savvy, efficient and technologically advanced players (Sassen, 2008). The terms engaged in this narrative promise a new, leaner, faster form of higher education: globalization, the knowledge economy and partnerships are three categories repeatedly referenced as vehicles to link higher education to the potential benefits of internationalization.

Globalization is related to the study of internationalization policy enactment in this research as an external category, deployed to justify internationalization policies that rationalize a market-based approach to higher education; however, the effects of globalization for higher education, beyond a call to engage in knowledge production

competitively, are unclear. Sassen calls for critical studies on the effects of globalization to

destabilize the accepted narratives and explanations of globalization. These have produced the global as a master category that obscures as much as it reveals. The aim is to generate new questions for research, questions excluded by dominant narratives. A second feature is the need to develop conceptual architectures that allow us to detect what we might think of as counter-geographies of globalization (Sassen, 2008, p. 70).

Sassen's call for research to challenge established narratives targets the inevitability, shared benefits and competitive agenda outlined in higher education internationalization policies. Ball's (1998) analysis of the effects of globalization on the policyscapes of higher education illustrates the dual effects of the marketization of education. The dominant pressures on education are the imposition of a managerialist approach to the processes of education combined with the logics of the global free market, facilitated by global networks and institutions such as the World Bank (Ball, 1998). It is the intention of this research to unsettle the dominant narratives of policies that promote international engagement through ISL with the presentation of empirical findings on the effects of community partnerships on host partners. This critique interrupts the oversimplified discourses that neglect historical and cultural context in an attempt to normalize and universalize the practice of internationalization according to a Global North-centric notion of education partnerships. Critical policy sociology provides the framework and methods to pursue this research, analyzing the links between global structures to the local effects of partnership enactment.

Critical policy sociology is distinct in the field of policy studies in its focus on the critique of oppressive social practices (Dale, 2001, 379). Ozga's (1987) methodology for policy sociology locates it within the social sciences, bringing together an empirical analysis of socially constructed relationships with the investigation of the ideology and intention of policy texts. Apple (1996) integrates a critical analysis of the effects of political power exercised through education policy. The field of policy sociology is influenced by texts and discourses that seek "to frame, constitute and change educational

practices” (Lingard & Ozga, 2006, p. 2). Lingard and Ozga (2006) contend that in a context where education is aligning with political and economic agendas, a critical analysis of policy must engage related texts that reflect those objectives. The assemblage of policies put together for this study reflects a wide range of documents related to higher education policy including national policy papers produced by professional organizations such as the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC), multilateral agreements produced by the OECD to provide frameworks for North-South development partnerships, institutional international strategies and local development documents produced in Tanzania. The current formulation of institutional internationalization policy is deeply integrated to a broader national initiative to internationalize and diversify Canadian foreign policy and trade, particularly in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008 (AUCC, 2012). In this context, there are shifts occurring within the Canadian political agenda that have consequences specifically for N-S educational partnerships. The “spin” on internationalization enthusiastically promotes internationalization and higher education as twin endeavors to reposition Canada and its political economy on the global stage and to equip students with the skills and experiences needed to compete effectively in the global marketplace (Gewirtz et al, 2006).

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) identify the need for specific methods and the production of research to examine the processes that now frame global education policy. Education policy plays a key role in promoting and facilitating social change. They argue “it is through policy that governments seek to reform educational systems...policy desires or imagines change—it offers an imagined future or state of affairs, but in articulating a desired change, always offers an account somewhat more simplified than the actual realities of practice” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 5). The intentions for N-S ISL partnership are more clear when considered in the context of a fuller understanding of the interests guiding higher education internationalization . Tracing the interests embedded in the narratives of policy reveal what it confers to vested interests; in Easton’s words, “the essence of policy lies in the fact that through it, certain things are denied to some people and made accessible to others,” policy functions as the “authoritative allocation of values” (Easton in Lingard & Rizvi, 2010, p. 7). Ball’s (2006) summary of the social implications of power exercised through policy discourses concludes that they are “about

what can be said and thought, ...about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority” (p. 48). The critical analysis of policy traces the relationships between the design of policy and the motives that define policy initiatives as imperatives at this time.

The most salient theme of internationalization in contemporary policy narratives is the urgency to internationalize higher education in order to capitalize on the opportunities of the knowledge economy. The emergence of the knowledge economy, linked to neoliberal policy practices in education, is associated with the World Bank and OECD (Olssen & Peters, 2002). The term “knowledge economy” is linked to a range of documents produced throughout the decade of the 1990’s, the era of the Washington Consensus, and specifically relates to a shift in policy engaging neoliberal practices by the U.S. Treasury, the IMF, OECD and the World Bank, seeking to network notions of knowledge, economy and human capital development (Fine, 2009; OECD, 2013a). The position taken by these institutions places an exclusive emphasis on intertwining education and knowledge that can be used either to acquire skills and technology for the production of goods and services or knowledge that can be produced as a commodity (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009). A closely associated and equally problematic concept linked to the knowledge is the understanding of human beings as both sources of and producers of capital, an outgrowth of the financialization of nearly every sector of the economy and the encroaching commodification of all aspects of human exchange, facilitated by governments in those goods and services not naturally exchanged on market terms, through the application of neoliberal principles (Fine, 2009).

Currently, notions of the “knowledge economy” are normatively applied to link the act of learning and the practice of educating to the economy (Portnoi, et al, 2010; Kenway et al 2006). The implications for engagement in the knowledge economy for higher education are seen in the pressures exerted on universities to produce highly-skilled workers to support national economic interests. The economic crises of the past decade have produced record and protracted levels of unemployment in North America; neoliberal arguments advocate reducing barriers to trade as a means to generate economic stimulus. Lauder et al (2012) identify those events and links their effects to a discourse of optimism and the possibilities for the knowledge economy, where there is a sense of the “limitless

possibilities for creativity in the global marketplace that many argue turns its face away from the realities of economic history” (p. 7). These are questionable yields from a market-based solution to market slowdowns, and Stiglitz (2003) cautions that

politicians and economists who promise that trade liberalization will make everyone better off are being disingenuous. Economic theory and historical experience suggests the contrary: even if trade liberalization may make the country as a whole better off, it results in some groups being worse off. And it suggests that, at least in the advanced industrial countries it is those at the bottom—unskilled workers—who will be hurt the most (p. 68).

Insecurity, competition and individualism now mix in a policy environment that conceptualizes self-reliance as the solution to the costs of the welfare state, and recognizes the market as the most effective arbiter of social inequities (Peters, 2007). The international emphasis observed in higher education policy seeks to capitalize on the growing acceptance of the global marketplace in society and to engage education as both a vehicle for economic development and a commodity in and of itself (Marginson, 2006, 2002; Jones, 2008). Growing the number of public/private international partnerships in education is one example of this trend to distance civic interests, representative of communities, from higher education (Ball, 2012). This effect is of critical importance when the community under consideration is significantly distant from the source where policy is formulated. The highly touted potential windfall to universities through participation in knowledge economy activities is repeatedly highlighted in policy, a discursive move that “masks the darker effects of capitalism” including the potential exploitative effects of N-S partnerships on marginalized communities (Lauder et al, p. 7).

Knowledge as an export emerges as a central theme in the discourse of higher education internationalization policy and the sets the direction for an agenda that seeks out economic and remunerative rewards for scholarly interests; programs that value less return-oriented learning and results, or whose value is realized over time, are less likely to be pursued at this time (Delhi & Taylor, 2006; Ball 1994). Knowledge, conceived of as a good to be employed in the pursuit of wealth creation, is important to an understanding of the implications for internationalization policies in this research. Peters’ (2002)

analysis of discourses in higher education policy illustrates the discursive and institutional relationships between the terms ‘knowledge,’ ‘economy,’ and ‘education,’ linking specifically market oriented interpretations of each to global mega-trends in education (p. 100). The disembodiment of higher education from specifically local priorities ambiguously locates its interests in a mix of provincial, national and globalized sources (Jones, 2008; Marginson & Rhodes, 2002).

Tracing the roots of internationalization policy reveals a complex network of local, national and international interests that link the national economy to the interests of higher education yet are enacted in the broader context of globalization. Sassen’s (2007) analysis demonstrates that globalization is not a singularly exogenous phenomenon, rather it works simultaneously as an endogenous activity, emanating as much from political and economic forces within a nation, as from without. In much of the literature, globalization is presented as an external, suprastructural phenomenon, something that happens outside the Westphalian boundaries of the nation-state; however, Sassen (2007) argues globalizing trends are, “partly endogenous to the national rather than a formation that stands necessarily outside and in opposition to the national,” transcending traditional boundaries through links to transnational organizations and interests (p. 70; Yang, 2003). Globalization, as a domestically internal force, is related to neoliberal principles and their effect on trends in higher education policies. Harvey (2005) identifies neoliberalism as a policy discourse that integrates

political and economic practices that propose human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (p. 2).

In the current context of neoliberal economic and social policy, education systems worldwide are experiencing rapid and often tumultuous change, aligning more closely with transnational capital interests and engaging in partnerships that transcend traditional national boundaries; the tools of critical policy analysis allow for the excavation of ideologies, embedded in policy texts, that contribute to the marginalization, suppression or oppression of people, culture and diversity. In a neoliberal context, there are few or no

checks on the activities of the market. In fact, it is specifically the weakening of the state apparatus of regulation and insurance that creates opportunities for exploitation. Harvey further defines the relationship between the state and the market in a neoliberal context establishing the limited responsibilities of the state to

set up those military, defense, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security or environmental pollution, then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks, the state must not interfere (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

Neoliberal policies reflect Sassen's (2007) focus on subnational processes, which function as social and economic networks responsive to globalization but whose dynamics are powered by local energies and objectives. Establishing the connections between globalization, internationalization and the sub-networks of higher education, and the formation of North-South partnerships, establishes the foundation for an analysis of the impact of a hierarchy of interests enacted through policy and the analysis of consequences in local context.

There is a significant gap in the research literature addressing the context of internationalization policy aligned with international development. Reconceptualizing international development and humanitarian aid in terms of international trade is occurring in tandem with changes to internationalization in the sphere of higher education (Bush, 2007; Barry-Shaw & Jay, 2012). The effect on higher education, through the discourses of the knowledge economy, advocates engagement in N-S international partnerships as a prescriptive response to domestic economic stagnation and to address chronic development inequalities throughout the Global South (Stiglitz, 2002; Kenway et al, 2006). Ben Fine criticizes the excesses of neoliberal approaches to Global development, often resulting in what he terms "development as zombieconomics" (2009, p. 885); this term refers to a perceived "dead zone" for development initiatives where the market economy is relied upon to fix market and institutional imperfections.

Neoliberal strategies to internationalize and diversify higher education institutional interests, ultimately governed by the market, demand a continual refocusing of priorities or relocating of programming to those spheres where profit is possible. Aligning its interests with myriad processes of globalization, including commerce, governance and education interests, universities are now operating more as quasi-corporations than independent knowledge producing institutions (Jones & Oleksiyenko, 2010; Marginson & Rhodes, 2002).

These shifts in higher education internationalization are far removed from Knight's definition of internationalization as, "the processes of integrating international, intercultural and global dimensions into the purpose, functions--teaching/learning, research and service---or delivery of higher education (2004, p. 9). In the contemporary Canadian context, the ambitions of higher education internationalization reach far beyond intercultural engagement. The potential political and hegemonic effects of N-S partnerships or programs conceived of in this context suggest that economic benefit to the institution in the form of research or student satisfaction will remain priorities with little incentive to engage in long-term development partnerships (Olaniran et al, 2008). The language of internationalization in policy codes isolates international partnerships and educational activities as add-on programs, obscuring the effects of policies and adopting the language of development which may contribute to furthering neocolonial practices within communities of the Global South (Beck, 2012; Haigh, 2008; Peters, 2002; Spivak, 2012, 2004, 1999).

In more recent research, Knight addresses the intersection between higher education internationalization and economic globalization, yet her analysis continues to focus on each phenomenon's distinct differences (Knight, 2008). Her analysis of international education clearly reflects the diminished role that international education plays in terms of providing students with an appreciation for historical, cultural and linguistic difference. Citing the 2005 International Association of Universities (IAU) worldwide survey on internationalization, she notes that respondents identified competitiveness as the number one rationale for internationalization, which was ranked by more than twice

as many respondents as compared to international cooperation (IAU, 2005). Ilon's (2010) analysis theorizes higher education's shift to a competitive agenda based on an analysis of the *Global Competitiveness Index*, which rates countries on their overall competitiveness within the categories of poorest, middle and wealthiest countries. This assessment demonstrates that the wealthiest countries derive profit from innovation and service activities while the poorest countries rely on raw material exports; further she argues, "to the extent that innovation is linked to higher education, then, ... (it)... is not only a driver of innovation, but it is also a critical component of staying economically competitive (among) the world's wealthier countries," (p. 18). The implications for higher education is the demand for programs designed to prepare citizens/students for commercialized practices further reflected in the establishment of "market relations... as a way of measuring productivity, accountability and control" throughout education (Olssen, et al, p. 187).

It seems inevitable that the neoliberal turn to marketizing the production of knowledge and higher education includes intensifying public-private partnerships. Ball (2009) identifies the "seemingly inevitable trend toward privatization" in education as part of a larger reformation, or recalibration of both the state and the role that education plays within state (p. 5). The intertwining of the interests of state and the private sector contributes to the broader understanding of how globalization is potentially transforming social relationships, particularly the conception of citizens' relationship to the state, through education. The traditional Keynesian welfare state is undergoing a dismantling, including a reduction in programming supports to individuals and communities in instances when goods and services not provided for in the market are considered necessary to a good society (Fraser, 2012, Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This new society emphasizes individual responsibility for health, education and employment and is incrementally forming subjects whose expectations for support are no longer focused on the State; in this new order, citizens will be "entrepreneurialized" and "responsibilised" (Peters, 2009) and made to be self-reliant in all aspects of life. Education policies are increasingly written in language and methods borrowed from business models, which emphasize the principles of the necessity of change and managerialist techniques, espousing a set of beliefs grounded in individualism, self-efficacy or self-reliance (Ball,

2009, p. 86). In this model, the State must be restructured to accommodate the profitable operation, expansion and flow of globalised capitalism across borders; entrepreneurial states are rewarded in the competition model and require a like-minded citizenry to staff its enterprises (Ball, 2009, p. 97).

Peters and Besley (2006) construct a framework for the analysis of the emergence of an “entrepreneurial self” linking internationalization to neoliberal objectives to “responsibilise the self;” a trend where local and national governments place greater responsibility on individuals for employment, social welfare and education. This move is grounded in a shift away from the welfare state to a more limited notion of government services. It is a complex network of nuanced policy and social pressure to craft a discourse that clearly links the moral subject to an independent, self-sufficient one.

Peters (2001) identifies

a genealogy of the entrepreneurial self (that) reveals the relationship promoted by neo-liberalism, that one establishes to oneself through forms of personal investment...that becomes the central ethical component of a new individualized and privatized consumer welfare economy...(R)esponsibilised individuals are called upon to apply certain management, economic and actuarial techniques to themselves as subjects of a newly privatized welfare regime (p. 60).

The values of equality and universal participation are, in this new discourse, associated with the welfare state and criticized for engendering a culture of dependency and inefficiency (Saltmarsh, 2011; Peters, 2007; Bacchi, 2000). These trends are of crucial importance in evaluating the effect internationalization policy has on students’ decision to engage in particular programming, such as ISL. Gewirtz (2006, 1998) argues for an analysis of education policy that seeks to theorize the social justice implications of policy effects. Her argument conceptualizes education policy as an instrument of justice, both in the distribution of social goods and the recognition of relationships in society. Her framework demands policy analysis that investigates questions of relational justice that may contribute to oppression (Young, 2011). In an environment where individuals are formed to act in a rational, cost/benefit or actuarial manner, students will act as

consumers, weighing the relative risks and benefits to educational/economic decisions. Challenges to social justice are neutralized and glossed over, paralleling Ulrich Beck's (in Peters, 2007) analysis of the risk society, where

no longer are inequalities of wealth and income paramount (although such inequalities remain), the chief problems are now environmental hazards...Risk may be defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself...The risk society is characterized essentially by a lack: the impossibility of an external attribution of hazards (p. 157).

The risk society is linked back to the knowledge economy, where "learning, knowledge, information and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce," in other words, knowledge or education is the only insurance against the potential hazards of the risk society, economic decline and technological inferiority (Peters, 2007, p. 72). Drawing on arguments that point to knowledge capitalism, Peters and Besley (2006) develop the term *knowledge cultures* to refer to the linkage of business principles, such as organization, partnership and work, to those traditionally associated with education and learning. To talk in terms of knowledge cultures opens up spaces to consider a more interdisciplinary approach to the critique of knowledge, not only as an extension of an evolving global economy, but in terms of the cultural production of individuals who are both shaping and shaped by the discourses of marketized knowledge.

The element of speed is a key quality associated with the knowledge economy and affects Peters and Besley's (2006) notion of knowledge cultures. The "theatre of fast knowledge" in their analysis refers to developments within education policy that reflect transformations in the finance and technology spheres. It is facilitated by the impact of digital technologies and the internet at the micro level, which they argue have changed the rules of business (Peters & Besley, 2006). The fast economy is one where

information and technology 'leak' to where barriers are lowest and demand is highest...It is a central element in knowledge capitalism, both as content and as technology that refines the very system responsible for its ever-increasing fast circulation (Peters and Besley, 2006, pp. 95-97).

The performative element of fast knowledge speaks to both the ease of accessibility to fast knowledge and the lack of depth required to acquire it. Universities have become, “theatres of fast knowledge, driven by the ethos of performance in teaching and research...” (Peters & Besley, 2006 p. 97). This claim is analogous in their work to the “McDonaldisation” of contemporary society, a metaphor used by Eric Schlosser (in Peters and Besley, 2006) in his, *Fast Food Nation*, in which he argues that the metaphor of McDonald’s in food production is applicable to a broader set of processes related to globalization which have taken root in North American society and rely overwhelmingly on theories of rationality, scientific technology or Taylorism (p. 99). This paradigm poses interesting questions to the consideration of internationalization in Canadian higher education. In the text of policy, the ‘barriers’ to participation in ISL are generally low, and current targets to double the number of international opportunities for students do not indicate prerequisites to participation such as language, cultural or even technical competencies. There are presumptions that engagement is the overriding imperative, facilitated by ease of travel and low barriers of entry to most partner communities. A more detailed analysis of the relation between ‘fast knowledge’ internationalization and ISL will be presented in the analysis section of this research, Chapter 4.

The effects of the competition phenomenon in higher education are evidenced in universities’ attention to global rankings and the mission to attract top scholars, students and research funding (Marginson, 2006; Labi, 2008). These trends parallel key shifts in the language of Canadian higher educational internationalization strategies (AUCC, 2007). The inclusion of development and cooperation in the Canadian context is acknowledged in this report; however, it is key that it is positioned against the need to integrate broader funding support, including public-private partnerships, noting fragmented and inconsistent funding from institutions and national funding agencies.

The report notes that

the priorities of funding organizations—governments and industry alike—are shifting, and universities must align their institutional research priorities with these new priorities to secure funding...the call for increased commercialization of research and industry involvement has necessitated adjustments on the part of universities. There is a growing emphasis on accountability as well, and

university researchers need to demonstrate the values and outcomes of their research more concretely (AUCC, 2007, p. 18).

This example underscores the priorities of internationalization for Canadian higher education, where there is often a wide gap between the rhetoric of development and cooperation and the intentions of internationalization (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Bennell & Pierce, 2002). These priorities reflect the global economic restructuring of the past two decades which has deeply affected the role and expectation of the university. In educational terms, the negative effects of globalization, including shifts in the global economy that exert pressure on the economies of the Global North and have resulted in reduced return on investments, higher labor costs relative to other regions of the world and increased competition from emerging markets, have contributed to the integration of higher education to produce innovative research and to ensure that the national labor force is equipped to compete internationally (Burbules & Torres, 2000).

Repositioning higher education as a center for the integration of transnational flows between national and global economic interests prioritizes the role of the university as a center for national and international economic renewal and political management (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). The discourses of the knowledge economy have established criteria for research and higher educational activities that range from opportunities to produce patents to the setting of skills-based learning outcomes and enforced compliance through defined measures (Powell & Snellman; 2004). Measuring knowledge outputs assists in bringing higher education internationalization into alignment with broader national foreign policy and economic strategies (Trilokokekar, 2010). Marginson and van der Wende (2006) identify explicit institutional strategies to implement national economic programs through the internationalization of higher education research partnerships and student programming (Altbach & Knight, 2006). These studies reveal a much more complex project for internationalization in the context of knowledge commercialization, one with ethical implications for communities in the Global South which are sought out as markets or potential partners to provide research sites or recruits (Marginson, 2007). These developments are particularly troubling when

policies seek to further distance institutional or governmental responsibilities for the effects and consequences of programming or partnership (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peters, 2001).

Recent research on Canadian institutions by Jones (2008) challenges the traditional flow of authority from national sources to provincial universities. In Jones' analysis of Ontario universities, he argues that

internationalization, as a concept, presumes that higher education operates within the context of national governmental authority. Universities are located within nations, and they become internationalized by integrating extra-national dimensions, (from other nations or cultures), into their functions or objectives. (2008, p. 21).

Considering the implications for new obligations of universities as institutions is explored in Marginson and Rhodes' (2002) notion of the university as a *glonacal* institution. They construct the model of a glonacal university as "a framework for conceptualizing agencies and processes that extend beyond the nation state...(F)or all the discussion of national states and markets, there is limited analysis of the complex agencies and processes that define them" (p. 285). In their development of this model, there is not one level of influence or interaction that necessarily diminishes another; in other words, the global is not necessarily the dominant force in shaping higher education. The glonacal agency heuristic, as applied to higher education and the university as agency

emphasize(s) the intersections, interactions, mutual determinations of these levels (global, national, and local) and domains (organizational agencies and the agency of collectivities). We do not see a linear flow from the global to the local; rather, we see simultaneity of flows. In the stories that we want to offer and facilitate about higher education we do not see global agencies and agency as fully defining national and local agencies and agency. National and local entities and collective efforts can undermine, challenge and define alternatives to global patterns; they can also shape the configuration of global flows. At every level – global, national,

and local – elements and influences of other levels are present. A glonacal agency approach leads us to trace these elements and domains (p. 290).

The evolving role for universities within a new context of internationalization has implications for the engagement of higher education as an agent for international development. As will be demonstrated in the analysis below, the university, as a global institution/agency, is neither passive recipient, nor does it singularly perform its global activities in the limited sphere of education; rather there is a hybridized and multiscalar engagement of higher education (Jones, 2008; Ball, 2007; Marginson, 2006, 2002; Fairclough, 2000). It is in a market or neoliberal context, however, that the principles for socially just N-S partnerships are challenged. Drawing on the findings presented here, this research will demonstrate how the intertwining of a variety of discourses, provincially, nationally and globally, produce a competitive agenda for higher education (Ilon, 2010). The competitive agenda for higher education through internationalization and N-S partnerships has serious implications for local partners in Global South communities, questioning the appropriateness of university engagement in development endeavors outside of a rigorous reflexive adherence to equitable principles for N-S engagement such as those outlined in the Official Development Assistance Act (Government of Canada, 2013a), the Paris Accords (2005) (OECD, 2013c, the Accra Agenda (2008)(OECD, 2013c) or the Busan Agreement for Partnerships, (2011)(OECD, 2013b).

3.3 Mercantilizing knowledge

Two concepts from Lyotard's (1984) analysis of the university are key to the values that underlie the formation of North-South partnerships: 1) the performativity of higher education in the production of skilled workers versus critical intellectual development; and 2) the massification of knowledge and research that can be produced for profit. His theory illustrates the 'mercantilization of knowledge' where the production of knowledge, as a commodity, renders internationalization policy a mechanism of broader capitalist goals (Lyotard, 1984, p. 5). Policy provides the framework for institutions to

shift their gaze from knowledge produced for the public good to knowledge produced to yield profit and secure power. He identifies knowledge (ideology and new information, insight) as another technology taken up by (capitalist) producers. In this framework, “knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold, it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production: in both cases, the goal is exchange. Knowledge ceases to be an end in itself...,” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 5).

The university is thus subordinated to the status of “subsystem of the social system” valued for its ability to contribute to the best performativity of the system, measured by efficiencies and maximal output, but oblivious to what is true, just or beautiful (Lyotard, 1984, pp. 44-48). Lyotard (1984) theorizes that knowledge became the principle driver in production decades ago, a transformation that contributed to the gap that persists between developed and developing worlds; an assertion that is critical to the analysis of the North-South ISL partnership in this study. He demonstrates that it is this power of knowledge to drive economic accumulation that privileges the West and other advancing economies in relation to the Global South. In his words, “knowledge...will continue to be a major—perhaps the major—stake in the worldwide competition for power... (Lyotard, 1984, p.5).

The ability for nations with significant knowledge-capital to position themselves favorably relative to less-knowledge wealthy economies is problematic in two respects: (1) there is a legitimization of authority that these economies assert over others through transnational educational and economic policy; and (2) the scientization of knowledge privileges not only economic power and market solutions to social inequity, but also the ethical, political and cultural values of those dominant interests (Lyotard, 1984; Peters, 2002). Both of these criteria serve to inform internationalization policy and to justify the position of Western ideology as superior in relation to local epistemologies in communities of the Global South. The dynamics produced through institutional power relations is manifested in Global South communities through internationalization discourses and exercising the governance of communities through programming that reinforces Western hegemony.

Critics of the knowledge economy and the neoliberalization of higher education policy cite the lack of reference to ethical or political effects of globalizing higher education; the shift in the role of the state from the insurer of some measure of justice and redistribution to the strong stick of capital, ensuring access to markets and resources, is the most significant effect of contemporary neoliberal policy (Kumar & Hill, 2009; Peters, 2001). Ultimately the role of higher education becomes instrumental: it must produce (globally) competent graduates to focus on productive activities and suppress broader critical inquiry (Harris, 2007; Friesen, 2011). Studies that focus on pedagogical practices, such as that by Bourn (2011) argue for a broader consideration of internationalization to integrate social, cultural and environmental in internationalization strategies (Knight, 2011; Altbach & Knight, 2007; Altbach, 2002). While this research correctly criticizes the limited definition of internationalization taken up in much work on higher education and globalization, it misses the critique of power and political authority that must be addressed to make a new global perspectives pedagogy a possibility.

The shift in internationalization policy to emphasize profitability and efficiency over democracy and equity is conceptualized in a “social efficiency framework” for higher education policy, where the emphasis is on the “system’s capacity to make an adequate return on investment, assessed in terms of its contribution to producing workers with knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to increasing productivity within the knowledge economy” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 78). The language of commerce intrinsic in internationalization policy further underscores Delhi and Taylor’s (2006) findings that Western government agencies are now openly skeptical about the social sciences model of teaching and research. They argue that there is a growing demand for solutions-oriented research and applied programming, particularly in education. “The problem identified in some critiques is not merely that we have failed to disseminate and ‘translate’ knowledge that can be used to address educational and social problems, but rather that the questions we ask and the manner in which we ask are inappropriate or misdirected” (Delhi & Taylor, 2006, p. 105).

3.4 The effects of the knowledge economy on internationalization in higher education.

Two concepts are important in analyses of the effects of the knowledge economy on internationalization in higher education: first, the formation of a broader base of interests producing discourses informing and directing education; it is no longer just the government, local or national. Education discourses are produced by multiple sources and require assemblage to excavate and map their linkages (Jones, 2008a). The glonacal heuristic developed by Marginson et al, (2002) seeks to conceptualize the simultaneous interactions and interventions by multiple levels of government exercising concurrent effects of governance. Second, these trends are closely aligned with qualities associated with globalization, “convey(ing) a sense of urgency and speed, they work ‘swiftly and efficiently, and are ‘focused’, they deliver ‘streamlining and ‘manageability’ and ...they articulate a form of scaremongering...”(Ball, 2009, p. 87). In terms of policy-making, the shift to a governance model of education affects (1) inter-national relations and politics; (2) educational policymaking within nations; and (3) the introduction of the private sector in policy formation (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011, p. 491). Together these changes harmonize the nation-state, transnational capital and education to facilitate national economic interests within the global economy (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011). The dismissal of the discourse of education as a common, public good is a development Stiglitz argues will have disastrous implications for those communities with less competitive advantage in the short run, and the global community as a whole in the long run (Stiglitz, 2002).

The impact of the discourses of internationalization policies that operate in a neoliberal, capitalist, “social efficiency framework” is troubling. These trends are particularly problematic for countries and communities in the Global South where educational infrastructures are less strong than those in the Global North, and are generally dependent on funding from transnational organizations (Torres, 2009). Obama’s (2013) historical analysis of the effects of partnerships on Africa is salient for this research; in his work he identifies key threats to the continued development of Africa (broadly referred to, but

recognizing the unevenness among sovereign countries on the continent), including exploitative practices in partnerships following decades of structural adjustment policies under the Washington Consensus Regimes at the World Bank, IMF and WTO; continued brain drain through academic recruitment and argues for an approach to engagement and development that emphasizes capacity building and cooperation (2009). His arguments correspond with research by Samoff and Carrol, (2004) which tracks the practices of higher education institutions with communities and universities in Africa that promote increased dependencies (Ishengomo, 2011).

Exploitative practices in higher education, demonstrated during the period of structural adjustment programming that imposed on many countries of the Global South during the 1980's had devastating results for the internal economies and social infrastructure of countries, particularly those in East Africa, including higher education (Maathai, 2009; Stiglitz, 2003). The implications for practices generated outside the boundaries of a particular nation-state that challenge traditional Westphalian notions of political authority, including the trends in global governance cited above (Ball, 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In a deterritorialized policy context, the struggle to mediate external pressures on domestic practices places communities with less authority and capital at a disadvantage to those with larger resources (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011). Sassen's analysis of globalization and authority identifies a methodological shift in the exercise of authority; what "were once components of public authority (are now) growing into an array of forms of private authority," particularly in terms of the conceptions of territory, authority and rights (2008, p. 74). When mapping out the effects of policy directives on local or domestic practices, there is a linkage between the agenda laid out by organizations such as the World Bank, WTO and OECD, or increasingly private capital sources, which act as a touchstone for national policy development on communities (Ndikumana & Boyce, 2011).

An example of the power that transnational public and private organizations have within East Africa on education is to consider the period of structural adjustment loans in the late 1980's through the late 1990's, where national and municipal governments were constrained in domestic infrastructure investment by conditionalities to IMF aid; the

authors identify “loan pushing,” which is the encouragement by officials at the World Bank and IMF for countries in Africa to take on more debt, even in full recognition of corruption and the impossibility of future repayment. Further financial maneuvers by private corporations, particularly related to oil extraction, offered loans to oil producing countries with ballooning interest rates that in effect deprived national coffers of earning any money from resource exports (Ndikumana & Boyce, 2011; Okome, 2012). Yet in the complex network of power relations between transnational officials and national leaders in the regions, the imprimatur of the World Bank, IMF and significant transnational corporations provides “legitimation for national level changes whose implementation may be controversial” (Ozga, et al, 8).

The impact in the field of education has been no less severe; the imposition of policies generated by the transnational organizations such as the World Bank and OECD over the past two decades has led to the creation of teams of education experts whose authority supersedes that of local ministries of education (Samoff & Carrol, 2004). One specific example that reflects the impact of World Bank and OECD educational policies for communities in the Global South is the provision and direction of funding to (1) primary education enrolment and (2) skills and technical training, both areas of education deemed to provide the greatest rate of return for investment, while secondary and tertiary education remain underfunded (Torres, 2009; Samoff & Carol, 2004). Within the current structure of aid and its ties to policy, national educational authority is superseded by these transnational organizations, resulting in a weakening of local educational infrastructure to accommodate the global regulatory authority. In this precarious financial context, the possibility of university partnerships with community organizations in East Africa often presents resource poor partners with few choices but to engage in partnership in the hope of creating greater local capacity. The resulting new “global educational policy field,” where transnational actors wield significant power within subnational contexts (Lingard, Rawolle & Taylor, 2005), demands an analytical framework that understands the dramatic rescaling of global political developments and education policy (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011).

There remains the question of the potential for resistance, at the local level, to the imposition of policies from external sources (Ball & Olmedo, 2013). This is a topic that will be taken up in the analysis section of this research, but it is important to note here that several studies, (here I will consider those generated by researchers from Sub-Saharan Africa), take up issues related to partnerships in higher education with institutions from North America. Such studies outline the difficulties encountered related to equitable and just practices, and there are emerging studies that specifically address the complications associated with international volunteering programs and cultural hegemony (Erasmus, 2011; Sutton, 2011; Heron, 2008).

The practice of transnational authorizing of local educational policy and practices reflects the conceptualization of knowledge as a technology to be imposed from above versus an endogenous activity, reflecting local values, traditions and knowledges. Kenway et al's (2006) critique considers the effects and limits of the OECD's definition and resists notions that, "technological knowledge is the main source of economic growth and improvements in the quality of life" (p. 288). Her analysis challenges the uncritical acceptance of the cost/benefit analysis framework as it is applied to educational inputs and outputs, and argues that the contributions that local knowledge, culture and critique play and have played significant roles historically in the development of human knowledge and capabilities. A Tanzanian example of this effect is demonstrated by the impact of World Bank education policies that sought to exclude local knowledge, culture and history from national institutional curriculum (Shuyler & Vavrus, 2010). Shuyler and Vavrus analyzed attempts to "transform" the Tanzanian post-secondary educational sector make it more competitive and productive. Their study found

there has been insufficient attention paid to the impediments facing Tanzanian college graduates as they enter the global market place due to the structure of schooling...the current discourse minimizes the cultural economic and political dimensions of schooling that impinge on the ability of higher education students to become engines of innovation...(2010, p. 178).

Struggles to assert autonomy within African higher education often encounter the same obstacles that efforts to maintain control and authority over local development initiatives

confront. The asymmetry of resources available to local organizations and institutions is sparse; in the absence of accountability mechanisms to ensure that partners with significant resources work to promote balance and equity in partnership interactions in African communities, there is the danger that activities will continue to conform to the interests of the dominant partner and that the benefits produced through partnership will flow back to that same institution.

3. 6 Summary.

The literature reviewed for this study points to the absence of educational studies that consider the impact of ISL programming and N-S partnership on local host communities. There is an assumption in a significant portion of the literature that due diligence and deep learning, on the part of North American ISL participants, can mitigate the effects on host partners; however, without critical analyses of experiences reported by local partners this remains speculation. The restructuring of Canadian universities' role, in the context of a broader shift to neoliberal governance, makes its role in internationalization partnerships ambiguous; does the university act to produce knowledge to further the common good, or is it an extension of national economic policy? If the N-S partnerships continue to be guided by market principles, or remain only at the level of consciousness-raising for participants, opting out of a more critical, transformative engagement, little will change in terms of the unequal structures that hold current N-S positions in place.

The research literature on the effects of globalization on the institution and management of the university suggest that there is a complicated network of interests seeking to leverage the knowledge production opportunities inherent within the university. In this context, it is essential that a clear framework for N-S partnership be established, so that universities do not exploit communities whose resources and research opportunities hold value for Northern academic interests. Without such measures in place, universities may potentially interact in Global South communities in a manner similar to that of past corporate or politicized interests, extracting that which is deemed valuable and leaving communities either unchanged or worse off. The example of African higher education's attempts to partner with North American institutions is a cautionary tale of the challenges

facing the more vulnerable institution: to both ensure equitable N-S engagement and to hold dominant partners accountable to the initial terms of partnership.

