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(De)colonizing global citizenship: a case study of North American study abroad programs in Ghana

by

Shelane Rae Jorgenson

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Dedication

For Grandma and Grandpa B and Grandpa J.

Thank you for your guidance from above.

Abstract

Over the last few decades, the concept of global citizenship has emerged in policies and vision statements of higher educational institutions without clarity of what it means or how to educate for it. In North America the discourse of global citizenship study abroad has become increasingly attached to programs that send students to locations constructed as "underdeveloped". Utilizing a post-colonial and post-structural conceptual framework, this study unpacks some of the rationalities and relations of power that shape study abroad programs and global citizenship discourses in higher education. An extended case study and Foucauldian discourse analysis are used to examine the policies and practices of North American universities that send undergraduates to Ghana and address the ways in which global citizenship is discursively constructed through the agendas of internationalization, the knowledge economy and neoliberal and neo-colonial relations of power. Ethnographic fieldwork comprised of participant observation, informal and semi-structured interviews was conducted at the University of Ghana to observe and examine the material practices of study abroad and interactions between North American and Ghanaian students.

The research findings reveal some problematic ways people are conditioned to perceive and encounter each other as 'Other'. The prevalence of race, culture and development discourses in the interviews and policy documents illuminate prejudice that remains an absent presence in global citizenship education and scholarship. Colonial power relations that divide and order humanity were evidenced in the ways North American citizens, knowledge and

education were upheld as “superior” by both North American and Ghanaian respondents. Some students resisted these dynamics through critical reflexivity and staying with the discomfort and ambivalence that differences engendered, instead of trying to manage or control it. However, the one-way flow of North American students to Ghana in the name of university partnership, exchange and global citizenship, skew the platform of engagement. In order to address these colonial vestiges in international educational policies and practices, these findings suggest a critical examination of pre-departure education and orientation of study abroad programs as well as partnership policies that are a preparation and conduit to these ‘exchanges’.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Background

Global citizenship in higher education is a burgeoning yet contested area of research, policy and practice. Throughout the past five years of being immersed in the field of global citizenship education (GCE) at the University of Alberta, first as a research assistant and later coordinator for the Global Citizenship Curriculum Development project, I have observed a growing spectrum of activities being described and branded as educating for global citizenship. Most commonly, the discourse of global citizenship has become attached to university programs that send students and faculty to work, study and volunteer in Third world[1] contexts. My immediate concern was that the Third World has become the object of the traveller's subjectivity as a global citizen. What does global citizenship mean for the participants and hosts of these programs? Do you need to travel to be a global citizen? How is global citizenship being constructed in relation to these practices?

The rhetoric of study abroad can be seen in post-secondary institutions' hallways in forms of promotional fliers and conversations, in administration meetings and academic visions. The "promise" of study abroad in creating "global citizens" (AUCC, 2007a) has become a popular discourse amongst North American post-secondary institutions. Although study abroad is not a new venture, in recent decades global citizenship has become increasingly attached to these endeavours. This has engendered notions that students will become global citizens because of their experiences abroad (Jorgenson, 2009; Zemach-Bersin, 2007) and assumptions that by encountering people deemed 'Other' in a 'different' context, global citizenship learning will occur. It is difficult to fully understand these intentions or assumptions without looking at the political-socio-

[1] The term "Third world" is used to refer to previously colonized countries and/or contexts that continue to struggle with development issues. Most of these contexts are located in the Global South in the continents of Africa, Asia and South and Central America. However, Third world context are also evident in high-income countries, for instance in many indigenous communities in North America.

economic domains where higher educational institutions (HEIs) are entrenched. While HEI administrators are calling from their platforms to students to "internationalize your educational experience," there is more at stake than students taking a break from the everyday and making claims as global citizens.

The eminence of study abroad in HEIs has captured public attention. In 2007, a New York Times article stated that study abroad had become a "prized credential" of the undergraduate experience. Yet the hype around study abroad and global citizenship has been challenged by a number of studies and critical appraisals (Andreotti, 2011; Moffatt, 2006; Zemach-Bersin, 2007) that point out policies and practices that (re)produce many of the social inequities that institutional or program mission statements claim to be addressing. This critical research reveals that most of these programs require particular forms of economic, cultural and social capital, which preclude the majority of students from participating. Researching global citizenship and study abroad programs in the United States, Zemach-Bersin (2007) found that students of colour and lower socio-economic status were drastically underrepresented. Moffatt (2006) confirms this trend with data from Canadian university study abroad programs, stating that "diversity encompasses a scant 10-15% of the demographic; the overwhelming majority of students in the program are White and female" (p. 217). Current research (Moffatt, 2006; Pluim & Jorgenson, 2012) suggests that the privileging of this demographic will continue to reproduce structures of dominance unless funding arrangements are changed and resources are allocated to level the playing field.

In response to the emergence and contestation of global citizenship, several studies (Hendershot, 2010; Jorgenson, 2009; Le Loup, 2009; Hartman, 2008; Roddick, 2008) have taken on the question of what global citizenship *means* by examining students' perceptions (Hartman, 2008; Hendershot, 2010; Jorgenson, 2009); the perspectives of institutional leaders (Le Loup, 2009) and institutional visions and policies (Donahue, 2009). A large percent of global citizenship research in higher education is centered on trying to clarify definitions

and assessing the intercultural (Nam, 2011; Williams, 2005) and transformational impact of study abroad programs (Hanson, 2010; Hendershot, 2010) by interviewing and surveying students about their experiences. Absent from most of this research is a reciprocal engagement with and inquiry into the perspectives and experiences of the host communities. From the outset of this research, scholarship, and practice, it appears that global citizenship is being constructed through the knowledge and experiences of small, elite groups of students with a university education and the privilege to travel abroad.

Across North America, a multitude of post-secondary education programs from various disciplines have chosen Sub-Saharan Africa as their destination and means to educate students about global citizenship. By signing institutional partnerships, groups of North American students and faculty travel to the region to study, conduct research and/or volunteer in an "African," or "developing world" context for as little as a few weeks to a few months. These trends contrast starkly with the experiences of their African host, who have few opportunities of an 'exchange' to North America. Higher educational policies that emphasize the development of international mobility and competency of students intensify the privilege of an educated elite rather than redressing inequities both at home and abroad. A growing concern in the literature is that these programs are more focused on accruing experiences and benefits for the students going abroad than the people at the host institutions and communities. Although writers discuss the potential of such programs to perpetuate imperialistic relations and constructions of global citizenship (Andreotti, 2011; Andreotti & de Souza, 2011; Zemach-Bersin, 2007), there is a lack of empirical evidence to refute or support these assertions.

Purpose of the research and research questions

The rapid increase in the visibility and popularity of "global citizenship" has both clouded and clarified many urgent questions regarding study abroad programs. GCE has been conceptualized as a "container" (Shultz, 2011, p. 13) to hold a variety of often competing discourses and practices and a "conceptual

mantra," (Jefferess, 2008, p. 27) for university professors and administrators to brand and market a range of international activities with a wide range of intentions and implications. One of the central problems this research aims to address is the gap between the rhetoric of global citizenship and the realities of North American undergraduate student experiences in Ghana. There are many layers to understanding this problem, including the connections to the political economy, comprised of policies and practices associated with internationalization, the knowledge economy and institutional partnerships as well as the more centrally embedded question of the ontological and epistemological locations, constructions and intersections of citizenship and global citizenship in different contexts. To address these questions, I used an extended case study and Foucauldian discourse analysis to examine a sample of policies and practices of North American HEIs sending undergraduates to Ghana. The purpose of this research was to illuminate some of the rationalities and impetuses prompting study abroad programs and global citizenship discourse in higher education. Using the University of Ghana, a popular destination for North American students, I endeavoured to gain insight into epistemological positions and relations of power constructing notions of global citizenship and corresponding subjectivities through the following research questions:

1. How is global citizenship discursively constructed through North American post-secondary programs that send students to Ghana?
2. What is the nature of power in relation to its effects on the discourse and practice of global citizenship in study abroad programs?
3. What conditions make it (im)possible to construct and employ decolonial policies and practices associated with global citizenship in higher education?

Over the course of three months of field work in Ghana, I collected data through several interviews with North American and Ghanaian students and program administrators, document analysis of internationalization and partnerships policies and programs as well as notes recorded through participant observation. My

analysis drew predominantly on post-structural and post-colonial theory to examine discourse and power relations.

Personal statement

As the principal investigator of this study, it is important to illuminate my locations and positionality to illustrate how I came to this subject. Being a student for the past 25 years, I have borne witness to the ways education perpetuates social inequities. As my theoretical understanding deepens, I am increasingly sensitive to the ways that educational policies, practices and discourses have become interconnected with the political economy to reproduce the power and privilege of some at the expense of many. Thus, questions pertaining to "*for what* and *for whom* do certain policies, practices and discourses serve?" have developed as a filter for the way I problematize and interpret the social world. The intricate dynamic of power and knowledge, especially in the context of higher education, the laboratory for knowledge production, has become an important element for interrogating how power in various forms (economic, political, gender, etc.) impacts the construction of discourse, knowledge and truth, and how these in turn reproduce particular forms and locations of power.

Growing up on a farm on the Alberta prairies, issues concerning social inequality and injustice were not visible from my insular location. At the age of 11, my family won a trip to Mazatlan, Mexico and I encountered the dividing line of wealth and poverty cast by the "Golden Zone" that instilled my first set of moral indigestions and ethical queries related to social injustice and my complicity. Like many of the testimonies described in the literature of study abroad and global citizenship, including the participants of this study, the face-to-face encounter with the Other that Levinas (1981) describes, invokes an ethical relationship and responsibility for the Other. For Levinas, the Other is anyone and everyone outside ourselves. When the Other calls upon us, we respond, shaping our subjectivities and identities in relation to these encounters. When people travel out of their comfort zones to places and people that are deemed 'different', the contrast initiates a process of seeing oneself, one's country and citizenship in

relationship to Otherness. What has troubled me is the seeming necessity of the Other, which is often constructed through what we are not (for instance, not white, female, Canadian or educated), to engender this learning. In light of throngs of white Western students going to study or volunteer in Third world contexts, there is more at stake in these endeavors. In *Desire for Development*, Heron (2007) uncovers the normativized altruism and global citizenship subjectivity of privileged White women going to Africa as "contingent on positioning the Southern Other as available to be changed, saved, improved, and so on, by us, thereby ensuring our entitlement to do so" (p. 44). The connections of power/knowledge in the encounters and constructions of otherness have become an important line of inquiry in this research.

A second encounter that led me to this study was in a high school African history class, where I first learned about the Transatlantic slave trade. Learning about the conditions of slavery put me on a path to study further on the complexity of humanity and our capacity for accomplishing acts of unimaginable horror. How was it possible to rob people of their humanity, subjecting them to centuries of colonization, slavery and murder? In my undergraduate studies, I spent four years delving into African history; discovering the pitfalls of the Enlightenment in its constructions of racism and patriarchy and its collusion with capitalism to serve the powerful at the expense of the dis-empowered. Post-colonial theory as it materialized through the writings of Achebe (1958), Fanon (1952; 1961) and Said (1978; 1989; 1993) was critical to understanding the deeper epistemic roots of social injustice and its current manifestations today. In the context of Ghana, knowledge is in a precarious state after centuries of subjugation, colonialism and neocolonial legacies (Mazrui, 1995). I am sensitive to how reciprocity, mutual respect and exchange of ideas (and the lack thereof) as well as power relations play out in policies and practices that emerge through partnerships and educational exchanges between North American and African post-secondary institutions.

In addition to post-colonial theory, the work of Michel Foucault has also had a tremendous impact on conceptualizing this study. In a 2010 seminar devoted to reading his work, I began to see that our decisions are not solely our own and our subjectivity is influenced and shaped by forces anterior to our consciousness of them. Understanding social reality as a manifestation of discourse and power/knowledge, which I elaborate on in my theoretical framework and methodology, I saw the formations of identity in a new light. As I gained insight into this conceptual framework, my questions shifted from looking at how people identify as global citizens, as exemplified in my Masters research (Jorgenson, 2009), towards looking at how subjectivities and educational practices have come to be constructed and produced in certain contexts and under particular sets of conditions. Post-colonial and post-structural theories illuminate the continued subjugation of African (and other indigenous) knowledges by Western paradigms. These theories revealed what and whose knowledges and experiences are (not) being utilized to construct this discourse and educational practice.

Despite my criticality of global citizenship though this theoretical engagement, I also see and believe in its potential to be a humanizing discourse that helps us to see our interconnectedness and our inherent responsibility for other human beings regardless of nationality, religion, gender, age, socio-economic status, ethnicity and other constructs that divide us. My criticism pertains to the ways that global citizenship has been constructed in literature and utilized in policy and programming to brand and market international programs, regardless of intentions and impacts. GCE, as envisioned through the writing and research of Abdi & Shultz (2007; 2008), Andreotti (2011), Mignolo (2000; 2006) and others, who depict it as a de-colonizing platform for developing a global ethic of social and cognitive justice, holds potential as a humanizing framework. As Bhabha (cited in Makos, 1995) suggested "many issues related to the idea of 'citizenship' are affected by what it means to be a colonial subject- to be denied certain rights by an outside authority whose claim to power is based on a claim to a higher, or more universal, right." These scholars highlight the ontological flaws associated with conceptions of citizenship defined by national borders that were

primarily fashioned by the colonial powers, and engage in a critical reconstruction of what it means to be a citizen in these global times. Nevertheless, how global citizenship and global ethics are constructed and the ways subjects of these discourses are constituted by the effects of power/knowledge ought to be closely examined. Similarly, with respect to the hegemony of Western paradigms that construct and subjugate Others, Odora Hoppers (2009a) suggests there is an urgent need for new theories of freedom, expanded definitions of knowledge and sharpened understandings of justice. To address this dynamic, I drew on the framework of cognitive justice (Visvanathan, 2007; 2008) to think through the potential of global citizenship and study abroad 'Otherwise' (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012).

Layout of the dissertation

Chapter Two illuminates the intersections of different theories and theorists and how they pertain to the stories and discursive constructions I evoke. I draw on post-structural and post-colonial theory and theorists, particularly those of Foucault, Said and Fanon to present a framework for analyzing my data. Chapter Three presents the scope of my research area through a presentation of key themes and theories pertaining to research and literature on global citizenship and study abroad. I identify important gaps and questions, which I set out to address in my study.

In Chapter Four, I lay out my methodological plan. I introduce Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) and an extended case method, which I used to examine the discursive construction of global citizenship of North American study abroad programs in Ghana for one semester. I discuss the methods I used to select participants, collect data and conduct my analysis and address some of the limitations and delimitations of this research methodology and design. In Chapter Five I draw from a Foucauldian discourse analysis to examine the prominent discourses and power/knowledge circulating within the policy arena of internationalization in higher education in two contexts: Canada and Ghana. This policy case study analysis provides a framework for looking at the ways in which

policies shape the kinds of knowledge and subjectivities that are evoked in my fieldwork and interviews, which are presented and analysed in the remaining chapters.

Chapter Six attends to the discursive formations of global citizenship through statements by North American and Ghanaian students implicated in policies and programs analyzed in Chapter five. The quotes, which were taken from interviews and field notes, capture the complexity of conditions that policies enable and constrain in creating possibilities of a decolonial concept and practice of global citizenship. In Chapter Seven, I draw on post-structural and post-colonial theories of power, knowledge and subject/object relations, to illuminate the spectrum of discourses and their effects as they pertain to global citizenship and study abroad. It highlights the discursive construction of global citizenship as derived from policy and the lived experience of students implicated by study abroad practices.

By way of summation and conclusion in Chapter Eight, I employ the wisdom of my interviewees, theorists and teachers I encountered on this journey to rethink global citizenship and educational practices through an ethic of discomfort. Implications and questions pertaining to theory, policy and practice are discussed in order to move beyond the colonial constructions of, and encounters with otherness.

Chapter Two: Post-structural-colonial perspectives

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to better understand how the concept of global citizenship is discursively constructed in relation to post-secondary programs that send North American students to a post-colonial context. In doing so, I am interested in how the subject of the global citizen is constituted and the various power relations that are implicated in and are an effect of this construction. Discursive construction draws on Foucault's theory that discourses, manifested as statements and practices in a particular time and place, produce a kind of knowledge by which we come to know, embody and enact certain truths. In other words, subjects are shaped by discourses that determine what can be thought and enunciated, who can speak, when, where and with what kind of authority. What it means for me to be a white Canadian woman, for instance, is contingent on a number of historically and culturally constituted events, statements and practices that have made it (im)possible for me to understand and embody such a subject position and subjectivity. Foucault's body of work provides a "toolbox" (Walters, 2012) of important questions, methods and considerations of how such knowledges and ensuing subjectivities are formed and their effects. This theoretical framework helped me to go beyond the individual subject as knower and source of truth by attending to discourses that are anterior to the subject and determine what can or cannot be said under a particular set of conditions. In this study, I did not look at my participants as unbiased makers of truth and knowledge, but as embodiments of contested and contextualized discourses with the possibility of reconstructing new discursive formations that uncover the established power regimes of knowing and being in the world.

Beneath the dominant narratives associated with global citizenship in higher education conveyed in the literature are discourses associated with colonization and Empire (Hardt & Negri, 2001). Several articles herald the study abroad experiences, especially from North to South exchanges, as the platform for learning about and developing global citizenship. To illuminate these discourses

as well as instances of resistance to this narrative, I drew selectively from the post-structuralist theories of Foucault and post-colonial theories of Fanon (1952; 1961), Said (1978; 1989) and Mignolo (2000; 2011). Together these theorists and their ideas comprise the conceptual framework for my research topic, the type of data that was gathered and the ways it was interpreted. My decision to draw on the theories and methodology of Foucault and post-colonial scholars was shaped by my multi-directional reading of the literature; looking where the methodological and theoretical gaps and questions lie, as well as reflecting on my own positionality and the contextual contingencies of the research. Despite my intentions at the outset of this study to conduct a more thorough Foucauldian analysis, when I arrived in the post-colonial context of Ghana, the power relations I encountered were intrinsically tied to the colonial history and ensuing neo-colonial realities of neoliberal globalization. These dynamics called for a closer reading of the post-colonial scholarship that illuminated the intricacies of discourse and power/knowledge in a colonized context, unlike Foucault's analysis of French prisons or mental institutions.

The shift in my conceptual framework to incorporate post-colonial theories of power relations emerged in response to theoretical discussions, such as Said's (1982) essay, *Travelling Theory*, which reminded me about the limitations and locations of theory. Theories develop in response to particular temporal and geographical contexts and may not find the same (or any) traction in another. Tracing Foucault's theorization of power from the prisons in *Discipline and Punish* to more generalized operations in the constructions of sexuality, Said (1983) states that Foucault's theory of power "moves around too much, swallowing up every obstacle in its path (resistances to it, the class and economic bases that refresh and fuel it, the reserves it builds us), obliterating change and mystifying its microphysical sovereignty" (p. 214). No theory, however, will ever be complete or explain everything for everyone everywhere, hence the a priori provisionality of teoria. The conditions of the Ghanaian post-colonial context necessitate different ways of understanding power and how it relates to knowledge and the constructions of discourse. This chapter depicts my journey

through this theoretical landscape, describing the philosophical terrain, its inhabitants and details the ways in which I am utilizing their theories. In doing so, I illuminate the junctions and disjuncture of different theories and theorists and how they pertain to the stories and discursive constructions I discuss in subsequent chapters.