Chapter 4

Methods & Methodology

Overview

4.1 Purpose of the Study.

This research is framed as an instrumental case study, designed to probe the gap in the educational research literature, between those studies that examine the transformational effects of ISL on student participants, and the emerging concerns of effects of North-South (N-S) ISL partnerships (Creswell, 2012; Stake, 2005; Patton, 2002). This study conceptualizes N-S higher education partnerships as an extension of internationalization policies, and considers the effects of the enactment of policy within the host community of Mji. It is a critique that explicitly and implicitly demonstrates how higher education internationalization policy may “support or undermine the values of democracy and social justice” in the community (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 70). Its purpose is to contribute to the gap in the empirical literature on the impact that ISL programming, anecdotally referenced in the ISL research literature, (Erasmus, 2011; Renner, 2011; Crabtree, 2008) may have on host communities. The framework for social justice engaged for this research is informed by Nancy Fraser (2013; 2008) and Iris Young (2011) whose analyses of the impact of marginalization through nonrecognition and denial of full participation at parity in partnership conceptualizes the experiences shared by host partners in this study.

Table 4.1 A methodological framework for social justice research.

Action	Approach
Focus of study	Explores issues that disadvantage or excludes individuals or cultures.
Methods	The procedures of research, including data collection, analysis and representation, standards of evaluation and ethics, emphasize an interpretative stance.
Data Collection	At all stages, care is taken not to further marginalize participants or research sites.
Position of Researcher	Sensitive to power imbalances throughout all facets of the research.
Ethics	Ethical practices of the researcher recognize the importance of the subjectivity of their own lens, acknowledges the powerful position they have in the research process and admits that participants are ultimate owners of the knowledge produced.

Adapted from Creswell, (2012).

The findings of this research are positioned in a critical, postcolonial framework, to consider the effects of N-S ISL partnership within a broader context of globalization and the reach of internationalization, from universities in the Global North to the sites of enactment in the South.

Table 4.2 An Interpretative framework for critical, postcolonial research.

Framework	Critical, Postcolonial
Ontology	Reality is found in a local, historical context, including the colonial, post and neocolonial relations between Global North and South; social oppression is based on positionality informed by historical experiences, race and class and culture.
Epistemology	Reality is known through the study of global social structures and experiences; the West constructs discourses that seek to define and Other those who are different from their traditions.
Axiology	There is value found in local, indigenous knowledges, cultures and traditions that resist the primacy of Western knowledges and technologies.
Methodology	Research begins with an assumption of power and identity struggles; it seeks to document them and work toward action and social change.

Adapted from Creswell, (2012).

The specific case study design of this research program is outlined here, detailing the process of inquiry I followed and the actions I took to gather information while in the field. It is organized into two main sections: the first outlines the particular case study methods that informed my choices and the methodological decisions made to guide its implementation in the field (Stake, 2005; Weis and Fine, 2004; Patton, 2002). The second section outlines the approach to critical policy analysis, drawing on frameworks constructed by Rizvi and Lingard (2010) to study the effects of globalized education policy and the analytical framework proposed by Braun et al, (2011, 2010), to deconstruct the consequences of policy enactment in local context. In this section, I will argue for the ensemble of policies under investigation and the specific tools employed to deconstruct the implications embedded in policy discourses.

The empirical fieldwork conducted for this case study is framed as an exploratory and naturalistic study, engaging ethnographic style, semi-structured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Finlay, 2012) and field observations (Angrosino, 2005; Angrosino & de Perez, 2000). The initial fieldwork is supported by subsequent correspondence conversation with the study's participants (Richardson, 2000). These method support the exploration the impact this N-S ISL partnership made through the enactment of programming in Mji. The local partners include: local NGOs, a school, related community organizations, and local businesses.

The empirical analysis is considered within a framework for the enactment of internationalization policy. It is designed to map the effects of internationalization, linking the local to the global, through a critical analysis of the discourses of policies and the material and personal effects of policy enactment in local context (Braun, 2011; Weis & Fine, 2004, 2005). The linkages between globalized education policy and the enactment of N-S ISL partnership presented in this study provide a lens through which to consider the effects of ISL partnerships, and the potential effects of contemporary internationalization on communities and individuals in Mji.

4.2 Case study methodology.

Case study inquiry establishes the possibility of a deeply focused, detailed study on the particular effects of an instance of phenomena, pursued to understand its meaning, unique activities and functioning (Stake, 2005). According to Creswell, (2012) case study methodology is one in which the investigator “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) ...over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information including observations, interviews, audiovisual material, documents and reports. Stake argues that case study is a methodology that embraces “the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (p. 452). It produces situated knowledge that seeks to understand “how individuals make sense of, resist, embrace and embody” their experiences as partners in this program (Fine & Weis, 2005, p. 67). Case study research demands clear boundaries, that fully “render visible relations to other groups and to larger sociopolitical formations...analyses can no longer afford to isolate a group or to represent their stories as transparent and bounded” (Fine & Weis, p. 66). In this case study ideology, the connections between the experiences of ISL stakeholders in Mji can be traced to the implications for a practice of internationalization that obstructs local efforts to engage as peers in partnership. The particular experience of N-S ISL partnership in this study illustrates the effects of a policy and institutional move away from N-S partnerships foregrounded in the principles of Official Development Assistance (Government of Canada, 2013) including the location of project ownership within the community, at the level where those most directly impacted by partnerships are situated (OECD, 2013b, 2013c).

Flyvbjerg’s (2001) arguments in support of case study inquiry address criticisms that point to the limitations of case study methods, particularly related to theory, reliability and validity, all aspects of research representative of scientific methodologies. He argues for a practice of case study research grounded on a phronetic approach, which is defined as an approach to social science analysis that goes beyond the limits of *techne* (knowledge that provides know-how) or *episteme* (abstract and universal knowledge). Phronesis engages in research that highlights the specific relationships in a given social situation, illuminating power, authority, democracy and justice (Flyvberg, 2001). In Flyvberg’s (2001) methodology, phronetic case-study research asks the following

questions of a specific phenomena or issue: 1) where is it going? 2) who gains, who loses, and by which mechanisms of power? 3) is it desirable? and, 4) what should be done? (Flyvberg, 2001, p. 20). Investigating this particular phenomena of N-S ISL partnership through a phronetic lens lays the groundwork for an empirical study of partnership, which traces the links from the experiences of partners to the discourses of internationalization policies analyzed in this study, interrogating the impact that practices have on local communities. It is a deeply context specific study, producing “context-dependent knowledge and experiences” (Flyvberg, 2001, p. 71).

The experiences and insights shared by local partners are the central focus of this case study research (Stake, 2005). These contributions tell the particular story of partnership lived and experienced by these participants. Stake (2005) argues that case study researchers should seek those “issues that bring out our concerns”...and...“seek out compelling uniqueness” (p. 449). Flyvberg (2001) corroborates Stake’s (2005) argument that irregular black swan discoveries drawn from the “intense observation of limited material” can yield more value to a deeper understanding of particular phenomena than observable patterns (p. 75). Stake (2005) argues it is the irregular and contradictory evidence that is of particular importance in the production of research focused on issues of social justice.

The local context of Mji is key to understanding the effects of this ISL partnership (Stake, 2005). This case study considers a specific instance of N-S ISL partnership; the emphasis on context facilitates deeper understanding of the relationship where “human dilemmas and the nature of the case are situational, revealing experiential happenings of many kinds” (Stake, 2005, p. 449). The research strategy in this study was informed by Weis & Fine’s (2004) approach to case study inquiry as a composite analysis, linking particular lived, local experiences to significant global social and economic structures. They urge researchers to engage in critical bifocal analysis as a strategy to gain insight into the institutions and ideologies that construct a network of economic privilege, exploiting and governing the resources and resistance of vulnerable populations. It is the obligation of critical researchers “not simply to dislodge the dominant discourse, but to help readers and audiences imagine where the spaces for resistance, agency and

possibility lie” (Weis and Fine, 2004, p. xxi). It is important to foreground partners’ responses in this study to challenge the positivist sense of the universal benefits extolled in internationalization policy in general and the potential of N-S partnerships in particular. Composite case study and critical bifocality methodology align well with the postcolonial and social justice positionality of this research, particularly my desire to produce a study that approaches educational partnerships in the context of globalization, highlighting linkages between dominant, global institutional interests and the unintended consequences experienced in local contexts.

Weis and Fine (2004) locate their focus in case study analyses on sites where power, agency and authority are exercised in the production of oppression. To illuminate these effects, they argue researchers must wear two critical lenses, bifocals, to focus on the near and far, to map “obviously related, but seemingly remote conditions that shape local contexts, group identities and individual lives” (2004, p. xxi). Although their research has been centered in communities within the United States, they argue that structural inequalities and linkages between core of power and peripheral communities demand the same scrutiny and analysis. Compositional case studies have

far-reaching implications for a continued mapping of new economic, social and cultural forms, including those associated with existing and emerging social class, race/ethnicity and gender formations across the globe. The power of our theory of method...lies in its malleability and transportability inside a world context (Weis and Fine, 2004, p. 154).

Educational studies have traditionally pursued international research through a comparative framework; there is a gap in studies that seek to link the effects of globalization on higher education, particularly those practices that impact core and periphery interests (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Kenway & Fahey, 2006). The social, economic and cultural influences in Mji interact and exercise effects and affects on the ISL partnership under analysis here on multiple levels. In their work within racialized and marginalized communities, composite case study methodology, with a bifocal fix on both local and global interests, situates an analysis of power, inequality and privilege between institutions, groups and individuals lives, which are considered within and

against relationships to key social and economic structures (Weis & Fine, 2004, p. xvi). They argue that “social theory and analyses can no longer afford to isolate a group, or to represent their stories as transparent, as though that group were coherent and bounded; instead, we must theorize explicitly, that is to connect the dots, to render visible relations to other groups and to larger sociopolitical formations” (Weis & Fine, 2004, p. xvii). To construct critical compositional case studies, they rely on three key “moves” in research.

First, Weis and Fine (2004) deliberately position ethnographic and narrative materials/data into a “contextual and historic understanding of economic and racial formations” to analyze “limit situations,” a Freirean (1982) term identifying key historic moments, significant unequal power relations and the multiple (relations) to every day life (xvii). In this research, critical moments in the enactment of partnership are identified as limit situations that challenge the authorizing discourse of internationalization and partnership. This is a crucial dimension of the analysis engaged for this research because it highlights the often-invisible linkages between the present and past, historic and economic contexts which act on individual lives intermittently and often unconsciously. In this research, I am aligning my analysis with Weis and Fine’s (2004) assertion that these “webs that connect structures, relations and lives are essential to understanding...the material context within which individuals are making sense” of their lives (p. xviii).

Weis and Fine (2004) argue that while race, ethnicity, class, gender must be resisted as essentializing and coherent categories in analysis, it is simultaneously important to “take very seriously ...categories (which) become real inside institutional life, yield dire political and economic consequences” for those whom the effects of policies or partnership practices are enacted (p. xviii). The second move in compositional analysis engages race and social class to pursue the material context of the study. Although the conceptual framework of this research is informed by postcolonial and critical policy studies, the (bi)focus, on both the very real lived lives of the study’s participants and the context of the local community, linked to the broader global initiative of N-S partnership, demonstrate the significance and urgency for analyses of policies and their unintended consequences on the sites of their enactment.

A critical postcolonial perspective to this research problematizes the attempt to speak for others across racial, economic and historic boundaries (Spivak, 1999; Alcoff, 2007). In this research I sought to work reflexively with Weis and Fine's (2012) contention that it may be possible to "flip the script," to produce an analysis, drawing on contributions from participants, that troubles and challenges neoliberal policy discourses and practices of North-South educational partnerships. Donna Harraway's (2003) analysis corroborates the need for research that moves beyond abstract analysis to identify the material and embodied effects of power on vulnerable or marginalized communities, and the need for critiques that produce or effect change. She argues for research that is a "successor science...a project that (is) critical and reflexive (in) relation to our own as well as others' practices of domination and the unequal parts of privilege and oppression that make up all positions" (2004, p. 85). In this research, there are tensions that accompany claims to authenticity and representation associated with the voices of host partners and other participants through the interviews conducted for this study. The crisis of representation, documented in qualitative research critical of ethnographic approaches, reveals the re-colonization of participants by Western researchers of Global South voices and also challenges the stability of voice and field observation as data (Visweswaran, 1994).

To mitigate the effects on and address the dilemmas of representing the experiences of those who are ultimately so Other from myself and my lived experiences, I am drawing on Lather's (2007) poststructural, ethnographic analyses of voice; she advocates a rethinking of "the idea that the work of methodology is to take us to some noncomplicitous place of knowing. Instead, Lather (2001) argues that the work of methodology is to negotiate the "field of play" of the instructive complications that knowledge projects engender regarding the politics of knowing and being known" (p. 204). It is a practice of case study research that engages triangulation of the interview and observed data with strong reflexivity throughout all stages of the research process (Stake, 2005). Through reflexivity and triangulation throughout this project, I am working to distill a discourse of partners' ISL experiences that will challenge the dominant narratives of internationalization and raise awareness of the implications for the

enactment of policy in local contexts. I will further address the implications of voice as data in the analysis section of this chapter.

The third research move in Weis and Fine's (2004) composite case study framework requires that research is responsive to variability. Here, researchers must "resist searching for in-group coherence or consensus as anything other than a hegemonic construction...it is critical to theorize how variation and outliers re-present the larger group" (2004, p. xix). Attention to diversity corroborates Flyvberg's (2001) argument that case study methods create a space to consider a specific manifestation of phenomena, opening up an opportunity to express diversity without seeking to produce or enforce a generalizable theory (Creswell, 2012; Patton, 2002). It is an approach to research that opens up "sites for possibility," where research design "fractures ideological coherence and designs that document those spaces, relations and/or practices in which possibility flourishes or critique gets heard (Weis & Fine, 2004, p. xxi). This research "seeks to trace how obviously related and yet seemingly remote structural conditions shape local contexts, group identities and individual lives" (Weis & Fine, 2004, xxi). Further, studies that claim to work for social justice must consider the influence of internationalization within local contexts and those links to broader structures and institutions that shape and drive the desires and demands of globalization; it is a web of power relationships that, if not charted, remains invisible within larger social formations (Braun et al, 2011; Gewirtz, 2006). Here postcolonial theory plays a critical role to "render visible" the historic, cultural and power relations the "webs of power that connect institutional and individual lives" (Weis & Fine, 2004, p. xxi). It is a study that demanded multiple research positions, grounded in both an empirical field study, engaging ethnographic methods to collect field data and a critical engagement with scholarship and theory to map the discourses that inform, authorize and legitimate higher education internationalization policy (Ball, 2012, 2009, 1994; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

4.3 Data Collection: Methods and Considerations.

My approach to the collection of data in the field drew on qualitative and ethnographic research practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; 2012) to highlight the contributions of individual experiences, mining narratives and silences, while considering the impact of power, authority and privilege on relationships and deconstructing the cumulative effects of history on individuals and communities (Johnson & Rowlands, 2012; Gubrium & Holstein, 2012; Jones 2011b; Gallagher, 2008; Lather, 2007a, 2007b, 2004b; Harding, 2007; Harraway, 2003; Kirsch, 1999). I collected data and materials from the local context in Mji to contribute to an analysis of the key issues that participants identified as being effected by N-S partnership including race, relative socio-economic status and power of each partner. These materials aided in the consideration of the lived realities of the ISL partnership and the implications for the discourses of internationalization. The methods engaged in this study attempt to present data to “mediate the realities of experiences....”(Saukko, 2005, p. 343) and contribute to mapping the historical, social and political structures (institutions, organizations and individuals) that hold power through the partnership. I turned to the work of researchers whose work specifically addresses the social “contradictions derived from power and the unequal hierarchies or levels of control that are often maintained, perpetuated created and recreated during and after field research” (Wolf, 1996, p. 2). Throughout this research, power relations were confronted in

- differences stemming from the positionalities of the researcher and participants (race, class, nationality, life chances, urban-rural backgrounds).
- power exerted during the research process, such as defining the research relationship, unequal exchanges and exploitation
- power exerted during the post-fieldwork period, including the analysis, writing and presenting of research findings (Wolf, 1996, pp. 2-3).

4.4 Interviews.

Central to the empirical material collected in this research were drawn from interviews, (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012; Fontana & Frey, 2005) observations (Angrosino, 2005) and field journals (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). In this research, I conducted twelve, in-depth, semi-structured interviews, in English, with key stakeholders engaged in partnerships with the Northern University that facilitated service learning, research and internships for student and faculty participants in Mji. Each of the interviews was conducted in a place that was mutually agreed to be comfortable and private for participants (DeVault & Gross, 2007), in recognition of the particular sensitivity that host partners might feel in discussing their experiences of partnership with the university. The length of each interview ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours. Originally, in the letter of consent, participants agreed to a one-hour interview, and it was only in the case of participants' desire and willingness to continue that interviews went beyond the established hour. In addition to conducting formal interviews, I was able to follow up with participants in informal conversations and through email correspondence to further discuss or check on my understanding of comments and claims made in the course of the interviews. My day-to-day activities in the field kept me in close contact with participants. It was often during long rides, between the sites of ISL activities or other community work, walks through Mji or over tea, that I was able to understand more clearly how participants experienced the ISL partnership, and where the reality did not meet their expectations.

In my approach to interviews, I recognized that there would be significant power relations between the study's participants and myself. Findlay's five lenses for conducting ethical and reflexive interviews was a particularly significant framework, which guided the research process. She argues for five considerations for an ethical interviewer: (1) strategic reflexivity, to consider the methodological/epistemological aspects; (2) contextual-discursive, to focus on the situational and sociocultural elements; (3) embodied reflexivity to focus on the researchers' embodied sense and the gestural duet between researcher and participants; (4) relational reflexivity, to examine the intersubjective and interpersonal realm; and (5) ethical reflexivity to monitor power

dynamics in the interview process (Finlay, 2012, p. 318). As the nature of the information and experiences shared with me by participants became more clear, and my concerns for the enactment of the ISL partnership grew, Finlay's framework was essential to assisting me to organize what were often difficult stories, ethically challenging events and insights that implicated my own role in the process of N-S engagements as a Global North university researcher.

Although I had worked for many years in this particular region of Tanzania prior to initiating this research, I had not previously worked with any of these agencies. Before leaving for Mji, I was able to meet with the director of the primary partner agency from Mji. The preliminary conversations I had with Margaret (not her real name) were a vital link for me to the Mji community, and to those who were engaged in the ISL partnership. She was able to suggest names to me and spoke with several of them prior to my arrival to inform them of my research goals. My familiarity with Mji and the friendships and professional contacts I had established there from past work experiences facilitated my ability to gain trust among participants and within the community. In writing and analyzing the interviews, this experience, and the time invested in Tanzania, became a central theme in what participants' desired most in their expectation of an authentic, sustainable partnership.

The approach to interviewing in this study is founded on the principle that "knowledge can be produced in structured encounters organized around "telling about experience," particularly in research linked to social justice and a desire to emancipate subjugated experiences and knowledges (DeVault and Gross, 2007). My research and position as an interviewer is grounded in a postcolonial theoretical framework, which posits the historical-social influence of relations between those from the North working in the South (Kapoor, 2008; Lazreg, 2002). I approached the interview portion of this research carefully and cautiously, mindful of the cultural, racial, socioeconomic and power differences, endeavoring to practice "hyper self-reflexivity," a continual self-examination and awareness of the responses and reactions between me and each participant during and after the each interview. Kapoor argues that hyper-self-reflexivity is called for to avoid the discurvization and misrepresentation of research participants from the Third World

(Kapoor, 2008). His argument is founded on Spivak's critique of literary and philosophical representations that speak for the subaltern, even in the simultaneous attempt to empower them or to universalize Third world cultural experiences and neutralize power differentials (1999). There is no neutral position where the researcher (from the North) is innocent of power. Research is knowledge; knowledge production is not altruistic. Kapoor argues that "knowledge is always imbricated with power, so that getting to know or discursively framing the Third World is also about getting to monitor and discipline it...and helping the subaltern is often a reaffirmation of the social Darwinism implicit in 'development'" (Kapoor, 2008, 46; Spivak, 1993; Foucault, 1972). In this way, representatives of the Third World infamously become the Western academy's "Third World retrieval system," an extension of imperialism without the political and economic coercion (Spivak, 1993). However, although I am in agreement with the lines of argument established by the scholars cited above, I am still unsatisfied with a tacit acceptance of "hyper-self-reflexivity" and its solution to the problem of knowledge production by those in a position of power.

Bhavnani's (2007) post-colonial critique of researcher reflexivity challenges researchers who "note their racial/ethnic identity, sex/gender, age, class, ability" (643) in an attempt to justify or exculpate their research practices. Recognizing the limits of one's position does not necessarily establish an active engagement with the Other. Her work draws on Barbara Haraway's (2003) concept of situated knowledges, which criticizes positivist research claims to objectivity and neutrality. Partiality and accountability are key issues for Haraway. She argues that research cannot "transcend...all limits and responsibilities" (1988, 582), "of the researcher to the research community and that the production of knowledge is about communities, not about isolated individuals" (p. 590). Bhavnani (2007) builds on Haraway's (2003) insights to further develop notions of researchers' responsibilities to their research constituencies and participants. She puts forth two requirements for ethical research practices: accountability and reinscription. Researchers must not only be reflexive with respect to their position vis a vis the research community; they must also recognize their accountability to their multiple constituencies and to investigate if their research findings reinscribe participants into dominant stereotypes. This process demands "comprehending why things are the way they are...not merely

describing them in terms of essential categories...”research must “interrogate prevailing representations rather than simply reproducing them” (Bhavnani, 2007, p. 643).

Researchers from the North working in the South must address issues of privilege, race, class and gender, confronting “material inequalities, ...(and) differences in opportunities (that) separate myself from (those) whom I was interviewing” (Gilbert in Rose, 1997, p. 307). The demands of reflexivity cannot completely account for the perceived sense of finality that my interpretation of the findings from the interviews in this study will produce. It is a research dilemma that acquires particular significance in postcolonial work intended to critique Western practices and improve relations. Western researchers entering developing settings, cannot escape the power relations that exist between those societies or between themselves as academics and their research subjects, even when they wish to do so. Western researchers are in a position of power by virtue of their ability to name the categories, control information about the research agenda, define interventions and come and go as research scientists (Staeheli and Lawson, 1995 in Rose, 1997, p. 307).

Spivak’s framework identifies three intentions researchers must make to actively engage with the Other: to acknowledge complicity, to unlearn one’s privilege as loss and finally, to learn to learn from below (1999, 2004). Throughout the process of data collection in the field, I strived to listen openly to participants, to observe critically and to rethink my assumptions at each stage of the research. Spivak’s challenges spoke to me in terms of silence, as a demand to refrain from teaching, correcting and informing, requiring me to wait, listen and to scrutinize how I produce knowledge and understanding from the information shared with me. The ethical implications of conducting interviews were significant, compelling an attention to the relative power of my position as a researcher from a university in the Global North, and participants’ roles as hosts to the program under analysis. Further consideration to the complexities of the asymmetries of power and privilege in the process of interviews is addressed in the analysis of interview data in subsequent chapters.

4.5 Recruiting Participants.

All of the participants in this study were recruited through my connections with an executive director of an NGO in Mji. The twelve participants came from six different community groups which interacted with the ISL participants over the course of this program, including schools, local NGOs, researchers engaged in the production of the nutritional supplement and local businesses who served the ISL group. Six were men, six were women; I selected these twelve participants as representative, key stakeholders from the organizations and agencies which had the most experience and interaction with Northern University.

The format of the interviews was designed to elicit the perspectives of local community partners, whose voices and experiences are conspicuously absent in the current ISL research literature, through a discussion of their intentions for engaging in ISL partnerships and an examination of specific issues that emerged over the course of their interactions with Northern partners and ISL participants. The interviewees were engaged as a “partners in the study... to use the results to advocate social policies and ameliorate the conditions” of the current partnership under study (Fontana & Frey, p. 697). The interviews were semi-structured, beginning with key themes selected from internationalization and program documents, but open-ended enough to allow for each participant to contribute what they believed was key for me to know, and to allow each the time to fully disclose their stories. In semi-structured interviews, the complexities of the interactions between the ISL program and individuality of local partners could emerge more freely, absent of my imposition of a strict framework to channel their answers (Fontana & Frey, p. 706). Finally, following the advice of Creswell, I sought out individual participants who would contribute diverse perspectives and unique insights to

this study based on their particular position in relation to the ISL partnership (Creswell, 2012 p. 156).

4.6 Analysis: Problematizing voice as data.

One of the goals in this research was to disrupt the assumptions embedded in western notions of the practice of international service learning as a partnership with communities in the Global South. Issues of race, class, history and culture permeated every aspect of project and confronted me with methodological dilemmas, particularly throughout the interview process and analysis. I drew widely from the field of feminist, post-structural and critical ethnographic research methods to construct a reflexive methodology (Hesse-Bieber & Piatelli, 2007). The problem of voice as data particularly challenged my analytical frameworks. The methodological stance presumed by poststructuralists created a space within which to consider the limitations of my role as a researcher to definitively account for the experiences of those who are of another culture, race and with whom issues of power and authority are historically embedded in our relationship (Hill, 2000). I am negotiating a tension between a desire to produce research that meaningfully contributes to challenging embedded notions of hegemony and exploitation in the discourses of internationalization policy and the intangibility of abstract conceptualizations of meaning and truth.

The implications for participants in this research are best described by Malika, a participant, who often reminded me “we cannot eat research.” There is a material immediacy that pressed on me each day, throughout the writing, theorizing and thinking in this research and the expectations that my participants placed upon their engagement in this project. It is my debt to the Mji community and research participants and communities, to produce research that must be cognizant of the need for material social change (Weis and Fine, 2012).

The representation of participants authentically, without reinterpreting their experiences and imposing an analytical framework, is a predicament that researchers continually and

creatively contemplate (Wolf, 1999; Lather, 2007; Visweswaran, 1994). The “ruins of ethnography” (St. Pierre and Pillow, 2000) call into question the authenticity of participants’ voice as a stable source of data in question (Visweswaran, 1994), and it is clear that the data drawn from the interviews with participants contribute to a “partial and situated knowledge” (Hill, 1990, p. 236). The interpretative turn in cultural anthropology (Geertz, 1973) opened a debate in qualitative research that has since interrogated dimensions of voice including clarity, empathy, authenticity, reflexivity, data, and intelligibility (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 224). Here I have included voice as data in this research, with its myriad complexities, not as a fixed and reified or conclusive summary of participants’ experiences of ISL partnership. Instead, voices are presented in this research as one of a multitude of facets that can contribute to a fuller understanding of how the discourse of internationalization can be taken up to neutralize issues of hegemony, agency, race, history and equity. It is in considering thinking about the themes and possibilities that voice as data present, as potential partial answers/insights to the research questions posed in this research, triangulated by observations, correspondence and positioned against policy texts that it is engaged in this project.

Resisting the desire to give voice to the voiceless, Alcoff (2007) confronts the use of voice in research and the attempt to speak for others as

a desire for mastery, to privilege oneself as the one who more correctly understands the truth about another’s situation or as one who can champion a just cause and thus achieve glory and praise. And the effect of the practice of speaking for others is often, though not always, erasure and a reinscription of sexual, national and other kinds of hierarchies (p. 120).

Alcoff’s (2007) arguments challenge the ethics of academics, social theorists and teachers who, in a desire to inform their respective communities, reinscribe dominance and oppression through what is a privileged position. Her analysis also addresses the challenges for researchers in the representation of the voices and ideas of others.

The issue of representation of local participants in this study was a significant concern. It was essential to accurately and sensitively integrate local contributions with the analysis of N-S ISL partnership and programming. Edward Said (in Bitzman, 2000) cautions

those who attempt to claim accuracy in the representation of Others in cultural research and analysis, stating that it is “the styles, figures of speech, setting...historical and social circumstances” that ought to be attended to (p. 27). This recognition of the ever-present influence of history and culture in the analysis of discourse throughout this research, I endeavored to construct a methodology that created the possibility of revealing/excavating a postcolonial resistance to, and neo-colonial insistence within, discourses of internationalization partnership. In gathering participants’ contributions through interviews and in the analysis of my field observations, I sought to practice rigorous and careful reflexivity to mitigate the possibilities of misrepresentation (Kapoor, 2004). Fine et al’s, (2000), analysis of the effects of research that reinscribes dominance and inequality cautioned me to think and rethink which stories I included in the findings and analysis of this project; I was guided by the knowledge that “methods are not passive strategies. They differently produce, reveal and enable the display of different kinds of identities” (p. 119). I sought out participants whose experiences would challenge the enactment of internationalization through ISL partnership and I found stories of contradiction, heterogeneity and dissonance. Although I recognized and struggled with my own voice, my position as a white, university researcher working within a Tanzanian community, it was this very tension and discomfort that I sought to deepen my own understanding of the impact of partnership.

Representation in this study is complicated by my explicit desire to avoid an “arrogant, vain, unethical and politically illegitimate” claim of research that attempts to speak for the Other (Alcoff, 2007). The inclusion of local voices in this study repeatedly raised issues of ethics, race and authenticity. The exercise of reflexivity was persistent, building on Kapoor’s (2008) call for researchers to acknowledge one’s complicity, to unlearn one’s privilege and to learn to learn from below (pp. 54-56). The recognition of racial difference was particularly difficult, and often personally uncomfortable, as the analysis and presentations of findings will support. The significance of race suffused every dimension of this research; it troubled me throughout the collection of data and continues to challenge me as I write this study. Although ‘race’ may be a social construction, in a racist society (it) bears profound consequences for daily life, identity and social movements and for the ways in which most groups “Other” (Fine, 2000, p. 112). It is

particularly salient in a study that seeks to interrogate the practices of global institutions policy enacted through partnership in local Global South communities.

Alcoff (2007) argues that it is a false dilemma to pose the choice as one “between no accountability or complete causal power” (p. 124). Further, the problem is made more complex when the boundaries of one’s self are considered in broader context. Alcoff (2007) contends it is impossible to argue that one can retreat into one’s discrete location and make claims entirely and singularly within that location, a point corroborated by Spivak (1999) argues that the refusal to speak at all for the Other masks the power that that individuals have to speak “to” the Other. Saukko (2000) negotiates this dilemma, arguing that the ability of the self to critique and be reflexive of one’s positionality further underscores efforts to justly present Others’ words and stories in research.

Although I was constrained by my positionality as a white, university researcher in this project, this position intensely influenced my desire to accurately represent my participants’ experiences, feelings and insights and to interrogate my own in the process and relationship of research. My thinking and guide throughout the process of interviewing, interacting with participants and analysis of interview texts relied on Alcoff’s (2007) assessment for the ethical representation of Others:

- (1) If one’s immediate impulse is to teach, rather than to listen, one should resist that impulse long enough to interrogate it carefully.
- (2) Those who are in apposition of speaking at all cannot retreat from an action they do not employ. Making a decision for oneself whether or not to retreat is an extension or application of privilege, not an abdication of it.
- (3) We must interrogate the bearing of our location and context on what it is we are saying, and this should be an explicit part of every serious discursive practice in which we engage as researchers.
- (4) Speaking always carries with it an accountability and responsibility for what one says. To whom one is accountable is a political/epistemological choice contestable and contingent and constructed through the process of discursive actions. I remain committed and open to criticisms and sought feedback from my participant community on my findings presented in this study.

- (5) In order to evaluate attempts to speak for others, we need to analyze the actual effects of the words on the discursive and material contexts. One cannot simply look at the location of the speaker or her credentials to speak; nor can one merely look at the propositional content of the speech; one must look at where the speech goes and what it does there (pp. 129-130).

The analysis of voice as data in this research problematized my role as a researcher, called into relief significant power relations and produced tensions between a poststructuralist, critical analysis (St. Pierre, 2007; Pillow, 2003) and the recognition of a more material study, responding to Weis and Fine's (2012) call for research that maps the linkages between global structures and institutions and the inscribed effects of those policies and practices that "continue to produce widening inequality gaps and penetrate lives within communities and across boundaries" (p. 177).

The semi-structured approach to interviewing left room for participants to insert what they believed were important issues to discuss, and allowed them to decide which stories they wanted to share. The specific analysis of data will be developed in detail in Chapter 6, however, it is important to recognize the crucial contribution that approaching the practice of interviewing and the analysis of the texts from a postcolonial and post-structural position contributed to this project. It largely turned over the direction and thus the content of the interviews to the participants, whose contributions I could not have predicted from a rigidly pre-conceived interview guide. Lather (2007) argues for "getting lost" in research so as not to

merely re-create or re-present the soundscape as we know it. It is a mapping that dislocates in order that we encounter voices from that 'unuttered zone where, mute but distinct, the most essential things are said, minuscule things, infinite things, inexpressible outside in the sharp air, because of their fragility and beauty. It is a mapping that is against a Global Positioning System that not only shows us (and sometimes tells us) where we are, but *traces* where we have been, where we are going, and exactly how to get there and back again, allowing no room for 'error' or errant wandering. The methodological mapping that I seek attempts to

re-map the boundaries from a different vantage point so as to encounter the fragile voices, mute but distinct (Lather in Mazzei, 2009, pp. 58-59).

Each of the participants in this study contributed a unique perspective to further an understanding of the implications of ISL partnership in the context of Mji. Foregrounding their stories is key to this study. Saukko's (2000) analytical framework provided an epistemological bridge, spanning the chasm between claims to authentic representation of participants' voices and poststructuralist doubts of voices' stability. In Saukko's (2000) analysis, the opportunity to "be true to and respect the inner experiences of people (while) at the same time critically assess(ing) the cultural discourses that form the very stuff from which our experiences are made" (p. 301). Saukko demonstrates in her research that to answer this question, one must recognize the philosophical contradiction between research interested in "the voice of subjugated groups and scholarship investigating social discourses that shape our voices and selves" (p. 301). She argues that for scholars the tension lies in the delicate balancing act between an analysis of the construction of one's self as researcher and the fragility of meaning tendered in the voices of participants (2000). Saukko (2000) explicitly argues for an analysis of participants' voice that acknowledges "both scholars and the people we study are always objects defined by the discourses that identify us" and that "we are also subjects, capable of critically assessing the discourses that constitute us..." (p. 302). The possibility of critique established in Saukko's (2000) methodology aligns with the approach of Weis and Fine's (2012) argument for critical bifocality: to construct a framework that opens up the possibility of multiple interpretations to challenge the dominant discourses of Canadian higher education internationalization policy and practices.

4.7 Voice of the researcher.

Problematising the authorial voice of the researcher is taken up extensively in the literature of postcolonial, qualitative research. The challenge to examine the construction of one's own subjectivity through the research process required recognition of my own complicity within the structures of partnership that contributed to the oppression of the

partner's agency and identity (Heron, 2009). Britzman (2000) further situates the researcher and the asymmetry of advantage in this role as one that demands recognition of the limits of understanding "...all that cannot be said and that which cannot be heard in the saying" (p. 28). To acknowledge, honor and begin to address the issue of difference in my research, I sought to engage personally in careful reflexive journaling, and also openly discussed of my role and its complications with my participants throughout the research process. The role that reflexivity came to play in the process of my research will be more deeply explored in the next chapter. At this juncture, it is imperative that I acknowledge the complexities/opportunities my position as a white, female, university-educated and employed citizen of the North placed me in throughout the course of my time in East Africa, both within the interviews with my participants and in subsequent correspondence and phone conversations.

4.6 Observations.

The interview data collected for this study is supported by extensive observations, recorded while working and participating each day in different aspects of each community organization and lengthy field journals. The position of the researcher is empowered with the ability to see and to record the actions and responses of others and to present these findings as research to the larger public (Fine et al, 2000). This is a power to represent local life in Mji and to interpret its significance; I sought to frame my observations by engaging strong researcher reflexivity and focusing consistently on linking observations to a critical analysis of N-S ISL partnership, to resist slippage from the intentions of this research and remain focused on the boundaries of this case study (Fine et al, 2000).