Post-structuralism

Post-structuralism is commonly understood to have originated in France in the 1950s with the philosophical works of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, Jacques Derrida and Jean-François Lyotard. Although each of these philosophers undertook different methodologies and projects, their ideas converge on a skepticism of the modern Hegelian subject. Unlike Hegel's idealist notion that through the process of the dialectic (thesis, antithesis and synthesis), rational subjects can evolve through an understanding of their our own subjectivity, post-structuralists postulate that the "subject" is not simply a speaking, rational being that can attain knowledge and emancipation through their own self-awareness. Rather, processes such as discursive formations constructed and maintained by power relations are constitutive of one's subjectivity.

The movement from structuralism to post-structuralism, of which many of the aforementioned philosophers were a part of, denotes an important shift in thinking about subjectivity and multiplicity. Structuralism posits that human thought and culture can be framed and analyzed according to structures and patterns that are modeled on language. For instance, Lévi-Strauss' (1958) work on investigating the similarities between myths in various cultures, asserted that there must be universal laws and structures that govern *mythical* thought; extrapolating from this, there are universal laws governing all *human* thought. While each post-structuralist engaged in various criticisms of this theory, a common point of departure was the deterministic cause and effect relationship and its binary oppositions (Fendler, 2010). Problematizing the essentialization of culture and the structures that were thought to construct it, post-structuralists rejected the ability

to reduce humanity and human thought to fundamental sets of relations and frameworks. Post-structuralists helped to shift the deterministic conceptions of structuralism and other modernist epistemologies towards a multiply constructed world where knowledge is contested, impartial and an effect of power that is shaped by language/power/meaning and the politics of interpretation (Lather, 1991). Exploring the constructions and reifications of essentialized identities, post-structural philosophy breaks down the ways in which gender, class, race, etc., are brought into being and maintained.

The "post"-colonial question

Post-colonialism, which is also often conflated with post-modernism and post-structuralism as well as "anti", "de" and "neo" colonial articulations, is a similarly contested discourse and diverse area of scholarship. In spite of work that tries to separate the "posts", such as Ahluwalia (2001), who describes post-structuralism and post-modernism as counter discourses against modernism, and post-colonialism as a counter discourse to cultural hegemony of the West, there are many overlaps in the historical, theoretical and methodological trajectories that many theorists, such as Edward Said (1978; 1993) and Gayatri Spivak (1988), navigate and weave throughout their work. Though "post-colonialism" is not a homogenous field of study (McLeod, 2000), its roots can be traced to the intellectual movement in the mid-20th century that responded and corresponded to the struggles for independence amongst many colonized nations. During this period, scholars such as Aime Cesaire (1972), Franz Fanon (1952; 1967), Albert Memmi (1957) and Kwame Nkrumah (1967; 1970) wrote about the nature of colonialism and its multitudinous effects on those subjugated under its power. These works laid the foundation for literary critics such as Edward Said (1978; 1993), Homi Bhabha (1994) and Gayatri Spivak (1988), as well as the French post-structuralist philosophy of Foucault, Derrida and Lacan, to write about how the prejudice embedded in representations have shaped subjectivities of self in relation an Other. While post-colonial theory has been most commonly used in literary studies to analyze colonial discourse and the relationships between

colonizers and colonized, it also provides a critical lens to analyze current power relationships between nations, cultures, people and knowledges. The popularity of Said's (1978) work, *Orientalism*, has in some ways overshadowed the pioneering work of other theorists, such as Fanon, often cited as the precursor to post-structuralism. Though cognizant of and intrigued by the debate over the question of what came first in the "post" tradition: post-modernism, post-structuralism or post-colonialism (Ahluwalia, 2010; Dirlik, 1994; Sandoval, 2000), my intention is not to resolve the debate, but rather draw upon and engage the work of Michel Foucault and post-colonial scholars who have both spanned and contributed to the "post"-theorization of subjectivity, subjugated knowledges and power relations associated with constructions of global citizenship and offer an alternative politics of knowing and being known that interrogates the vestiges and new manifestations of (neo)colonization.

Foucault

One of the most consistent themes of Foucault's career was analyzing the relationship between power and knowledge in the production of truth and subjectivity. As he states in *Discipline and Punish*: "There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (1977/1995, p. 27). Developing and employing archaeological and genealogical methodologies to a variety of topics such as psychiatry, prisons and sexuality, his work helped re-theorize subjectivity by paying attention to the anterior, yet contingent, discourses that operate at several levels to construct subjects and the power relations that order and sustain them. In an essay, *The Subject and Power*, Foucault (1983) suggested that his work was about revealing the processes of subjectification: "My objective has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (p. 208). Discourses, which are statements that construct objects of our knowledge, are intrinsic to this process of subjectification. These theories, in addition to governmentality, will be discussed in relation to my conceptual framework of how global citizenship is

discursively constructed through study abroad, and the ways that North American and Ghanaian students are made subjects and objects of this discourse through policy and practice. These ideas helped me to shift my focus from the subjective experiences of my research participants towards a more critical assessment of issues and inequities that internationalization, study abroad and global citizenship evoke.

Discourse

Although Foucault and scholars drawing on his work offer numerous renderings of what is meant by discourse, I utilize Foucault's notion that discourses are statements and "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Discourse involves the deeper ideas, assumptions and rationalities that are behind the ideas and practices we take for granted, as well as the structures and epistemes (the knowledge system of a particular time) that enable/disable particular thoughts and objects of our knowledge to emerge (Foucault, 1972). Thus, discourses not only describe the social world, but also constitute it. This assumes a kind of epistemology wherein knowledge and thoughts that individuals have of the world are derived from discourse, rather than direct observation of it. Foucault used subjects such as madness, punishment and sexuality to illustrate that our knowledge about them have been discursively produced through particular statements, rules (what is sayable or thinkable in certain times), 'truths' (how what is said gains authority) and practices (psychiatry, jailing, brothels) over time (how these discourses over time and get attached or detached to different rules, truths and practices).

Discursive statements and practices are mutually constitutive. The formations of discourse emerge at the intersection of language and the material world, which is imbued with power relations. It is through statements and practices regarding global citizenship that the global citizen and the knowledge about them are produced. As evidenced in the literature, the notion of global citizenship in higher education has emerged at the meeting point of *language*, such as literature on globalization, cosmopolitanism and citizenship and *policies*

and practices such living, volunteering and studying abroad. Power relations, such as who defines and validates what global citizenship means through definitions and policy statements, and who gets to participate in practices of study abroad, contribute to what gets legitimized and delegitimized in this discourse. The constitutive process of discourses is dynamic. As Dryzek (2006) asserts, "actions in the social realm are always accompanied by language that establishes the meaning of action," (p. 3) functioning to constitute but also challenge particular ideas and practices. Attending to the ways global citizenship and study abroad experiences are discussed in the literature, policy documents and interviews, as well as observing the actions of students engaged in the study abroad experience, enabled me to discern particular discursive constructions that form the objects of which they speak.

Foucault's work on discourse suggests that statements and practices constituting objects of our knowledge are socially and historically produced. In *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault called this a discursive formation, whereby events and statements made in a particular time and place produce knowledge by which we come to know and enact certain 'truths' in particular ways in specific times and places. Therefore, analysis of global citizenship discourse ought to be conducted within specific historical and geographical contexts and attempts to compare and contrast discourse must be sensitive to these contextual conditions. In this sense, Foucault warned not to lift and globally apply one's analysis of a discourse to another time and place.

Power-knowledge

"Power and knowledge are two sides of a single process," Ball (1990, p. 17) asserts, suggesting power is not simply a reflection or equivalence of knowledge, but rather power relations are immanent in knowledge constructions and vice versa. A prime example of power/knowledge is described in Said's text *Orientalism* (1978), in which he explains how the European construction of knowledge about subjects such as the "Orient" and "Occidental" contributes to the power of those who name, and the subjugation of those who are named. Said

claimed that the Occident could not exist without a binary opposition of the Orient. By constructing knowledge of an inferior, backward Other, Western Europeans constructed a vision and knowledge of a developed, rational and superior self. Once backed by power, the knowledge constructed by the 'powerful' suppressed the ability of the Other to express itself and continually gave the imperialists the upper-hand. In practice, Orientalism became a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" in which "dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (Said, 1978, p. 3) perpetuated Western domination over the non-Western world. In this example, one can see the productive nature of power/knowledge. As Hall (1997) states, it is power that "produces new discourses, new kinds of knowledge (i.e. orientalism), new objects of knowledge (the orient), it shapes new practices (colonization) and institutions (colonial government)" (p. 339). Reciprocally, it is these discourses, knowledge and practices that intensify and inscribe power and power relations.

Discourse, truth, power and knowledge operate in mutually generative ways and cannot be viewed independently or as a causal relationship. As Foucault was concerned with the effects of discourse, he directed his attention to the constitutive nature of discourse (Prasad, 2005), with the intention to denaturalize power, knowledge and truth about certain objects. One of the important functions of discourse is that it defines what counts as (de)legitimate knowledge, determining what can and cannot be said, thought, enunciated at a particular time and place and also who can and cannot speak, when, where and with what authority. In the *History of Sexuality* (1976/1990), Foucault described discourse as being embedded in a constellation of power and knowledge, and also a "stumbling point" that opens space for resistance to dominant discourse:

> Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it… We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby a discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it

> reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (p. 100-1)

Here lies an integral piece of Foucault's work that provides a method for doing science or even global citizenship education otherwise. In an interview on the relationship of truth and power (reproduced in Rabinow, 1991), Foucault explicates that the intention of his work is not to emancipate truth from all forms of power, "but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time" (p. 75). Each society, however, has its own regime(s) of truth and people consequently attach different constellations of power in constituting 'the truth' (Foucault, 1980, p. 131). This contextuality of power and knowledge makes comparisons of discourse difficult across locations without conducting a genealogy of discursive formations.

In any society, the production of discourse is never neutral, but rather "controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault, 1972b, p. 216). An educational system, which at its heart lays the institution, becomes the "political means to maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, with the knowledge and power they bring with them" (p. 227). While education is the means by which people often gain access to discourses, attention ought to be paid to the fundamental forms of power, which are embedded within the knowledge that we seek to produce. As Foucault suggests,

> We should admit rather that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (Foucault, 1975, cited in Sheridan, 1980, p. 138)

Foucault suggests that we need to analyze knowledge in terms of the material relationship within which it exists. Although the university is a site of knowledge

production, we need to ask, whose knowledge are we talking about and for whom is this knowledge we are creating?

The interlinking and inter-justification of knowledge and power is a key concept that I have used to analyze the discursive formation of global citizenship and its effects. I am not interested in whether or not students identify as global citizens (their subjectivity), but rather how is it that global citizenship has become the discourse and knowledge through which educational programs subjectivate (some) students as global citizens and use particular countries and people as the object of this endeavor. Foucault's questions about the discursive constructions of sexuality in the *History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*, help to ask important questions regarding my research topic. Substituting global citizenship for sexuality, I inquire: Whose values, experiences and knowledges are people (not) talking about when 'global citizenship' is evoked? What are the effects of power generated by what is (not) said? What are the links between these discourses and effects of power that are invested in them? What knowledge is formed by way of this linkage? In investigating the answers to these questions, I begin to uncover the regimes of power/knowledge that sustain the discourse of global citizenship in North America and the effects this has on the Ghanaian hosts/objects of the study abroad experience.

Neoliberal governmentality

Although there is no concrete definition of governmentality, Foucault introduced the concept in his lectures at the College de France in the late 1970s to talk about the way in which the behaviour of individuals became increasingly complicit in the exercise of sovereign power, which in turn became the basis for modern liberal politics. "Governmentality," Foucault writes in *Security, Territory, and Population* (STP), is "an art of governing whose rationality has its principles and its specific domain of application in the state" (cited in Rabinow, 1995, p. 68). Specifically in relation to the liberal state, he states:

> By 'governmentality' I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow

> the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as it essential technical instrument. (2007, STP, p. 108)

Conducting a genealogy of governance and power from ancient pastoral power to power over people that has given rise to current manifestations of neoliberal governance, Foucault exposes the ways in which power is used to control populations. Although his STP lectures do not present a coherent theory of governmentality, the papers comprise a set of analytic tools (Walters, 2012; Rose, N., O'Malley, P., & Valverde, M., 2006) to understand power in its relation to governance.

Emanating from these lectures, governmentality has been utilized in more general terms to refer to biopower; the governance of people vis-à-vis the governance of the self. Its application to the neoliberal state of the United States and England toward the late 70s and early 80s suggested that American neoliberalism created a particular kind of governmentality that "extend[ed] the rationality of the market, the schemes of analysis it proposes, and the decision-making criteria it suggests to areas that are not exclusively or not primarily economy" (cited in Rabinow, 1995, p. 79). What emerged at this time was a realization that it is not the market itself that creates competition, privatization, entrepreneurialism, etc., but rather particular rationalities and technologies supported by governments and corporations that inculcated these ethos in the minds of citizens. The seeds of neoliberal governmentality that Foucault detected over thirty years ago have blossomed into complex technologies and rationalities of government that keep subjects at a distance by bestowing controlled personal liberties and creating and sustaining an environment to support individuals' sense of responsibility and self-regulation (Rose, 1999). This political rationality constitutes a form of biopower, whereby neoliberalism has become a "prescription for rule" and the "ethos and techne of government" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 315).

The cultivation of the logic and ethos of neoliberalism in the last 30 years

has had a profound effect on the subjectification of citizens as "free" consumers and entrepreneurs. According to Hamann (2009), the central aim of neoliberal governmentality is "the strategic creation of social conditions that encourage and necessitate the production of Homo economicus, or 'economic man', a historically specific form or subjectivity constituted as a free and autonomous 'atom' of self-interest" (p. 37). This seemingly 'autonomous' neoliberal homo economicus uses rational choice theory to amass human capital and thrive in the marketplace at the expense of others. The liberal rationality embedded in this art of government casts those who fail to flourish in these conditions as losers by their own accord. This theory helps to see citizenship, competition, consumerism and entrepreneurship in a new light. As Giroux (2004) states, "citizenship has increasingly become a function of consumerism," vis-à-vis restructuring politics to facilitate the reign of corporations (p. xiv). Supported by an apparatus of formal education that cultivates these dispositions, a neoliberal ethos has flourished and created the conditions for inculcating a particular kind of citizen-subject.

Subjectification and subjectivation

Foucault's project of analyzing "the conditions under which certain relations of subject to object are formed or modified, insofar as those relations constitute a possible knowledge" (1984, p. 6) provides a framework and set of questions to look at the ways in which people are made subjects and objects of global citizenship. Subjectification at a basic level signifies the construction of the individual subject and the question, "how are we made subjects?" It is important to note that subjectification and subjectivation, although used interchangeably (often subjectivation is understood as the French word for subjectification), have different connotations (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2008). While subjectification refers to the ways in which people are governed and objectified into subjects through power/knowledge, subjectivation entails a more internalized process of individuals governing and fashioning themselves into subjects on the basis of what they understand to be true (cited in Hamann, 2009). These ideas have close resemblance to Althusser's concept of interpellation, which is a "mechanism

through which ideology constitutes people as subjects (subjectivity+subjection)" (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 482). Interpellation evokes the process whereby ideologies call upon subjects to recognize who they are in various social interactions. While similar in scope of theorizing how subjects internalize various ideas that constitute their subjectivity, Foucault's ideas of subjectification and subjectivation depart from the structuralist and materialist notions of ideology described by Marxists, by looking at the intersection of where materialism meets language and the power that is inscribed within discourse, not outside it. Unlike Marx or Althusser, whose conceptions of ideology conveyed dualistic notions of thought/being, mental/material (Purvis & Hunt, 1993), Foucault focused on the ways in which the material and linguistic dimensions of discourse co-constructively (re)define what can (not) be said and done in a particular time and place.

For Foucault, the construction of the subject evolves in relation to regimes of truth. There are discourses and power/knowledge dynamics that establish certain regimes of truth in particular times and spaces that condition the ways in which we can think about ourselves as occupying and embodying certain subject positions. For instance, my subjectivity as a woman is interlaced with processes of subjectification such as statements defining my sexuality in opposition to that of a man's and dividing practices, such as female only washrooms that are symbolically adorned with a stick figure in a dress. The process of identifying with the definitions and symbols of a "female" on a questionnaire or a "ladies room" conveys the processes of subjectivation wherein I participate and reinforce this subjectivity. Foucault's treatment of the subject shifted from more deterministic approaches in his early work (see, for instance, Madness and Civilization), whereby subjects are simply an effect of discourse, towards more nuanced processes of self-constitution in relation to a set of social norms (see, for instance, History of Sexuality, Vol 2, 1985). Drawing from his later work, which attends more towards the process of self-crafting, I question, "who can I be, given the regime of truth that determines ontology for me?" (cited in Butler, 2005, p. 25), which is really to call into question "my ability to tell the truth about myself"

(Butler, 2005, p. 23).

From a Foucauldian point of view, it is not simply the subject that makes discourses, but the discourses that construct the subject. This is not to say that subjects do not exist in this theoretical framework, but rather this approach "aims to analyse the constitution of the subject in its historical and social context from a diachronic (i.e. longitudinal) and synchronic (i.e. cross-sectional) perspective" (Jager & Maier, 2009, p. 38). This theoretical framework illuminates the ways in which the global citizen subject is caught within a mutually constitutive web of discourses, social practices and regimes of truth that construct and challenge what it means to be a global citizen in a certain time and place and under a certain set of conditions. Whereas other studies attain knowledge and meaning about global citizenship through the inductive inquiry into the subject's own consciousness and subjective experience as a global citizen, this study's conceptual framework helped me to attend to the discursive field of global citizenship through various statements and actions embedded in policies, interviews and practices that constitute one's knowledge and subjectivity related to global citizenship.

In the realm of ethnography, however, a complete and radical decentering of the subject proved difficult. Although I attended to discourses that constructed subjectivities associated with global citizenship, I instinctively drew on my personal experiences and those of my participants' to tap into and gain understanding of the interdiscursive space between people and ideas that encompassed emerging themes of relationality and ethicality. These themes provoked a different way of conceptualizing the data that led me back to post-colonial theory. Revisiting post-colonial theory helped me to look at the ways North Americans and Ghanaians were perpetuating and resisting colonial constructs and relations. It allowed me to understand what made it possible for some individuals to interrupt neoliberal and neocolonial rationalities and relate to others that did not reinscribe objectification and otherness.

Foucault's limitations and post-colonial contextualizations

A recurring critique in the literature suggests Foucault's theories are "Euro-centric" (Loomba, p. 49) in their focus and have limited applicability in the colonized world. Legg (2007) explains, however, colonialism is an "absent presence" in Foucault's ouvre. Although Foucault focused primarily on Western European subjects, the colonies were implicit in these formations (Legg, 2007). When theories are taken from their points of origin and applied elsewhere, Said (1983) argues they often lose their applicability in the new context. In an interview about the implications of *Travelling Theory* (2001), he explains:

> The production of a theory is rooted in historical and social circumstances, sometimes great crises, and therefore, to understand the theory, it's not important to see it as a kind of abstract thing but rather to see it as something that emanates from an existential need. And then, of course, it gets used again. Once it becomes appropriated by others, of course, it loses that particular charge, but therefore, it's the job of the intellectual and the historian to try and understand it in terms of that early beginning. (p. 266)

Although several post-colonial scholars, including Said, have employed Foucault's conceptual framework of detecting and deconstructing discursive colonial formations, precautions must be taken in one's analysis of these discourses in relation to different historical conditions that have given rise to different forms of power relations, knowledges and ensuing subjectivities. In *Orientalism*, Said employed Foucault's notion of discourse and power/knowledge to examine the ways in which the Orient was discursively constructed to become the Occident's Other. Although Said used Foucault's theories to detect and analyze discursive constructions, he embeds this analysis in the socio-historical context under examination. *Orientalism* gave rise to a particular kind of discourse analysis, commonly referred to as 'colonial discourse analysis', which deconstructs (post)colonialism by questioning Western knowledge's categories and assumptions (Young, 1990). By looking at the contextual specificities that are central to these constructions, post-colonial scholarship illustrates how certain ideas and conceptions that we take for granted were constructions in the pursuit of power to control and dominate the colonial Other.