Throughout the course of this ISL program, I was in daily contact with the ISL group and partners. I stayed in the same small hotel as the ISL participants, sharing meals and accompanying them on visits to different sites. I was able to spend even more time with

local host partners, traveling with them to different sites to monitor and check on the progress of different projects, when students did not choose to come. It was on these trips, often with long waits for *dala dalas*, or for the delivery of different items, in more informal conversations with local host partners, that I was able to understand more deeply the effects of and expectations for the ISL partnership in the community. Observations in this study sought to be unobtrusive, to chronicle events as they unfolded and to seek connections between observed and reported data. Throughout the course of the observations collected for this study, my actions as a researcher-observer in this study including recording and interpreting the data were guided by “proportionate reason,” an assessment of the potential value to be gained from the observation measured against the harm or inconvenience that inevitably accompanies the production of qualitative research with a social agenda (Angrosino, 2005, p. 736).

My approach to observation was naturalistic, attempting to establish myself with the partners in this community as unobtrusively as possible within an understanding of qualitative fieldwork as an intervention into another community (Angrosino, 2005). I did not expect to become an insider over the course of my fieldwork, and I sought to engage my participants as collaborators in the research (Angrosino, 2005). I was clear from the beginning with the community, the ISL group and local host partners that I was engaging in research that was initiated due to concerns about the effect of ISL partnerships on communities in the context of a much more intensified approach to higher education internationalization. I acknowledged to the host partners that I hoped the research I was producing would contribute to practices that were more equitable and effective in local contexts.

The representation and recording in this study of my observations was carefully considered in follow up discussions and correspondence with the study’s participants and colleagues at home to ensure that my interpretations were acceptable and that no one felt they were compromised (Angrosino, 2005). I considered the inclusion of each observation in alignment with Angrosino’s (2005) criteria that observations with a social agenda must not cause more harm in attempting to achieve enhanced social value, and are of most value when they contribute to promoting social justice through researcher

advocacy (p. 737). My observations from the field illustrate a progression of experiences, recorded over the course of the ISL program, including critical events and interactions between ISL students and host partners; many of my observations were raised in individual interviews and contributed to the responses shared by interview participants. Many of the most insightful observations were produced due to conflicts and confrontations that erupted between the ISL program participants and local partners, stemming from cultural miscommunication, diverse expectations for the project, or reflections on actions taken by the ISL leadership. The observations were recorded as insights into the enactment of the ISL partnership, considering its relation to the local, material, professional or external dimension of N-S partnerships (Braun et al, 2011).

4.9 Critical Policy Analysis.

This research addresses the particular aspects of Canadian higher education that encourage the formation of North-South partnerships to further the interests of internationalization, as a means to promote institutional status globally or to exploit opportunities for research and global education programming. The approach to policy analysis is framed by critical policy sociology (Ozga, 2000). It builds on key shifts identified by Ozga and Lingard, (2007), in contemporary higher education policy:

- (1) At the international level, a coherent set of policy themes and processes (globalised policy discourses) has emerged, through which policy makers (at the national international and transnational level) seek to reshape education systems.
- (2) There has emerged a globalised education policy field situated between global pressures and local vernacular education policy responses.
- (3) These globalised policy agendas and processes interact with traditions, ideologies, institutions and politics that have developed on national terrains, resulting in vernacular education policy outcomes (p. 69).

The formulation of internationalization policy builds on Ball's (1994) assertion that "policy is...an economy of power, a set of technologies and practices which are realized and struggled over in local settings. Policy is both text, and action, words and deeds, it is

what is enacted as well as what is intended” (10). The impact and effects of policy in practice are of key concern in this study. The ideology embedded in internationalization is complex and its scope wide; the complexities of policy are considered through the ensemble of policies, drawn from different yet interrelated sources, to consider contemporary shifts in the role of the university in the context of the knowledge economy, as well as the analogous shifts in national and international approaches to international development and North-South partnership policies. This approach to the analysis of higher education internationalization policies seeks to consider what policy silences; the subjugated knowledges and counterpoints that disrupt simple narratives of the potential economic benefits of internationalization (Ball, 1994, p. 4).

The analysis of policy within a social justice framework is integral to critical policy sociology. Prunty (in Ball, 1994) argues for an analysis in which “justice equality and individual freedom are uncompromised by the avarice of a few. The critical analyst would endorse political, social and economic arrangements where persons are never treated as a means to an end, but treated as ends in their own right” (p. 136). In this analysis, the concern is with the enactment of policy on local contexts to examine the extent to which N-S ISL partnerships contribute to communities or the extent to which the concerns raised in earlier empirical studies are corroborated. The high stakes environment and actors involved in the production of internationalization policies requires that the politics of policy demand interrogation (Ball, 1994) to examine how interests are competing for recognition and legitimacy and to determine which have been excluded or elided.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that “policies usually seek to represent their desired or imagined future as being in the public interest, representing the public good...They often mask whose interests they actually represent” (p. 6). The analysis of internationalization texts selected for analysis in this study is framed within the analytic model outlined below. I have adapted Rizvi and Lingard’s (2010) framework for analysis in this study to include those areas for analysis that focus on the context of policy development as well as concerns related to implementation and enactment (p. 52). The analysis of policy in this study focuses on understanding how internationalization is problematized, as a response

to the domestic pressures brought on by globalization and the shifting terrain of the national and international economy, as well as the evolving field of higher education. It seeks to “gain an understanding of the issues that constitute the focus of the specific social policy” under analysis. It requires an “exploration of the nature, scope and distribution of these issues, and of casual theories concerning underlying dynamics” (Gil in Rizvi and Lingard, p. 53).

Table 4.3 A framework for the analysis of higher education internationalization from a global perspective.

Policy Issues	Questions for analysis
Historical, contextual, political and institutional concerns	<p>Where did the policy originate?</p> <p>Why was it adopted? Why now?</p> <p>Is the policy part of an ensemble?</p> <p>Does this policy have incremental links to earlier policy/policies?</p>
Implementation strategies	<p>Does the policy have unintended consequences?</p> <p>In whose interests does the policy actually work?</p> <p>Has the policy had material effects or largely discursive ones?</p> <p>What are the social justice effects of the policy?</p> <p>How is policy articulated against some ideal (e.g. social justice)?</p>

Adapted from Rizvi & Lingard, (2010).

A critical sociological approach to the analysis of policy examines policy directives and interests to identify changes and trends in narratives to identify the interests that are advanced through policy, revealing the social implications and localized effects of

implementation. Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) framework is built on Ozga's (in Rizvi and Lingard, 2010) conceptualization of policy sociology "rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques (p. 50). Globalization affects the analysis of education policies formulated to engage internationally, incorporating an analysis of the social relations of policy actors across national borders. Globalization provides "a contemporary account of how the...recursive relationships between structure and agency, might be reconceptualized and interrogated in the context of globalization." (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p. 51). This study seeks to "describe relations of power and processes through which policies are developed and allocated...and also point to strategies for progressive change which might challenge oppressive structures and practices" (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p. 51). Policy sociology approaches focus on the ideological interests that seek to naturalize North-South partnerships, simultaneously neutralizing issues of inequality or questions of ethics and equity. Rizvi and Lingard highlight the connections between a global analysis of education policy and social justice. Drawing on Fraser's work, (2008) they argue for a progressive analysis of policy that includes

a politics of redistribution, seeking to achieve a more equal society, and to a politics of recognition which works with a politics of respect for difference, as well as a politics of representation which enables marginalized voices to be heard. The first politics is concerned with equality and issues of poverty and social class, the second with matters of identity while the third relates to global structures of power and democratic participation (Riavi & Lingard, 2010, p. 52).

The new emphasis within higher education on internationalization maps the highly visible networks explicitly designed to facilitate North-South flows of faculty, students, research interests and programming. There are assumptions built into notions of education and partnership that have normative implications; they suggest mutuality, reciprocity and the production of knowledge for the common good. Yet the values of policy do not explicitly acknowledge the goals and values pursued by policy actors, requiring attention to the interpretation and effects of policy enactment within local contexts (Ball, 2012, 2007, 2004, 1994; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Gale, 2001; Gewirtz, 1998; Marshall, 1997; Scheurich, 1994; Ozga, 1987). Gewirtz et al, (2004)

analyze the effects of ‘spin’ on high profile policies, demonstrating that the “processes of governance which attempt to manage, contain or render invisible potential controversies that relate to policy development and implementation by impression management” (341). The spin on policy suppresses those interests that may complicate or obstruct policy processes. A critical analysis of education policy then “offers a critique of the assumptions built, either explicitly or implicitly, into any given policy with a view to showing how they might either support or undermine the values of democracy and social justice (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 70).

The negotiation of values in policymaking is a political process (Ozga, 2000). It requires an analysis of context within which policy is produced. Higher education policy is contingent upon both emerging and evolving global values, particularly those that view market-oriented activities as national and institutional priorities. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) note

a global shift towards neoliberal values orientation, manifested most clearly in...policies that assume the validity of market mechanisms to solve the various problems and crises facing governments. In education policy discourses, this has involved a reorientation of values from a focus on democracy and equality to the values of efficiency and accountability, with a greater emphasis on human capital formation allegedly demanded by the new knowledge industries and required by nation-states to participate and compete successfully in the global economy (p. 72).

There are multiple and often conflicting notions of the knowledge economy and complex analyses that map linkages between the production of knowledge, information flows, technology development and economic security (Kenway et al, 2006). The discourses of the knowledge economy in policy are often presented as “de-historicized or key influences (are not) (sic) contextualized in regard to global and local trends...How and why particular conceptualizations are abandoned or carried forward are frequently ignored” (Kenway et al, 2006, pp.11-12). Ozga and Lingard (2007) support this position, arguing that policy interests and ideologies travel, within national and global policy circles, adopting the “inflections of local policy communities” and interests that

are able to integrate and to adapt global agendas to national goals (2007, p. 69). The policy trajectories that promote the ideals of the global market economy simultaneously project notions of entrepreneurship and mobility; in this study, the effects of traveling policy discourses are examined against the values and agendas of local development in the context of Mji. The intersections between traveling global education policy and local context produce a glocalized notion of N-S partnerships where the interests of local partners struggle against, resist and reconstitute policies. The relative ability of each partner to assert his/her interests dictates the degree to which there is access to power, resources or other mechanisms to leverage within the partnership. In an increasingly competitive globalized education policy field,

national systems seek to ensure competitive advantage through the commercial exploitation and application of knowledge. Knowledge production is brought into close relationship with economic policy; what matters is what works for the economy. Universities and their research are significant players in this frame. This seems to hold across the globe (Lingard and Ozga, 2007, p. 78).

The neoliberal imaginary of global education policy is particularly troubling since traveling policy processes work differently, and often in contradictory directions, across the Global North/Global South divide (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). This case study is concerned that the neoliberal emphasis within internationalization has significant consequences for N-S ISL partnership and programs, benefiting some individuals and communities while further marginalizing others. In a neoliberal context, redistributive measures are eschewed in favor of market mechanisms to ensure the accumulation of benefits from partnership. The effects of neoliberal policies on poorer countries, producing greater inequality and marginalization, have been recognized over the past decade by scholars who argue that they are “in the long run economically, politically and environmentally unsustainable—economically because of the social inequalities and economic instability it produces, politically because of its undemocratic character and environmentally because it assumes that the world’s exploitable resources are inexhaustible” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 187). They further note that within the Global South “neoliberalism has undermined community life, created conditions that perpetuated social inequalities and increased the possibilities of social instability” (Rizvi and Lingard

2010, p. 187; Bush, 2007). This study considers the extent to which the N-S ISL partnership and program in Mji contributed to neoliberal effects through its enactment on the local, material and professional levels of the community and the extent to which it may produce positive benefit to local stakeholders through the reconstitution of policy by host partners (Braun, et al, 2010, 2011).

This study presents the findings from a critical analysis of internationalization policy discourses, drawn from an assemblage of policies, including: institutional internationalization strategies, national higher education professional association documents, institutional internationalization strategies, as well as international agreements and Tanzanian domestic development agendas. It seeks to examine the implications of policies governing institutional (e.g. research, academic programming, or development) activities that are enacted outside of the boundaries of campus and national boundaries. These documents were selected to engage in an analysis of the narratives and interests that inform the rhetoric of internationalization policy (Scheurich, 1997; Fairclough, 2000; Ball, 2004), and to map out the interactions between policy, national economic interests and potential local impacts.

4.10 Policy Enactment

Braun et al, (2010, 2011) illustrate the multilevel and interrelated effects of policies enacted within and on particular localized contexts. Braun et al reiterate that policy always reflects particular social values (2011, p. 588). The values embedded in internationalization shift from those embedded in multilateral attempts to recognize power dynamics inherent in N-S partnerships. The framework for an analysis of policy enactment 1) evaluates how policies fit with the local ethos and culture where they are implemented; (2) traces the process of policy, identifying where it is contested and resisted; (3) considers how different stakeholders exercise their interests through implementation, either suppressing or enforcing policy; and (4) examines the effect of available resources in a particular context to determine the appropriateness for policy implementation (Braun et al, pp. 585-588). Throughout the analysis of policy enactment, attention is paid to power dynamics, acknowledging that policy “is the outcomes of

interest-based, competing priorities that are negotiated, bargained and compromised over” (Braun et al, p. 588). The cultural and economic divides that separate partners in this study emphasize the dynamics that local context brings to the enactment of policy.

The location of the ISL program in Mji is not a one-dimensional backdrop to this partnership; the enactment of this partnership is in continual interaction with the limitations, opportunities and material realities of the city and its host partners. From issues of communication to delays in transportation and discomfort with local culture among Canadian ISL participants, local context framed the enactment of the partnership at every turn throughout my observations. It governed the ability of local partners to participate as peers based on their relative power, authority and need for the resources attendant to the partnership. In many ways, context was a participant in the analysis of this instance of internationalization policy and N-S ISL partnership.

Table 4.4 A framework for the analysis of internationalization policy enactment and N-S ISL partnerships.

Contextual dimensions	Effected domains
Situated Context	Considers the locale, local histories, organizations and setting of interactions; the situated context of policy enactment engages local needs, development agendas and constraints to full participation in the ISL partnership.
Professional Context	Focuses on the values, stakeholder commitments, experiences and the effects of policy actions on local partners.
Material context	Evaluates the distribution of resources, benefits technology, infrastructure and the consequences for inequality on the partnership.
External Context	Examines the degree and quality of the exercise of authority, related supports, pressures and expectations of North-South partnerships, including the demand to produce research results or to provide students with an exceptional global learning experience.

Adapted from Braun et al, (2011).

The critical analysis of policy in this research engages two complementary frameworks: global policy analysis (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) and policy enactment (Braun et al, 2011, 2010).

This study's analysis of policy within a postcolonial conceptual framework illuminates the economic, political and cultural relationships between the Global North and the South. A postcolonial perspective reveals the effects of networks that link Global North institutions, private and public, with communities in the Global South. North-South partnerships are deeply integrated into this global educational network, yet little research considers the impact of universities acting as development interests or quasi-corporations (Marginson, 2002; McGrath, 2010). Mignolo's (2011, 2002), notion of a "logic of coloniality" that undergirds the relationship between North and South argues that the position of the South, relative to institutions in the North, is predicated upon complex institutional networks, that consistently subordinate the interests of Southern communities, through legal, financial and other private contractual mechanisms, to those of the North. Educational policy repositions and authorizes Global North universities to engage in partnerships with Global South communities, without consideration that the implications of practices that could be described as neocolonial on local interests reinscribes marginalization (Andreotti, 2011b; Quijano, 2008). The weakness of multilateral agreements that establish guidelines to engage in North-South partnership, to mitigate the asymmetries of power and authority, lies in their ultimate enforceability, relying instead on institutional or individual ethics and trust (Spivak, 2004). Spivak critiques this supervisory benevolence, exercised by dominant interests engaged in development projects, (NGOs, governments, universities, for example), where reliance is located within

the duty of the fitter self, toward less fortunate others... rather than the predication of being human, as called by the Other... This is important because it...(presupposes)...the subalterns' obvious inability to (act) without sustained supervision (from 'above')...seen as proof of the need for continued intervention...(Spivak, 2004, p. 535).

This analysis critiques the silence within internationalization policies that do not acknowledge the deep field of literature and policy produced by multilateral organizations. This policy silence is problematized in this case study, challenging the formation of N-S partnerships, and the normalizing “tranquility with which (internationalization and partnerships) are accepted” (Scheurich, 1994, 300). Partnerships are presented in policy as natural occurrences, taking on a “solidity and normality which is difficult to think outside of” (Ball, 2007, 2). It is specifically the authoritative and legitimizing status with which policy endows partnerships that is under scrutiny in this case study (Ball, 2007, 2; 2004a, 2004b, 1994).

4.11 Ethics.

Three key ethical issues that challenge this research are: (1) negotiating an equitable relationship between researcher and participants; (2) the production of findings that equitably and accurately represent participants’ contributions; and (3) the use of research findings to promote change in international partnership practices. Yet the technologies of the university that govern the research process subversively undermine attempts to establish trust, mutuality and reciprocity in research relationships. Mitigating power relations is a key ethical component of feminist and decolonial research (Kim, 2007; Mohanty, 2006; Lather, 2002, Tuwahi Smith, 1999; Rose, 1997). This relationship, or hyphen (Fine, 1994), between researcher and researched, is where this research sought to “flip the script” (Weis and Fine, 2012) and examine how the research, as well as the partnership, constructed the Others in the community of Mji. To work toward this end, this research is formally grounded in a traditional ethical framework, outlined by institutional and professional organizational guidelines (AERA, AAA), and approved by the requisite faculty and institutional ethical review boards (See Appendix 2). Five key principles were adhered to throughout data collection and analysis:

- Informed and voluntary consent of all participants
- Confidentiality of shared information

- Anonymity of research participants
- Care to ensure that no harm would come to participants
- Reciprocity, sharing of research findings (AERA, 2013).

Although each of the preceding steps are taken to ensure that participants' are not threatened or made more vulnerable by the practice of research, the practice of research is produced within a matrix of power and knowledge (the university) Furthermore, the collection of individual data necessitates an intrusion (via interviews and observations) into the lives and experiences of Others, opening up the possibility that findings can be used in ways previously unconsidered by researchers or participants (Smith, 1999). Critical, qualitative research seeks to reduce the illusions that research is an unbiased, objective and good-in-itself (i.e. capable of saving the world) (Lincoln & Canella, 2009, p. 275). A commitment to social justice precludes exploitative research within vulnerable communities, particularly those where in the past research has obscured its intentions and further subjected indigenous populations not only to further objectification and subordination to hegemonic Western epistemological paradigms, but also where researchers have profited from their activities and reneged on promises to pursue social change (Smith, 1999). Mama's essay specifically challenges the ethics of research on Africa, argues that researcher ethics are effected by epistemological frameworks and methodologies; here researchers' agency and integrity is exercised through the selection of choices that she argues are not merely technical or rational, but also moral and political (2007, p. 6). Mama's arguments confront the ethics of pursuing research in Africa, where ...in the context of profound global and systemic inequality, ...it seems fair to question whether studying Africa is in fact an ethical thing to do and to consider the implications of our identities, locations and institutional affiliations, as well as the epistemological and methodological constraints and choices that inform such studies. What does our research and knowledge contribute to the various contexts and peoples we study? How do our research activities affect those we study? Can we develop the study...so that it is more respectful toward the lives and struggles of African people and to their agendas...? (p. 7).

The production of knowledge on vulnerable communities entails a significant responsibility on the part of researchers to “interrogate in our writings who we are as we coproduce the narratives we presume to ‘collect’ and that we anticipate how the public and policy makers will receive, distort and misread our data” (Fine et al, 2000, p. 123). At each stage of the data collection, I doubled back to my research questions to continually ground and delimit the range of the research. The fidelity of a researcher position, which in itself is inherently unstable and subject to context and partial understanding, demands reflexivity, discussed above and also an awareness of how the findings of research will be presented and used. The production of research that is “respectful toward the lives and struggles of African peoples and agendas” (Mama, 2007, p. 7) links to Fine et al’s recognition that research must be presented in a way to avoid “damaging consequences” (2000, p. 126). She argues that research findings should “err on the side of telling many kinds of stories, attached always to history, larger structures and social forces, offered neither to glamorize nor to pathologize, but to re-view what has been, to re-imagine what could be...and to re-visit, with critical speculation, lives, relations, and communities of privilege” (200p. p. 126).

4.12 Summary.

The methods and methodology engaged in this case study are grounded in a social justice commitment to understanding the globalized effects of higher education policy enacted through N-S partnerships and the impact of policy enactment in local contexts. Rizvi and Lingard’s framework for the analysis of globalized education policy establishes the linkages between policy motivated by global economic or political agendas and the networks that connect them to individualized sites of policy implementation (2010). Policies are not enacted and implemented uniformly; they are translated and reconstituted depending on the actors, available resources, power dynamics and interests within each site (Braun et al, 2011). The implementation of policy is a process, one that reflects particular social values and has implications for the individuals and institutions most directly affected by their enactment, implications that may be incommensurate with those interests that originally produced the policy.

Establishing the objectives of policy requires understanding whose interests determined that the particular phenomena became problematic at any historical moment; archaeological analysis of policy highlights the social forces driving a particular policy issue (Scheurich, 1994). Scheurich, drawing on Foucault, argues that policy issues do not emerge independently, rather issues in policy are promoted by specific interests that seek to contain or advance them, through policy implementation. He argues for tracing the effects of policy through genealogical methods to illuminate the material effects of policies, and identifies how they liberate or inhibit specific interests.

Postcolonial theorists reject the possibility of an ahistoricized North-South interaction and provide a conceptual framework within which to consider the intentions and effects of policy. Critical analyses of Northern encounters with the Southern Other, through NGOs or other development initiatives, indicate that the dominant interests seek to recast the Other in its own likeness. The relative position of Southern partners conditions them to acquiesce to the objectives of Northern partners, to engage in mimicry and in hybridizing actions to accommodate program interests that may not align with local agendas.

In the following chapter, an analysis of the policy ensemble gathered for this study will raise questions of (1) the appropriate alignment of this partnership with local development agendas; (2) the adherence to the principles of North-South partnership outlined in multilateral agreements; and (3) the implications for enactment in local contexts.

Chapter 5

Internationalization Policy Findings

From the South African case study (one can) conclude that higher education in developing countries will be destroyed if rampant internationalization of higher education from developed countries is not stopped,...hence threatening the viability of developing countries participating in the new global knowledge economy and forever reducing them to “the wretched of the earth” (Mthembu, 2004, p. 283).

5.1 Overview

The analysis of policy in this study is framed as a study of the intersections of higher education internationalization policy, institutional policies, and national economic and political policies related to international development and partnership engagement. The policy texts assembled here are selected to represent the multiple layers of policy, from the institutional, provincial and national, that shape and inform internationalization

strategies. This chapter will first outline the assemblage of policies brought together in this analysis; second, it will consider findings from policy field to determine the conceptual building blocks that inform higher education internationalization (Scheurich, 1994; Gale, 2001; Ball, 2009). Finally, the key conceptual narratives of the policies assembled here will be summarized to consider the implications for educational practices. Within the policy texts analyzed for this study, several dominant narratives can be identified which 1) bring the university in closer alignment with national economic and political objectives; 2) reposition university research and partnership to broker the production and export knowledge of knowledge products (AUCC, 2007); 3) emphasize the formation of entrepreneurial or globally competent graduates, capable of engaging internationally (AUCC, 2012); and 4) recognize that North-South partnerships typically subordinate local Southern interests but the driving interests of the global economy and the demands of the university preclude accommodations.

5.2 Policy Ensemble.

The policy data collected for analysis in this study draws on several different sources to construct what Scheurich terms a policy “grid” (1994) and McCann and Ward (2012) identify as a “policy assemblage”. This study constructs a policy assemblage building on McCann and Wards’ (2012) assertion that

policies, and the territories they govern, are not entirely local constructions but neither are they entirely extra-local impositions. They are assemblages of parts of the near and far, of fixed and mobile pieces of expertise, regulation, institutional capacities, etc. that are brought together in particular ways and for particular interests and purposes. For us, thinking about policy in this way – as a constructed whole – upsets the often implicit assumption that policies emerge fully formed in one particular place and then sometimes move, whole and unchanged, across space. They do not. It also troubles the idea that policies are internally coherent, stable ‘things’. They are not. An assemblage is always *in the process* of coming together and being territorialized just as it is always also potentially pulling apart and being de-territorialized (p. 328).

Critical policy sociology maps the linkages between institutional and broader political and economic objectives, triangulating and tracing the interests embedded in policy, as well as identifying silences and exclusion within the texts (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Ball, 2013, 1994). The policies selected and assembled for this research bring together the discourses of international development, the role of higher education in the knowledge economy as well as documents that challenge the effects of North-South partnerships that engage in development projects. Ball (2006) argues that policy ensembles construct an opportunity “to appreciate the way in which... collections of related policies exercise power through a production of ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ as discourses (p. 48). The narratives identified in these policies align with the conceptualization of N-S partnership in Canadian higher education that calls for (1) a realignment of international development activities with corporate social responsibility activities to promote greater policy coherence and return on investment; (2) a greater reliance on public-private partnerships to engage in international development projects/programming; and (3) matching humanitarian efforts with economic and foreign policy.

These shifts have implications for the analysis of N-S ISL partnerships enacted in the Global South. There is a tension between participation in multilateral international development agreements, such as the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda (OECD 2013c) or the Busan Agreement for Partnerships (OECD 2013b) whose principles potentially contradict the objectives outlined in a) new legislation guiding federal involvement in international development, and b) policies that redirect humanitarian funding away from NGOs to corporate social responsibility programming. In addition, policies produced within Tanzania that outline domestic development agendas are also key to a deeper understanding of local intentions for development and contingencies for partnerships. Tanzania’s *Vision 2025* and MUKUKUTA: A National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, Poverty and Human Development Report (2012) outline regional expectations and objectives. Finally, policy and position papers produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada on higher education internationalization from 2007-2012 (AUCC, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2013) reveal tensions within the university community, including institutional pressures and operational

frameworks that demand research production and products, further constraining programming options and ultimately limiting the effectiveness of N-S partnerships.

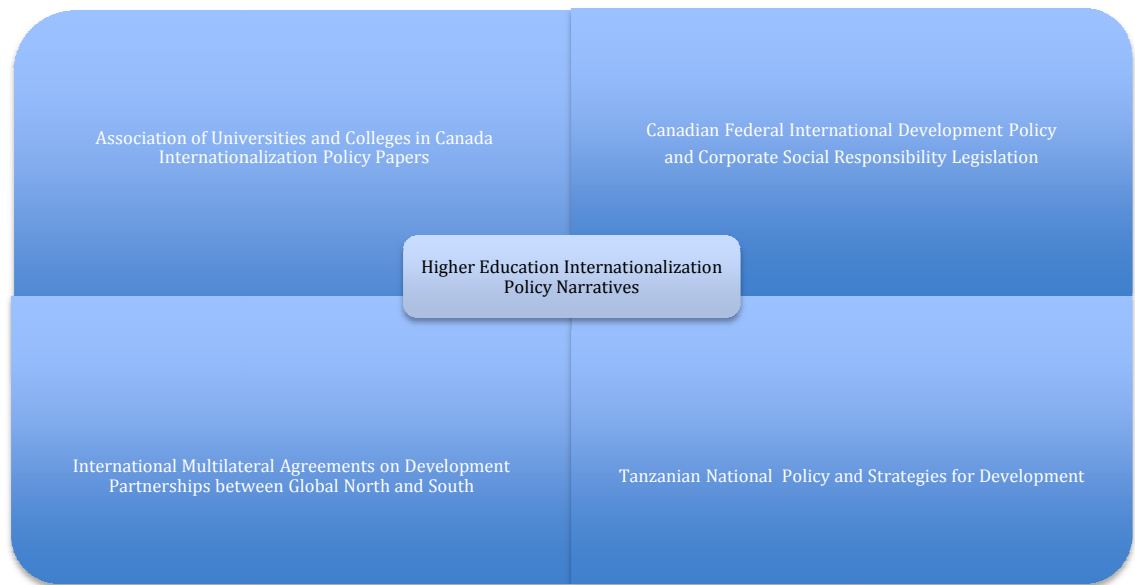


Figure 5.1 Policy Assemblage constructed for this study.

The analysis of this assemblage of policies illuminates two broad trajectories driving contemporary higher education internationalization activities: first, it provides a sketch of the linkages between higher education activities, deriving from a Canadian university, and consider the impact that these policies and related programs have on the local host community. Second, and perhaps most importantly, it will identify the gaps and contradictions within policies, particularly between objectives that outlined in Tanzanian development documents, and corroborated by international partnership protocols, versus the economized goals for Canadian higher education internationalization.

5.3 Partnership and development in the international community: The Paris Declaration, The Accra Agreement for Action and the Busan Partnership Process

Three key agreements were produced over the course of the past decade by committees convened by the OECD (Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) to negotiate parameters to guide development activities between interests (NGOs, governments and other institutions), particularly in North-South relationship. Each are considered in the context of this research to highlight what are considered to be hallmarks of effective development partnerships and to contrast these principles with those embedded in internationalization narratives. The three agreements considered here are: *The Paris Declaration* (2005), *The Accra Agreement for Action* (2008) and the *Busan Partnership Process* (2011). A full analysis of the literature related to these documents is outside the scope of this research; here the intent is to provide an outline of the principles that, at a multinational level, were considered to be thresholds for effective and equitable partnerships. It is a goal for future research to consider the implications for development of governments, universities and corporations to move further away from the principles established here. In this research, a basis for development partnerships, grounded on those noted in each agreement, is presented to build an argument in order to construct a framework to compare and contrast the discourse of internationalization versus the targets in multilateral agreements and to evaluate the implications.

Five key themes are outlined as fundamental guiding principles to the promotion of equitable development and justice in the partnerships and projects located in the Global South:

I. Paris Accord (2005):

- *Ownership:*

- Partner countries are expected to commit to developing and engaging local partners through broad consultative processes.
- *Alignment:*
 - Donors (in this case Northern University) should commit to aligning their projects with host country strategies, policy dialogues, development and cooperation programs based on those national development agendas and commit to periodic reviews of progress in implementing those strategies
- *Harmonization:*
 - Donors should make arrangements to engage country level planning to review program objectives, funding, disbursements and reporting.
 - Donors should provide clear views on donors' comparative advantage and how to achieve donor complementarity.
 - Donors should make full use of their respective comparative advantage at sector or country level by delegating where appropriate, authority to lead programs, activities and tasks.
- *Results:*
 - Managing for results refers to implementing programs and projects in a way that focuses on the desired results given the broader objectives of local development.
 - Donors should work with partner countries to rely on local development frameworks for reporting, measuring targets and to remain consistent with partners' national development strategies.
- *Mutual Accountability:*
 - Partner countries should enhance mutual accountability and transparency in the use of resources. This helps strengthen public support for national policies and development assistance.

II. The Accra Agenda (2008): Refining the parameters of partnership.

The Accra Agenda (2008) sought to build on the principles of the Paris Declaration, to clarify and elucidate key principles that obstructed more effective development. The two key themes of the Accra Agenda related to this research include:

- *Strengthening country ownership over development.*
 - It is critical that host countries exercise authority and control over international development activities to ensure that development policies and programs are designed and implemented consistently with commitments on gender equality, human rights, disability and environmental sustainability.
 - Partnerships are considered more effective when they “fully harness the energy, skills and experience of all development actors.”
 - Donors should take steps to untie their aid (to trade and other conditions).
 - Donors should work to engage local firms to expand future capacity.

III. The Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (2011): Clear targets to promote equity and development.

The Busan Partnership Agreement (2011) is the next chapter in multilateral attempts to balance the effects of North-South partnerships, building on the Accra Agenda. It seeks to clarify and strengthen international commitments to sustainable and equitable development practices. In many ways, it clearly reiterates key principles for equitable development and cooperation based on the notion that these are “shared principles to achieve common goals” (Busan, 2011, p. 3). The key principles directing the Busan Partnership are:

- *Ownership of development priorities by developing countries.*
 - Partnerships for development can only succeed if they are led by developing countries, implementing approaches that are tailored to country-specific situations and needs.
 - Partnerships must focus on eradicating poverty and reducing inequality, achieving sustainable development and enhancing developing countries’

capacities, aligned with the priorities and policies set out by developing countries themselves.

- *Inclusive development partnerships.*
 - Openness, trust and mutual respect and learning lie at the core of effective partnerships in support of development goals recognizing different and complementary roles of all actors.
- *Transparency and accountability to each other.*
 - Mutual accountability and accountability to the intended beneficiaries of our co-operation, as well as to our respective citizens, organizations, constituents and shareholders, is critical to delivering results. Transparent practices form the basis for enhanced accountability and capacity building.
 - Multilateral agreements on North-South partnerships consistently locate the site of partnership enactment as the locus of program control and direction. These documents recognize the potential for exploitation of local resources and opportunities by Northern interests, typically those with the resources to dictate the terms of partnerships and whose interests for engaging in partnership entail economic or political objectives. Harmonization, transparency, mutual accountability and co-operation emerge as the key discourses and standards by which N-S partnerships, in a socially just framework, ought to be judged. However, in a competitive framework, these principles assume a secondary status; there is no guarantee in a market-oriented partnership that partners will be recognized as peers or that the benefits of partnership will be distributed equitably. The presentation below of a university internationalization strategy and national policy papers produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada reflect potentially contradictory discourses embedded in the language of the knowledge economy and internationalization imperative.

5.4 Internationalization at a Canadian University

According to a recent study by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (2007), nearly every institution of higher education in Canada (97%) includes a strategy on/for internationalization as part of its institutional policy. Typically these are general statements that express the purpose, intent and intended outcomes for international activities; the rhetoric and description of international activities are general rather than specific, and it is in the silences and omissions where important questions can be put to the analysis of internationalization policy.

The introduction to Northern University's internationalization strategy, paraphrased here, reads:

It is befitting for a research-intensive institution of this size and importance, to seek to enhance, enrich and make more comprehensive its engagement in international activities. The current increasingly globalized context, where the flow of ideas and resources continues to expand exponentially demands a high level of interaction with institutions abroad, especially those located beyond the borders of North America (Northern University, Strategic Plan, 2012).

The introduction to the International Strategic plan is bold and confident. It acknowledges its "size and importance" as a justification to engage in international activities, and alludes to the economic imperative argument by broadly referencing globalization. The text proceeds, laying the foundation for what will outline its objectives in pursuing opportunities where

Within the international milieu, this University seeks to enhance its capability to attract students and research faculty of the highest caliber... It will seek out new research partnerships, develop strong research initiatives to benefit Canada and the world in this increasingly competitive environment (Northern Internationalization, 2012).

Recruitment, research, the economic benefit to Canada and global competition are recurring themes in the assemblage of internationalization policies collected for this study. In the above paragraph, the text references the need and ability to recruit top students and the opportunity to access progressive research relationships that will benefit Canada in what are assumed to be economically applicable terms. Further into the

document, other themes are acknowledged such as the inclusion of international content in courses, expansion of second language requirements, and the support of short and long-term visiting faculty from abroad. These themes all speak to the potential benefits and opportunities to be reaped through international activities. What is striking in the presentation of these opportunities is the lack of reference to the potential impacts that international engagement might have in other sites, particularly regions such as East Africa, where higher education lacks commensurate capacity (the size or importance of Northern University) to engage as a partner in this project. The effects of international activities are presented in the policy as universally beneficial by virtue of bringing a global dimension to learning and research activities. Northern University does not have a specific internationalization policy to govern international development projects. The document argues that

we remain committed to broad participation in international development work, as a means to contribute to a more just and equitable world. In order to expand and to maximize the potential funding and the impact of such activities, however, it is critical that the University move to identify areas of strength in terms of support for development work. Action on this front must:

- Identify a limited number of targeted geographical/cultural areas for development assistance in line with local needs, the interests and skills of Northern researchers.
- Assist faculty in all disciplines in the development of funding proposals to development aid and other agencies both in Canada and abroad.
- Collaborate with non-governmental organizations and other institutions, to develop information campaigns that will make faculty, staff and students aware of opportunities for international development work.
- Establish mechanisms to facilitate information regarding Northern's role in international development.
- Promote cross-cultural cooperation and engagement with community organizations to increase awareness of global issues and concerns.

While the text recognizes key aspects of N-S partnerships such as cooperation and the opportunity to work to promote a more just and equitable world, the language is does not

specify locating management and control of the project in local authority, and the emphasis seems to be on developing communication strategies to “make faculty and staff aware of the opportunities for development” and to “disseminate information regarding Northern’s role in the development area.” It is the production of a discourse of internationalization that identifies sites in the Global South as potential sites for research and programming; however, this discourse does little to ensure that the interests of Northern partners are in alignment with local contexts. New opportunities, due to increases in researcher mobility, communications and technology, have resulted in dramatic increases in the number of opportunities for engagement in a broad spectrum of academic activities between the North and South. Despite these opportunities, there is concern that in a globalized competitive context, with the absence of measures to ensure just practices, the effects for local communities will be further marginalization (Obama et al, 2009).

Competitive internationalization is a strategy that confounds efforts to create local capacity through partnership. Samoff and Carol conducted extensive research on the impact of partnerships on the autonomy of African universities (2004). In their work, they demonstrate that in the formation of relationships each stakeholder initially enters the initiative with a set of interests and objectives, but it is ultimately the partner with the power to control resources and to gain access to legitimizing forums, such as conferences and publications, and who has the feasibility of mobility, that benefits most (2004). Ontologically, partnerships favor the partner from the Global North over interests that cannot match the resources available to universities, including community interests in the Global South in general or specifically, in this research, Mji.

The literature on partnerships reveals the polarizing debate that surrounds the notion of partnership as a vehicle to promote development, collaboration and capacity; the intent here is not to develop a definition of partnership or to generalize the intent of partnership. In this research, the discourses that form a rationale for internationalization open the field to multiple levels of engagement. The intent here is to focus on a particular instance of ISL partnership to explore its effects within the community of Mji. What is important to emphasize in the literature on higher education partnerships and practices with African

institutions and organizations for this research are the power relations that constitute ISL partnerships (Obama, et al, 2009; Bradley, 2008). Further analysis of the intersections of partners' interests and abilities to determine outcomes is taken up in Chapter 6.

The conclusion of Northern University's Internationalization Strategy cites the need to "ensure our university maintains a high level of visibility at the international level, and that impediments to international participation for faculty, staff and students are removed," while "...the University continues to promote its international profile at home and abroad". Finally, the rhetoric of the internationalization imperative is invoked:

for Northern (University), internationalization is less an option than an imperative in the highly competitive context of globalized cultures, including economic and political structures (Northern University, 2012).

In the excerpt above, the institutional focus is nearly entirely on pursuing an international strategy on Darwinian terms: "it is less an option than an imperative" summarizes the urgency and intensity that drives internationalization. The strategy lays the ground work to normalize and neutralize the effects of international partnerships, to provide global learning opportunities, to land research opportunities and to meet the criteria established to ensure top rankings on global university scales. The salient question for this research remains: how does the program and partnership impact the local community and key stakeholders? Are there insurances in place to guard against the impacts of research and programming enacted outside of the traditional boundaries of the university campus?

5.5 National Discourses for Higher Education Internationalization.

Contemporary internationalization in Canadian higher education is influenced by local, national and global discourses that identify the knowledge economy as both the key to development as well as the "key economic driver" of the global economy (AUCC, 2012). In this sense, internationalization has moved well beyond Knight's classic definition where "internationalization...is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary

education (2004, 11). The scope and scale of international activities has moved far beyond education, indeed, in the context of the knowledge economy, the lines between what is defined as education and what is considered market commodity is now blurred (Kenway, 2006; Stromquist, 2002). Several studies produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada embrace the notions of the knowledge economy and begin to reposition higher education relative to the economic opportunity and potential of internationalization.

The prominence of internationalization, and its rank as an institutional priority, is clear in the statistics reported in the AUCC (2007) report: 94% of survey respondents (university presidents) ranked it among the top five institutional objectives (2007, 3). Two key points emerge from an analysis of this document: (1) the debate between partnerships versus knowledge exports; and (2) the shift from cooperation and development initiatives toward a market-based approach to internationalization.

The debate between partnerships versus seeking markets for knowledge exports is significant for this research in that this document is the first to explicitly rationalize the shift. The text recapping the debate reads as follows:

when discussing knowledge exports, workshop participants debated the term and questioned several underlying assumptions, including referring to knowledge sharing and partnerships...which imply mutual benefits, as knowledge exports...Participants most readily associated knowledge exports with pure transactions—or the provision of educational products and services for a fee, but they emphasized that all three categories are connected...

Some participants were wary of the broader connotations of the word export, which raises *market-related and legal considerations such as patents, intellectual property rights and the commercialization of research.*

On the other hand, some participants argued that the business model resonates well...as they entail costs that must be sustained to deliver courses over seas...Even the area of *international development cooperation overlaps with knowledge exports now that financing from the Canadian government in this area*

has declined considerably and universities find themselves in a position to sustain development initiatives by charging some sort of fee for service (AUCC, 2007, 14, emphasis added).

This document is quoted at length to illustrate the direct shift and flow of the argument used to justify substituting a market-oriented approach to international development and cooperation activities in higher education. The debate among university presidents recounted in this document, illustrates a recognition of a shift in the understanding and intention of partnership, from an emphasis on mutuality to a desire for profitability. Further in the document, international development concerns are again raised, this time in recognition that policy rhetoric does not always match implementation reality. In terms of the depth of institutional commitment, some participants suggested that

while international development may be reflected in the strategic plan of the university, there is sometimes a gap between rhetoric and action, as international student recruitment and student mobility often take priority over international cooperation in their institutions (AUCC, 2007, 16).

The transcendence of a competitive approach is also recognized in the report as supplanting traditional approaches to international research collaboration. These relationships generally

took place between individual researchers. Now, to enhance their engagement, universities need a framework to shape and align country-to-country collaboration. Confronted with these new realities, universities recognize that international research collaboration will ultimately stem from their own thematic priorities, competitive advantages and capacities (AUCC, 2007, 18).

More recent internationalization policy documents produced by AUCC (2013, 2012, 2007) move more explicitly to embracing a competitive framework and link more closely the national economic objectives of Canada with higher education's future. The AUCC (2012) document, *International Education: A Key Driver of Canada's Future Prosperity*, does not address concerns for collaboration and development in the production of knowledge. Its focus is solely on the emergence of Canada as a global

leader in education and economic production, with the university as a central producer of the knowledge and the leaders needed to manage this process. The report opens with a message from the advisory panel who state their objectives clearly: “Our vision for Canada: become the 21st century leader in international education in order to attract top talent and prepare our citizens for the global marketplace, thereby providing key building blocks for our future prosperity (AUCC, 2012, i). This report argues that

international education is the most positive aspect of globalization. International education is a key vehicle to engage with other countries and to share our Canadian values worldwide. International education makes an important contribution to Canada’s culture, diplomacy and prosperity. Canada can be a model of excellence for the world. Our recommendations aim to capture this opportunity and reinforce Canada as a country of choice...(AUCC, 2012, p. 38).

The alignment of internationalization in education with trade and foreign policy is addressed as a measure to provide greater policy coherence. The report states

the importance of internationalizing education in Canada has to be recognized as a strategic component of the Government of Canada’s Economic Action plan, its international trade and innovation strategies and its immigration and foreign policies...(AUCC, 2012, p. 39).

Recommendations from the report focus on elevating internationalization of education in Canada to compete with standards established by other prestigious institutions and nations. The goals target establishing centers for excellence in research, scholarships that will compete with Rhodes and Fulbright, recruitment of top researchers and students globally and a significant increase in the number of Canadian students studying and researching abroad (AUCC, 2012).

Related reports produced by AUCC consider the opportunities for engaging, particularly with African universities, in partnerships designed to create greater capacity (AAU/AUCC, 2012). The report explores opportunities for partnership to increase capacity within African institutions and the broader industrial and manufacturing communities. However, the report recognizes the relatively weak infrastructure of

African universities, citing deficits in revenues, state-of-the-art equipment, employment prospects for students, requisite staff, and clearer contributions for African universities to the local economy (AAU/AUCC, 2012). Moreover, it identifies a lack of an “entrepreneurial spirit” among African academics (2012, 1.4) citing a lack of awareness and linkages between university research products and local commercial interests. There are concerns for partnerships surrounding intellectual property rights, the costs of applying for and holding of patents, and the institutional commitment to sustaining research relationships (AAU/AUCC, 2012).

The most recent report reviewed for this research, *Innovative North-South Partnerships* (AUCC, 2013), focuses on elements that build strong, mutually beneficial partnerships. It goes to great lengths to acknowledge the rigidities of university research and programming frameworks that disadvantage local communities, and begins to demonstrate a measure of resistance to the overtly competitive positions advocated in documents presented above. The purpose of *Innovative North-South Partnerships* (2013) is cited as a desire to “deepen knowledge and understanding about a new type of collaborative approach that constitutes a departure from the traditional, hierarchical model of North-South partnership focused on knowledge transfer from the North to the South (AUCC, 2013, 2). Key features of innovative and effective partnerships, according to the study, include “the incorporation of various types of knowledge” and “fostering a culture of learning” where “the northern partners are not always in the driver’s seat and shared-decision making is the preferred mode of operation” (AUCC, 2013, p. 2). Despite acknowledging the lead role to be played in partnership by southern partners, the report concludes with a list of institutional barriers within universities that make it unlikely that progressive changes will soon translate into new N-S practices. The competitive context of higher education dictates that research and institutional reputation will outweigh costly and time-sensitive considerations of southern partners.

The conceptual shift in this policy exists in contrast to the previous policies that prioritize the economic benefits of a market-driven approach to partnership. The case studies presented in the report argue that partnerships should be founded on principles that establish

shared vision, strong leadership, power equity, interdependency and complementarity, mutuality manifested through shared decision-making on project design, shared resources and recognition of the importance of all partners' contributions and of the validity of the various types of knowledge. A commitment to different goals (and to each other's goals) and not necessarily shared goals, can also be a strong factor for effectiveness" (AUCC, 2013, p. 5).

The values expressed in the policy excerpted above are illustrative of the deleterious effects of N-S partnerships that ignore the local context where partnership is enacted. The report goes on, however, to acknowledge the institutional challenges to achieving these conditions for N-S partnership. University administrations do not typically "consider these types of international partnerships to be very beneficial for their institutions," and can be very "slow to respond to the resource needs of these international partnerships" (AUCC, 2013, p. 9). There is a sense that international development partnerships, if entered into, should conform to the standards outlined above; the report concludes with a sense that N-S cooperation and development partnerships are not as institutionally valued as other enterprises. It stipulates that if

universities overemphasize this aspect of North-South partnership as outreach programs rather than research or educational programs, there is a risk of reducing their value for Canadian researchers and faculty members. Researchers naturally still place a high value on the production of research outputs and look to achieve these goals through partnership (2013, p. 9).

Efforts to maintain equitable and progressive partnerships are challenged by institutional and economic interests that continue to pursue more profitable and high profile opportunities internationally. Redirecting efforts in N-S partnerships to promote sustainable and equitable partnerships will have to resist shrinking university funding from national and provincial sources and the temptation to secure international position through research and other global activities pose significant obstacles to reorienting N-S partnerships. The national shift away from international development as the delivery of aid or humanitarian assistance toward corporate social responsibility initiatives and

directing development programming to select trade partners are further obstacles to promoting partnerships outside an economic framework.

The Official Development Assistance Accountability Act (2008) reaffirms a commitment to projects whose primary objective is the alleviation of poverty (Government of Canada, 2013). The purpose of this act is

to ensure that all Canadian official development assistance abroad is provided with a central focus on poverty reduction and in a manner that is consistent with Canadian values, Canadian foreign policy, the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of March 2, 2005, sustainable development and democracy promotion and that promotes international human rights standards (Government of Canada, 2013a).

The standards for official international development partnerships established by this Act are potentially challenged by a more recent move to deliver humanitarian and development assistance through corporate social responsibility initiatives. Canada published a Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy in 2009, directed primarily at enhancing the extractive mining sector's ability to engage with local communities in developing countries in order "to operate in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner" (Government of Canada, 2013b). According to this strategy,

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is defined as the voluntary activities undertaken by a company to operate in an economic, social and environmentally sustainable manner. Canadian companies recognize the value of incorporating CSR practices into their operations abroad. Operating responsibly also plays an important role in promoting Canadian values internationally and contributes to the sustainable development of communities (Government of Canada, 2013b).

The emphasis within CSR is to "improve the competitive advantage of Canadian international extractive sector companies by enhancing their ability to manage social and environmental risks" (Government of Canada, 2013). There is a strong emphasis on ethical and non-corrupt practices for Canadian interests operating abroad, but in the context of the merger of the Canadian International Development Agency into the

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, it is move that signals that the focus for national development priorities continues to remain on development that facilitates economic development. It raises the specter of competing interests within Canadian international development initiatives, and as will be seen below, may not sufficiently recognize the objectives of local development agendas.

5.6 Poverty Reduction and Development Policy in Tanzania.

Poverty reduction is off-track in Tanzania; it will not meet its targets for the Millennium Development Goal of poverty alleviation, despite a decade of strong economic growth and increases in the overall value of exports (MKUKUTA, 2012). There is a key contradiction in Tanzania's current struggle for independent social and economic development that is relevant to this research: strong international economic engagement has not translated into broad improvements in the lives of the majority of Tanzanians. In the post-structural adjustment era (circa 2005 to the present), the government of Tanzania has produced strategic plans to engage in the development of its domestic economic and social services spheres; the most recent is entitled, Tanzania: Vision 2025. The struggle to take hold of and effectively direct domestic development interests in Tanzania has been the theme of national development agendas. In this brief section, I will provide excerpts from two national Tanzanian development documents, Vision 2025 and MKUKUTA: National Strategy for Growth and Economic Development, 2012, to argue that the national agenda to promote democratic and locally managed development continues to be obstructed by pressures to compete in the international economy. The production of primary resource exports has contributed to driving the rate of economic growth for the country overall, but the profits and benefits of this trade has not reached the citizens of Tanzania, in fact, in many cases, their standard of well-being has declined (MKUKUTA, 2012).

The discourses of Vision 2025 and other documents, including MKUKUTA, Tanzania's nationally produced response to the UN's Human Development Report, identify the need to become competitive on a global level and to "overcome a development dependent mindset" (Vision 2025). This document argues that

the mindset of the people of Tanzania and their leader has succumbed to donor dependency and has resulted in an erosion of initiative and lack of ownership of the development agenda. This condition has not been conducive to addressing the development challenges with dignity, confidence, determination and persistence...the economy continues to be dominated by primary production, thus making the economy seriously vulnerable to frequent changes in international commodity market conditions and newer technologies which use significantly less raw materials (Vision 2025, 2.2.1).

Overcoming donor dependency will require

the commitment to self-reliance and resourcefulness and a savings culture in order to overcome the donor dependency syndrome which has led so many Tanzanians into unprecedented apathy;... a greater role for local actors to own and drive the process of their development. Local people know their problems best and are better placed to judge what they need, what is possible to achieve and how it can be effectively achieved (Vision, 2025, 4.41-.3).

The document MKUKUTA (2012) is a domestically produced response to the human development reports on recent economic indicators, exports, domestic manufacturing production and governance. The report cites on average, Tanzania has sustained 7% economic growth over the past decade, yet the implications for poverty and inequality are discouraging. The report argues

The economy's significant growth since 2000/01 has not translated into significant reduction in income poverty...Tanzania has been self-sufficient in food production since 2005, with a peak in 2007...however food shortages continue to be experienced in some regions. There has been limited improvement in the primary road network, with lack of funding cited as the most binding constraint... (MKUKUTA, pp. xx-xxvi).

This report goes on to list several other human services including education, health care, water sanitation, life expectancy, social protection and employment, all sectors that changed little or improved insignificantly over the course of the past decade despite

consistently achieving economic growth rates. These statistics are not indicators of a direct link between increasingly international economic competition and the relative effectiveness of Tanzanian interests to safeguard and promote local development agendas. The statistics here are included in this research to raise issues of educational practices and partnerships that may produce negligible local development, or worse, continue to contribute to the “donor development mindset” that Vision 2025 identifies and struggles to surmount.

5.7 Summary.

The context of globalized education policy has created a plethora of opportunities for universities to extend their policies and programming to sites where local resources and infrastructure are distinctly different from the site of policy formation (Kenway & Fahey, 2008). The impact of traveling education policy that is enacted in sites well outside of the borders within which it was conceived produces effects on multiple levels in communities (Braun et al, 2011). This is particularly clear when policies are designed to dissolve distinctions between international and local communities (Ozga & Jones, 2006). The policy research findings presented here suggest that the production of internationalization policies, that focus exclusively on national economic priorities in Canada, do not align with the principles and objectives of development policy related to the local context where policy is enacted. This is particularly problematic for communities, such as Mji, that are working to regain authority and control over local resources and development agendas.

The grounding of this study in a social justice framework, targets the effects of internationalization policy enactment that may further disadvantage or exclude individuals or cultures from full participation at parity in N-S partnership initiatives. There are few studies that move beyond the comparative analysis of higher education systems and engage in an analysis of the impact of transborder higher education policy, specifically considering the impact of higher education policy governing institutional activities that are enacted outside of national borders (Marginson, 2002). Rizvi and Lingard’s framework for the analysis of the contemporary global policyscape, and the

processes that shape and define education outside of Westphalian notions of national boundaries, interrogates policy from historical, contextual, political and institutional perspectives (2010).

The domestic agenda for internationalization in Canada, outlined in policy documents produced by AUCC and subsequently the goals established by Northern University, suggest that the complexities attendant to local contexts lie outside the scope of activities designed to produce knowledge exports; although policy is not entirely silent on the subject of development and cooperation, it is a concern that moves in policy discourse. From a focus on collaborative enterprises in earlier documents (2006), it subsequently becomes less clear the standards by which educational N-S partnerships must be judged as they move more closely to align with national economic goals. The standards for international development engagement, in light of the merger of the Canadian International Development Agency with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, already has consequences for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and the decisions as to which countries will count as recipients.

The specific concern of this research is the consequences for the enactment of internationalization partnerships within the local context. The implementation strategies for N-S higher education partnerships are unclear. Here Rizvi & Lingard's (2010) questions for policy implementation are key: Does the policy have unintended consequences? In whose interests does the policy actually work? Has the policy had material effects or largely discursive ones? What are the social justice effects of the policy? These questions guide the analysis in Chapter 6 of this research that brings together the empirical findings from the fieldwork conducted in Mji with host partners of the ISL N-S partnership with Northern University. The analytical framework of this study challenges the enactment of this partnership through critical and postcolonial conceptual lenses (Ball, 1994, 2009, 2012, 2013; Olssen & Peters, 2006; Peters, 2002; Ozga, 2000, 1987; Gewirtz 1999). The analysis of the N-S ISL partnership presented in this study maps linkages between the institutional and national discourses of internationalization and traces their effects within the host community context. It is an analysis that reveals the implications and effects of the processes of internationalization

through N-S university-community partnerships, through the practice of ISL, and highlights the ambiguities of Canadian higher education internationalization.

Chapter 6

Findings from the Field

The idea of a benevolent empowering interviewer is displaced by the interview as a space where interviewees “carve out space of their own,” where the “meaning of words continually migrate and change,” where “the interview always exceeds and transgresses our attempts to capture and categorize (Scheurich in Lather, 2007, p. 47).

6.1 Overview.

A case study framework for the presentation of fieldwork findings

In this chapter, I will present findings from interviews conducted with twelve individuals. These individuals represent a variety of community organizations in Mji that were engaged in the ISL partnership directly or supported the program in differing capacities. They include a school, three different community NGOs, a research institute and two local businesses. The names of each organization and details specific to each participant have been changed to protect their identity. Each organization and its staff worked with students and university faculty in diverse ways throughout the course of the ISL program that took place in the spring of 2012. Within each organization, the experience of each partner was distinctive, depending on their relative position and the degree to which they

were engaged with the Canadian ISL participants. At the same time that this ISL program took place, other projects and research related to Northern University were simultaneously conducted in partnership many of the same organizations. Some of the comments of partners speak to their interactions with researchers, but are recorded here only insofar as participants related them to their experiences with the ISL program. For some partners, it was difficult to distinguish between the overall relationship with Northern University and the specific instance of the ISL program. To recap, the ISL program was related to the research program on the nutritional supplement, bringing students to Mji to launch a public health promotions project to increase awareness of its potential immune system benefits. I interpret the experiences shared with me by participants to contribute to a fuller account of the experience of the partnership overall as it was experienced at this particular time by host partners (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

Each of the interviews was semi-structured and engaged each participant in approximately a one hour session. The interview guide was constructed around general themes including: international service learning, higher education internationalization, international development, the benefits of partnership, individual expectations for engagement in partnership, critical issues in partnership, future developments for partnerships and related personal concerns. Because I was involved with partners daily, the interviews were shaped by “the contexts and situation in which they took place” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, 716). I was not a neutral entity. My observations and previous experiences and critical concerns for the enactment of ISL partnership influenced the topics I selected for interviews, although over the course of the interviews, I found that participants pushed the critical margins of my interests much further. They were active participants in determining the direction and content of all of the interviews, and often I found myself feeling that they were directing the course of the conversation (Gubrium & Holstein, 2005). I sought to position myself as a listener, occasionally prompting participants with new topics, but more often than not, provided with the stories that participants’ felt conveyed their experiences, insights and interests (Lather, 2007). I had the added benefit in this research that, in addition to the time I spent with partners in interviews, I was able to follow up with different individuals throughout the course of our day-to-day interactions, traveling to sites, over meals, and many other informal settings. I

maintained correspondence with several participants for the year following my field experience and continue to correspond with them today.

The ISL relationship with Northern University was informal; there were no memoranda of agreement related to the ISL program, although at the time of this research, I was informed that more formal relationships are in process. One of the local NGOs, the ANSN, was completely reliant on Northern University for its operating budget and staff salaries. The other organizations engaged in this study, including one public school, are run on extremely limited resources. The same limits effect each organization: access to transportation, communication (cell phones were nearly universal but coverage spotty), internet, computers, printers, paper—nearly each of these resources had to be specifically sourced through internet cafes or business outlets that specialized in ancillary services. On tight budgets, they were considered luxuries by all local partners' standards. The lack of resources considered basic by Canadian ISL partners, contributed to many of the frustrations that partners reported over the course of our interviews, conversations and follow up communications.

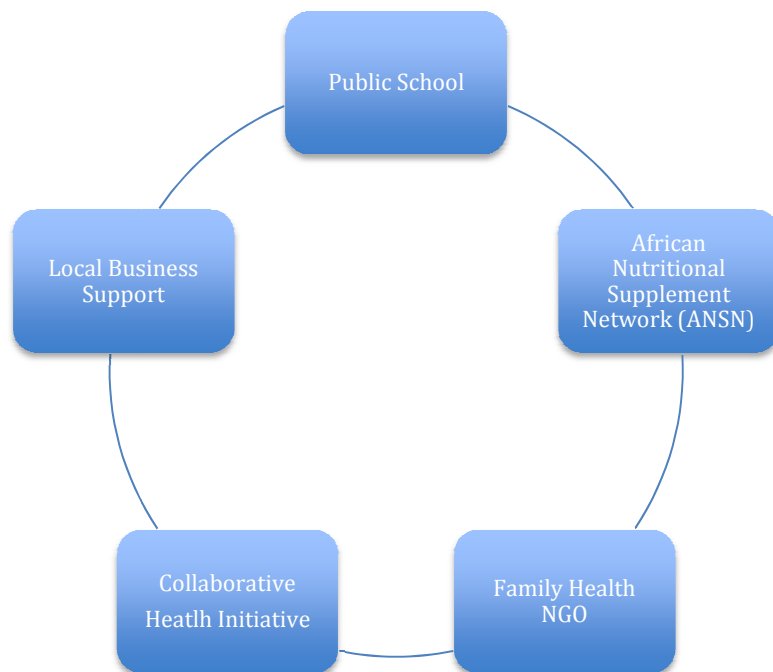


Figure 6.1 Organizations engaged in relationship with Northern University in Mji

Table 6.2 Interview participants and biographical information.

Name	Gender/Age	Occupation
Malika	Female/56	Executive Director, local NGO
Safiya	Female/30	Community Development Assistant, local NGO
Jafar	Male/40	Health researcher, Public Health Organization
Joaquin	Male/17	Student in partner school
Kivu	Male/59	Social worker, Family Health NGO
Ruth	Female/ 32	Community Development Assistant, local NGO
Aisha	Female/28	Director, local NGO
Zuri	Male/33	Community development, local NGO
Tulia	Female/23	Administrative assistant, Family Health NGO
Taraji	Female/56	Social worker, local NGO
Francis	Male/45	Local business owner
Jowi	Male/43	Local school teacher

6.2 Sensitizing concepts.

The findings from field interviews are presented here in a framework constructed around three dominant themes that emerged from the content analysis of interview texts, observations and subsequent correspondence with participants. I engaged Conroy's (in Patton 2002) framework of sensitizing concepts to organize the themes and patterns that emerged from interview participants' responses. Conroy developed the method of sensitizing concepts to frame "categories that give a general sense of reference and provide direction to understanding how the concept is manifest and given meaning in a particular setting or among a particular group of people" (Conroy in Patton, 2002, p. 456). Sensitizing concepts organize the analytical process and facilitate the opportunity for readers to make their own analysis and interpretation. Conroy argues that "the analyst's constructs should not dominate the analysis, but rather should facilitate the readers' understanding of the world under study. Further, the point of sensitizing concepts for analysis is not the label of the concept itself; they do not substitute for direct experience with the data" (Conroy in Patton, 2002, p. 457). They are "meant to organize

and elucidate the telling the story of the data...concepts are used to help make sense of and present the data but not to the point of straining or forcing the analysis” (p. 457). Conroy argues that respondents should be presented in their own words, “letting the data reveal the perspectives of the people interviewed and the intricacies of the world studied” (p. 457). The following three sensitizing concepts are deployed in this analysis to organize dominant themes from the interview data:

- Relationality
- Recognition
- Race

1. Relationality

One of the key concepts identified through interviews with partners is the desire for external relationships to assist in overcoming local deficits in social infrastructure. Malika, one of the key informants for this study, stood out among the participants. There is an entrepreneurial flare to Malika, who, as a senior program partner, sought out partnerships to establish a local NGO in Mji. Malika is sophisticated and recognized the potential for external partnerships to overcome the socioeconomic limitations that exist in Mji. The local context has complicated her efforts to build what has become a key local NGO in the community, addressing the needs of families and raising public awareness of the effects of domestic violence. I begin with Malika’s comments in this analysis because I believe she represents an example of the future possibilities for a postcolonial transnational partnership. However, where Malika’s comments are shrewd and incisive, they are representative of her position as an experienced leader and her relationship to the ISL partnership was insulated by her position. Her interests are concentrated with the administrative leaders of Northern University. She is committed, nonetheless, to building relationships and recognizes the intrinsic difficulties and differences that confront local and external partner interests. Her experience is reflected in her comments and ability to negotiate the politics of the ISL program:

It was our dream to begin an organization that would help women and children here, particularly because of the HIV crisis. We wanted to provide a community support... We need the resources that come with this program or we cannot continue our work in the community. (Malika)

Part businesswoman and part social worker, Malika brought a confidence to her responses that reflected the depth of her NGO partner experience. The NGO she established is not solely dependent on Northern University; she has secured partnerships and formed business alliances locally that help to stabilize her operations. She is able to balance the objectives that the Northern University program has in the community with her own goals for the partnership. Malika pointed out that

the partnership for me is not about the nutritional supplement...we have built many opportunities through the resources that came with the money, and the communities that came along with it, including the ISL program, give people here opportunities: to work, to observe...Many programs are in the communities now, supporting women and families; there are problems and it is political, but it is also very positive... (Malika).

Malika's description of her relationship with Northern University is practical; she needs to partner with individuals and organizations who have resources, financial and otherwise, to support her initiatives. She emphasized repeatedly in our interview that "*we (in Mji) need to be social entrepreneurs*" (Malika). She does not romanticize the relationship with the university; at one point Malika stopped and said, "*you know, I cannot tell you no.*" Nor does she rest on the assumption that this partnership will necessarily be a permanent relationship. Her focus in the partnership is steadfast on the needs of her community; she sees the partnership with Northern as a means to build skills and opportunities in Mji, to develop social entrepreneurial skills, to draw on research methodologies to plan and facilitate local studies and to look for new partners. It is an outlook that "emphasizes...relations of mutuality, co-responsibility and common interests...." (Mohanty, 2006, p. 242). Her responses resonate with those of Jowi, a school administrator, engaged directly with the ISL partnership. Jowi is, middle-aged, incredibly interested in the success of his students, and even at the end of the program,

when it was clear that it had not met the aspirations he held for it, he wanted to talk about how to build on this first initiative. When asked to summarize his experience of the ISL program he said:

What do I think is the most important piece of this ISL partnership? Hope. Every year, students graduate from our school, and what do they do? There are no jobs, they cannot go far; maybe a few continue with their education. How am I to convince them that their studies have value? I want them to see students, traveling, making a way to the future. I want to give them hope that this is not a waste of their time.

But, I am afraid that in this case, that maybe the engagements with the ISL students from Canada were not all so positive. So many females; where are the males? You know, in Tanzania, it is important to have balance. We need to know that the men of Canada want to participate in this as well, otherwise, if it is all women, there that this is not important (Jowi).

Jowi's commitment to the ISL partnership is anchored in a hope that it may inspire and sustain the efforts his students are making to attain an education. He expressed disappointment in the ISL program at different points in the interview but doubled back each time to a more hopeful look to future programs. He assessed the shortcomings of this program, particularly gendered insights, explaining that programs that do not balance the gender of participants have implications for the local community given their cultural values and expectation. Jowi's comments highlight the privileges of the Canadian ISL students, in terms of their access to technology, education and travel. These are goals he would like to see made available to his students, and sees future participation in ISL partnerships as a potential source to secure them:

We need to catch up; we have no computers or technology, but almost all of the Canadian students in this program do have it and know how to use it. They (the Canadian students) have seen places, like the Serengeti—so close to us and yet none of our students has been to see it. And your students will climb Kilimanjaro and go to Zanzibar. These are dreams for our students. I would like to help to

make them more real. We need to make education valuable and this program, the teachers and the students, can help us keep hope (Jowi).

Jowi was intently focused on envisioning the next steps to ensure a more effective ISL partnership. He communicated clear objectives for the partnership; recognizing the tenuous hold he had on students' faith that their education could yield future benefits, his comments expressed a determination to work toward a more equitable future partnership. Throughout the interview, Jowi's criticisms of the ISL program were always tempered with ideas to ensure a more effective future relationship. He was very concerned that the presence of an all-female Canadian ISL group distracted his male students and made his female students feel marginal. This was corroborated in my observations of the program. When the two groups did get together, the Canadian ISL participants were given a tremendous amount of attention; their clothing was much less modest than the school uniforms worn by the Mji girls and their cameras and cell phones were objects of tremendous interest for the boys, who wanted to take pictures of themselves with the Canadians. Jowi clearly indicated how challenging it was for the female students at the high school to watch these interactions. He hoped to secure the future possibility of another program by calling attention to the issue in the interview and quickly following up with an invitation to bring male students next time.

Malika and Jowi's experiences and confidence supported their desire to maintain the partner relationship. Their responses are in contrast to some of the younger partners engaged to support the ISL program who participated in interviews for this research. Many of them struggled to position themselves in relation to the Northern University ISL participants. Safiya, a young community development worker was engaged to guide and translate for the group. She had a very different experience with the ISL group. A colleague of Malika's, but much younger, she was given the challenging and exhausting responsibility of translating and guiding the ISL group during their time in Mji.

Safiya was not much older than the participants in the program but there were gaps between her and the ISL participants that could not be broached; financially, the participants in the program had much more money to spend in cafes or on local shopping trips. Safiya had a keen interest in fashion, had graduated from the local university and

was a mother to a young son. Her position, however, relative to the ISL participants, was seen viewed as a local tour guide, one hired to facilitate and coordinate the ISL group's activities, not as a peer or an equal partner working together to improve local community conditions. Her experience and expertise was not recognized, although she was approximately ten years older than most of the student participants, and had been working professionally in community development for several years. There is a keen awareness of age difference in Tanzanian society, that presumes a sense of respect for those who are older, yet this recognition did not translate to the ISL participants. Since she was closely connected to the ISL program right from the start, Safiya's comments reflect how she saw her relationship to the ISL participants change over the course of the program. Early on in the students' stay in Mji, Safiya invited them to her birthday party at her family home. She considered their presence at her family's house a demonstration of hospitality and trust; however, her feelings were undermined as the program progressed:

I was really happy to have them to come to my house, to celebrate with me on my birthday and introduce the students to my family and friends. But now I am feeling that they do not really want to be here; I mean, we (host partners) have all of this work to do and they are always talking about going to the Serengeti or to climb Kilimanjaro. I am not sure if they came to be tourists or to do the work (Safiya).

Safiya initially sought to establish a more personal relationship with the ISL participants and was eager to share her life and the culture of Mji with them. As the program ground on, however, it became more difficult to sustain her initial enthusiasm with the students and she became less confident in her interactions with students. Several students were critical of Safiya and complained directly to her that they could not always understand her English. After their initial interest in the focus of the ISL program, students became frustrated with language barriers and their inability to really go anywhere independently in Mji. Students became more interested side trips to national parks and the discovery of a nearby hotel with a swimming pool became a significant distraction. These excursions and attractions were beyond Safiya's means. She worked hard to meet the expectations

of the ISL group, but toward the end of the program, students and staff in the ISL program did not hide their disappointment with her accomplishments very well.

You see we want to have this enterprise with Canada and this university. But there are many barriers, language, knowledge and things move fast when they are here and sometimes, when they come, they think they have solved problems but...I think they come with their agendas and their budgets and their western way of thinking and they can't...they're not flexible, they're minds are not open, open to a different culture...they're not even open to being sensitive to the feelings and needs of the people around them...(Safiya).

As it became more obvious that the ISL students viewed their time in Mji more as an African holiday that involved some volunteer work, versus a sustained effort to engage in a partnership or community project, it became obvious to Safiya they were not interested in a sustained relationship. One day, the students made comments criticizing her ability to speak English when they thought she would not hear, and she was deeply hurt. *I may not always speak clearly, but I can understand what they say very well (Safiya).* The relationship between the students to the ISL program and Safiya was not collaborative and it positioned her in a service capacity relative to the ISL students. Mohanty's (2006) "feminist as tourist" analysis identifies a "strategy in which brief forays are made into non-Euro-American cultures..." by Westerners (p. 239). Its effects are "that students and teachers are left with a clear sense of the difference and distance between the local...and the global (defined as other, non-Western)...(p. 239). This framework reflects the experiences reported by Safiya and the ISL program.

Mohanty's (2006) model of the feminist tourist is one which leaves intact power relations and hierarchies between ISL participants and local interests "since ideas about center and margin are reproduced along Eurocentric lines" in the relationship (Mohanty, 2006, p. 239). Safiya struggled at the mid-point of this program due to the mounting demands from students who were planning a large celebration in the community. Students would text Safiya and email her long lists of items to purchase or to rent (sound systems, chairs, flyers); she found herself taking on more and more of the responsibilities for the group, and it became increasingly stressful and difficult to manage. Her comments reveal her

frustrations and illustrate the sense that the ISL program participants were not there to participate as equals or mutual partners. Safiya felt that she was in a client-oriented relationship, engaged to facilitate their program in an instrumental capacity, not as a peer.