Post-colonial theory comprises no singular entity, historical-temporal locality or project and efforts to evoke or signify that a "post-colonial theory" risks homogenizing an ever-expanding scope of looking at colonial relations and manifestations. Thus, I utilize the term to represent a range of scholars and scholarship that challenge colonial discourse, policy and practices and create space for and recognition of subjugated knowledges. Dei & Kempf (2006) assert that colonization is a broader, ongoing project, fuelled by the imposition and domination of certain groups over others. Domination necessitates both power and the ability to classify, necessary for distinguishing societal groups. In the (post)colonial context, manifestations and applications of power are less ubiquitous than Foucault's theorization of the kinds of power operating within the Western European domain. Scholars have argued that the productive nature of power that Foucault theorizes in the European context took on more of a "repressive" (Vaughan, 1991, p. 10) nature in the colonial context (Said, 1989).

In the African socio-political terrain, where Fanon, Memmi, Nkrumah, Achebe, Mudimbe, and other African scholars have been examining (neo)colonial conditions and subjugated knowledges, power has been radically constructed and imposed on others, leading to a more repressive, internalized and hegemonic adaptation and adoption of power relations. These power dynamics require a different orientation in their application to the Ghanaian post-colonial context, which had 540 years of European occupation and about 84 years of 'official' colonial control. While I draw extensively on Foucault's methods of detecting and deconstructing discourse, I utilize the writings of Fanon, Odora Hoppers, Nkrumah, Mudimbe and wa Thiong'o to understand the discursive of global citizenship and power relations in the interdiscursive space of North American and Ghanaian students in Ghana.

Finally, post-colonial theory provides a lens to examine the possibilities and manifestations of resistance in a more nuanced and contextual manner. In Foucault's later work, particularly the *History of Sexuality*, he began to think more broadly about resistance to power. He states, "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of

exteriority in relation to power" (1976/1990, p. 95). I concur that resistance is embedded within a complex dynamic of power relations; however, Foucault does little in expounding what this resistance looks like. Reflecting on *Orientalism*, Said states that he was very "limited in what [he] was trying to do" and "said nothing about the possibilities of resistance to it" (2001, p. 268). In his later work, particularly *Culture and Imperialism*, Said (1993) builds upon his arguments in *Orientalism*, particularly the discursive formations of imperialism, by attending to actual resistance to it. By understanding the ways in which people's subjectivities and ways of knowing and being are shaped by discourse and power/knowledge, Said (2001) proposes that it gives you a way of confronting and dismantling it, providing a kind of "counter-Orientalism" (p. 170). Post-colonial theorists, such as Fanon and Said, provide a more contextual analysis of what resistance to colonial power means and the (im)possibilities of resisting discursive and oppressive operations of power and resurrecting subjugated knowledges.

Hegemony and subjugated knowledges

Antonio Gramsci suggested that powerful systems, such as capitalism maintain control ideologically through a hegemonic culture in which the values of the ruling class became the common values of all. The ruling class appropriates particular ideologies, such as racism, to maintain control and perpetuate its positions of power and privilege. As Tiffin & Lawson (1994) suggest, "Colonialism (like its counterpart, racism), then, is an operation of discourse, and as an operation of discourse it interpellates colonial subjects" (p. 3). Converging with discourse and power/knowledge, hegemony demonstrates how adopting the values and ideologies expressed by the ruling class, the non-ruling classes participate in their own domination.

Hegemony also illuminates the processes by which certain discourses (global citizenship), policies (internationalization) and practices (study abroad) become dominant. According to Dryzek (2006), "a discourse is hegemonic if it has no serious rivals, such that it becomes ingrained in the understanding of all relevant actors, defining their common sense and conditioning their interactions"

(p. 7). The constitution of a concept being "global" has the potential to both serve and suppress particular interests, depending on who gets defined as a (il)legitimate knower and what gets defined as (il)legitimate knowledge. In response to hegemonic globalization and cosmopolitan discourses that seeks to homogenize different ways of being and knowing, Odora Hoppers (2009) asserts that attention needs to be given to who is defining the global:

> It becomes impossible to talk about a common culture without talking about who is defining it, within which set of interdependencies and power-balances, for what purposes and with reference to which outside cultures have been discarded, rejected or demonized in order to generate a sense of that longed-for cultural identity. (p. 608)

As global constructs and practices, global citizenship and study abroad have the potential to contribute to the imposition of universalized beliefs and values upon citizens of the world. Hegemony thus raises important questions pertaining to whose knowledge and experiences are (not) reflected in discourses and the power relations sustaining them.

The balance between universal and particularist constructions of global citizenship in light of hegemony is a precarious one. Particularism asserts that philosophical and social constructs are relevant only to the times and cultures out of which they emerged; whereas universalism posits that there are some concepts that transcend the times and cultures that begat them and have universal applicability. Foucault adopts a more particularist orientation in his philosophy, whereby discourses are constructed in a particular time and place and cannot be simply lifted and applied on another context. According to Ghanaian philosophers Gyekye (1997) and Wierdu (1980), however, theory ought to be a balance between universals and particulars, especially with respect to the homogenizing and diversifying effects of colonization and globalization. Gyekye (1997) maintains the power of universalist orientations to address human problems regardless of where people live while any application of these concepts ought to be contextualized and responsive to the lives of where people live. For instance, reciprocity as a principle of global citizenship may be upheld universally, but different cultures may have particular conceptions and practices of reciprocity,

which need to be taken into consideration to determine its applicability in certain contexts.

Through a post-colonial perspective, what gets defined as universal and particular, global and local is of increasing importance. Colonial education subjugated African ontologies and epistemologies through techniques of de-legitimization, de-philosophization and de-conscientization (Abdi, 2009). Cesaire (1950) claims that colonialism de-humanized and objectified the colonial subject, instilling "inferiority complexes" that have been "created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality" (cited in Fanon, 1967, p. 18). Colonization of the mind (wa Thiong'o, 1986), was made possible by the violent imposition of Western European bodies, ontologies and epistemologies and a military-backed colonial apparatus of foreign governance structures, religious authorities and educational institutions. These institutional apparatuses effectively de-citizenized (Abdi, 2009) African people, subjectivating them as colonial subjects of faraway imperial powers (Mamdani, 1996) by forcing them to repudiate their own philosophies, languages and ways of being and adopt and/or mimic their colonial masters. As Abdi (2009) asserts, the objectives of colonial education were not to 'educate' the colonized, "but to inculcate in their minds inter alia (a) their natural need for the colonizer, (b) their internalization of extensive psychocultural regimes that affirmed their inferiority vis-à-vis the colonizing entity, and (c) their training to support the project of colonization" (p. 272). While the force of the colonial regime differs from the more nuanced 'domination by consent' of hegemonic processes, the continuation of such European education in post-colonial societies, in addition to the kinds of manners, styles of dress, language and desires despite a half century of independence, speaks to a continuation of the colonization of the mind and the power of Western hegemony.

Since independence, colonial links have continued under various forms of neo-colonialism. In *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965), Nkrumah argued that neo-colonialism is both an extension and new manifestation of colonialism that perpetuates processes of domination, particularly economic

control, of the West over the rest of the world: "The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world" (page unknown). Nearly a half-century later, the processes of neocolonialism that Nkrumah exposed remain and have only increased in strength and variation.

Colonial matrix of power

Hegemony, while important for its attention to the political and economic rationalities, does not account for the ways in which power orders difference and ingrains it in the minds and actions of both the colonizers and the colonized. Mignolo (2011), in *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, introduces a colonial matrix of power, which effectively demonstrates the ways in which Western modernity was made possible by colonialism and vice versa through the "interconnected heterogeneous historico-structural nodes" (p. 17) imbued with colonial constructions and ordering of differences. These nodes include knowledge & subjectivity, racism, gender & sexuality, authority, economy and theology/secular philosophy and patriarchy. It was through the intersections of these elements that created the conditions for Enlightenment thinkers to construct the hierarchies that underpin "Western" ontology and epistemology. Knowledge is thus codified in power relations that systematically construct, divide, classify and order relations such as class, race, gender, sexual orientation, religion and spirituality.

French post-structuralist philosopher Jacques Derrida theorized constructions of ordered difference through the philosophy of deconstruction. Derrida suggested that Western metaphysics was based on binaries that were imbricated power relations, which hierarchized and privileged one term over another. As such, the way we speak about the world and come to being is through binary oppositions, where we are *either* female *or* male, black *or* white. These pairs of contrasted terms depend on the other for its meaning, implying a dialectic

that one can only be understood in relation to another. One of the issues Derrida raised was that this instilled a pervasive logic of seeing the world and our being in relationship to a privileged or de-privileged Other. The first term gets privileged, fixing its binary opposition lower on the hierarchy of being. He argued that these terms are neither fixed, nor independent, and formulated the philosophy of deconstruction to destabilize these binaries by displacing the structures of opposition "either/or" with "both/and". Derrida (1972) describes deconstruction as the reversing of binary oppositions and consequently the power relations:

> In traditional philosophical opposition we have not a peaceful coexistence of facing terms but a violent hierarchy. One of the terms dominates the other (axiologically, logically, etc.), occupies the commanding position. To deconstruct the opposition is above all, at a particular moment, to reverse the hierarchy. (quoted in Culler, 1983, p. 85-86)

This 'unfixing' (Collins & Mayblin, 1996) of metaphysics destabilized the certainty of binary opposition. It allowed an appreciation and representation of the world and subjectivity in a more hybrid and fluid manner that necessitates continual negotiation.

Before the philosophy of deconstruction was formulated, the works of Franz Fanon (1952, 1961) and Albert Memmi (1965) detailed the issues of binary oppositions and their effects. Fanon's *Black Skin/White Masks* (1952) and Memmi's *Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965) discussed the interdependent relationship of these commonly evoked binaries. More importantly, these works provided incredible insight into how colonized people internalized the inferiority of their ontology and epistemology, leading to the complicity of their own subordination. In *Black Skin/White Masks*, Fanon (1952) wrote about the ways in which the white colonizers constructed 'blacks' as lesser beings to rationalize their colonial domination. Through his encounters with Algerian psychiatric patients in the late 1940s and early 1950s, he illuminated the various inferiority and superiority complexes of his patients that emerged in response to colonialism. He observed in his patients feelings of being inferior to white people, but also wanting to become them, or in some cases dominate them, as depicted in the sexual desires of black men for white woman. The colonial legacy, as Cesaire

(1972, p. 19) notes, produced a humanity "who have been skillfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair and abasement" (p. 11). In the introduction of *Colonizer and the Colonized,* John-Paul Sartre (1965) poses: "Exactly who is he [Albert Memmi]? Colonizer or colonized? He would say 'neither'; you perhaps, would say 'both'- it amounts to the same thing" (cited in Memmi, 1965, p. xxi). The relationships between such categories evade either/or logic. However, as Memmi argues, the categories ensue with modalities of power/knowledge in order to reinstate an image of inferiority through which one can imagine and enact a superior self. If the category of the colonized were to be erased, so would the colonizer (Memmi, 1965), which he notes would not be in the imperialists' interests.

The colonial logic of classifying people of 'different' skin color, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, spiritual beliefs and geo-political locations below the normatively constructed and positioned 'dominant' and 'good' white, heterosexual, Christian Euro-American male have been imbued within languages and imaginations. Scholars such as wa Thiong'o (2012), Mudimbe (1992) and Mazrui (1995) have exposed the roles that the imperial languages, predominantly English and French, have played in the colonization of the mind. As Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) insightfully stated: "language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (p. 16). Countries that have maintained the imperial languages as their 'official' languages and language of instruction in formal education, have perpetuated this domination in the politics of knowing and being known (wa Thiong'o, 2012).

Racist ideology that once portrayed non-European people as inferior human beings who needed to be colonized and Christianized by superior Europeans in order to become civilized, has carried on in the epistemic lexicon signifying skin color. Abdi (2009) maintains that although the false 'science' of racism has been scientifically debunked, "the fact remains that if the dominant group benefits from the continuation of racism, they may not lead the needed

campaigns to rescind it" (p. 281). In *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon illustrates how the interpenetration of race and class create and perpetuate divisions of humanity:

> This compartmentalized world, this world divided in two, is inhabited by different species. The singularity of the colonial context lies in the fact that economic reality, inequality, and enormous disparities in lifestyles never manage to mask the human reality. Looking at the immediacies of the colonial context, it is clear that what divides this world is first and foremost what species, what race one belongs to. In the colonies the economic infrastructure is also the superstructure. The cause is the effect: You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. (p. 5)

The racialization of economic and epistemic inequality is integral to the colonial matrix of power and ordering of difference. As Bhabha (2004), in the Forward for *The Wretched of the Earth*, explains:

> the racial optic...does clarify the role played by the obscuring and normalizing discourses of progress and civility, in both East and West, that only 'tolerate' difference that are able to culturally assimilate into their own *singular* terms, or appropriate within their own *untranslated* traditions. (p. xiii)

In the context of my research, where predominantly white North American students travel to Ghana to study abroad, it is imperative to attend to the emergence and operation of racist discourse.

The racialization of inequalities as exemplified in Fanon's work suggests a critical examination of race, gender and class in relation to conceptions and practices of citizenship. The structures that have shaped (neo)colonial differences and practices, are a significant impediment to thinking about and realizing a conception and practice of "global citizenship" (Mignolo, 2006 p. 324). Exploring the connections between citizenship, the coloniality of being and the coloniality of knowledge, Mignolo (2006) suggests that '"global citizenship' implies overcoming the imperial and colonial differences that have mapped and continue to map global racism and global patriarchy" (p. 312). To do this requires an "epistemic decolonial shift… which means delinking from the rules of the game" (p. 313). To do so, Mignolo suggests that we must go beyond theorizing subjectivity that relies on modernist notions that define(d) humanity in terms of its

whiteness and maleness. “The decolonial option” Mignolo asserts, “is the relentless project of getting us all out of the mirage of modernity and the trap of coloniality” (p. 17). Liberation from the colonial matrix requires a deep understanding of how the matrix works in the first place and how we are led to understand our subjectivity and locations in this colonial order. What this epistemic decolonial shift looks like and how it will be realized provokes a question central to this study. Global citizenship, as envisioned by Mignolo (2006) presents an alternative vision to the colonial constructions and subjectivities of citizenship.

Summary

Although Foucault and other post-structural theorists challenge Western thought and organization, it is important to see how this aligns with decolonial theorists such as Fanon, Césaire, Mignolo and others who “survived conquest, colonization, and slavery in order to develop insurgent theories and methods for outlasting domination” (Sandoval, 2000, p. 7). It is the combinatory effort of bringing these theorists together which can help understand the formation of citizen-subjects in the context of neocolonial and neoliberal rationalities and their and effects today. The glaring lack of de-colonization since ‘independence’ demonstrates the need for re-evoking the call from authors such as Fanon (1952), who suggested alternative “restructuring” of the world (p. 63) that allows for a full and flourishing humanity. One of the critical tasks post-colonial theorists advocate is de-colonizing the mind though deeply rooted practices of unlearning hegemonic ways of being and knowing and recovering subjugated knowledges. Foucault (1977) asserts that “it is through the re-appearance of this knowledge, of these local popular knowledges, these disqualified knowledges, that criticism performs its work” (p. 82). Cultivating a decolonial space in which people are able to construct and utilize their own cultural, spiritual and political knowledge provides a platform for reimagining citizenship outside hegemonic and Eurocentric narratives of being and knowing.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of the following literature review is to define the scope of this study through the research and scholarship conducted on the topic to date. Although the discourse of global citizenship is relatively new in comparison to its cosmopolitan antecedents, it has become a popular concept to describe global and transnational processes pertaining to citizens and citizenship. Global citizenship has emerged as a response to changes in the social world marked by the increased mobility of people, capital and knowledge. As Sandoval (2000) writes, "societies have undergone a series of cultural mutations that parallel the economic transformations linked to late capitalist transnational expansionism," resulting in the subjectification of citizens "on different terms than ever before" (p. 9). Yet there remains a bifurcation in the literature based on a critical assessment or lack thereof, of various structures and processes of globalization and its effects on the constructions and experiences of citizenship.

In the context of higher education, the relationship between knowledge and political economy is crucial in discerning constructions of global citizenship. As the workforce expands and becomes more 'international,' universities are being called upon to educate students to be 'globally minded' and 'global citizens' (Brusein, 2007). The literature reviewed in the following chapter has been selected on the basis of its role in mapping the scope of this research project. It begins with an assessment of the neoliberal ideology, policy and governmentality, human capital and the knowledge economy, which contribute to the marketization of higher education and its production of knowledge and citizen subjects. A discussion of internationalization, university partnerships and study abroad is introduced to contexualize the policy arena of the study. This then sets the stage for reviewing conceptions and practices of global citizenship and ethics.

The market(ization) of higher education: Neoliberalism, human capital and the knowledge economy

The political economy is an integral component to understanding discursive practices in higher education. Critical analyses of global citizenship in higher education (Arneil, 2007; Shultz, 2007) have attended to the important relationship between the political and knowledge economies to illuminate how global citizenship and related educational practices are being shaped by neoliberal policies. In higher education, neoliberalism has led to the creation and implementation of policy that has spurred the commodification of knowledge and the marketization of education (Davidson-Harden, 2009). This shift has induced what Harrison (2010) calls an "individualized, utilitarian and egoistic" (p. 2) rationality that has shaped our understanding and relationship with the world. Thus, it is imperative, as Larner (2000) suggests, to de-construct and re-theorize multi-dimensional discourses such as neoliberalism, the knowledge economy and human capital in order to "make visible the contestations and struggles that we are currently engaged in" and identify the "possibilities to advance social justice aims in a new context" (Larner, 2000, p. 21). With this in mind, this section presents an overview of key scholarship, discourses and contestations pertaining to the neoliberalization of higher education. This sets the stage a closer examination of the constructions and practices of internationalization, international partnerships, study abroad and global citizenship in higher education in North America and Ghana.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism has been used to discuss, critique and support the production of GCE in higher education. Larner (2000) has introduced a tripartite system to categorize important but distinct interpretations of neoliberalism that this research draws upon. The first of Larner's conceptualizations is neoliberalism as *ideology*. Neoliberalism stems from the economic philosophy and ideology of classical liberalism, founded on the belief that the market can and will control the flow of goods and services. Neoliberal ideology takes this economic policy

further by advocating for the privatization of public institutions and a reimagining of the state's role in creating and maintaining fertile conditions of the market (Olssen & Peters, 2005). England and Ward (2002) and others (Brodie, 1996; Harrison, 2010; Rose, 1999) have suggested that neoliberal ideology has had a tremendous impact on relationships between citizens and the state, leading to a new form of neoliberal citizenship. From the 1980s onward, neoliberalism was no longer just an economic theoretical construct, but also a policy and practice that consolidated an "ideological hegemony" (Larner, p. 9).

The second conceptualization is through the lens of a *policy* framework. In the 1980s, the policy agendas of the United States and Britain became aligned with neoliberal ideology to support the notions of individualism, freedom of choice, security of the market and laissez-faire economic policy. These values, Larner (2000) posits, began to "underpin the new institutional economics," that together with an increasing importance of managerialism, comprised "the intellectual basis of the neo-liberal challenge to Keynesian welfarism, and provided the theoretical impetus for deregulation and privatization" (p. 7). While it is difficult to generalize the movement from the Keynesian welfare state to the neoliberal state, many liberal democracies fostered Larner's third conceptualization of neoliberalism as "governmentality," whereby the *social* state gave way to an *enabling* state (Rose, 1999). Neoliberal governmentality entrenched the ideology and public policy of creating space for consumption, supporting the individualistic, enterprising and competitive qualities of citizenry and supervising them through technologies and techniques of surveillance (Giroux, 2004).