The socioeconomic divide between the ISL participants and local host partners made maintaining relations very difficult. Money was a recurring source of conflict in terms of payments to local partners and in the access ISL participants had for materials and services beyond the reach of host partners. This partnership was very informal, the financial terms that accompanied for the ISL program were unclear; without a formal agreement, services were contracted or terminated spontaneously. The warning from representatives of the university to local partners to become self-sustaining created stress and uncertainty for host partners, an issue raised in several interviews.

We are told that we must become independent and self-sustaining. Sustainability but we do not have the resources yet. All of our money comes from Northern University (Aisha).

What is difficult for us are several things: we must account for every individual item that we spend any money on, and often it is difficult to provide adequate receipts; we do not have internet at our office, so we must go to an internet café, and we must spend money for time there; occasionally our funding is stopped because there is a misunderstanding and then we are unable to pay people who work in the organization, or provide services to the community (Ruth).

You see, this partnership is more for us than just the time that the students and teachers come to visit and learn. We must always be very, very careful (Safiya).

In addition to finding external sources of funding, it was revealed in one interview that originally the partnership was founded on expectations that local partners would provide their services on a volunteer basis. One participant, Jafar, vigorously criticized the terms of the partnership. His contributions were to facilitate the products needed to produce the nutritional supplement. His involvement with Northern came via his supervisor who agreed to support the partnership, yet it was Jafar who had to shoulder the workload. A

university graduate and professional researcher, he was frustrated with the imposition of partnership on his already heavy workload. His criticisms were clear:

Voluntary, voluntary, voluntary. I am always told this when I make some small request for resources to make the project work, but I cannot always be doing everything because it is voluntary and for the community. We do not have the luxury of doing everything as volunteers. There must be resources to keep everyone eating and to keep the services coming for the community. And it is hard to not ask them, how much did it cost you to travel here? (Jafar)

Two insights from the interview with Jafar are key to the balance of distributed benefits in this partnership. His requests for funding to secure the sustainability and predictability of the partnership were generally declined. He chafed at the contradiction between the expectation that he should support the partnership with little compensation or support for needed equipment, and the recognition of the ability of participants, students and researchers to pay significant sums to travel to Mji—one trip to Tanzania is more than most of the participants in this study earn in a year. His comments and response to me in the interview were sarcastic and angry, creating a very awkward role for me as the interviewer and a sense that the terms and conditions for this partnership were clearly problematic for host partners.

The tensions in Jafar's comments fluctuate between the desire to contribute to community development and an awareness of a need to accommodate visiting ISL groups. He assured me that he recognized the potential benefits of having a partnership; in a context where chronic unemployment (70% by local city council estimates) and further underemployment makes any possibility of income welcome, Jafar was frustrated by the expectations that were put upon local host partners by the ISL program. He expressed a desire to engage in partnership, *“yes, but can there be some little sense that we are partners? There is talk and talk about the nutritional supplement and a sense of helping the community, but I am part of the community and I do not feel helped”* (Jafar). The lack of local ownership over the resources for the program significantly diminished Jafar's sense of trust in the partnership.

2. Recognition.

Host partners desired recognition as peers from ISL participants; however, cultural difference complicated Safiya and Ruth's attempts to engage equally with the ISL students. Ruth was a very gifted public speaker. She has a natural leadership ability and intelligence, but she struggled as a single mother, whose child lived with her family quite a distance from Mji. She was continually torn between family obligations and her work, and often phoned in sick, further eroding her credibility among ISL participants. Ruth was nothing but positive about the potential for this partnership, although she expressed concerns about the students ability to thrive in Mji. Ruth burst with energy everywhere she went; her smile was infectious and when she was with students, she made them feel especially welcome and engaged. Regardless of what had occurred the day before, when she was able to engage with students, her energy was able to carry the group along.

It was important to Ruth to express her concerns about the change she intuited among ISL participants over the course of the program. After an initial enthusiasm, she felt there seemed to be little interest among the ISL participants to spend time in the community. Ruth felt that a lack of understanding cultural differences contributed to the divide between the ISL participants and the community:

I do not think that they (Canadian participants) like it here. Tanzanians are not talkative, so they (ISL participants) feel that we (local partners) are not smart. We know, but we are not like that. That is the attitude. That is a barrier (Ruth).

Ruth's insights raise issues of ISL participants understanding of local culture and values. Ruth did not feel that the students were interested in the local culture; she felt they were interested in performing service and traveling throughout the country. Jafar is a young professional medical researcher who had engaged with several interns from Northern university prior to the commencement of the ISL program. He was frustrated by the imposition of tasks related to the production of the nutritional supplement that increased his workload, and yet he was not compensated for his efforts, resulting in an exasperation reflected throughout his interview. Jafar felt that students from Northern did not acknowledge the contributions and abilities of local researchers to the overall project. He

further indicated that the projects and proposals that the university students came to Mji with were not always appropriate to the local context:

My complaint is that they (students and researchers) come here with the proposals and those proposals are very nice because it's all ready developed...they develop nice proposals but they do not always develop the proposals that will work here...They just come with their plans. They will do this. They will do that. And most of them I can say, complete their work but they do not really know what they should know...(Jafar).

Jafar's comments are critical of efforts by Global North service learning programs to target singular issues in communities in the Global South. Programs with a benevolent or charitable orientation position the communities like Mji as a site to perform service or to celebrate the ethnocentric expertise. Andreotti (2011a) is critical of programs that envision African people who "only exist in the distance as 'a safe and non-threatening, worthy charity case' ready to be rescued and recolonized" (p. 166). She identifies missed pedagogical opportunities by programs that do not represent the complexity of global inequality and the production of poverty, criticizing those "civilizing missions...(that) foreclose and reproduce unequal power relations..." and put forth an "idea that eradicating poverty is easy...(This is) both deceptive and dangerous" (Andreotti, 2011a, pp. 166-167). Her postcolonial critique of educational practices that reinscribe the hegemony of the North underscores the logic of coloniality/modernity in partnerships (Mignolo, 2011). The assumption that the problems that service addresses are not located in a critique of history or global socio-political-economic structures but are endemic to a particular local situation undermines efforts to produce social change. The bifocal approach to global/local analysis refuses to isolate local issues and traces their production to globalized sources, including institutions and policies (Weis and Fine, 2012).

Host partners' desire for recognition is grounded in Fraser's (2013) threshold for just relations: participation at parity. Parity, in Fraser's analysis, is a qualitative measure, which requires that adult partners are perceived as equal in every sense, including access to resources, representation in democratic decision-making and recognition of social identification including "race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality and religion" (2013, p.

165). She argues for a critical democratic framework for considerations of just relations, one that satisfies three inter-related criteria: first, the importance of situating justice within the social context in which circumstances arise; second, a recognition that participants can only become fellow subjects when they are co-imbricated into a framework that ensures equitable distribution of the burdens and benefits of partnership; and finally, what Fraser (2008) believes that any possibility of just-relations must consider the “all-affected” principle, whereby “all those affected by a given social structure have moral standing as subjects of justice in relation to it” (p. 38). Recognition of partners in ISL programming at the standards outlined by Fraser resonates with Spivak’s (2004) call to “learn to learn from below.” It follows that a form of repression is the by-product of relations that deny equitable access to participation at parity and to an equitable distribution of the burdens and benefits of partnership. Taraji, a senior community development worker, reflected on the positive and negative impact of international volunteers in the community. With more than three decades experience in community development, she had had the opportunity to engage with international development volunteers from many different countries. Her observations of this particular ISL group were calm and measured. She focused specifically on the need for volunteers to know and understand the community; time and language were essential in Taraji’s assessment of what made an effective volunteer program:

I can say that, when they do not know our culture and language, it is stressful to us and stressful to those who come...We do want you to come, but please come and spend some time with us. Most just want to come and go to the national parks, to their tourist tours...Maybe they will come some time and want to learn something. They can go to the places where they can learn Swahili...(Taraji)

Local partners sought to establish a reciprocal relationship; however, it was difficult to engage the ISL participants or to sustain their interests in the activities of the local community. Taraji was very interested in partnerships that would bring groups who have an interest in learning about the community; she stressed repeatedly the need to learn language, to go to the villages and spend time with Tanzanians. She recognized that students’ interests were drawn to the larger projects of safari, climbing Kilimanjaro and

visiting other internationally recognized tourist destinations. This complicated the efforts of host partners to engage with students. After their initial interest in the local community, students seemed to withdraw either due to culture shock, boredom, or frustration with cultural (particularly linguistic) barriers. Jafar described his past experiences working with students from Northern University and was reluctant to engage in further programming.

I expect if someone wants to come here to work with me here or to work with the center that the first thing is to learn what we have...and the second is for you to give what you have...but there must be a two way sharing...of the benefits...
(Jafar)

The desire to establish mutually beneficial partnerships that recognize the contributions of all partners is echoed in Taraji's comments:

Tanzania wants to collaborate with them (Canadians) and I believe that Canada wants to collaborate with Tanzania...The only thing is that the policies and the agreement is not that much well regulated. But I think two of us, we need each other...(Taraji)

The desire to maintain partnerships to secure economic benefits for the community is reflected in Francis's assessment below. Francis engaged with the ISL group as a local business person related to the guest house where students stayed. It was a long term engagement and meant a significant economic boost to the business, but it was not without complications. The ISL students were active at night, often disrupting other guests with talk or coming and going from room to room, occasional drinking and accompanying noise, but Francis was always clear that the economic benefit was necessary, requiring that he hire more help and raising the status of his business in the community. His critique of the ISL participants was measured:

But I don't have a problem, no please do not think that. We need to share knowledge...we need to have communication. I know this is just a start, I can

accept what has been done, but hopefully this study will make some improvements and have some effect in the future...I think that when they (students) come to know Tanzania better, with more time, we begin to know one another more and then we become more similar (Francis).

Reciprocity continued to be a theme raised by students from the local ISL school in Mji that partnered with the program. Below is a letter sent to me in Mji from a young male student, Joaquin, prior to the completion of the program and the ISL students' departure. Joaquin was an ambitious and passionate student who emerged as a leader right from the beginning of this ISL program. Joaquin sought to build a program; he wanted to have identifying t-shirts that recognized the select group of students from the Mji school who were participating as partners in the ISL program, but his request was denied. He was incredibly eager to learn more about Canada and was fascinated with the cameras and technologies that students possessed. On the final day that the Canadian students met with the Mji ISL participants for lunch at the ANSN site, he came prepared with a very dignified speech to thank the Canadians and to pave the way for future engagements. His presentation was thoroughly professional and remarkable for its maturity and insight. I have included its content in total here, to provide a sense of his desires for partnership; specifically the hope for a more equitable and inclusive participation in matters of travel and in-country sightseeing to give a sense of how the privilege of the Canadian ISL participants reinscribes a sense of marginalization in the local community.

Dear Northern Students and Teachers,

Good afternoon. I know that all of the students will be leaving soon, so today I am writing to you to celebrate the beautiful day and to tell you that we appreciate all of the students from NU so much.

As students forming a friendship with you from Canada, we have a few things to present to you to see if it can work out in the future.

First of all, we call to you to form a solid relationship between you and us. We call on our friends in Canada to keep us in touch as it may be possible.

We ask for you to come and to visit some of our families whenever you come back to Mji, as part of your learning more about our social formations and culture. This will give you a little insight into our social values.

Further, we ask for you and perhaps other friends from Canada and the Northern University, for some donation that maybe when you come next time and visit the Serengeti or Kilimanjaro, or these many beautiful places that are in our country, that we could perhaps accompany you....We would like to take a tour with you, to accompany you to places that we know will be so important to knowing our own country as well as you would like to...it will facilitate our relationship more...

We wish you all the best on your way back to Canada and pray for the continuation of this relationship. You are welcome back to Tanzania once again.

Thank you,

Joaquin

The frustrations expressed in Joaquin's letter summarize the failed expectations that the ISL program raised in the community, and the frustrations experienced at not being able to enjoy the same experiences as the ISL students. Students from the Mji school were initially hopeful and excited to engage with students from Canada; however, when the interest of the ISL students faded in the first couple of weeks, and barriers such as language, culture, and age differences divided the two communities, the Mji students were left feeling excluded and unappreciated.

On the last day that the students were in Mji, the local NGO hosted a luncheon to bring together a group of student leaders from Mji with the Canadian ISL group. At this point, the Canadian students were anxious to move on to the next phase of their trip: a climb of Mt. Kilimanjaro. They reluctantly agreed to attend the lunch, feeling that they had already said their goodbyes at the school celebration the day before. The formality and sense of dignity central to any meeting with delegations from abroad was lost on the Canadian ISL students. Although the Mji students prepared speeches, and sought to establish the possibility of a future ISL group in the coming year, the Canadian students

were unresponsive and by the end of the meal, clearly eager to get back to their guest house to continue packing and preparing for the climb. In my field journal I wrote,

Joaquin read from the letter he gave to me at the lunch; I watched the students when he talked about wishing to go to places that they would be visiting: the Serengeti, Kilimanjaro & Zanzibar. It is interesting that the privilege they possess, to travel, to visit remarkable sites, is largely lost on the students. They are more focused on avoiding eating the fish-heads served to them for lunch. Travel, for the students, is an entitlement; they are as unconscious of their privilege as they are of their whiteness and the effects they have had on this community (June 14, 2012).

3. Race.

It was impossible for the ISL group to walk down a street in Mji without being called *muzungu* by someone on the street. The host partners referenced the presence of *muzungus* in the community as an effect they found difficult to manage. Literally translated from Swahili, *muzungu* refers to “a foreign white person” (Online dictionary, 2013). The omnipresence of whiteness was literally visible everywhere and at all times; it was embodied in the persons of the ISL participants and signified multiple meanings and possibilities within the Mji community. The lack of a reflexive awareness of the significance of whiteness in the community on the part of the ISL group was problematic for host partners. It constructed a further division in the ability of local partners to engage equitably with the ISL group. The formation of whiteness in Mji was a significant barrier to this partnership because it signaled a series of expectations within the local community for the partnership and yet the ISL participants remained perplexed by the calls of *muzungu* as they walked down street. It was an invisible barrier for the students, constructed in part by a strategy of N-S ISL partnership, that did not articulate, anticipate or acknowledge difference.

Recognition of white people walking down the street is impossible to avoid in Mji. Everywhere and every day that the students went out into the community, they were greeted with comments of “hey *muzungu*” on the street and curious stares from local community members. Occasionally, in crowded markets students were touched or firmly

grabbed. Initially, the reversal of a racialized gaze on the white students did not trouble them as it created a sense of specialness, but as time and the program advanced, the discomfort of race became apparent as students became frustrated or confused, and at times afraid of the responses they received. The curiosity among local community members to know why such a large group of white young women were in Mji was linked to a sense that they were affluent. The link between whiteness and affluence was evident by the number of direct requests for personal items from hotel workers or others in contact with the ISL group (who presumed that the *muzungus* had an infinite capacity to buy material goods). Kivu is a mature, wise and patient social worker. Originally engaged in health care, he now works in community development. Of all of the participants in this study, his insights revealed the impact of Global North volunteers in African communities. My interview with Kivu was one of the longest I had in Mji; his comments were carefully crafted and he wanted to make sure that I understood his underlying meaning. In many ways, Kivu interviewed me, more than I did him. It was clear to me that he wanted to make significant points about the need to engage with local expertise. His first points were directed at the illustrating the effects of *muzungus* within the community. He made patient attempts to explain the effects of *muzungus* on the community to me in our interview:

Muzungos create some attentions here...You know, people see muzungus coming for pleasure, I mean you take your time and money to come here ...it seems almost impossible that you have the money to do all of this, and so we hope, that somehow, we will get some of that money too (Kivu, participant).

The meaning of whiteness in the community is complex and multilayered. Kivu's comments speak to the expectation of wealth and mobility bound up in whiteness. The cost of travel to Tanzania is equivalent to the average annual earnings of a citizen of Mji. Kivu found it curious that so many young *muzungus* would take the time and expense to travel to Tanzania for such a short time. Kivu's comments suggest that if students had enough money to make such a short visit to Mji, in the community's assessment, they must have significant amounts of money. The community observes *muzungus* with a sense of ambiguity, speculating on the possibility of wealth that is presumed to

accompany white visitors. Their presence creates a sense of anxiety and anticipation, producing an attraction to the *muzungu* for some community members and division among others. Kivu further explained the impact of whiteness on Mji:

In Tanzania...things are complicated...

... When they are calling you muzungu, it is complicated.

You (muzungu) raise everyone's expectations, it means money.

You are part of the colonial past, you are powerful and you can travel.

It is a colonial mentality, which still creeps among us.

So we fear you sometimes, unnecessarily, unnecessarily (Kivu).

Current internationalization policy presumes the possibility of a practice of partnership that neutralizes race and class, however, Kivu's observations on whiteness clearly identifies the effects of whiteness, linked to coloniality, on the community. The connection between whiteness and a "colonial mentality" raises the specter of historical relations between Mji and the participants. Here, the analysis of Mignolo (2002) theorizes the enduring tensions between the ability of citizens from the Global North to position themselves as partners, relative to communities in the South, with technologies and resources to respond to issues of poverty, but to do so unreflexively so that history, institutions and the global structures that constructed this relationship remain unexamined.

The power and presence of history that Kivu identifies in the community imagination is absent in the field of awareness of the Canadian ISL participants, largely due to the suppression of race or any acknowledgement of the complexities inherent in difference in policy. Mignolo argues that modernity, and in this case a modern university's relationship with formerly colonial communities, is based on a relationship that "disqualifies the opposing binary that it creates" (2002, p. 936), leading to a somewhat irrational condition. Ultimately, it is impossible to erase the effects of race, history or

cultural difference within partnership, yet it is also difficult to predict its impact on the formation of partnerships.

The impossibility of denying race produces an uneven effect in the community: fear, uncertainty and anticipation are enmeshed in different local reactions. What is essential to Kivu's insights are the effects that racialized visitors have in the community: they are not neutral. The implication for the ISL students is that through their misrecognition of their whiteness, they began to distance themselves from the local community. Their misrecognition became increasingly more obvious and more problematic for their interactions with local communities members:

At first students did not know what to make of being called muzungu as they walk down the streets in different communities. But now I see it is beginning to become irritating for them; it troubles one's sense of neutrality. They believe they are here in the community for benevolent reasons, but the girls seem to becoming a bit more confused. I hear it in their comments, which are becoming increasingly agitated and disparaging. They have no idea they are white. (Field Journal, June 11).

The intersection of race and its implications for ISL partnerships is an area that has received little attention in the ISL research literature (Todd, 2011; Marshall, 2008); however, the effects of Othering are well documented in postcolonial studies (Mbembe, 2001; Stoler, 1995; Said, 1979, Fanon, 1963). Here, the student ISL participants are unaware of the impact that their whiteness has on the community, and the community response begins to undermine the oversimplified role they initially imagined for themselves as volunteers coming to help communities in need. The reaction from the community de-centers the students' identity and provokes a strong response among some students, bordering on rejection:

I am going to start calling them 'Mafrican' if I hear them call me muzungu one more time" remarked one student in clear frustration as the students walked through the crowded market. "I don't want to be touched anymore...I feel people grabbing my arm and its so crowded I can't tell exactly who it is and I am afraid"

admitted another, although in her tone I can tell that she was not angry, rather, she sounded almost embarrassed (Field journal, June 11).

Lopez's (2005) analysis of postcolonial whiteness identifies the representation of whiteness as "not only of the contents of the colonial unconscious, but the very agent of its own repression" (5). There is a representational power of whiteness that has "historically operated in the service of colonial and neocolonial regimes, to secure the domination of whites over nonwhite others" (Lopez, 2005, 4). Kivu's recognition of a "colonial mentality" suggests the community's awareness of a power in the students that is reminiscent of colonial relations; however, the attempt to suppress difference in the partnership ultimately unravel this particular program:

They (students) did not anticipate these (community) reactions, and... their inability to do much more than visit markets, due to their (language and a lack of program coordination)...this experience has evolved unexpectedly (for ISL participants) from one of engagement to one of mutual wary observation.

These students came believing they could mobilize a community, to teach them about a nutritional supplement...but they are not able to mobilize the community because they do not know it; there is a lack of trust because the students miss every opportunity to put aside their singular interest in the nutritional supplement; they are eager to plan for the next safari, and do not take time to simply be in the community and listen. I can see the frustration building in Safiya (Field Journal, June 11, 2012).

It was discouraging to witness the deteriorating relationship between the ISL participants and the local community, particularly when many of the causes for its failures could have been avoided with attention to preparing students to engage with the local community more meaningfully. The representation of ISL as a neutral practice negates the historical reality of academic practices within Sub-Saharan communities. Tikly (2001) argues that a historical framework is essential for successful international education practices and policy. It is particularly important to engage with local history and culture when programs are located in vulnerable communities and where education policies, which are

formulated according to “accumulation strategies,” to promote national economic interests, or “hegemonic projects,” those that seek to maintain a manageable social structure for conducting accumulation projects (163), run the risk of further marginalizing local infrastructure and economies. The ISL partnership in this case study was conceived of in a context where internationalization is primarily perceived as a vehicle to promote institutional interests.

Our interview was winding down when Kivu reached out his hand, and told me one last story. He was particularly concerned to ensure that I understood what the potential effect, of my effect and this research, as a *muzungu*, might have on the community:

I feel that when muzungus come to our community, it is like working with a very young doctor who has been trained to identify parts of the body by reading anatomy books. In the book, everything is color coded, and nice lines show him where everything is located.

But when this young doctor steps to the operating table for the first time, and makes the first cut on the patient, there are no colors to tell him where things should be, and sometimes, I need to stand next to the young doctor, to guide him, so that he does not cut in the wrong place.

It is like that when muzungus come to operate in our community. They have studied the community in a book, but sometimes they need someone to stand beside them, so they do not cut the community in the wrong place (Zuri).

Kivu’s metaphor illustrates a theme that is repeated in the critical literature throughout development studies: the effect of projects from the Global North that enter into communities in the South. Although there is a logic to programs and strategies designed within the clear boundaries of classrooms or labs within the universities of the Global North, the realities that confront development efforts within communities of the South are nearly always more complex and context specific than externally conceived programs anticipate (Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Baas, 2007). The institutional frameworks and processes of the university do not conform to the material realities and contingencies of the community. The focus of the critical literature on partnerships targets specific areas

where the partnerships typically breakdown: a lack of extensive and consistent communication between partners, deep local engagement throughout the planning and implementation phases of projects as well as engaging locally appropriate technologies in programs are all essential considerations for successful relationships. In his response, Kivu highlights not only the limits of efforts to perform development produced according to a textbook understanding of poverty, but he also patiently responds to the panic and confusion that ensues when the project design does not unfold according to plan. Kivu witnessed the devolution of this ISL program and was not surprised by its failure.

There are two key implications that emerge from Kivu's comments. First, he challenges the preparation of development workers, or ISL participants, coming to work in Global South communities. When faced with a real patient, the young doctor is not able to distinguish between the complex organs and tissues; once the ISL program "cut" into the community, they became increasingly confused by the complexities of local culture and context. Kivu suggests the possibility of making a wrong cut could threaten the patient's life, and in this case study, misrecognizing local culture and context signaled the failure of the ISL program. Second, Kivu recognizes the importance of local expertise and the willingness of local partners to guide ISL partners and participants to collaborative responses to community issues. There was a degree of hubris among Canadian ISL participants, however, which prevented them from acknowledging the limits to their knowledge. Although the result was not so dire as the death of a community or patient, the program ultimately did little to engage the students with the community, and may have contributed to distancing the students and community even further.

Engaging local knowledges contradicts the desire to showcase or engage the research expertise of Global North universities in development projects. Mignolo's (2011) argument, that Europeans act in response to Global South conditions, "under the hubris of 'zero' knowledge" (192), assuming that

other people, with their own existence and knowledges, do not have the same problems you have and therefore could care less about your knowledge until the moment that you impose it on them and tell them they do not know about themselves what you know about them. (Europeans) conclude that they (Global

South citizens) are inferior and ignorant, that their reasoning is defective...(Europeans) do not stop to think that they are as ignorant...(They) assume that they ‘know’ them because they describe them...in their system of knowledge and in their epistemic architectonic...” (192).

In the modernity/coloniality framework, Western knowledge repeatedly attempts to displace southern or local knowledge. In Mignolo’s (2011) analysis, this displacement is the most effective means to ensure continued subordination to modernity: as long as Western knowledge continues to supplant local knowledge, and further, to supplant the knowledge of the colonized of themselves, development efforts are thwarted (319).

Kivu’s metaphor represents the effects what Kapoor (2008) identifies as a “reliance on an identity that you call upon for agency restricted to an imposed script” written for the formerly colonized by the colonizer (122). His recognition of attempts to provide a script to colonized citizens to fulfill Western expectations are identified in Mbembe’s (2001) analysis that specifically addresses Western academic interventions in African communities. He argues that representatives from the West presume to “know nearly everything that African states, societies and economies *are not*, (yet) still know absolutely nothing about *what they actually are* (emphasis in original) (Mbembe, 2001, 9). He strongly criticizes Western researchers who engage in fieldwork in Africa with little or no knowledge of African languages, cultures or traditions. The same criticism may be applied to pedagogical or partnership practices that presume a level of local expertise, yet in reality have only a superficial interest or understanding of local contexts. The result in Mbembe’s (2001) analysis is a state of entanglement where Western interests typically do not invest the effort to engage with Africa authentically.

This N-S ISL partnership was conceived with a narrow focus on a public health project in isolation from a consideration of its manifestation in a broader community context. In this case, the ISL program assumed that the potential health and potential economic benefits of the nutritional supplement for the local community would be sufficient to produce a successful program; however, the program and partnership suffered from significant blind spots including an awareness of the formations of whiteness in the community and complex expectations for the program among local partners. The ISL

participants did not recognize or understand their impact on the community. As white, Global North, mobile, healthy students, they represented affluence within the local community; the responses they received from community members which focused on them as white *muzungus* produced multiple reactions among student participants, including resistance and resentment to the local community. It is an effect that obfuscated what was initially a clear sense of purpose for students in the ISL program; for partners, I interpret their comments on the effects of *muzungus* to reflect their deep awareness of the inequities of N-S engagements, a result of policy and programming that suppresses notions of difference.

Excluding difference from the consideration of N-S partnerships in policy texts does not uproot its presence and in the end, may exacerbate its tensions between community partners. A more detailed analysis of the *muzungu effect* and the implications for internationalization policy and this N-S ISL partnership is considered in chapter 7.

6.3 Summary of Field Findings

Local partners interviewed for this case study reported that the lack of awareness of local context, culture and the effects of race significantly impacted the ability for the ISL participants to engage meaningfully or productively in the community. The ISL program reflected the content and values representative of a Global North university, where the emphasis is on engaging students in programs constructed to mobilize students to engage in international learning, but not necessarily to engage in a critical reflection on the implications of their racialized, historical and economized presence in the community (Erasmus, 2011). Partners reported that students had little awareness of their effects on the community. Race, culture, and history are significant markers bound up in the notion of *muzungus* or whiteness. The lack of awareness of the effects of whiteness in the community contributed to constructing a barrier between the ISL participants and the

local community. Students were confused by local reactions to them as *muzungus*, suggested an lack of awareness of themselves as racialized (Leonardo, 2004).

The participants' insights shared in this chapter illustrate their attempts to accommodate the ISL participants, and reveals a community that is eager to participate in partnership but under a very different set of circumstances than that presented by this ISL program and partnership. The local desire to participate in partnership, seeks a relationship wherein all partners will be able to contribute to the project as peers or equals. This was not the case in this particular ISL program.

In this particular program, local partners felt they had to struggle to assert equal authority in program design and implementation, but were concerned that any overt criticisms of the program might threaten the relationship to the university and terminate the potential for resources to flow to the community. This relationship was essential for many of the partners interviewed for this study. It provided resources to sustain a broader spectrum of services to the community. Local partners exercised attempts to hybridize the partnership, to meet needs not identified specifically in the terms of this partnership, while simultaneously accommodating or placating Northern partners. In the end, the program met few of the needs or expectations of the ISL students or local community partners, largely due to efforts to subjugate difference, intentionally or unconsciously, in the construction of the relationship. The attempt to subordinate local interests to those of the projects' goals produced resentment and confusion among students and host partners.

The participants' experiences presented here identify a significant misalignment between the objectives of universities driven by the knowledge economy versus local development agendas in partner communities. The effects of N-S partnerships that attempt to impose a normative model of partnership, produced by Global North institutions, suppress local knowledge and obstruct a more just process of partnership—one that recognizes and engages local social practices and communities (Young, 2011). The empirical findings of this study challenge the prescriptions of internationalization that conceive of N-S partnerships as neutral engagements. This N-S ISL partnership struggled to mediate relations of power and authority that were significantly complicated by the absence of awareness of race, culture and history.

In the following chapter, the empirical findings of this case study are engaged with an analysis of the implications of international policy and partnership enactment in Mji.

Chapter 7

An analysis of policy and partnership enactment in local context

7.1 Overview.

The empirical and policy findings from this study are analyzed here within an interpretative framework, engaging critical policy sociology and postcolonial theory, to address the implications for the enactment of N-S partnership on host community partners in Mji. This study seeks to contribute to the growing field of global education policy, which recognizes the growing gap between the economic objectives of education policy and the implications of these interests for “issues of access and opportunity, allocation of resources...and the role that democratic learning must play in developing a new social imaginary that challenges the neoliberal construction of globalization” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 200). The ideals of internationalization policy promote the intrinsic benefits of N-S partnerships but neutralize the effects of local context. This analysis challenges the embeddedness of neoliberal interests that are fundamentally restructuring Canadian higher education internationalization. Specifically, this analysis examines the effects of ISL enactment within a local context, analyzing the responses of host partners

against internationalization policy discourses. In the context of globalization, higher education internationalization is used as a mechanism to transform and redirect the interests of education and society. This shift has significant implications for the local setting where policy is implemented and interpreted (Braun, 2011). The ways in which all partners take up and act in their perceived role as partners, contributes to an understanding of the multilevel dynamics of policy enactment in the local community including the context wherein it is situated, the availability of material resources, professional expectations and experiences and the effects of external institutions, all of which shape the relationship of the community to policy and partnership interests.

Traditionally, context has not been a significant concern in educational policy research (Braun et al, 2011). If it is acknowledged in the research literature at all, it is typically sketched as a backdrop to a focus on other issues. This case study responds to Ball's assertion that "education policy can no longer sensibly be limited to an analysis within the nation state;" what is being overlooked in analyses of higher education internationalization are the dynamics of context (Ball, 2012, 93). Focusing here on the interactions of partnership with the local community in Mji, its cultural expectations and material realities, highlights the implications of internationalization policies that do not foreground a consideration of the consequences of N-S educational activities.

This research began with a concern that a marketized approach to international programming in higher education, including an uncritical, instrumental deployment of ISL pedagogy, may have deleterious effects on host communities. It conceptualized this ISL partnership as an extension of the internationalization objectives established in Northern University's policy documents, which explicitly link internationalization to institutional status and global competitiveness. The primary and secondary questions that guided the empirical research were:

- How do the internationalization policies of a Canadian university influence the enactment of North-South (N-S) international service learning (ISL) partnerships with community organizations located in the Global South?

- Whose interests are embedded in or privileged through current internationalization policy?
- How is this North-South (N-S), international service learning (ISL), partnership shaped by the enactment of the discourses of internationalization as stipulated in official higher education policies?
- How does the enactment of this N-S, ISL partnership interact with the local context and community stakeholders?
- What are the implications for social justice through the enactment of this N-S ISL partnership?

Analyzing the effects of N-S partnership in relation to multiple aspects of the local context of Mji significantly influenced interpretation of host partners' responses to the ISL partnership. The framework for enactment analysis (Braun et al, 2011) and critical bifocality (Weis & Fine, 2012) provided methods and lenses through which to consider partners' responses both in the local context and in relation to larger globalized interests. Focusing on the situated enactment of partnership highlights the context, cultural and historical, which shaped host partners' ability to respond to the material needs of the ISL participants and to manage the racial and linguistic divides that ultimately isolated Canadian and local partners. Examining the responses of partners as professionals demonstrated the distinctions grounded in each partners' assumptions of their role and contributed an awareness of individual partners' ability to manage the ISL group based on their own position and experience in the community. Finally, there are global external networks, managed through the institutions that facilitate and promote N-S partnerships, that generally inform and authorize the activities of partnership and redistribute its benefits in myriad complex and uneven ways (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000). Education policies are deeply affected by the themes and processes that have emerged globally including those of the knowledge economy, the facilitation of international mobility from North to South and the convergence of education policy with national economic and political objectives (Ozga & Jones, 2006). These trends are mediated through the local context wherein N-S partnerships are enacted (Lingard, 2000; Henry et al, 1999).

The consequences of opposing expectations for the partnership were compounded by the imbalance of power and authority located in the position of Northern University. The ISL group from Canada did not prepare for or expect to become deeply involved in the local community, often retreating into the more comfortable space of the guest house where they had access to communications and other familiar activities, further insulating themselves from an increasingly complicated local context that challenged purpose and self-perception in Mji. Host partners generally desired a partnership that would bring the visiting ISL group deeply into the cultural context of Mji, to share with them their pride and concerns with their local community, and to take steps toward building a more long term relationship to further the growth of all the participants. The design of this N-S ISL partnership did not take account of the complexities of the “enactment environments and the need to be simultaneously responsive to multiple demands and expectations” (Braun et al, 2011, 548).

This chapter will address internationalization enactment from two angles: first, the salient themes of internationalization and partnership, drawn from policy and empirical interviews are presented to establish the contrasts that emerge between the dominant institutional interests and those of the local community. Next an analysis of the implications of this N-S ISL partnership is considered through the framework of policy enactment (Braun, et al 2011) and the lens of postcolonial theory to highlight the resistance to and misalignment of partnerships with host partners’ experiences, specifically with the ISL program. This analysis will consider how the actions taken by partners to implement the partnership were influenced by local context on multiple levels. The interaction between local context and internationalization policy will illustrate how local environments exercise their culture and ethos on N-S partnership, raising issues of race, socioeconomic status and power relations, which reinforce the importance of a consideration of the situatedness of policy enactment (Ozga in Braun, 2010, 548; Ozga, 2000).

Finally, this study is concerned with the implications for a socially just practice of N-S partnership. Fraser’s criteria for social justice within partnership complements the postcolonial conceptual framework engaged in this study. This framework contributes to

an understanding of the effects of injustice in partnership, particularly the effects of misrecognition and the denial of participation as peers. It conceptualizes the institutional patterns of North-South ISL partnership and suggests significant barriers to a socially just relationship. Fraser argues for an examination of institutional patterns and processes to assess their effects on the relative standing of social actors. When institutionalized patterns “of cultural value constitute some actors as inferior, excluded, wholly other or simply invisible...as less than full partners in social interaction, then we can speak of misrecognition and status subordination” (Fraser, 2012, p. 101). Further, the argument for recognition as peers, does not merely attempt to valorize and acknowledge the identities of local host partners; Fraser’s analysis of the implications of misrecognition aim to “deinstitutionalize patterns of cultural value that impede parity of participation and to replace them with patterns that foster it” (2012, p. 102).

It is my contention in this analysis that the aspirations of internationalization create a hegemonic network that contributes to further dispossessing local communities through “circuits of dispossession” facilitated by the enactment of partnership that privileges Global Northern institutions, where the political and economic opportunities produced through N-S partnerships “float overseas or up the class ladder” (Fine, 2009, p. 185). It is a practice of partnership which leaves host communities in an ambivalent position relative to N-S partnerships. On one hand, local partners are concerned with retaining relationality, to ensure access to needed resources delivered through North-South partnerships; yet on the other, the misalignment of the ISL partnership with local agendas and expectations in Mji demanded that host partners exert tremendous efforts to accommodate the needs of the ISL participants and to mitigate the effects of their presence within the community. The responses from local interviews reveal the tensions and resentment that developed as a result of local partners’ inability to meet the ISL groups’ expectations or to assert their own interests in the project.

Charting the course of internationalization through to this local practice of partnership affirms that there is no neutral performance of internationalization; all “policies are enacted in material conditions, with varying resources in relation to particular ‘problems.’ They are set against and alongside existing commitments values and forms of

experiences” (Braun et al, 2010, p. 588). Rizvi concurs, arguing “no community is entirely unaffected by global processes...subjectivities and social relations cannot remain unaltered by global shifts, produced by an increasing level of travel, access to the global media, and the changing nature of work and shifting modes of social imagination” (Rizvi, 2006, 19; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Kenway & Fahey, 2009). Global processes of education policy include the formation of N-S ISL partnerships, yet policy narratives portray an over-simplified version of the process and ultimately neglect the consequences for local contexts. The narratives of internationalization conceptualize N-S partnerships generally “unproblematically as an attempt to ‘solve a problem’” (Braun et al, 2010, p. 549). This analysis of the consequences of policy enactment, in a global context, challenges the ambitions of internationalization, and the processes that guide the enactment of N-S partnerships. The function of policy, to normalize and institutionalize the formation of N-S higher education partnerships, is seen as problematic when local conditions interact with policies formulated in Global North settings. Here the conceptualization of N-S ISL partnership reflected the ideals and ambitions of Northern University. The critical conflict in this study is the encounter between an enactment of a N-S ISL partnership, which presumed universal cultural values, and failed to anticipate the local complexities of Mji. The findings raise significant challenges for future considerations and expectations of N-S ISL partnerships.

7.2 The Dominant Themes of Policy and Partnership

The discourses of internationalization, driven by multiple economic interests, have been demonstrated to be intertwined with the global ambitions of this particular institution. In this analysis, the key policy narratives which influenced the process of this N-S ISL partnership are assembled here to illustrate the historical, political and institutional concerns reflected in policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The narratives derived from an

ensemble of policies including institutional internationalization strategies, multilateral international agreements, which focus on N-S partnerships, federal international development legislation and higher education professional association policy papers. Through related networks and institutional intersections, educational policies “move through and are adapted by networks of social relations or assemblages, involving diverse participants with a variety of interests, commitments, purposes and influences, held together by a subscription to a discursive ensemble, which circulates within and is legitimated by these network relations” (Ball, 2012, p. 11). In this analysis, higher education internationalization reflects a mix of interests that perceive international partnership to be an opportunity to produce national economic benefit while concurrently meeting institutional objectives. The following four categories are employed here to conceptualize thematically the discursive interests that formulate current higher education internationalization policy:

- *Imperative.* The formation of international partnerships is essential for Canadian universities (and subsequently Canada) to achieve economic growth in the current context of globalization.
- *Competition.* Universities must provide global research and learning opportunities to faculty and students to remain competitive.
- *Benefits.* In a free market, the benefits of international partnerships are universally available to all stakeholders. The market is the best mechanism to distribute benefits because it does not discriminate based on race, socio-economic status or cultural values.
- *The knowledge economy.* The belief that the knowledge economy is a powerful network that can bridge the gap between developed and underdeveloped communities; misalignments with local frameworks and the dominant demands that drive university work (i.e. tenure, grants, research requirements) are unfortunate externalities that are part of the costs of N-S partnership and programs.

Policy makers problematize internationalization as a response to broader, globalized financial trends, rooted in an economic environment of shrinking resources for higher

education. However, the neoliberal framework embedded in policy is problematic when it is conceived of to produce economic or institutional gains for Northern interests; the research literature on the effects of power relationships in N-S partnerships documents the exploitative repercussions on communities (Elbers & Arts, 2011; Biccum, 2002). In this context, N-S partnerships, broadly defined, have emerged as a potential source to link Canadian universities to new opportunities for programming and research and as a revenue stream for those seeking to supplement shrinking funding from provincial and national sources through private and international sources (Jones, 2008). The program under analysis in this N-S ISL partnership evolved from a larger research program, designed to assist communities in East Africa in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The incorporation of an ISL program was seen as an opportunity to extend the connections developed in the community to engage students in international learning experiences, and as an opportunity for case study research: it provided an opportunity to observe as a N-S ISL partnership was negotiated in the community of Mji.

The narratives of internationalization policy are contrasted with the summary below of responses from participants, all of whom are stakeholders in the community, with interests in effectively mediating the process of the ISL partnership and negotiating levels of interactions between program and local context. The following

- *Relationality.* Local partners' experience the effects of the Northern partners' hegemony through unilateral decision-making and the subordination of local development agendas to the interests of the nutritional supplement program.
- *Recognition.* Local partners are denied full recognition and participation as equal peers in the partnership. Partners are made to feel insecure and anxious for the survival of the partnership through unilateral and at times arbitrary decisions. A donor-mentality ensures that resources are delivered and directed according to the directives of the Northern partner. Local partners are made to feel the weight of dependence by calls from Northern to become sustainable without support in developing a clear strategy to achieve this status.
- *Race.* The denial the effects of race and culture in policy is subverted by the *muzungu effect*. Northern ISL participants were unaware of the effect of their whiteness in the community. The presence of *muzungus* in the community raised

expectations of the potential distribution of new resources in the community, accompanied by an undercurrent of mistrust and simultaneous fascination with the privileges attendant to travel and possession of material goods.

The following table (7.1.) brings together the themes embedded in internationalization policy with those collected from field data and stakeholder responses. This table provides an overview of the analysis of the domains of policy enactment: situated, professional, material and external contexts.

Table 7.1 Contrasting the values of policy and partnership.

Domain of Analysis	Local Partners Values	Northern participants values (shaped by internationalization policy narratives)
Imperative	Partnership is valued to overcome local resource deficits, to provide access to knowledge and expertise that can be integrated in local responses to community development.	N-S partnership is viewed as an opportunity to seek new sources and sites for research, both to engage in new projects and to showcase innovation.
Competition	Local interests seek to engage in cooperative partnerships. Competitive motives are seen as a reiteration of past attempts to exploit Global South communities	In order to advance or maintain global status, universities must be seen as leaders among peer institutions. The pressures to achieve within this sphere of higher education trump notions of knowledge for the common good, to be shared versus commodifying knowledge products.
Benefits	Partnerships between North-South interests must seek to locate the ownership of projects within Global South communities; benefits from partnership should be equitably distributed and collaboratively disbursed.	Partnerships that produce benefits should rely on market-mechanisms to distribute the benefits. There will necessarily be a trickle-down effect to host communities; the costs of partnership must be recovered in order for universities to sustain interest.

The Knowledge Economy	Notions of the knowledge economy exclude local knowledges and notions of cultural, racial and historical difference. This produces misalignments and further marginalizes communities from engagement in the global economy.	As Global South communities are integrated into the network of the knowledge economy, they will be able to compete more effectively and produce benefits to further local development. The initial externalities and inequalities produced by competition are an unfortunate phase that accompanies economic maturation.
Relationality	Expressed in a desire to engage in partnership and to share local culture and history yet frustrated by attempts to impose the values and expectations of the dominant partner.	Partnership is an opportunity to assist communities in need through service and application of expertise to local issues. There was little interest in learning about local culture and at times, an outright rejection of local processes.
Recognition	Local partners sought to engage in the program as professional peers; they expressed interest in the ideas and opportunities brought to Mji by the ISL participants, and wished to share their interests and knowledge with them.	Northern ISL participants focused on implementing the public health promotions project they planned prior to arrival in Mji and did not anticipate the local obstacles that existed due to a lack of knowledge of local culture, language, history or the impact that their presence would have on the community.
Race	There is a keen awareness of differences between Africans and white Global North citizens. This awareness is grounded on historical experience, extending into the present through the reality of socioeconomic inequality and the abilities of Global North students to travel to Mji, to visit local attractions and is displayed in local purchasing power.	Race is not perceived to be an issue. The focus is on performing service to the community and gaining international experiences. The reaction of local community members to the ISL group as racialized, <i>muzungus</i> , produces confusion and resentment among ISL participants.

7.3 The situated context of partnership enactment.

The situated context of this partnership, in Mji, refers to those aspects of the partnership that are affected by the community's history and physical location (Braun et al, 2011, 588). It examines those aspects of the local setting that inform the imaginary of each partner in the context of the enactment of the ISL partnership. History, culture, language and expectations from all participants, Canadian and Tanzanian, combined at this level to complicate the program in ways unanticipated by the original conception of the program. The analysis of the situated context for this N-S ISL partnership accounts for the ways in which policies are negotiated in this particular instance of partnership implementation and construct a framework to consider how partners position themselves and respond to the processes of the partnership (Braun et al, 2011). There are several intersections where the local context influenced misunderstanding or produced conflict in this partnership. Throughout the course of fieldwork conducted for this study, participants referred to the way "*Tanzanians do things*" (conversation with Jowi, Field journal, June, 5, 2012). Local partners justified their actions in terms of local traditions. For example, a missed appointment might be justified by the fact that "*things move more slowly here; it would be good if you could come to spend more time and learn our ways*" (Taraji). The analysis of the situatedness of partnership enactment challenged the limits of each partners' perceptions of the possibilities for activities and events, including the pace at which activities could unfold.

The analysis of the situated effects of this N-S partnership highlight the imaginary boundaries and landscapes, informed by historical experience and cultural practice, that inform daily life in the city of Mji and the ways these boundaries shaped the ISL program. Here, multiple barriers existed in Mji that defined the ISL partnership for Canadian and local partners. These elements were clearly unanticipated and underestimated by visiting ISL participants, suggesting an assumption on their part that local language, culture and traditions, particularly those related to females, as well as access to taken-for-granted services in the North such as reliable transportation, communication and health care, would not conflict with partners' and participants ability

to engage in the project with a measure of satisfaction. The distances between sites was considerable, and the time and inconvenience involved in traveling to different sites, became discouraging for ISL participants; their visits to local schools and other sites dropped off and finally ceased as the program progressed. The distance and difficulty of traveling to each site may have been an easy excuse to avoid trying to bridge the more complicated divides of language and culture; it was difficult for the local school group to sustain the interest of the Canadian ISL group in their activities.

The resources available to initiate activities were limited; the ISL students envisioned large, public events, with advertising and publicity, however once the realities of securing translation for flyers, or when an attempt was made to secure a public announcement van to troll local communities and promote an event proved to be unreliable, students began to lose interest. Initially, the ISL students and local partners were energized and enthusiastic, prepared to engage in a range of activities in the promotion of the nutritional supplement, but it was as if they wanted to begin to climb a mountain just short of the summit. The Canadian ISL group repeatedly suggested activities that were unavailable and in many ways unimaginable to the local community. It proved nearly impossible to plan a promotional program for the supplement when there was so little mutual understanding of each partner group's expectations.

The notion of time in Mji highlights the situatedness of how each group interpreted one another's needs. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the contrast between the expectations of the ISL group and the ability or expectation of local partners to respond to their needs. The ISL group completely relied on local representatives for translation, health care and transportation, putting tremendous pressure on local host partners to respond to the immediate needs of the ISL group. They were unable to negotiate the city or to engage with any local partners without the presence of translators or guides to secure transportation and other services. This meant that the ISL group was completely dependent on the two translators hired to accompany the group, yet these two women were also in great demand by other researchers from Northern university, present to pursue their agendas and the day to day responsibilities of their regular work. The progress of daily activities were significantly slowed in comparison to North American

expectations. *“I know that they are mad at me when I am late but I travel for a very long time to come to the city from my home; time is different here, the dala dala does not run on a time schedule”* (Safiya). Communication and transportation were often the cause of frustration, and resulted in delays of often more than a day for tasks or projects to progress, slowing down the pace of work considerably. Cell phone coverage was spotty and frequent power outages complicated attempts to communicate and inform groups when someone was running late. The situation became more complicated when ISL participants became ill. They expected rapid medical attention and to have access to medications. Local partners were perplexed at what appeared to be imperious demands by ISL participants, yet when local partners became ill, (a chronic issue for most of them), there was a sense of exasperation on the part of the ISL group at having their activities postponed.

The expectation that the ISL groups' needs would be met in a manner consistent with Canadian standards was unrealistic given the means available within the local context, yet the preparations for the projects had not factored local context into the plans for the program. Braun et al (2010) are clear that regardless of how policy formulators perceive value of a policy (or partnership) to a local community, they must recognize the “local community of practice” including the way that particular workplaces and work cultures learn and take onboard changes” (p. 546). Local partners perceived this ISL partnership as an opportunity to form new relationships and secure needed resources, yet the cross-cultural demands were not adequately anticipated on either side of the partnership. Throughout the interview process, participants voiced ambivalence regarding the reaction of Northern ISL participants to the conditions in Mji; it provoked a sense of inadequacy and insufficiency on the part of host partners. The ambivalence toward the partnership was very clear in interview responses that acknowledged an awareness of the privileges afforded to the Northern students and faculty, combined with their reluctance to engage deeply with local groups. Frequent withdrawals of students from the community to travel to tourist sites around the Tanzania, including the Serengeti and other national parks, contributed to the inconsistency of efforts made on their behalf to engage with the community. Malika was particularly puzzled by the students' frequent mobility,

Did they want to be with us or to take a tour of the country? It is all right, if that is what they want to do, they have the money, but we thought they would be good for the school. You see, students here, they graduate from schools, and there is little change in their lives. They see students graduate in Mji but they do not get a job... We want them to aspire to more and to not lose hope. To see that they can be like the Canadian students who travel and get an education (Malika).

Her experiences mirror the criticisms of Erasmus, (2011), who initially sought to engage in ISL programs to instill a sense of citizenry in communities emerging from in the post-apartheid years. Ultimately, she did not think that the practice of ISL, engaged in with North American students, was beneficial to her South African students, because it reinscribed to them an inferior position. Erasmus (2011) saw little hope for reciprocity for her students, either in travel or in recognition of their potential contributions, and was frustrated by what she observed: the assertion of North American students' interests and the subordination of local intentions. In Malika's response, there is also a sense that the presence of the Canadian participants potentially confirmed what students were already observing in their communities: a deficit of opportunities made available to some on the basis of their nationality and, as will be discussed below, whiteness.

As this ISL program progressed, partners from Northern increasingly seemed to be unable to understand or to connect with the local culture or to understand their role as guests here. The students became increasingly withdrawn from activities and partners responded with disappointment, frustration and accommodation. Entries from my field journal describe the changes in the relationship:

I am not sure that the students are getting much from this program; each day they venture from the hotel less and less. When they do go to the school or to the community centre, it is brief and they return to quickly check email, Facebook or to see if messages have been left from tour agents. They are frustrated with the language barrier, the difficulty of arranging activities, and at the exhaustion of being in Mji. The cultural divides are enormous. They complain that they are being awakened early by the muezzin call to prayers at 5 a.m. ("his voice is

creepy”)...I see them walking around in tight and revealing Lululemon clothing, unaware of the stares, with huge water bottles in their hands (costing a days wages for most in Mji). I am left to wonder how, if at all, this experience really will affect them, and I see that the effects on Safiya and Ruth are draining (Field journal, June 2, 2012).

The cultural context of Mji isolated students. Since they were unable to navigate the community independently, they slowly withdrew into those spaces that they understood and could control: the hotels and shops of Mji. Their financial resources allowed them to meet needs that average citizens in Mji could not. In the local context of Mji, the average income is less than \$2.00 per day; the price of a large bottle of water is nearly one-quarter of a day’s earnings. The ISL participants were able to go to cafes, purchase meals, water, beer and to shop at local artisan markets, yet often their local partners could not join with them on these outings. The ISL participants had easy access to the Internet through the guest houses’ cable connections, a luxury in Mji and one that host partners’ sought to gain access to through purchasing mobile internet sticks at great expense.

The situated effects of this partnership are highlighted in the example of the final celebration planned to bring closure to the ISL program. It represented the difficulty in reconciling the expectations of ISL participants with host partners’ ability to respond and understanding of their requests. The final celebration was advertised as a day to bring together the community where the ISL partner school was located, to celebrate the program, signal its closure and to provide samples of the nutritional supplement. The plans leading up to the events were complicated by the issues described above, and compounded by a field trip planned by students immediately preceding the event. For the three days prior to the celebration, the students’ left Mji to take a trip to the Serengeti. Their absence led to an lack of coordination of many of the necessary elements leading up to the event. Many of the tasks were left for Safiya to accomplish, however, she had a particularly busy schedule and was not able to secure all of the required items. Several of the most important dignitaries were not invited to the event, producing widespread resentment, money was paid for rented chairs that did not arrive, and there was no public announcement van to troll the community and attract guests. While waiting for the

delivery of some supplies on the day of the event, one of the ISL participants said *“sometimes I think that Safiya is setting us up to fail. She just doesn’t understand the importance of being on time to meet someone. It won’t do us any good if the chairs get here tomorrow ”* (Field Journal, June 12, 2012).

Safiya was struggling to keep up with appointments related to her job, many of which had been delayed in order to shop and run errands for the students, who were unable to execute these tasks themselves due to language barriers that complicated transportation and shopping negotiations. The absence of the students communicated indifference to Safiya; the students expected Safiya to manage the remaining details on her own. The result was frustration and disappointment, founded on a lack of understanding of the community context of the program. The Northern students’ difficulty in understanding and engaging with the culture and context of Mji, included not anticipating the inevitable delays with transportation or the need to respond to unexpected incidents, created resentment among Mji student participants. In one interview response Safiya related to me *“I can tell that they (ISL participants) are upset sometimes, but I have to do my work too and there is so much happening that we did not anticipate. (Northern) students are sick, things are happening in the community that we must respond to, staff at our organization are ill or have to attend to family. It is a lot, right? So I am wondering what the big deal is? Why do they have to act so powerful toward me”?*

Spivak (2012, 2004) argues that disavowing Western privileges and placing expectations on the subaltern to respond gratefully to development initiatives inflicts imperialist harms on subaltern communities and individuals. This harm is effected through the manipulation of the labor of the subaltern to serve Western interests. Building on Spivak’s (2004) position, Andreotti (2011a) argues that

the manipulation of the Third World labor that sustains the U.S. academy, produces ideological supports for that very manipulation...First, the benevolent appropriation and reinscription of the Third World as an Other, advances the project of knowing the Third World to control it. The second aspect is the transformation of the South as a repository of data and the Western academy as

the center for value-added theory that transforms the raw material collected in the Southern (field) into (Western) 'knowledge' keeping the Western academy and the Western academic at the center (p. 43).

Normalizing individual behaviors, such as timeliness, as superior to allowing less-pressing appointments to wait, exemplifies how student participants in this ISL program reasserted privileged notions of Western discourses of intelligence, importance and superiority. The interpretative stance of the students appeared to be one of benevolence; students felt they had come to Mji to perform service, in the form of the promotion of the nutritional supplement, and they were increasingly frustrated that their efforts weren't met with more appreciation. The expectations set up by the benevolent perspective specifically complicate engagements between privileged volunteers and communities in the South. Activities engaged in from a western humanist or benevolent position do not challenge domination from any angle (Andreotti, 2011; Jefferess, 2008). Andreotti (2011a) identifies triumphalism, paternalism, narcissism, sentimentalism, intolerance, complexity and uncertainty as potential problematic outcomes from a benevolent approach to partnership (p. 95). At different times, each of these responses could be identified, either among host partners or ISL participants. Host partners did not want to be the recipients of charity or benevolence and their response to the ISL students further complicated the partnership.

The expectation of gratitude from the recipients of service, and the concomitant lack of awareness on the part of ISL participants of the broader socio-cultural context of Mji, renders service learning a neocolonial activity (Mahrouse, 2010). There are several problematic aspects that emerge from engaging in service between privileged Global North institutions and marginalized communities in the Global South; multiple layers of effects that must be considered including occasions to reinscribe racial, economic and cultural hegemony (Todd, 2011). The lack of situated understanding, on the part of ISL participants, translated into an added burden for host partners, forced to accommodate increasingly exasperated visitors. After the initial excitement and novelty of meeting the Canadian group began to wane, the host staff realized that they would not be able to satisfy the expectations of the group and invested less effort in trying to support and

accommodate the ISL group's needs. Andreotti's (2011a; 2011b) analysis of educational engagements with Global South communities argues for pedagogical processes that seek to uncoercively align the desires of students and researchers from the West to practice a supplementary education for both the metropolis and subaltern community. She argues for an actionable postcolonial approach to education that includes

aims to build the habit of democratic civility through the activation of an ethical imperative conceptualized as a responsibility to the other (as answerability and accountability) and not 'for' the Other (as the burden of the fittest) (Andreotti, 2011a, p. 46).

Andreotti's (2011a) postcolonial framework requires acknowledgement of complicity on the part of Northern ISL participants. She argues there is no space for a Western researcher to operate that is uncontaminated from Western discourses, thus there must be a "persistent critique of hegemonic discourses as they inhabit them" (Andreotti, 2011a, p. 45). A persistent critique is necessary to "move away from implied premises that must necessarily obliterate or finesse certain possibilities that question the validity of these premises in an absolute justifiable way" (2011a, p. 46). Andreotti's (2011a) position criticizes engagements with the Global South based on the inherent value of Western knowledge transfer to Global South communities. She views it as insufficient justification for any partnership that is predicated on the logic of coloniality, arguing that an analysis of educational programs should examine "how truths are produced" within institutions (p. 46). The foundation of this program was predicated on the potential benefits for students derived from international experiences, but insufficient attention was given to local context in the process or policy that guided the development of this ISL program.

The impact for local host partners is further highlighted by Fraser's (2012) analysis of the effects of misrecognition on vulnerable groups. She argues misrecognition results from oversimplifying responses to and the effects of difference. Misrecognition of one's identity by a dominant group has the effect of subordination, which includes "to be thought ill of, looked down upon, or devalued in others' attitudes beliefs or

representations. It is to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction...” (Fraser, 2012, p. 4). The repeated inability of local partners to meet the expectations of the ISL program produced a sense of frustration among local partners. The local partners could not anticipate the needs of the ISL group because the ISL participants continued to operate as if they were in a Global North community with access to a set of services and goods; the fact that they were unavailable in Mji was taken as evidence on the part of ISL participants that local partners were either trying to undermine the program or did not care enough to produce what was requested or required. Spivak’s call to Westerners working in Global South communities is to “relinquish the consciousness of superiority” through a suspension of the conviction that they are “necessarily better...or indispensable...or necessarily the ones to right wrongs” resonates with the actions of the ISL participants in this program (2004, p. 532). Kapoor’s (2008) insistence on hyper-reflexivity, affirms Spivak’s position, urging those from the West to “retrace the itinerary of our prejudices and to learn...from racism, sexism, and classism...to stop thinking of ourselves as better or fitter, and to unlearn dominant systems of knowledge and representation (p. 641). In this case, the enactment of the ISL partnership in Mji resulted in significant misrecognition of the limits and possibilities that existed in the community.

The local partners in this ISL program expressed disappointment that Canadian participants did not invest more time getting to know the local community and aligning their expectations for events and projects with available resources. The demands that the ISL participants placed on local partners, and their inability to procure items, contributed to further distancing host partners, obstructing a more a mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationship.

7.4 Enactment in the material context.

An analysis of the material context of policy enactment addresses the concrete opportunities and limitations of the site where policies are implemented (Braun et al, 2011). The material analysis of the effects of enactment addresses the day-to-day lived reality of the program. In Mji, the material world is one defined by poverty. There are limited resources available to each host partner. In a community dealing with upwards of

70% unemployment, significant underemployment, and minimal municipal infrastructure, there is a tremendous need for all of the services provided by local schools and NGOs.

The resources that this N-S ISL partnership brought to the community were not insignificant. The salaries of three full-time workers at the African Nutritional Supplement Network were paid by the partnership and related economic benefits accrued to groups in those communities where the product was produced and sold. The school partnered with Northern University for this ISL program is severely underfunded; it is a public secondary school where classrooms are overcrowded and there are few resources for instruction. It serves a community struggling with high unemployment and few opportunities for advancement for secondary school graduates. One of the participants in this study described the ISL partnership as an opportunity to inspire hope in his students, suggesting that somehow the presence of the Canadian ISL participants would be an indication that education could be a vehicle to employment and opportunities outside of the local community.

For this community, the opportunity to bring in any extra resources is highly valued; however, the benefits to the community from this ISL program were diminished due to misperceptions of the real costs of partnership and the constraints that local context put upon partners' ability to effectively host the ISL program (Braun et al, 2011). Of all the conceptual frameworks engaged in the analysis of this N-S ISL partnership, the material impact was the most significant determinant contributing to many of the partnership's complications. The material resources available locally to support this ISL program were meager. Initial projections of the costs for program support services were insufficient to respond to the actual needs that arose throughout the course of the program. Local partners saw the ISL program as a means to engage in a new format with representatives from Northern University and to generate resources, through payments for translation and local guiding, that would enhance their community agencies, provide potential future opportunities for partnerships and generate supplemental income for individual partners. Not a single partner/participant in this study, no matter their level of frustration with the current terms of the partnership, wanted to see the relationship ended. Each was aware that there were few alternative employment options, and lived in hope that by making

incremental changes, including participation in this research and their critique of the partnership practices, that they might produce change and achieve greater autonomy. Aisha's responses exemplify the opportunities that she gained through the extra money she was allotted for transportation during the course of the ISL program:

We are given a set amount of money from Northern University to run the ANSN (African Nutritional Supplement Network); from that we draw our office expenses and salaries. When this ISL program was initiated, it brought with it some new monies; it means that when I bring students to different kitchens outside of Mji, I have an opportunity to take care of issues that would have cost me another trip to the sites. I was able to save some money get to a conference on maternal health and nutrition. Also, I have some more money to use for Internet and cell phone time (Aisha).

Each partner/participant indicated in their interviews that although they were not happy with many of the terms of the partnership, and recognized that there are privileges afforded to the representatives and objectives of Northern University over the course of the program through their access to greater resources and the attendant authority wielded by money, they did not feel that they had an adequate or safe means for communicating their dissatisfactions and frustrations. All expressed concerns that if they were too critical the partnership could be terminated or they could be replaced. Several anecdotes shared through the course of the interviews indicated participants feelings that their criticisms or requests, made to program directors from Northern University, put them in a vulnerable position, one where to constructively criticize decisions or to request further financial resources meant that they were not producing or performing as expected. Specifically, when they did raise issues (typically surrounding finances) they were “almost always told that we cannot fund you in every way, you must work to find other resources, to become self-sustaining” (Aisha). This response was repeated several times when issues surrounding resources emerged in the conversation and is corroborated by Safiya's experiences:

At this point, I am getting a little tired. There are so many people (students) and they do not seem to be very happy with us. And because I was busy with other work, the leader told me that I will only be paid by the hour, and not the original sum we budgeted for, so now I am possibly not going to make as much money. It does not seem fair (Safiya).

The governance of Safiya's salary diminished her ability to feel as if she were equal to the ISL participants. Further, retracting money or salary unilaterally eliminated any possibility for a democratic resolution to issues that emerged over the course of the program. The dilemma revolved around ISL partners' singular focus on the needs of the program, ignoring a more holistic vision of the needs of the community or their ability to meet the expectations of the ISL group. Decisions regarding funding were made without consultation of the local partners. Arbitrary decisions and lack of consultation contributed to host partners' feelings that they could not work effectively or fairly with the ISL group. Unilateral decision-making is reflective of donor directed partnerships, where the authority to govern decisions is located with the donor and imposed on the recipient (Baas, 2007). The direct or donor aid models are relationships conceived of in benevolent, apolitical and ahistorical terms, where the possibility for acknowledging and identifying hegemony is foreclosed (Andreotti, 2011a, 106). The premise for unilateral decision making in this case reflects the perception of a partnership grounded in a benevolent model. In this case, the ISL group operated from the perspective that they were working to help poor people in Mji through the service learning project and that the program's resources must be protected from misuse by local partners. The presumption that they were acting in the best interests of the program belied the notion that they were undermining the efforts of local partners (Jefferess, 2008a). Further, the decisions made to reduce payments that were originally agreed to, affirmed the perception among local partners that they were not "partners" in a true sense, rather they felt as though they were merely support service workers contracted for the duration of the program to facilitate activities and meet the ISL group's needs such as translation, transportation and accommodation.

There was a repeated sense among local partners that the ISL participants did not intend to have a long-term partnership with the community. Local partners' often raised issues of financial sustainability throughout the interviews. They indicated they were told that they must be financially sustainable outside of long term expectations for the university to continue to fund programs or research. Participants described what they thought it meant in relation to the ISL program and the partnership with Northern University as whole. Generally, partners' responses suggested that sustainability, in the context of this ISL program, was used as a euphemism for host partners' performativity, where their success was measured by their ability to perform for the university with very little support from the university.

The challenge to become sustainable in the material context of Mji is significant because opportunities to attract new resources are rare. The notion of sustainability produced confusion among local partners: *"I am not sure if we are to become sustainable to be independent of the university or if they would like us to continue to do work for them, without cost to them"* (Aisha). It was unclear among any of the interview participants exactly how to achieve a measure of sustainability, and it generated anxiety since it signaled to them that Northern was not interested in a long term relationship, and moreover, that they were not providing support in locating additional sources of revenue. Local partners supporting the ISL program were continually frustrated by financial issues, and did not feel that they were sufficiently compensated for their services. Focusing specific measurables, for example financial expenditures, as simple indicators to assess success is associated with neoliberal education policy and governance (Ball, 2010, 126). In this case study, calling for a focus on financial expenditures of local partners further reduced their status relative to the ISL group. They had very few resources with which to support the ISL program and the lack of trust implied by the constant surveillance of their expenditures made it increasingly difficult to work together. Local partners found it difficult to respond effectively or quickly to criticisms made by Northern University leaders and ISL participants given the access to resources available to local partners. These points were amplified in the interview data: *"I am told by that this is my service to my community. I am happy to serve my community, but I do not have*

the time or money to take out of my job or my pay to support their community in this program” (Jafar).

Local partners reported that when they requested further funding for programming, they were encouraged to become sustainable. The push to become sustainable produced uncertainty and confusion among host partners. It was not necessarily dismissed altogether, but there was little sense among local partners how to go about achieving sustainability when access to resources or the knowledge to secure additional partnerships was not easily available. There was no framework provided to move the financial dependence of the ISL program from a reliance on Northern University resources to new sources of revenue. It is an example where the notions of sustainability did not align with the terms and conditions necessary to achieve sustainability from a Southern perspective. From this position

sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts: 1) the concept of ‘needs’, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and 2) the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs (Macpherson, 2011, p. 5).

The notion of sustainability, in the context of this study, does not indicate a willingness or a desire to work together with local interests to achieve an equitable level of sustainability. Arguably it aligns with Spivak’s notion of an alibi, applied to NGOs and institutions from the Global North working in Global South communities. In Spivak’s work, the discourse of righting wrongs or engaging in benevolent development in the Third World provides an appearance of engaging in good works that “lets them, (Western individuals and institutions), off the hook” of responsibility for the success or failure to improve conditions for those mired in postcolonial poverty (2004, p. 524). Pieterse’s (2001) analysis of neoliberal development policies argues the logic that relies on the “self-organizing capacities of the poor, actually lets the development responsibility of states and international institutions off the hook” (2001, p. 110). It is an example of a semantic shift in policy associated with

the new agenda of imperialism that has occurred virtually in tandem with a new agenda in development and in social policy, comprising a multi-faceted shift in vocabulary around poverty, modernity and contemporaneity from within the discourse of authority; a shift in vocabulary that is being aggressively marketed (Biccum, 2005, p. 1006).

The alignment of notions of sustainability with neoliberal discourses of entrepreneurial self-reliance are identified both in the higher education policy literature (Peters, 2007; Besley, 2006) and in Canadian federal international development discourses (Brown, 2012a). Brown (2012) identifies oppositional tensions in Canadian policy toward the practice of international development and delivery of aid. In the past decade in Canada, there is simultaneously a “preoccupation with the immediate and medium-term needs of the poor, embodied in the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals)” and the government’s “broader foreign policy concerns, especially a preoccupation with prestige...and most recently commercial self-interest” (Brown 2012c, p. 79). These federal tensions are mirrored in the production of internationalization discourses which seek to partner with Global South interests, to contribute to the achievement of greater global equality but which ultimately seek to establish status and recognition for the institution. The rhetoric of sustainability, in this case, appears to reflect the desire of Northern University to maintain the benefits of partnership, through access to programming and research, at minimal institutional cost. However, the downward push of costs onto local partners is effectively impossible to achieve without a clear strategy to attract new funding. Ultimately, local partners would consider gaining more autonomy and independence an attractive idea, but without support and guidance it took on a sense of a threat and created anxiety and confusion among local organizations.

Brown (2012c) argues that there is tension between Canada’s role as a signatory to multilateral agreements produced by the twenty-two member nations of the OECD and the Development Assistance Committee and the discourses of the knowledge economy produced by the World Bank. The OECD policies analyzed in this study outline the principles for donor country engagements with Global South interests, laying out the responsibilities of recipients and those of donors. However, Brown demonstrates that the

Canadian government, while referencing the principles of the OECD agreements in policy and legislation, continued to justify its actions in terms of the World Bank's approach to directing aid to certain countries. Brown (2012c) contends that Canada embraced "what was essentially a political or ideological preference for countries with minimal state intervention in their economy" (80). The ascension of the principles of free market approaches to aid and, ultimately N-S partnerships that Brown identifies in recent Canadian trends to humanitarian assistance and the delivery of aid suggest that the actions of Northern University in this N-S ISL partnership are not out of line with national trends.

Local partners did not anticipate the complexities and demands of the ISL group, nor were initial projections of the costs of partnership reflective of actual expenditures. The needs of the ISL participants for translation, local guidance, and program facilitation became nearly a twenty-four hour a day project. This was particularly true when unexpected events occurred such as when participants became ill. *I was happy that the students from Canada came to the community, but I can see that this is more difficult for them and for me than I imagined. They become sick easily, but so do we. When they are sick, it is a problem, when I am sick, I am the problem* (Safiya). It was clear through the interviews that local staff and partners felt unprepared to seek out additional external sources of funding "we do not have the training yet to seek out new funding, to write grants or to find donors. There are some in other NGOs who have this support...but we kept being told we have to go out and find other supports...I find this strange because Northern University and the nutrition supplement are the main reasons we are in operation... Without their support, right now, we don't really have anything" (Jafar). The ambiguity of host partners' position in the partnership, however, contributed to an undercurrent of anxiety and uncertainty among local partners. It reflects a similar destabilizing of the individuals in the workplace, which Peters and Olssen, (2005), argue is embedded in policies designed to produce insecurity through the persistent the fear of losing one's position. As the ISL program progressed, the lack of clarity surrounding each partners' responsibilities and expectations for the project contributed to feelings of resentment and disappointment on both sides of the ISL partnership.

This partnership was further complicated by a sense among local partners that there was an inequitable distribution of the benefits, financial or professional, that accrued to Northern University from the ISL and related research activities, versus those enjoyed by host partners and organizations. The inequality of benefits distributed to Global South partners in either development or higher education partnerships is a persistent problem. In an analysis of the “myths and realities” of professional relationships between universities from the Global North and higher education institutions in Tanzania, Ishengomo (2011) highlights the tensions inherent in

partnerships...between North and South...(which) are revered as a sine qua non for the development and capacity building of (the) South...(One) myth is that partnerships and links are mutually beneficial, balanced, empowering (at the institutional and individual levels), that they are effective, productive and have contributed enormously to staff development...However, in reality they have had little impact and have contributed little to local capacity building (p.9).