Globalization has expanded and intensified the reach and proliferation of neoliberal policy, ideology and governmentality. An important component of this process, often referenced in socio-political-economic literature on Africa, was the introduction and application of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). Introduced in the 1970s by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, SAPs were a popular form of aid that compelled recipient governments to align their national

economies to the prevailing neoliberal ideology of the global economy. In terms of education policy, many nations prioritized primary education over secondary and tertiary education, began introducing service fees, and privatized colleges and universities.

Human capital and the knowledge economy

Conducting a genealogy of the marketization of education, Smith (2010) elucidates important shifts in the role of education vis-à-vis the reign of neoliberal policy and practices. In the context of the Thatcher era of the 1980s, new discourses, such as the "new knowledge economy" and "human capital" were introduced to "reduce all knowledge to commodity form for international trade in a conceived new 'borderless' world of 'globalization'" (Smith, p. 3). Policies constructed in the name of the knowledge economy envisioned knowledge as a commodity that ought to be determined and controlled by the market and competition. The repercussions of this transition, Smith observes, were that universities became an industry and site for the production of knowledge, subject to market forces:

> Because market logic is structured on a foundation of human competitiveness, education became articulated as the task of preparing students, defined as 'human capital,' for 'global competitiveness.' Schools and universities became subject to global ranking measures, with those 'falling behind' subject to threat of state-funding…Students at both school and tertiary levels have come to see educational institutions as 'service providers' for which they themselves are clients or customers with highest priority rights for personal satisfaction. (p. 3)

In order to understand education systems today, Smith argues that we ought to understand the logic of capital. Much research has tried to articulate and deconstruct this logic in Euro-American post-secondary institutions (Peters, 2007). While research on African institutions is lacking, writers (Edu-Buandoh, 2010) suggest similar forces are at play.

The discourses of the knowledge economy and human capital are prominent in research (Apple, 2000; Chan-Tiberghien, 2004; Dale, 2000; Davidson-Harden, 2009; Daun, 2002) that critically examines the interdiscursive

connections between the market, higher education and citizenship. Chan-Tiberghien (2004) states neoliberalism has exerted a "hegemonic discursive impact on educational policy and practice," (p. 193), pressuring educational systems around the world to produce a competitive citizenry to respond to competitive global labour markets (Daun, 2002). Davidson-Harden (2009) argues that higher education vis-à-vis its relationship with the knowledge economy is being steered to meet economic needs by propagating policies that conform to market demands. These critical insights are further supported by Metcalfe & Fenwick (2009), who examined Canada's 2006 federal economic policy *Advantage Canada: Building a strong economy for Canadians*.

Research in this area has provoked a number of questions concerning the role of post-secondary education. As indicated by Olssen & Peters (2005), the discourse and polices of the knowledge economy have compelled educational institutions to make courses and programs more relevant to the economy and even so far as to "drive" it (p. 313). According to Jones et al (2005), the university is being repositioned in terms of its relationship to the state and industry "because it is now viewed as a key player in a global economic system where new knowledge and highly skilled human resources are perceived as the fuel of economic development" (p. 7). "Knowledge" is subsequently being re-framed as the key to economic growth and it is the role of the university to "produce" it. Olssen & Peters (2005) argue that this shift has prompted a conception of knowledge as capital, or "knowledge capitalism" which has precipitated a reframing of education as a *public good* into an *economic good*, whereby certain competencies necessitated by industry and business determine priorities in higher education. As education systems are restructured to facilitate new sets of needs that fit with the economic purposes of education, research on power/knowledge dynamics and discursive formation and enactment of policies in higher education is becoming more urgent (Davidson-Harden, 2009).

Internationalization, university partnerships and study abroad

Higher education has become increasingly affected by economic

globalization. In addition to the global flow of capital, the movement of knowledge and bodies has accelerated the exchange and imposition of educational policies and practices. Literature related to neoliberalism, the knowledge economy and human capital provides insight to understanding the policies and practices of internationalization, institutional partnerships and study abroad in HEIs. This section will highlight important scholarship that has investigated, articulated and critiqued how these processes are constituted, rationalized and carried out.

Internationalization of higher education

In response to neoliberal pressures to compete in the global and national education markets, HEIs have implemented internationalization policies by "integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension" (Knight, 2004, p. 11), into their vision, principles and objectives. In practice, these internationalization policies fall on a spectrum, ranging from neoliberal paradigms to more socially just approaches. Hanson (2010) illustrates two forms of internationalization; one, a market model, "wherein internationalization is centrally about increasing the global advantage of academic institutions through strengthened competitive position" (p. 72); another, based on social transformation, which rejects market supremacy and calls for "recognition of the reality that globalization leads to increased marginalization of significant groups of people around the world" (Ibid, p. 73). Although each model may advocate for similar practices such as sending students abroad, the social transformation model undertakes a critical analysis of the inequities between different contexts and advocates for the "principles of mutuality and reciprocity to be established through networks or partnerships" (Ibid, p. 73).

Behind the rhetoric of internationalization of higher education are rationales associated with investment in human capital for the global knowledge economy and workforce. As research conducted by Brustein (2007) suggests,

> it is imperative for universities to produce globally competent students who have the ability to work effectively in international settings; awareness of and adaptability to diverse cultures, perceptions, and approaches; familiarity with the major currents of global change and the

> issues they rise; and the capacity for effective communication across cultural and linguistic boundaries. (p. 383)

The fostering of these competencies through internationalization and study abroad, Brustein argues, will help students successfully contribute to the demand for 'globally competent workers'. As students have begun to seek global competencies, competition to attract students by offering internationally focused and based programs has increased.

Internationalization is often heralded as the "white knight" (Brandenburg, 2011) of higher education for its contributions to securing new forms of funding and enhancing competitive edges. Some critics, however, have challenged the neoliberal thrusts of internationalization by highlighting the growing disparities and inequities (Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Odora Hoppers, 2001; Marginson, 2004). In response to the "opaqueness" (Odora Hoppers, 2009, p. 601) of internationalization, scholars (see: Odora Hoppers, 2009; Kehm & Teichler, 2007) have offered substantive critiques of the methodology and practices conducted in its name. Of critical concern is that practices and research being conducted in the fields of internationalization and global citizenship end up reproducing the inequities they are trying to address.

University partnerships

One of the key activities of internationalization strategies amongst HEIs is the formation of university partnerships. These take multiple forms, ranging from research agreements to large-scale policy harmonization, such as the Bologna Process. While these activities facilitate the movement of students and faculty, cited as valuable constituents to internationalization and to fostering global citizenship (AUCC, 2007), recent scholarship on social justice and post-colonialism highlight the unevenness of these partnerships. Andreotti's (2011) analysis of global citizenship education and the institutional partnerships suggests that when Southern partners are positioned as a deficient "Other" that is dependent on the help or aid of the modernized and benevolent Northern partner, the colonial constructions and implications of global citizenship are pervasive.

Examining power, discourse and knowledge in relation to partnerships, Odora Hoppers (2001) argues that neoliberal regimes in post-secondary institutions have innovatively co-opted knowledges of the marginalized and detrimentally shaped educational practices in Africa. Tracing the development of theories and practices, Odora Hoppers illustrates how ideologies embedded in development have drawn on similar discourses to foster partnerships between the "poor and uneducated" South and the "affluent, all-knowing" North. She states, "partnership and poverty relief, poverty eradication or alleviation, whichever jargon one chooses to paint onto a flag, are mere frills on the edge of a skirt that hangs around a structurally violent paradigm of development" (Ibid, p. 26). Internationalization activities in this context have fostered an education for "human resources" (Ibid, p. 28) instead of human *beings*.

Study abroad and international learning

The preceding constellation of policy, scholarship and criticism helps to elucidate the location of post-secondary study abroad practices and their role in shaping, producing and legitimizing global citizenship education in HEIs. The development of global citizens through international learning has become a priority of higher education (Lewin, 2009). This priority is reflected in numerous studies examining the content, growth and impacts of study abroad programs on developing global citizenship. Stearns (2009) states that important knowledge skills and attitudes attributed to global citizenship, such as cultural awareness, adaptability and flexibility are qualities "essential for the contemporary global economy" and "fundamental to competitiveness in the global marketplace and to national security alike" (p. 68). This rationale is reflected in the increase of study abroad programs in United States from 65% of campuses in 2000 to 91% in 2006 (Stearns, 2009, p. 65). The trend of global citizenship's convergence with study abroad is also evidenced by a recently edited collection entitled *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: Higher education and the quest for Global Citizenship,* (Lewin, 2009) which comprises 30 publications that look at the relationship between global citizenship and study abroad programs. As a

burgeoning yet murky area of research and scholarship, the Handbook's editor, Ross Lewin (2009), states that it is important to clarify what is meant by the use of global citizenship discourse and determine the philosophical, pedagogical and practical issues associated with 'creating' global citizens via study abroad programs.

Often cited in study abroad literature is the importance of experiential learning, such as community service learning and cross-cultural education experiences, to develop an understanding and engagement with global citizenship. Part of this is a drive to increase the flow and competitive edge of students as suggested by Stearns (2009), but also to make learning come alive. As Davies (2006) suggests, "if pupils are to be educated in and for global citizenship… they should experience democracy and human rights in their daily lives at school - and not just be told about it" (p. 16). Wilson's (2010) research looking at the work of international NGOs in promoting global citizenship supports this use of experiential education as it makes distant and unfamiliar issues "real." Moreover, a robust area of research has focused on the productive and marketable qualities that are acquired by students and professors while working, studying or volunteering abroad. Several studies such as Nam (2011), Deardorff (2006), Gacel-Avila (2005), and Williams (2005) examined how study abroad can provide post-secondary students with "intercultural skills" and knowledge that develops global citizenship and bestows a capacity to respond to contemporary economic demands and challenges. Research in this area has utilized intercultural communication theories (Nam, 2011; Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) and models, such as Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Nam, 2011), and Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (Williams, 2005) to determine how and to what extent study abroad programs impact students' intercultural competency and skills.

Recognizing the lack of mutuality in these exchanges in terms of people and knowledge, a call to problematize the notion that international programs have the right to enter and intervene (predominantly on the Northerner's terms) in

Southern contexts has begun. In assessing Canadian youth volunteer abroad programs through a post-colonial lens, Pluim & Jorgenson (2012) state "this one-way conception and direction is a continuation of the center penetrating and dominating the periphery, reinstating the imperial macro power relations" (p. 30). The issues of equity put forth by these authors suggest a more critical examination of the implications of global citizenship education vis-à-vis study abroad and international learning.

Cross-border education in forms of study and volunteering abroad represents the largest volume of the worldwide education market (Sackmann, 2007). Among OECD countries, the most significant demand of students is for short-term study abroad programs (Sackmann, 2007). The Institute of International Education, which conducts an annual census of American students studying abroad, states 270,604 American students studied abroad for academic credit in 2009/10, an increase of 3.9% over the previous year. This census, known as the *Open Doors Study*, also notes that US student participation in study abroad has more than tripled over the past two decades. Although Canada does not currently have a comparable annual census of students studying abroad, a 2007 report by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) estimated 17,850 full-time students enrolled in Canadian universities participated in a form of study abroad for credit in 2006, which represents 2.2 percent of the total full-time university student enrolment in Canada (AUCC, 2007, p. 4). According to a *Globe and Mail* article on January 31, 2012 entitled, "University leaders want more Canadians to study abroad," it was noted by several university administrators that "more homegrown students need to study outside their own backyard," in particular, "to develop strong worldwide connections and an instinct to innovate" (Bradshaw, 2012). Dalhousie University president Tom Traves stated, "to be a global player, you have to have global understanding, and you can't do that sitting in your basement looking at a computer screen" (Bradshaw, 2012). Through such statements, the global citizen emerges, equipped with the resources to go abroad and enhance his or her competitive advantage.

Global citizenship education

This section looks at how key scholars are conceptualizing and examining global citizenship and GCE. Close attention is paid to philosophical and various other conceptual frameworks authors utilize to understand and articulate the existence of GCE programs, especially those that send students abroad to Third world contexts. What is evident from the outset of this review is that there is no commonly held idea of global citizenship or the educational processes that endeavor to develop it. It has already been suggested that GCE is becoming a neutralized concept or container to connote a variety of discourses and practices. Therefore, what a person means when he or she speaks of global citizenship or GCE has become an important question when trying to discern the intentions and implications of scholarship and programming in this field.

Much work has been conducted to map out the various discourses of global citizenship and differentiate various conceptualizations and practices (Shultz, 2007; 2011; Jefferess, 2008; Andreotti; 2006). This literature speaks to the controversy of how to define something that has become both an empty signifier and an exploding container of discourse, practice and policy. Lewin (2009) describes this condition well:

> Currently the concept of global citizenship is heard throughout the administrative and faculty halls of college and universities… appear[ing] in mission statements; task forces have been created on how to implement it. And yet, everyone seems to be in such a rush to create global citizens out of their students that we seem to have forgotten even to determine what we are even trying to create. Perhaps we avoid definitions not because of our rush to action, but out of fear of what we may find. (p. xviii)

In addition to the contestation around a definition is the ambivalence toward the implications of the programming carried out in its name. In the literature and scope of programming, global citizenship is located in a debate between the colonizing vs. emancipating conditions of citizenship and its relationship to the state. Some deny the plausibility of global citizenship because of the lack of state apparatuses that can ensure rights and responsibilities beyond borders. Others

assert global citizenship undermines a nation's fight for independence and sovereignty. The following sections deals with some of these debates as they pertain to conceptualizing global citizenship (education) in higher education.

Global citizenship/cosmopolitanism

The literature on cosmopolitanism (see: Appiah, 2006, 2008; Cohen, 1996; Dower, 2000; Linklater 1999; Mignolo 2006, 2011; Parekh, 2003; Schattle, 2009; Van den Anker, 2010) examines an ancient concept with new and pressing possibilities pertaining to allegiance and responsibility beyond borders. The word cosmopolitanism, from the Greek *kosmopolitês,* evokes an allegiance to the cosmos that disrupts commonly held notions of allegiance to the city or state. Though many cultures around the world have held similar conceptions of being that elicit allegiance to a common humanity, the Stoic philosophers, particularly Diogenes from Sinop in 4th Century BCE, are often attributed as the originators of cosmopolitanism. It is said "when he [Diogenes] was asked where he came from, he replied, 'I am a citizen of the world [*kosmopolitês*]'" (Diogenes Laertius VI 63, from *Stanford Encyclopedia*). Various philosophers have taken up the idea of cosmopolitanism, from Hierocles' concentric circles of allegiance in the second century, to Kant's ideas espoused in *Perpetual Peace,* written in the late 18th C. Despite the etymology and popular citations from a Western dominated genealogy, it is important to note that cosmopolitanism or world citizenship is not a Western concept and writers such as Benhabib (2008), Mendieta (2008) and Mignolo (2000; 2006) have critically challenged these postulations and their effects, which I outline in the next section. This section will instead focus on some of the key literature and modernist historical constructions that have contributed to the gravity of cosmopolitan discourse and how this has converged with and diverged from global citizenship.

The vein of moral and socio-political philosophy has many normative capillaries. One of these lines is the claim that humans belong to one species and this global community ought to be cultivated for our survival. How to conceptualize and materialize these global communities has sparked debate and

disciplinary divides that project different pathways (for example, political, philosophical, ecological, economic) to think through universal projections. Similar to debates in global citizenship literature, there is an ongoing tension about how to balance universality with the particularities of cultures. For instance, is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is often upheld as the basis for cosmopolitan conceptions and conversations, inclusive and reflective of all ways of knowing and being in the world? As Butler (2004) critically questions, "at what cost do I establish the familiar as the criterion for valuing others?" (p. 38), hegemony and ethnocentrism need to be interrogated in light of different interests, cultural norms and ethical guidelines in constructing global and universally inclusive and applicable conventions.

In response to an increased population and globalization processes that have made humans become physically closer than ever before, Parekh (2003) notes, "one's actions directly or indirectly affect others' interests, and as moral beings we cannot be indifferent to their consequences" (p. 10). Discourses pertaining to responsibility and hospitality, which are firmly entrenched in cosmopolitan literature, have intersected with much of the initial scholarship on global citizenship (see: Dower, 2000, Held, 1999; Young, 2007). Kant, for instance, states that hospitality is not a question of philanthropy, but a cosmopolitan right; and it is not enough to frame the amicable treatment of strangers as a sign of kindness. According to Kant, all rational beings are members in a single moral community, but as his other racialized writings indicate, he was not talking about all of humanity.

The Enlightenment continues on in our ontological and epistemological frameworks, to have deleterious effects on cosmopolitan discourse. In the so-called age of reason and rationality, everything in nature, from flora to humans, had a "naturally" assigned position and status in a hierarchy (Eze, 1997). Compounding this need to classify nature was the explosion of exploration and colonization during the 16-19th centuries. Such voyages to new lands and encounters with new people led Europeans to employ a system of classification

that helped them to uphold their perceived superiority and enlightenment. Analyzing Kant's work in *Anthropology* and *Physical Geography* in which he draws upon explorers' accounts about people around the world and classifies them in hierarchies, Eze (2001) argues that Kant transcendentally grounded racism. In a compilation called *Physical Geography*, for instance, Kant stated "Humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the whites. The yellow Indians have a meagre talent. The Negroes are far below them and at the lowest point are the American peoples" (AA, IX, p. 16. Cited in Bernasconi, 2002, p. 147). The hierarchy of being(s) presents many contradictions in conceptualizing a common humanity or human race, which have continued on in our logic, constructions and practices of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. Thus, questions pertaining to who is being evoked in a common humanity and under what conditions and intentions are important to ascertain in deconstructing these discourses and utilizing enlightenment philosophy.

Kant's writings, albeit discriminatory, translated the philosophical ideals of cosmopolitanism into speculations about the political configurations of global citizenship. Concerns are raised throughout cosmopolitan and global citizenship literature about what a governance structure would look like if there was no longer national citizenship; for instance, what would happen to borders and how would rights and responsibilities be protected? Kant suggested a world government risked being a "soulless despotism" (Kant, 2005, p. 27) if the borders were eliminated. As an alternative to a world government, he envisaged a world federation of states, which would allow both a local allegiance and an ethical concern for humanity beyond national borders.

Van den Anker (2010) draws our attention to the limitations of modernist conceptions of citizenship that posit it as intrinsic to borders and state sovereignty by asking how can transnationalism contributes to more people developing global citizenships based on rights, not just on borders:

> A strong conception of global citizenship requires a combination of concerns for 'others' within and across borders, whether it is based on cosmopolitan egalitarianism requiring justice on state and interstate level

> or an embedded cosmopolitanism which would lead to more frequent charitable interventions by individuals and organizations. An ethic of hospitality would contribute to a strengthening of accessibility of rights. (Van den Anker, 2010, p. 90)

The current discursive regime of citizenship that is constructed and monitored through immigration policies, passports, voting rights and taxation, continues to discriminate based on country of birth. These inherent inequities need to be reassessed in light of an increasingly mobile and displaced international citizenry.

The ethical dimension of hospitality and responsibility to other human beings around the world comprises another prominent strand of cosmopolitan global citizenship discourse. The writings of French philosophers Emanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida are instrumental in examining some of these ethical questions pertaining to our obligations to and relationships with Others that neither essentializes nor orders differences. According to Levinas, when people are brought into contact or the face of the Other, our sense of responsibility and obligation to that person is called forth. As people are moving across borders at unprecedented rates, relating to and caring for others