The influence of the material context in an analysis of a N-S partnership is complicated by traditional practices of humanitarianism generally directed and managed by donors (Samoff & Carrol, 2004). The donor relationship is frequently cast as a development partnership, but critics point to the erosion of local capacity that accompanies the donor/aid framework. Obama and Mwena (2009) argue that in Africa, although international partnership is the dominant description of cooperation between Northern and Southern researchers, the partnership enterprise is in danger of remaining a ‘feel good’ enterprise if a more critical approach to mutuality in partnership is not undertaken (354; Jowi, 2012). This position is underscored by Spivak (2004), Andreotti (2011a, 2011b) and Kapoor (2008). Obama and Mwema (2009) further note that the notion of partnership has a “highly personal connotation” and implies “a considerable degree of equality, mutual trust, shared vision and mutual benefit among the different entities involved” (p. 355). The effect of partnerships with Global North interests and global education shaped by the policy regimes produced by the World Bank that foreground economic concepts including human capital, manpower theory and the economic rate of return to shape education policy have contributed to “new patterns of embedded neocolonialism, dependency and geopolitical asymmetry” (Obama, 2013a, p. 83). The

actions by Northern University toward host partners in this ISL program reflected a donor/aid framework, which disempowered local participants through: a) an inability to establish consistent support and funding; b) an inability to direct resources autonomously; and c) a lack of opportunities to contribute to the development of the program, its content and objectives.

For North-South partnerships to succeed in strengthening local capacities, their administrative structure, project frameworks, and aid delivery mechanisms must fit within and work to support the local development agenda and visions of communities (Ishengomo, 2003). Throughout the course of this research, it was clear that interactions and miscommunications, from either side of the partnership, contributed to a lack of equality and stymied efforts to build trust.

The *muzungu* effect on the material enactment of N-S ISL partnership.

The most salient material effect of the enactment of this N-S ISL partnership was the presence and misrecognition of race, specifically the effect of whiteness within the community of Mji. The research literature on global education policy is largely silent on the topic of race; where several excellent studies point to the need to foreground local knowledge and values, the effects of race, specifically whiteness, remains a subjugated issue (Holmes & Crossley, 2004; Crossley & Holmes, 2001). Although Appadurai (1996) discusses at length the embodied effects of culture and ethnicity, race is not mentioned as a force challenging modernity or global relationships in his seminal work. Mohanty (2006) explicitly identifies the effects of racism, linked to the energies that “underlie and fuel social and political institutions of rule” that marginalize and oppress those ethnic and cultural groups on the margins (3). Liberal notions of multiculturalism depoliticize the effects of race on contemporary relationships, “converting it into a safe and sanitized form that conceals an underlying racism” (Jackson in Andreotti, 2011a, 109). Education policy that produces a racially neutral narrative reinscribes hegemony and inequality in N-S partnerships and serves the interests of its institutions (Andreotti, 2011a).

The formation of race represents the embodiment within the individuals of the ISL group, of socioeconomic privilege, historical experience and cultural difference, yet the ISL students were largely unaware of the effects their presence represented materially within this community. The issue of race is foreclosed in the texts of internationalization policy, yet in the interviews conducted with local partners, it played a key role in local participants' accounts of their experience of the ISL partnership. Race was raised repeatedly throughout the collection of data for this research and participants related its effects to multiple circumstances; however, it was particularly problematic in terms of how the Canadian ISL participants reflexively understood their role and the effect of their presence in the Mji community. Calls of *muzungu* on the street to the students were initially met with smiles and waves, but increasingly, as the program wore on, students became less patient and resisted the label. The complexities of race between white ISL participants and the community of Mji is linked to the material enactment of ISL, explicitly through the expectations of potential resources related to the presence of white people in this community.

As a social construct, the effect of whiteness in this N-S ISL partnership was enacted in three interrelated ways: (1) in processes and relations of partners; (2) in the historical and social context of Mji; and (3) through the confusion of race's meaning and effects, which were diffuse and felt unevenly by different actors at different times in this ISL partnership (Omi and Winant, 2005, 14). These effects were evident throughout the course of the ISL program, affecting local host community partners and members as well as the Canadian ISL students to differing degrees. Omi and Winant (2005) theorize that race is formed within political, historical and political frameworks, including in this study the ISL partnership. Their analysis suggests

the meaning and salience of race is forever being reconstituted in the present...the appearance of competing racial projects that attempt to decenter issues related to race to circumvent the complexities and subtleties of race, are deployed to manipulate power and secure hegemony (p. 15).

In this partnership, the ISL participants were participants struggled to manage the feelings, challenges and effects their presence produced within the local community. The

effect of ISL participants' whiteness throughout the time they spent in Mji seemed to reinforce local historical or previous experiences, although the source of local responses to the students is not entirely clear from the interview data. The misrecognition of the effects of their race stymied the processes of the ISL program and partnership. Leonardo (2004) describes the lack of awareness of whiteness as "the utter sense of oblivion that many whites engender toward their privilege" (p. 138). Participants' nonrecognition of whiteness

comes with the unfortunate consequence of masking history, obfuscating agents of domination and removing the actions that make it clear who is doing what to whom...Instead of emphasizing the process of appropriation, the discourse of (white) privilege ...mistakes the symptoms for causes (Leonardo, 2004, p. 139).

Throughout my observations of the ISL program in Mji, the whiteness of the ISL group, amplified by the relatively large number of white young women in the community, became a local spectacle. Students were stared at as they walked down city streets and they acknowledged the attention was unnerving. Fanon describes the fact of his blackness as a reality that is constantly reflected back to him, inscribed on him every day by the white eyes that look at him (2003). His experience contrasts with that of the racially white people who

can go unnoticed. But in my case everything takes on a new guide. I am given no chance, I am over determined from without, I am the slave not of the "idea" that the others have of me, but of my own appearance. I move slowly in the world, accustomed now to seek no longer for upheaval...I am being dissected under white eyes, the only real eyes. I am fixed. I am laid bare (1952, p. 136).

In Mji, students were not able to escape the impact their race had on the local community and this had implications for the enactment of the ISL partnership. Fanon's argument underscores the unconscious privilege that accompanies the majority of citizens from white countries in the Global North where ease of travel, access to education and employment have been/are currently taken-for-granted for a significant majority of the population. His words are contrasted with comments by a student participant, whose frustration with being called a *muzungu* led her to retort "*I am going to start calling*

everyone here mafrican.” The irony of her comments, considered through Fanon’s lens, is that she did not see her whiteness and what it signified; when the fact of her whiteness is pointed out to her, it is troubling. The white students who were not aware of their race became disoriented in an environment where there is a North-South power differential embodied in race (Andreotti, 2011a, p. 110).

Bhabha theorizes that unawareness of oneself in relation to the Other is a strategy where the production of the self simultaneously presumes a perception of the Other as entirely knowable. This assumption of complete knowledge of the other eliminates the potential equality of the Other and reestablishes claims of cultural superiority that in turn, justify domination and control (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha’s conceptualization of one’s self applied to the effects of race, provides insight into the reactions and responses of students and to the actions taken within the partnership to manage and control the contributions of local partners. By not assuming that difference would create challenges within the ISL partnership, the Canadian participants assumed their knowledge would be sufficient to negotiate the local community. The presumption that race would not factor into the enactment of the ISL program underscored beliefs, reflected in policy, that programming can translate seamlessly to a culturally other, produced in one location and implemented in another (Ozga & Jones, 2006). It corresponds as well to notions of fast knowledge, identified by Peters and Besley, (2006), where the salient element is a performance of international service rather than an authentic engagement with the complexities and intricacies of local community and culture. Ignorance of the effects of whiteness in the community of Mji provided a justification for Canadian participants to resist local partners and the community, identifying the discomfort or frustrations they felt as problems located within the community, not themselves.

In the analysis of partners’ experiences of ISL partnership in Mji, the power of whiteness to mask differences was expressed through partners’ description of the actions of student participants. At one point, Safiya rhetorically asked, “*Do they know why Tanzania is poor?*” The focus for the Northern participants in this partnership was exclusively on the nutritional supplement project, narrowly defined as a public health promotion of the nutritional supplement that Northern University was producing *for* the community and *for*

the women who produced it as a micro-enterprise. Local partners anticipated a more inclusive notion of partnership through the ISL program, hoping to engage students with the local culture and to share with them their knowledge, dreams and aspirations. In partners' responses in the interviews, it was the singular focus on the production of the nutritional supplement they identified as contributing to the subordination of all local interests. Although one dimension of the nutritional program involved its production as a microenterprise for women in surrounding communities, local partners hoped for a more inclusive approach: *"For me, the most important thing, it is the creation of employment. And maybe too, some more education that helps the community to understand how this disease is spreading. I think that might be more important than the nutritional supplement"* (Jafar). Jafar's comments underscore the desire to achieve a broader community through opportunities that might create new employment or education through his ISL program.

The policy that guides partnership obscures contextual influences such as race or poverty to project the possibility of an even playing field for partners. The appeal to reliance on good intentions locates race discretely in the colonial or slave past; however, this strategy positions contemporary actors to become complicit in the construction of new forms of racial oppression (Mahrouse, 2010). Higher education programs that aspire to social justice, professing to be grounded on terms of fairness and equality, yet do not explicitly acknowledge racial and socioeconomic differences are "intrinsically unfair and unequal because...they overlook the fundamental issue of racial equality" (Mahrouse, 2010, p. 171). Gilborn (2005) concurs, arguing that

the erasure of race, as an active and ultimately irresistible force... is significant...This sanitized (white-washed) version of history envisions policy as a rational process for change, with each step building incrementally on the previous in a more-or-less linear and evolutionary fashion. But such an approach is contrary to the reality of race and politics...(2005, p. 487).

The intertwining of race and economic privilege were often difficult to distinguish in this partnership. Simple comments made about clothes and personal items that students from Northern possessed became symbolically charged, particularly when students from Mji

requested to be given items from Canadian students: *“I cannot believe that she asked me for my sunglasses”* (Northern Student, field journal, June 9). Or when curt comments were made referring to the style of clothing that Northern students wore: *“I see that the students came with many, many clothes and dresses that are very nice but they are not the kinds of clothes that women in Mji wear and they should know that”* (Safiya). In the material context of Mji, clothing and personal possessions marked differences reflective of both race and class between local partners and Northern visitors.

The effects of whiteness is an under theorized dimension of N-S ISL partnerships. Critical, postcolonial analyses of race in education policy and practice contribute to uncovering the discourses of whiteness, which are interwoven in neoliberal policies that continue to privilege programs and research that not only benefit individuals and institutions but also reinforce racialized partnerships between Global North and South.

7.4 Professional Contexts.

The professional context of the enactment of this N-S ISL partnership, explores the experiences and expectations of local partners as professionals seeking to be considered as peers. Braun et al (2010, 2011) argue that there are strong “interdependencies between professional values, intake and how policies (or partnerships) (sic) are pursued” (2011, p. 591). The professional context is not necessarily a discrete or coherent space. It focuses on relationships where individual local partners interact and engage with Northern partners. The professional sphere considers professional interactions based on individual partners’ experiences and understanding of partnership. In an analysis of the professional effects on policy enactment, “each policy actor (or partner) (sic) is individually positioned, and their response to policy (or partnership) (sic) is dependent on myriad factors related to their understanding of the policy and their specific role within the agency, personal values, histories and experiences are all significant influences on their particular engagement with the ISL project” (Braun et al, 2011).

In this study, there was a clear professional hierarchy between Canadian ISL participants and leaders and local community partners engaged with the program. The ISL participants university students and their sole faculty leader held a PhD; these positions

carry high status in a country with little access to tertiary education. It was unusual that all but three of the local partners who participated in this study had attended at least some university in Tanzania or graduated with a degree. Each local partner expressed a strong respect for education and saw it as a vehicle to progress as professionals and to mobilize the broader local community. In this partnership, however, several influences contributed to marginalizing the local partners professionally over the course of the project. The younger assistants hired to support the project through translation and guiding the group to different sites were not perceived as sufficiently professional. There was a low level of trust on the part of the ISL group, and a high degree of ambivalence on the part of local partners; both the effects were linked to cultural, linguistic and socioeconomic uncertainties and expectations. Local partners struggled for acceptance and equal acknowledgement by the ISL participants and group leader; Safiya's comments reflect her desires: *"I would like to be considered a colleague."*

Access to financial resources again highlights the key distinction between Canadian participants and local partners. One significant example highlights the discrepancy between the professionalism accorded to local partners versus ISL participants through the relative ability of the ISL group to provide financially for their own needs. Whether it was related to costs for transportation, document printing, internet time or shared meals, what was impressed upon local partners was the apparent infinite ability of partners to pay for these items, reflecting their overall personal affluence. This was in contrast to local partners' frustration that they had such limited financial resources and the denial of requests to increase funding to the project. Small items took on a much larger significance in the context of this ISL program, including the ability to pay for private transportation versus having to take public transit (very inefficient and unreliable), the cost of meals in cafes, or access to communication, the ability to purchase cell phone time or to secure use of the internet. *We are given a set amount of money and we have to make it work. We have worked hard to get to this point, but you see, we are young...We do not have any extra resources and taking a taxi for one day is what I spend on transportation over more than a week in the dala dala"* (Safiya).

Ethnocentric assumptions determined many of the decisions Canadian participants made, further marginalizing local partners' sense of professionalism. Even small decisions, such as the best way to travel across the city, did not recognize the financial implications for local partners. The ability of Northern ISL participants to pay for more expensive alternatives constructed a hierarchy between the community partners and ISL participants. Throughout the interviews conducted for this study, participants hinted at, shared stories of, or were critical of steps taken by Northern University representatives to limit and confine the professional actions of local host partners based on Northern participants' ability to pay for their needs.

The professional marginalization of local partners is reflected in the attempt to engage with a local high school to work with their students to promote the nutritional supplement in the community. The local school partners were counting on the ISL program to provide a model of the potential benefits of education; Jowi, the school teacher acting as the ISL partner contact, explained that

our students watch children graduate every year and do nothing different as a result of their education. You know, it is so hard to convince them that an education has value, when there are so few jobs and so few carry on with university or other training. If you cannot make your life better with an education, then why go to school? I was hoping that this group would be a sign, that there is hope in education. Work hard, and you will succeed (Jowi).

It was frustrating to Jowi that the ISL group did not come often to the school, and that when students did come often their teacher or group leader did not accompany them. The honor of having a professional partnership with a Canadian university was very significant for the high school, and it brought with it the possibility of professional distinction for Jowi who had worked with the university to plan the program. It became increasingly frustrating when students did not come to the school, or due to language barriers, planned events and activities without including students from the local community. Professionally, it diminished their credibility, initially resulting in confused attempts to rectify situations and ultimately in resignation that they would be unable to perform as the ISL participants desired. Jowi felt he had little leverage to make the ISL

group accountable to the school and in the end, focused most of his comments on how he would like to see programs in the future modified to ensure that there were fewer ill effects on the school. He expressed passion and commitment to his own role as a teacher and saw his efforts in the ISL program as a potential lifeline for students who had few opportunities to extend their education outside of the confines of the local community.

The analysis of the professional effects of the enactment of international programs recalls attention to the principles outlined in N-S partnership agreements that attempt to manage the negative effects of dominant partners operating in vulnerable communities.

Multilateral attempts to mitigate the asymmetry of power between North-South partnerships are clearly outlined in the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda (OECD 2013c), and most recently the Busan Agreement for Partnership (OECD2013b); however, the ultimate unenforceability of agreements mirrors the difficulty in establishing any measure of accountability for transborder academic or educational activities (Spivak, 2004). The repeated call to anchor N-S partnership initiatives in local ownership is in effect a plea appealing to the moral reason of dominant partners (Spivak, 2004); the critical literature on development studies outlines numerous exploitative effects of partnerships that capitalize on the weakness of local infrastructure and authority in Global South communities (MacEwan, 2009; Baas, 2005). In a competitive educational framework, there is little incentive to pursue equitable policies that diminish the potential of achieving economic or status oriented outcomes. Within internationalization policies, there is a recoding of partnership that claims a universal benefit to all participants through partnership. Globalization is read as cooperation and access to opportunities found in the marketplace for all, implying that the benefits of partnership will be distributed to all and that it is not a measure of the equality or equity of distribution that counts.

The concept of parity of participation, developed by Nancy Fraser, (2013, 2008) is engaged here as an heuristic method to consider the professional effects of the ISL partnership through the lens of social justice. Fraser (2013) argues that

for participatory parity to be possible, at least two conditions must be satisfied.

First the distribution of material resources must be such as to ensure participants' independence and 'voice.' This 'objective' condition precludes forms and levels

of economic dependence and inequality that impede parity of participation. Precluded, therefore are social arrangements that institutionalize deprivation, exploitation and gross disparities...The second condition is ‘intersubjective,..’ It requires that institutionalized patterns of cultural value express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem...Precluded, therefore are institutionalized value patterns that deny some people the status of full partners in interaction—whether by burdening them with excessive ascribed ‘difference’ or by failing to acknowledge their distinctiveness” (p. 164).

The two conditions outlined by Fraser above illustrate the experience of partnership produced by internationalization discourses presented in Chapter 5 of this research and to the responses shared with participants in the fieldwork portion of this research, presented in Chapter 6. Fraser (2013) argues that both conditions are necessary for participatory parity. In her argument

the first brings into focus concerns traditionally associated with the theory of distributive justice, especially concern pertaining to the economic structure of society and to economically defined class differentials. The second brings into focus concerns...(of) recognition, especially concerns related to the status order of society and to culturally defined hierarchies of status (p. 165).

This framework encompasses an analysis that challenges injustice along axes of social differentiation that are key to the findings of this research. The effects of professional misrecognition in this ISL partnership are embodied on local partners: those denied validation of cultural, gender, racial and socioeconomic status experience marginalization (Fraser, 2008). This was particularly apparent in the consideration of the professional effects of the ISL program on the community. The refusal to grant local host partners equity in the relationship obstructs their ability to participate in the activities of partnership, producing resentment among most partners as expressed through their interview responses.

Defining or conceptualizing parity in this analysis requires an emphasis on “the condition of being a *peer*, of being on a *par* with others, of interacting with them on an

equal footing” (Fraser, 2013, p. 166). In the enactment of education policy, programming and partnerships in sites outside of the boundaries of the institution, or in this case, outside of traditional national boundaries, there is the danger of tacitly denying the Other full access to the range of benefits and resources available to the dominant partner. Intentionally or otherwise obstructing or denying parity of participation in the partnership inflicts an injustice on the subordinate partner. A significant barrier to social justice in this N-S ISL partnership was the inability of the dominant partners to recognize their actions toward local host partners as misrecognition. Different partners read the ISL participants’ responses to them as dislike that was either seen as racially motivated or simply as rejection of the material realities of Mji. Each partner reacted to the ISL groups’ behaviors based on the particular incidents and interactions they had with them. The local partner ISL teacher summarized his experiences in this way

I think maybe there are just too many muzungus for us to manage at this time. Maybe next time, it is better not to send so many, or to give them some more lessons on Tanzania. It is not good to have so many young muzungu women here all at one time, not for the girl students or for the boy students (Jowi).

The foreclosure of race, gender, privilege and equity produced an epistemic break in the notion and practice of partnership that eliminated the potential contributions of each community, Canadian and Tanzanian, to create a partnership firmly rooted in principles that recognized the validity and value of each.

7.6 External Contexts.

The neutrality of N-S partnerships is challenged by the local impacts reported by this study’s participants. This particular enactment of N-S partnership was initiated by faculty interests located in Northern University, and is representative of their particular goals and interests. In the absence of a mechanism to integrate and ensure accountability to local partners’ interests, this partnership privileged the interests of Northern University and its ISL participants. An analysis of the external context(s) of N-S partnership enactment incorporates the pressures and expectations from internationalization policy texts, including the desire to accumulate status through international institutional

rankings, to achieve university administrative goals for the production of internationally recognized research and to meet national government and related interests (Braun et al, 2011). The discourses of the knowledge economy, the international imperative and competitive institutional pressures define this domain. The intensified flow of ideas, knowledge and people across borders has produced a rapid increase and demand for programming, specifically service learning, to engage students directly with communities in the Global South (Kenway & Fahey, 2009). However, a consideration of the effects of partnerships driven by competitive interests, suggests that partnership enacted without due consideration of local context risks systematically dispossessing local communities of the opportunities or relationships by unfairly privileging the interests of the dominant partners (Braun et al, 2011). Fine (2009) documents how education policies carve out dispossession precisely “around the contours of race, ethnicity, class and sexuality” (p. 185). Her illustration of dispossession and accumulation through education traces the effects of policies that systematically “alienate, discourage, discharge” less strong interests to the margins of communities. Marginalization is achieved through myriad micropractices by the Northern ISL group, that effectively disempower and discredit the ability of local host partners to participate in N-S partnerships as full peers, or to represent their local interests and ensure the equitable distribution of the benefits produced through partnership. The findings presented from this research suggest that the silence in internationalization policy texts of the potentially detrimental impacts on host community or individual partners as a result of inequities of authority or access to resources by a dominant partner is an omission that conveniently sidesteps the criteria that multilateral agreements sought to avoid through exploitative N-S partnerships.

The narratives of internationalization policy contribute to a set of N-S partnership practices that stress economic opportunity, competitive advantage, the global imperative, and research potential (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). These narratives must be contrasted with the silences within internationalization policy texts related to development, collaboration, and equitable distribution of the benefits of partnerships. Internationalization discourses provide a rationale to mask the effects of competitive engagement in international activities that promote institutional interests and position universities to engage in hegemonic activities. This effect is further obscured by N-S partnerships where the

dominant partner assumes a benevolent posture in relation to a less strong partner; in a competitive framework charitable actions take on the appearance of generosity, not equity.

When internationalization policy is positioned alongside parallel shifts of national international development activities in Canada, designed to align national trade interests with humanitarian assistance, there is an almost inevitable prioritizing of the dominant partners' intentions (Brown, 2013). In the absence of an accountability mechanism to redistribute the benefits from educational partnerships equitably, it is easy for institutions to rationalize their actions in the relationship based on the costs incurred, the demands of research, or the timeframes of the academic world (AUCC, 2007, 2013). An example of the policy language used to explain the shift from development and cooperation activities to knowledge exports is a signal to the ease with which concerns for vulnerable communities can be elided by universities that point to partnerships that

entail costs which must be sustained, including hiring professors to deliver courses...The arena of international development cooperation overlaps with knowledge exports now that financing from the Canadian government in this area has declined considerably...Universities find themselves in a position to sustain development initiatives by charging some sort of fee for service (AUCC, 2007, p. 16).

There is no discussion or reference to the need to harmonize objectives between local partners and Canadian universities, or the need to manage partnerships to produce equitable results, to provide mutual accountability, to untie aid from future trade obligations (in fact, quite the opposite), or to ensure the partnership's predictability and consistency (Bussan Agreement, 2011). Local stakeholders can potentially be devastated by N-S partnerships that do not recognize the vulnerability of programs and the powerful impact that funding cuts or unilateral withdrawal from the partnership has on host partners' activities. When Safiya was confronted by one of the ISL leaders and reprimanded for lateness, the result was a reduction in her wages for the day. *"I think that it is not fair; when she is late somewhere with her students, who is there to take away her wages? Does it work this way in Canada? I do not feel very good about that I am late,*

but it is impossible to get to places exactly on time always in Tanzania.” Two key points are relevant to this study from Safiya’s criticism: first, in a context of tight budget constraints, viewing host partners as a cost that can be manipulated is problematic; second, it further subordinates the host partner who is not afforded professional protection and latitude to perform her duties. It is a tension between the desired benefits that accrue to universities through partnership, including: enhanced visibility of a program or research center, access to new research funding, new programs (such as this ISL program) created or the possibility of attracting new students to come and study at the home institution (AUCC, 2013, p. 9).

Now that universities “increasingly rely on international activities as a source of revenue generation” (AUCC, 2007, p. 15), it is unlikely that they will self-regulate an equitable sharing of received benefits from partnerships to local stakeholders without clear terms and conditions to guide the process of redistribution. The findings from local partners suggest that there is a reluctance to engage in authentic collaboration, that to adopt a collaborative way of working “whereby all partners work as equals...would represent a ‘deep change’ in the culture of international cooperation” (AUCC, 2013, p. 8). The asymmetry of authority and project determination is further underscored in this report, identifying “the need to deconstruct a culture whereby the Northern organization is in the drivers seat before they could work as equals with their partners” (AUCC, 2013, p. 8).

The domestic Tanzanian development agenda struggles to respond to the encroachment of a global economy; the impact of several decades of development interventions and strategies has produced what the document “Tanzania Vision 2025” identifies as a condition of disempowerment within local communities due to a “development mindset.” The outcome is an erosion of local initiative produced by the lack of local ownership over the development agenda. This condition has not been conducive to addressing the development challenges with dignity, confidence, determination and persistence through hard work and creativity” (Vision 2025, 2.2.1). Overcoming a “development mindset” demands a restructuring of local infrastructure and sensitivity to the effects of dominant partner activities that (1) further subordinate local development agendas to the interests of external partners; (2) degrade the capacities of local partners to respond to issues in a

manner commensurate with Western approaches; and (3) view partnership through a donor/direct aid lens, eschewing a broader perspective on the local context (Barry-Shaw, 2012; Harcourt, 2007; Bush, 2007; Baas, 2005). This effort is actively undermined by practices that publicly acknowledge the principles set forth in OECD documents designed to promote equity in N-S partnerships, yet in practice, adhere to World Bank discourses and seek to gain through commercial educational activities (Brown, 2012a; 2012b; 2012c).

The local partners participating in this ISL program aspired to engage as peers with the Northern group, but their efforts were generally subordinated to accommodate the goals of the ISL project; at times it appeared as if there were a competition between the desire for the ISL group to appear more highly organized and focused on the success of the project than the local partners who were constrained by their lack of resources and inconsistency. The effect on local partners corresponds to the condition of dependence and defeatism associated with the effects of misrecognition outlined by Fraser: it is an embodied effect, physically reducing Tanzanian efforts and reinscribing oppression and domination (Pillow, 2003). A similar effect is described in development literature and local Tanzanian development policy which seeks to eradicate the dependency mindset produced by development.

In domestic education policy, produced by Haki Elimu (2013), an educational NGO in Tanzania, a focus on local 'affective strengths,' emanating from a recognition of Tanzanian values, are highlighted as key to reigniting a drive to transcend the impediments to development. These strengths include "national unity, social cohesion, peace and stability" (4.0), qualities traced to a high point in post-independence Tanzanian history, and enshrined in the Arusha Declaration, which is seen by many as Tanzania's Declaration of Independence. The resistance to a path to development that perpetuates dependency is a theme that suffuses Tanzanian development policy, its media and is active in the national imaginary as well as the reported experiences of the participants in this research.

The implications for policy and practices enacted in a globalizing, post-Keynesian-Westphalian world, with fluid boundaries and ambivalent loci of authority, further

challenge the discourses of higher education internationalization that promote particular national interests through a marketized version of North-South partnerships, at the expense of local development agendas.

The ability of educational interests to act unchecked are facilitated by the mobilities and porousness of national borders as a result of globalization (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In a world where traditional Keynesian-Westphalian² boundaries of nations are now blurred, critical research on the effects of global education policy challenges the impact of the internationalization discourses that market educational programming within communities of the Global South. Ball (2010) argues that there has been a move from government to governance in education which includes “a set of complex changes in the planning, provision and delivery of educational services” accompanied by “increasingly blurred boundaries between different tiers of government, public and private sectors and between the state and civil society” (p.124). His analysis calls attention to the effects of N-S partnerships, operating without a clear responsibility or obligation to local interests.

Without clear agreements to ensure equity and justice through the distribution of accrued benefits, the weaker partner is clearly disadvantaged, but more crucially, the benefits which accrue to the dominant partner are done so through activities which are exploitative of weak local infrastructures. Higher education policy that ignores the vast body of literature, produced both on the impact of partnerships and the implications for international development activities, potentially reinscribes a neocolonial relationship on host partners, recalling Young’s (2011) definition of cultural imperialism where “the oppressed group’s own experience and interpretation of social life finds little

² I am engaging the notion of traditional Keynesian-Westphalian boundaries from Nancy Fraser to denote “national territorial underpinnings of justice” presumed by states in North America and Europe (2013, 190). In her analysis, “The Keynesian argument is premised on the assumption of state-steering of national economies...the term ‘Westphalian’ refers to Treaty of 1648, which established the key features of the international state system in question” (190). These neat boundaries are no longer to be presumed in the current context of globalization, yet Fraser is careful not to side with arguments identifying the death of the nation state altogether. Her framework is included in this study to challenge the simple presumption of higher education embedded in higher education internationalization policies that transborder programming and practice, enacted outside national boundaries, are neutral within the local context.

expression...while the same (dominant) culture imposes on the oppressed groups its experience and interpretation of social life” (p. 60).

The subordination of local host partners’ interests and obstruction of opportunities to express their vision for this ISL partnership produced the effects described by Young (2011). The ease with which partnerships form between Global North institutions and Global South community organizations is facilitated by the porousness of borders that provide little measure of ethical accountability according to criteria that would ensure local interests are recognized and upheld. The principles of multilateral stakeholder agreements are made even more difficult to enforce in a context where the authority of national governments is rivaled by the ambitions of institutions. Fraser (2013) argues

the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is losing its aura of self-evidence. Thanks to heightened awareness of globalization, many observe that the social processes shaping their lives routinely overflow territorial borders...(D)ecisions taken in one territorial state often impact the lives of those outside it, as do the actions of transnational corporations, international currency speculators, and large institutional investor. Many also note the growing salience of supranational and international organizations, both governmental and non governmental...which flow with supreme disregard for borders...The result is a new sense of vulnerability to transnational forces (p. 191).

The transborder ambition of North-South partnerships is reflective of the entities identified by Fraser above. Her insistence on the need to consider the impact of transborder activities from the perspective of social justice complements the analysis of the implications for the enactment of N-S ISL in terms of relative power asymmetries and project appropriateness, both elements that are intrinsic to equitable North-South development partnerships. King’s (2005) analysis of North-South partnerships and knowledge management networks points to the potential for knowledge transfer to expand capacities for development in Sub-Saharan African communities but that the “dramatic knowledge deficits of the South” require analysis of the “key question of how “Northern expertise could be obligated to work much more symmetrically to partner with the South” (p. 85). Fraser’s (2013, 2008) analysis of the current shifts in global political

and economic alignment illustrates the difficulties that confront efforts to ensure a balance between North-South interests, demonstrating the need for research methodologies and analyses that trace links between the global to the local, to critique how global processes through partnerships are “mediated on the ground, in the flesh and in the head” (Kenway & Fahey, 2009; Appadurai, 1996). The analysis of the effects of these external interests on this ISL partnership reflect the absence of mechanisms in policy or practice to ensure that local interests are protected and asserted to redistribute the benefits of partnership to local communities.

Rizvi and Lingard’s (2010) global education policy analytic framework identifies the importance of the actors, interests, related documentary evidence that contribute to the conceptual formation and understanding of policy discourses (Scheurich, 1994). Critical policy sociology approaches the analysis of global education and the formation of North-South partnership, in a framework that engages local contextual issues, including bureaucratic, political and historical influences (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, 54). It is a framework that challenges internationalization policies on the basis of (1) the origins of policy, including consideration of relevant global factors such as economic opportunities; and (2) acknowledgement of the “players” (interests and individuals) involved in establishing the policy agenda and the policy (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p. 54). Questions are then raised linking the potential benefits that accrue to the university, noted above as enhanced visibility and status, research products, centers or funding and opportunities for the recruitment of researchers and/or students as a result of partnership activities (AUCC, 2013, 9). Lyotard’s (1984) analysis of the postmodern university identifies the temptation to accumulate institutional power through the production of knowledge which “will continue to be a major stake in the world wide competition...,” for information, territory, and access to and exploitation of raw materials and cheap labor (p. 5). The discourses of internationalization policy assembled for this study reflect these broader global shifts and link them to the evolving role that the university is expected to play in broader national capacities; it is further distanced from notions of education as a democratic, non-exclusive, public good and highlights the economic opportunities(ism) inherent in the production of knowledge as a commodity (Stiglitz, 2003; Marginson, 2002; Marginson & van der Wende, 2006; Lyotard, 1984).

The strategy in this research engages an analysis of the narratives of internationalization policy and the effects of its enactment through ISL partnership in local contexts to consider how the dominant themes of policy are taken up and reconstituted by local stakeholders (Braun et al, 2011). The interest in this study is twofold: to consider the effects of policies that drive and govern N-S ISL partnerships in local context, analyzing them in a postcolonial and social justice framework, and interrogating the interests embedded in policies to highlight contradictions, inconsistencies and injustices (Ball, 2012). Mapping the discourses of internationalization policy charts the interests between institutions and the global structures that shape, define and authorize the partnership under analysis in this study. It illustrates the linkages and slippages between a community in Sub-Saharan Africa and the macro-web of internationalization policies produced by Northern University (Weis & Fine, 2008).

7.7 The economic imperative of internationalizing higher education.

Overall, the neoliberal rhetoric embedded within higher education internationalization policy facilitates a blurring of the boundaries between the private and public sector education creating gaps where the interests of Southern partners slip through largely unnoticed. The modern/neoliberal university, in pursuit of N-S partnerships to achieve institutional objectives, is “integral yet incongruous” to a process of what Kelsey argues ultimately deepens the influence of corporate priorities and preferences and compresses critical space in higher education” (in Ball, 2009, p.131). The restructuring of higher education along economic lines hybridizes research and educational practices, integrates philanthropic networks and organizations in order to facilitate the transfer of knowledge through porous borders (nationally and institutionally); philanthropies, according to Ball (2009) act as “international policy brokers” (p. 131). The trajectory of policy in Canadian higher education is clear in the AUCC (2012) report, commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), framing it in

a vision for Canada to become the 21st century leader in international education in order to attract top talent and prepare our citizens for the global marketplace, thereby providing key building blocks for our future prosperity (p. 1).

Further, the report concludes that

in the global knowledge economy, how we (Canadian universities) manage international education will affect the course of our economic prosperity as well as our place in the world. The diplomacy of knowledge is powerful and can be a tool for Canada to achieve its goals...Finally, greater investments...will propel Canada forward in its quest to attract top talent and achieve our goal of making international education a key driver of Canada's future prosperity (AUCC, 2012, p. 76).

Phrases such as the “diplomacy of knowledge” and the “global knowledge economy” draw attention to the potential opportunity and prosperity found through the internationalization of education, almost apocalyptically conceptualized here in the phrase “international education will affect the course of our...place in the world” (Fairclough, 2006). Olssen and Peters (2005) identify the strategies of neoliberal discourses in higher education, which depict dire universalisms and absolutes, particularly those linked to economic instability and employment stagnation. In Peters (2007) analysis of the effects of neoliberal strategies on citizens and institutions the strategies of government (are) to both “permit and require the practice of freedom of its subjects...where artificially arranged or contrived forms of the free, entrepreneurial and competitive conduct of economic-rational individuals (are aligned) with new relations between expertise and politics” (pp. 132-133).

The agenda for internationalization prioritizes the competitive interests of universities seeking status and recognition and firmly establishes the university within the operational framework of the national economy. The 2012 report by AUCC further commissions DFAIT to coordinate and manage all international education strategies; responsibilities will include, “managing the content, executing and hosting communication, gathering and disseminating timely market intelligence and coordinating a Canadian presence at key education events and fairs” (p. 71). The overall goal of internationalization for institutions establishes an agenda “to ensure that students have the intercultural and language skills to become leaders in the global knowledge economy—that they become global leaders” (p. 35). The effects of the changing global economic terrain and its

effects on higher education are targeted to rationalize the turn to a competitive model of higher education. Ilon's analysis concurs with Fraser (2008) and Lingard and Rizvi's (2010) analysis of the global evolution to a post-Keynesian-Westphalian state, and contrasts the current focus of higher education policy in the past where

economic opportunities were largely determined within a nation, and perhaps, within a region of a nation, going to the local college and doing rather well was generally a ticket to a good income and a stable steady job for life. In a global economy, only low-level jobs are likely stable...the competition for top jobs is global and dynamic" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 21).

These points are underscored by Crossman and Clarke's study of the effects of international experiences on graduates' employability; their findings overwhelmingly correlate positively to graduates success in finding employment when international experience was cited on resume. Further, it was enough to have any type of international experience, travel, internships or study abroad all seem to have impacted positively on candidates prospects (Crossman & Clarke, 2010). It is unsurprising, therefore, given the emphasis on the development of global competence and the need to be considered competitive, that students and institutions seek internationalization experiences and neglect to reflect on the implications of internationalization outside the narrow sphere of self-interest. Partnership, in this document and context, is designed to facilitate the production of globally competent graduates.

Internationalization policies conceptualized within the context of a competitive knowledge economy seek to maximize the returns from international engagements for the particular institution that initiates the partnership (Ilon, 2010; Portnoi et al 2010).

Partnerships between institutions from the North and community organizations in the South disadvantage the weaker partners' ability to leverage their particular interests in the partnership. The market orientation of N-S partnerships sets up a potentially contradictory framework than the one proposed by agreements such as the Paris Accord criteria to: (1) secure ownership of development projects within developing countries and ensure that they set their own strategies for poverty reduction; (2) to align donor or dominant partners' systems and technologies with local sources; (3) to harmonize

procedures and share information between partners; (4) to establish clear measures by which to evaluate the outcomes of partnership projects; and (5) to ensure mutual accountability between partners for the outcomes and effects of partnership (OECD, 2013). These standards for equitable partnership are to be conducted and pursued with constant attention to activities that contribute to poverty alleviation (OECD, 2013).

These goals for North-South partnership misalign with the production of knowledge as a commodity, which ranks among the top priorities of current internationalization strategies (AUCC, 2012). Yet it is the competitive production of knowledge for commercial purposes that skews the enactment of partnership, focusing on what is to be gained versus what can be shared. Lyotard (1984) argues that “knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold; it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production” (4). His analysis identifies the effects of competitive or mercantilist approaches to N-S partnerships where the patterns of the institution inform and circulate through the relationships, influencing the relative division of labor, decision-making power and representation of each partners’ interests. Market oriented knowledge production is intimately bound up in the exercise of power and authority. Peters (2002) draws on Foucault’s analysis of power relations illustrating how in the context of N-S community partnerships “the exercise, production and accumulation of...knowledge cannot be dissociated from the mechanisms of power; complex relations exist” that circumscribe the weaker partners’ opportunities (p. 91). The relationships in this study were significantly complicated by imbalances of power that circulated through the process of partnership and influenced every dimension of the partnership.

In this study, the ISL partnership is complicated by the contradictory interests of each partner. The interests of Northern are designed to affirm and showcase the nutritional supplement as a saving measure for the community; the notion of collaboration enters into the equation of partnership only in the most tangential or logistical capacity, to secure local production capabilities and to negotiate local support. It produces a tension among local partners that reflects Erasmus’s (2011) experiences of ISL partnership with a North American university where the ideals of individualism and materialism, subordinated the values and interests of the South African community emerging from

Apartheid. The conflicting desires, partnership to enhance research and learning versus local community development, without any mechanism to mediate and negotiate key issues, produced tensions that ultimately prevented either side from achieving a satisfactory outcome. The enactment of the N-S ISL partnership under analysis in this study demonstrates that the partnership produced negative effects at multiple levels. For local stakeholders, the impact created further oppression, a result of systematic processes that prevented local partners from engaging their professional skills and knowledge equitably (Young, 2011, p. 38). The postcolonial framework and social justice orientation of this study challenge partnerships that do not recognize the potential for partnerships to reinscribe colonial or culturally imperialistic effects on host communities. It is not sufficient to presume that the benefits of partnership will trickle-down to local partners or to merely contract them for services and deny the contextual factors that influence and inform the partner relationship.

In a managerialist approach to N-S partnership, attempts to account for social considerations, such as equity or race, are viewed as distortions to the efficiencies of the market economy. Neoliberal policies that advocate for market-orientation explain the externalities produced by the transition to market practices as unfortunate social costs, arguing that they will ultimately be mitigated by trickle-down effects and subsequent market cycles (Clarke, 2000). There is strong evidence drawn from research on development partnerships that challenges this supposition (Bush, 2007; Gewirtz & Crib, 2002). Recent research on the links between effects of neoliberal approaches to poverty reduction conclude that there is a negative correlation between free market practices in regions impacted by acute poverty and increased inequality; Sub-Saharan Africa is a region specifically highlighted in this research (Bush, 2007). Simple definitions of poverty, which merely conclude that it is a condition of income deficiency neglect to address the effects of exploitative labor conditions, a high degree of dependency for infrastructure funding, vulnerability to trade fluctuations, and weak, education, health, and environmental standards on local conditions (Bush, 2007). Bush argues against measures and policies that seek to redress regional poverty through greater access by global interests to local markets without protective measures. The effect of free market practices inversely buttresses the structures and advantages of global capitalism,

reinforcing the authority of capital over labor and dismisses any alternative programs for local development (Bush, 2007, p. 4). As an example, he argues that recent moves by the G8 to engage with Africa have a) increasingly facilitated foreign exploitation of resources in sectors of the continent's economy; b) persistently highlighted the weak capacity of the state and related institutions (pp. 22-27); and c) glossed over criticisms that it is the way that African nations are incorporated into the global economy (through resource extraction or labor exploitation) that has obstructed the development of capacity in local states and institutions (pp. 115-118). The parallel moves by higher education interests, to engage in a marketized approach to international programming and research, risks similar local effects.

If partnerships neglect to establish clear measures to secure local interests or to guide dominant partner practices, educational initiatives may continue to see Global South communities as resources to exploit (whether for research or student programming or mining), conceivably leave communities not only unchanged, but potentially worse off. The deleterious effects of North-South partnerships are tacitly acknowledged in the most recent AUCC publication (2013). This report focuses on what are considered innovative N-S partnerships; however, while this report acknowledges and prioritizes engagement with local communities, the demands of university research, particularly related to securing rank and tenure, drive faculty and institutions to prioritize these goals over local development agendas and timeframes (AUCC, 2013, pp. 8-9). The management structure of the university is slow and reluctant to respond to the resource needs of international partnerships located in Global South communities, and the benefits of partnership accrue unevenly to the university versus the community. These benefits include the “enhanced visibility of a program or research center, access to new research funding, new programs created, or larger numbers of foreign students who...(are recruited)... to come and study in specific programs” (AUCC 2013, p. 9).

These benefits are in stark contrast with the experiences reported in this case study. There are significant material, local and professional effects when Global North universities engage with southern community organizations, specifically where

significant material and institutional deficits exist within Global South communities, skewing the ability of each partner to participate as a peer in the relationship.

The unequal distribution of benefits and self-interest of partnership are criticisms and concerns raised by host partners that contrast with the policy silences on poverty, inequality and marginalization, themes that figure prominently in multilateral and development discourses and illustrate the need for an ethical framework to guide N-S (ISL) partnerships.

7.8 The ethical imperative for N-S ISL partnerships

There is a significant gap in higher education internationalization strategies that do not acknowledge the ethical imperatives of North-South partnerships alongside the economic. It is a break in the knowledge of the effects of N-S ISL partnerships and the enactment of internationalization that can only be raised here to provoke further analysis and critique. Spivak (2012) argues that “if ethics are grasped as a problem of relation, not of knowledge, it is not enough to build efficient databases, converting the ‘gift’ ...to the ‘given...’ upon which “calculating ‘aid’ can be based” (104). Postcolonial analyses contribute to the critique of the implications for development practices that potentially further marginalize subaltern communities. Thus far in this case study, the effects of the N-S ISL partnership suggest an epistemic discontinuity between the desire to engage in development initiatives, yet to do so on the terms of Northern University. Practices grounded in the interests of the dominant partner are challenged by postcolonial analyses and social justice critiques of education practices (Spivak, 2004; Andreotti, 2011a). The notion of N-S ISL partnerships require an ethical consideration; the frameworks produced by multilateral agreements between Global North and South nations, sought to establish criteria for ethical N-S engagements, however, are effective only insofar as institutions presume a moral responsibility toward their activities and are binding only to those who choose to adhere to them.

Spivak (2004) argues that engagements between North and South, that coerce the subaltern to engage with Northern interests on Northern terms are intrinsically oppressive. Spivak (2004) targets “the general culture of ...capitalism in globalization

and economic restructuring (which) has conspicuously destroyed the possibility of capital being redistributive and socially productive in a broad-based way” (538). Under these circumstances the “cultural axioms...” of subaltern communities “...are defective for capitalism” (p. 53). Spivak’s (2004) argument highlights a crucial dimension of this N-S ISL partnership: the ISL group engaged with this community as an extension of a project of higher education internationalization founded without due consideration to the impact its activities local values and interests. Although there are philosophical nuances debated between Fraser and prominent social theorists, in conceptualizing the experience of injustice produced by misrecognition, her principle analytic and argument raises relevant issues in this study related to cultural and symbolic injustice experienced by local partners as the result of misrecognition and the denial of participation at parity (Fraser, 2013). The fundamental issues Fraser (2013) identifies challenges notions of N-S partnership which subsume race, history and cultural values. Her claims are illustrated by research by Martino and Rezai-Rasti (2013) in education policy that illustrates a cultural politics of difference/recognition and a politics of social equality/distribution when it comes to dealing with injustices that are simultaneously both racial (cultural) and socioeconomic (economic) and which amount to ‘theorizing the ways in which economic disadvantage and cultural disrespect are currently entwined and support one another’” (Fraser in Martino & Rezai-Rashti, p. 599). It is a position that urges consideration of the effects that dominance, exercised through university processes and institutional values, may portend for the further exclusion or marginalization of Global South partners.

The local partners in this N-S ISL partnership are not acknowledged for their contribution to facilitating entrance into local communities or supporting the activities of students throughout the course of the ISL program. Fraser (2013) argues that justice requires parity of participation “in a multiplicity of interaction arenas” (p. 166). Excluding partners from public acknowledgement is an example of misrecognition—particularly when it is presented as an achievement to benefit the institution. Fraser’s definition of the effects of misrecognition as “a depreciation of such identity by a patriarchal culture and consequent damage to one’s ...sense of self. Redressing this harm requires engaging in a politics of recognition. Such a politics aims to repair internal self-dislocation by contesting demeaning...” pictures or experiences of racial, gendered or status exclusion

(2013, p. 168).³ It is only when the empirical data from participant interviews, the record of observations and subsequent correspondence is interrogated alongside policy narratives that the contradictions and inconsistencies between the objectives of North and South ISL partners are revealed.

7.9 Summary.

The narratives of higher education internationalization attempt to normalize notions that N-S partnerships, enacted in trans-bordered sites, will translate into other cultural landscapes, however, resistance is produced in local sites when the enactment of policy and programming simultaneously seeks to suppress difference. The data collected and analyzed for this research reveal contradictions between the notion of N-S ISL partnership formation in Canadian higher education and the exercise of institutional privilege at the expense of local interests. In this study, institutional privilege includes the ability to not recognize the effects of one's race and socioeconomic status on local partners. The enactment of the ISL program in this case study faced steep challenges due to the heterogeneity of the situatedness of local contextual values and culture, the material availability of resources, professional aspirations among local host partners and the external structures which governed the intent of N-S partnership for the university. This assumption is challenged by the data presented here from interviews and observations. Here, wide ruptures are exposed in the narrative of internationalization, revealing the perceived impacts of the partnership on the local community. The universalisms intrinsic to the policy narratives are challenged by both the local participants' analysis of their partnership experience presented here, and postcolonial

³ Fraser's (2013) analysis here is referring to the exclusion of women in an androcentric social hierarchy; however, she argues that the analysis for participation at parity is applicable to other situations of exclusion, particularly in a globalized context, including those based on race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality or nationality (p. 165). She argues "insofar as social arrangements impede parity of participation along any of these axes, whether via maldistribution or misrecognition, they violate the requirements of justice. The result...is a normative standard that is capable of adjudicating some of the hardest political dilemmas...today" (2013, p. 165).

critiques. The ISL partnership in this case study was interrupted by the tensions produced by a misrecognition of the effects of race and socioeconomic status represented by the presence of the ISL group in Mji. The design of the program centered exclusively on the promotion of the nutritional supplement, a symbol of the university's expertise, to address a significant social issue in the community, however, the gap in between partners produced by an inability rethink the terms of partnership and to engage local partners as peers prevented the program from achieving its goals. The discomfort and frustration experience by the Northern ISL participants resulted in a reactionary and oppressive effort by the Northern ISL participants, attempting to discipline local partners to respond to their needs and expectations, creating increased frustration and resentment among community partners.

The lack of an ethical framework to guide N-S partnerships and ensure accountability on the part of the dominant partner is problematic and leaves local partners unprotected and without recourse when conflicts erupt in partnerships. In this research, the N-S ISL partnership was unable to equitably integrate local interests. Partners' interests were subordinated, often at their personal expense, and the actions of the ISL participants, often due to an inability to understand the effects of their presence in the community, further marginalized the community groups engaged with them. The same privileging of the group's interests were felt by local partners, particularly Safiya, who initially envisioned an opportunity to engage with the group as peers but who was relegated to the role of support staff as the program progressed. Her role was significantly marginalized as the group leadership expressed disappointment with her services and reduced her payments as a penalty.

The internationalization strategies for Northern University clearly articulate a desire to compete globally, to showcase faculty research, and to participate in the export of knowledge products. The power of a globally marketized approach to N-S partnerships, is not sufficient, however, to ensure effective programming as this case study demonstrates. Conceptualizing of partnership solely in marketized or ethnocentric terms encountered resistance throughout the enactment of this N-S ISL program. In the absence of mechanisms to define what constitutes ethical engagement and to ensure

accountability, the effects this N-S ISL partnership were oppressive and counterproductive to a socially equitable practice of education (Andreotti, 2011a).

Chapter 8

Reimagining Internationalization:

8.1 Toward a pluralist framework for Canadian higher education N-S ISL partnerships

This case study conceptualized N-S partnerships as an extension of Canadian higher education internationalization, and it identified areas of conflict as a result of N-S partnership enactment within the local context of Mji. It is a study that began with the question “how does the process of N-S ISL partnership enactment affect host partners and communities?” The broader context of globalization has opened opportunities for international engagement between higher education and regions previously less accessible to research and programming interests. The recent “rediscovery” of the resource-rich African continent now positions it as a site of keen interest for universities eager to establish new N-S partnerships. The ease of student and researcher mobility, advancements in technology and communications along with the increasingly competitive global economy have produced a context where international experiences are perceived to be essential. A wide gap persists, however, in internationalization policies that advocate internationalization through N-S partnership that prioritize institutional benefits and a full recognition of the interests of Global South communities. The implications and effects of enacting programming in this study demonstrate the conflicts that erupted as a result the practice of a regime of N-S partnership that did not adequately

incorporate local values. The practice of N-S partnership, informed by notions of an economic imperative to internationalization founded on the principles of the knowledge economy, neglected consideration of the situatedness of this program. In this particular case, the formation of the N-S partnerships was embraced as an accessible avenue to engaging students in an ISL project. Few material barriers exist to prevent universities from accessing Global South communities and forming partnerships. The critical conflicts that impacted this N-S ISL program were a result of cultural and historical divides that became barriers to the formation of an effective partnership.

This case study provided an empirical analysis of the potential localized effects of higher education internationalization, contributing to a deeper understanding of the impact of N-S ISL enactment in sites outside of the national borders. Drawing on critical policy sociology and postcolonial theory, this study demonstrates the effects of internationalization policies that conceptualize the formation of N-S partnership through the lens of an economic venture. It constructs a normative notion of partnership that presents the benefits produced to be available in equal measure to all participants. However, the benefits of partnership were not redistributed equally throughout the enactment of this N-S ISL partnership, largely as a result of failing to exercise due diligence in consideration of the hegemonic effects that are produced in the absence of a recognition of cultural, historical, socioeconomic and racial difference.

Neoliberal approaches to internationalization present universalized notions of N-S partnership which effectively reduce the relationship to the exercise of a transaction, enacted to enhance institutional status for the Global North university through research and programming opportunities. This N-S ISL partnership engaged students and local community organizations in Mji to locally promote a nutritional supplement produced by the university. There was little consideration of the implications for the ISL program beyond a surface notion that students would engage with local community members to promote the supplement. The needs and interests of the local community were presumed to align with those of the university participants, and in the context of cultural difference, it was difficult for partners and ISL participants to communicate their needs or to resolve conflict effectively. In the compressed timeframe for the program, the interests of local

partners were subordinated to achieve as many of the program goals as possible before the departure of the ISL students.

The narrow frame through which international activities are viewed in policy excludes interests that do not translate to the market including: culture, race and the legacies of history (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In the interest of fast knowledge, (Peters and Besley, 2006) this N-S ISL partnership de-emphasized the cultural complexities of intercultural engagement. Policy prescribes the norms for N-S partnerships, contributing to the sense that international programming, designed to philanthropically assist communities struggling with poverty, are inherently ethically positive endeavors. This is an approach, however, founded on a western humanist approach to international engagement that is uncritical of the ethnocentric values embedded in a weak version of N-S ISL practice (Andreotti, 2011a; Butin, 2005b). At every turn, this project was confronted with difference in culture, language and local values. It is evidence of the epistemic gap in internationalization that seeks to deploy a normative version of N-S partnerships. As demonstrated by the responses of partners in this study, the reaction of the ISL group to the effects of difference in this partnership produced a response that attempted to subjugate difference and to discipline partners to conform to their expectations.

The *muzungu effect*, conceptualized in this study as the misrecognition of whiteness by the Canadian ISL participants, contributed to the discomfort and withdrawal of the ISL participants from deeper integration into the local community. The effects of whiteness and its significance within the community were not recognized by Canadian participants. It is an example of the epistemic privilege that accompanied the presence of a Canadian ISL program and illustrates that there are complexities within the local culture that must be acknowledged and explored if true partnership is to be achieved.

This N-S ISL partnership failed to consider, in a self-reflective way, the impact that a racially, culturally and socioeconomically different group might have on the community of Mji. Specifically, the effects of whiteness on the local community were not recognized by Canadian participants, and the responses to them, by local community members, because of the significance whiteness signified to this community, further distanced them from engaging with community members in local activities. It is an

example of the epistemic privilege that accompanied the presence of a Canadian ISL program and illustrates that the complexities contingent to the local culture that must be acknowledged and explored to establish a foundation for equitable partnership. The historical imagination present in the Mji community was conscious of the colonial past and the potentially neocolonial present. Kivu's reference to a "*colonial mentality which creeps among us*" is one of the strongest indications in this case study of the oppressive effects that this white, Global North ISL group had in this community. Fraser's (2012, 2008) argument for a cultural politics of recognition seeks to establish a threshold for a social justice and lays the foundation for rethinking N-S ISL partnerships on the conditions of participation at parity.

The narratives of historical experience between Global North and South are crucial to building a new base of knowledge, one that recognizes the inherent value of local experience and history (Mohanty, 2006). These are realities that neoliberal policy moves dismiss, yet this study underscores the significance of the demand to recognize diversity and local interests if N-S partnerships are to be anything more than neocolonial exercises where universities continue to exploit local partners (Mignolo, 2011). Weis and Fine's (2012) development of a method to engage a critical lens on the local and the broader global structures which facilitate exploitative practices, interrogates the formulation of N-S partnerships or practices of ISL that neglects to foreground the interests of host partners. It is problematic that multilateral agreements produced by the OECD (2013a, 2013b, 2013c) to establish measures to protect the interest of Global South communities have no mechanism to ensure their enforcement. The ambiguous role of the university, engaging in international development activities, calls into question the responsibilities and obligations it has to local communities (Spivak, 2004; Marginson & Rhodes, 2002). Fraser (2008) notes the complexities inherent in reframing a new standard for social justice, whether weighed in terms of demands for recognition or the more traditional struggle for redistribution.

North-South partnerships confront both issues of recognition and redistribution in local contexts. This exploratory case study demonstrates that equitable education policy, on the global level, must address "issues of access and opportunity, allocation of resources

and structures of accountability” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, 200). N-S partnerships must move beyond the oversimplified notions expressed in internationalization policy, which seek to suppress difference and heterogeneity in pursuit of economic gain. Again, drawing on Fraser’s (2008) basic threshold for social justice, parity of participation as peers requires “dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others as full partners in social interaction” (16). The institutional processes of higher education, which reward institutions and individuals for research products or the implementation of programming that is rigidly constructed around timeframes that suit the needs of students or the academic calendar, are cited as potential impediments to the construction of N-S projects that effectively engage host partners in the Global South (AUCC, 2013). Equitable N-S ISL partnerships must do more than acknowledge obstacles; there must be a framework to adapt the institutional operational frameworks of the university to foreground the needs of local communities.

In the current competitive approach to internationalization there are no mechanisms for democratic accountability, either for institutions or community organizations engaged as partnership (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). N-S ISL partnerships, engaged as a pedagogical extension of internationalization, produced social disruptions in Mji that significantly impacted local partners. These effects were the result of an approach to the enactment of N-S partnership that was not reflexive of the potential cultural, racial and socioeconomic difference that separated the representatives from each community. This N-S ISL partnership vastly oversimplified the local context and sought to maximize the opportunity for the Canadian ISL participants. From this perspective, the partnership

had major social consequences, benefitting some individuals and communities while further marginalizing the poor and socially disadvantaged. This is so because the neoliberal social imaginary upon which this policy framework generally is based has rejected the need for redistributive policies, extensive social protection and measure to ensure equality of educational opportunity (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 185).

The neoliberal imaginary that informs N-S partnership formation does not address the interests or aspirations expressed by participants in this study for participation in

partnerships. An equitable approach to N-S partnerships must foreground a recognition of the capabilities and contributions of each partner and move beyond the rhetoric of policy to not only ensure local ownership and direction of projects, but also to ensure that projects are evaluated in terms of the effects of partnership implementation and enactment in local contexts (Braun et al, 2011, Elbers & Schulpen, 2011; Ball, 1999). There was no process in place for this N-S ISL program to allow partners to work through misunderstanding or arbitrary decision-making. The result produced resentment and confusion over the course of the five weeks that the Canadian ISL students were in Mji, not only for local partners but for the Canadian students as well. It is worth noting that Freire (1973) argues the act of oppression in education is in many ways more destructive to the oppressor than the oppressed. The response of the Canadian ISL participants to the *muzungu effect* suggests further research is warranted to understand the implications for students as a result of unplanned for encounters with cultural and racial difference.

Future programs will risk the same effects if partnerships are not established with clear terms that recognize the institutional processes and patterns of the university do not translate directly to the Global South community. If relationships are to be sustainable and mutually beneficial, there must be in place, prior to the arrival of students or the initiation of projects, measures that facilitate equitable communication, collaborative decision-making and mutual partnership evaluation. An effective framework to begin this process is found in work produced by those international agreements that focus on North-South partnerships. The most recent document, The Busan Agreement for Partnerships, (OECD, 2013b) outlines clear measures to evaluate the distribution of benefits to and to measure the effects of projects on local communities (Obama & Kimbwarata, 2009).

This policy analysis demonstrated the gaps intrinsic to the internationalization strategies of Northern University. This internationalization strategy presumed the “best possible environment for implementation” (Braun et al , 2011, p. 595). It presumed that the benefits of the nutritional supplement would overcome cultural, material and professional obstacles present in Mji, moreover, it assumed that local partners would hold the same

goals and expectations for the partnership. The context of policy enactment is always dynamic and evolving, yet the interactions between this Canadian ISL group and the local hosts lapsed into a pattern identified by Spivak (2004) where local Southern NGOs must accommodate the expectations and needs of Northern partners, who typically hold inordinate power through control of financial resources and decision making authority in development projects (Baas, 2005). Local partners interpreted and engaged with this project differently, depending on their relative position within their organization, past experiences and access to resources to meet the needs of the ISL group. This study suggests that if Northern University truly sought to contribute to ameliorating the effects of poverty and HIV/AIDS, greater efforts should have been made to engage partners to negotiate more effective responses to the community.

Future partnerships must move beyond the discursive claims of the global imperative and related rhetoric that stresses competitive international engagement. These goals for internationalizing education are not reconcilable with the human effects of oppression nor the exercise of Global North socioeconomic privilege. The contradictions inherent in the uncritical practice of this N-S ISL partnership are similar to those produced and documented in other sites (Erasmus, 2011; Sutton, 2011; Renner, 2011). North-South educational partnerships that operate according to neoliberal principles facilitate the production of further global inequity (Seddon et al, 2007). This case study provides several examples where a neglect to consider the hegemonic effects of education practices did in fact contribute to marginalizing individuals, professionally and materially. Joaquin's letter summarized his desire to maintain relations between Mji and Northern University, but he clearly indicates that the opportunities and experiences available to the Canadian students are ones that he and his peers would like to be seen made accessible to students in his school as well. These opportunities include visits to the Serengeti and reciprocal travel to Canada (Joaquin, field journal and correspondence).

Justifying hegemonic affects as unintended consequences or externalities produced by N-S partnership are not acceptable responses to continuing to exploit the benefits of N-S partnership without addressing the local needs. The current competitive global education

policy environment does not emphasize the implications for institutional decision making on local communities or sites of policy enactment. Attention must be paid to the institutional structures and processes that empower institutions to engage in practices that affect socially just practices of partnership. Young (2011) argues that domination does not occur simply because one partner has more wealth than another; “domination derives at least as much from the corporate and legal structures and procedures that give some persons the power to make decisions about investment, production, marketing,” which ultimately affect others (23). The institutional power of the university must be included in the corporate and legal structures referenced by Young (2011). This point corroborates Weis and Fine’s (2012) contention that a practice of critical bifocality brings into focus the effects of global institutional interests on local communities. The ability to make decisions based on the principles of internationalization policy, without consideration of the impact that affect those in local communities, is derived from those educational structures that govern policy making.

Global education policy that legitimizes or authorizes partnerships in pursuit of commercial interests are part of a “global architecture of economic and political relations that is not only largely undemocratic...it has allowed transnational corporations to acquire unprecedented and arguably unregulated amounts of power and has also reduced collective opposition” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, 186). The ambiguous position of the university operating in Global South communities, established above, allows it to assume multiple roles, blurring the interests of NGOs, educational institutions, corporations and government institutions and acting accordingly depending on the particular situation (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). The intentions are often unclear but never neutral. This ambivalence led to uncertainty among host partners in Mji; initially they presumed that the partnership was formed to engage the local community and to assist with its socioeconomic development. The objectives of Northern University were increasingly viewed by host partners with suspicion as time passed. They suspected that the true interests of the institution and ISL participants were located in the successful production of the nutritional supplement and the status received from its perceived benefits to the community advertised through research and the programming opportunities for students.

In this case study, Canadian higher education internationalization failed the community of Mji. The actions taken within the context of the partnership raised local expectations as partners hoped for an infusion of needed financial resources and expertise to guide in their efforts to pursue local development. In the end, the ISL experience in Mji served to further the objectives of the ISL partnership for the university participants, but contributed little to local development. Students were exposed to the effects of poverty and witnessed the ravages of HIV/AIDS on community members, and the broader research agenda progressed according to its plan. The material inconveniences and cultural differences in Mji were seen as obstacles to pursuing these agendas rather than opportunities to engage with local stakeholders, to explore new avenues to work collaboratively solve local problems or to deepen one's understanding of the other.

8.2 A Postcolonial Framework for N-S ISL partnership and higher education policy

It is my hope that this case study will contribute to the formulation of future N-S partnerships that will carefully examine the implications for socially just arrangements between Canadian institutions and Global South community partners. It is not beyond reach, yet it requires that Canadian institutions reaffirm a commitment to a practice of education that contributes to sustainable development for Global North and South. Further, based on the findings of this research, it is essential that N-S partnerships critically engage with communities, foregrounding local cultural values, recognizing local contributions and ensuring local ownership for projects, including the equitable distribution of benefits. The institutional processes and patterns embedded in Global North institutions do not generally correspond to the complex needs and interests of Global South partners. It is not impossible to adapt these institutional frameworks and processes, to work more effectively with partners in the Global South. Engaging in this research from a postcolonial perspective contests the “fiercely hegemonic discourses that naturalize and laminate injustice” embedded in policy and illustrated in the enactment of internationalization through this N-S ISL partnership (Fine, 2009, p. 193). Viewing this N-S ISL partnership through a postcolonial lens, it is possible to re-imagine the possibilities of an ISL pedagogy and higher education internationalization that encounters

communities in the Global South in collaborative endeavors, participating as peers to solve global social problems.

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Appendix 1

**WESTERN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS - ETHICS APPROVAL NOTICE**

Review Number: 1205-2

Principal Investigator: Goli Rezai-Rashti

Student Name: Allyson Larkin

Title: *Critical considerations of international service learning in Mwanza Tanzania:
Exploring local perspectives on partnership*

Expiry Date: July 31, 2012

Type: PhD Thesis

Ethics Approval Date: May 24, 2012.

Revision #:

Documents Reviewed &

Approved: Western Protocol, Letter of Information & Consent

This is to notify you that the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board (REB), which operates under the authority of the Western University Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects, according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the date noted above. The approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the study or information/consent documents may be initiated without prior written approval from the REB, except for minor administrative aspects. Participants must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation. Investigators must

promptly report to the Chair of the Faculty Sub-REB any adverse or unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected, and any new information which may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study. In the event that any changes require a change in the information/consent documentation and/or recruitment advertisement, newly revised documents must be submitted to the Sub-REB for approval.

2011-2012 Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board

Dr. Alan Edmunds	Faculty of Education (Chair)
Dr. John Barnett	Faculty of Education
Dr. Farahnaz Faez	Faculty of Education
Dr. Wayne Martino	Faculty of Education
Dr. George Gadanidis	Faculty of Education
Dr. Elizabeth Nowicki	Faculty of Education
Dr. Immaculate Namukasa	Faculty of Education
Dr. Kari Veblen	Faculty of Music
Dr. Ruth Wright	Faculty of Music
Dr. Kevin Watson	Faculty of Music
Dr. Jason Brown	Faculty of Education, Associate Dean, Research (<i>ex officio</i>)
Dr. Susan Rodger	Faculty of Education, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (<i>ex officio</i>)

The Faculty of Education Research Officer
1137 Western Rd. Faculty of Education Building
London, ON N6G 1G7
519-661-2111, ext.88561 FAX 519-661-3095

Copy: Office of Research Ethics

Appendix 2



**WESTERN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS - ETHICS APPROVAL NOTICE**

Review Number: 1205-2

Principal Investigator: Goli Rezai-Rashti

Student Name: Allyson Larkin

Title: *Critical considerations of international service learning in Mwanza Tanzania:
Exploring local perspectives on partnership*
Expiry Date: August 31, 2012

Type: PhD Thesis

Ethics Approval Date: July 18, 2012.

Revision #: 1

Documents Reviewed &

Approved: Revised Study End Date

This is to notify you that the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board (REB), which operates under the authority of the Western University Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects, according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the date noted above. The approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the study or information/consent documents may be initiated without prior written approval

from the REB, except for minor administrative aspects. Participants must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation. Investigators must promptly report to the Chair of the Faculty Sub-REB any adverse or unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected, and any new information which may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study. In the event that any changes require a change in the information/consent documentation and/or recruitment advertisement, newly revised documents must be submitted to the Sub-REB for approval.

2012-2013 Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board

Dr. Alan Edmunds	Faculty of Education (Chair)
Dr. John Barnett	Faculty of Education
Dr. Farahnaz Faez	Faculty of Education
Dr. Wayne Martino	Faculty of Education
Dr. George Gadanidis	Faculty of Education
Dr. Elizabeth Nowicki	Faculty of Education
Dr. Julie Byrd Clark	Faculty of Education
Dr. Kari Veblen	Faculty of Music
Dr. Jason Brown	Faculty of Education
	Faculty of Education, Associate Dean, Research (<i>ex officio</i>)
Dr. Shelley Taylor	Faculty of Education, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (<i>ex officio</i>)
Dr. Ruth Wright	Faculty of Music, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (<i>ex officio</i>)
Dr. Kevin Watson	Faculty of Music, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (<i>ex officio</i>)

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Appendix 3
Curriculum Vitae

Allyson M. Larkin

MA, Graduate P.D., PhD (ABD)

Education

University of Western Ontario, PhD (2014) (Education) 2010-2014
Critical Policy, Equity and Leadership Studies.

Research focus: Higher education internationalization and institutional partnerships;
International development and International service learning.

Dissertation Title: *Internationalizing Canadian Higher Education through North-South Partnerships: A Critical Case Study of Policy Enactment and programming Practices in Tanzania.*

Fordham University, Master's of Education and Graduate Professional Diploma
1993 (Education) *Urban Education and Administration.*

Major Paper: Hispanic Girls and Posses: A Model for Community and Understanding

Advisor: Professor Barbara Trachtman, PhD

Fordham University, Master of Arts, (History)

1991. *Medieval European History*

Thesis: Monasticism and Apocalyptic Imagery

Advisor: Professor Louis B. Pascoe, SJ

University of Colorado, Boulder, BA (Latin American Studies)
1986

Academic Awards and Grants

Ontario Graduate Scholarship, with Distinction	2013-14
University of Western Ontario Graduate Research Scholarship	2010-14
Boston College Institute for Administrators in Catholic Higher Education Bursary	2008
Michael J. McGivney Grant for Initiatives in Catholic Education	1999
DeWitt-Wallace National Service Learning Award	1991-93
Catholic Educator's Bursary, Fordham University	1991-93
Presidential Scholarship, Fordham University	1989-91

Publications

- Larkin, A. (2013). To Engage research critically: A Review of Kerry Howell's *The Philosophy of Methodology*. *The Qualitative Report* 18(14) 1-3.
- Larkin, A. (2012). The quest for internationalization in Canadian higher education policy: Cooperative development or knowledge export? *Potentia* 1(6) 73-85
- Review of *Education, Conflict and Development*. Julia Paulson (ed.). Oxford Series in Comparative Education in the *Journal of Comparative and International Education* (forthcoming, December, 2011).

Conference Presentations (refereed)

- Larkin, A. (2013). Rethinking International Service Learning in the Context of Higher Education Internationalization. World Congress for Comparative Education Studies. University of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Larkin, A. (2013). Implications for International Service Learning in the Context of Higher Education Internationalization. Canadian Society for Studies in Education. University of Victoria, British Columbia.
- Larkin, A. (2013). Who's Emancipating Who? Critical Considerations in Emancipatory Research. International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Larkin, A. (2011). Marginalization and Emancipation: Conflicting Issues for International Policy and Development Education. The Politics of Knowledge in the Global Age Conference. New York University, March 2011.

Larkin, A. (2010). Postcolonial Implications for International Service Learning Pedagogy. Annual Conference of the International Association for Research and Service Learning Conference. University of Indiana.

Conference Presentations (non-refereed)

Larkin, A. (2012). The impact of international service learning in the postcolony. Crossroads Conference, Sorbonne Universite, Paris.

Larkin, A. (2012). Critical issues in policy and programming: international development and cooperation programming and higher education policy in Canada. Comparative and International Education Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 2012.

Postcolonial Perspectives on International Service Learning. Rosa Jofre-Bruno Symposium in Education, Queens University, March 2012.

Decolonizing Feminist Theory and International Service Learning: Developing Theory and Pedagogy for Practice in Areas of Political Conflict. Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society. McGill University, May 2011.

Conference Poster Presentations

Larkin, A. (2012). Postcolonial perspectives on the impact of service learning: The Case of Tanzania. University Research Day, University of Western Ontario.

Larkin, A. (2011). Justice and Peace, Solidarity and Sustainability. Annual Conference of the National Association of International Educators. Vancouver.

Larkin, A. (2011). Discourse Analysis and International Aid Policy in Development Education. Faculty of Education Research Day, University of Western Ontario.

Larkin, A. (2011). Crisis, What Crisis? Teacher Motivation and Foreign Aid Policy in Tanzania. University of Western Ontario, Graduate Research Day.

Research

Research Assistant to Dr. Wayne Martino, 2012-2013, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario.

Research Assistant to Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario.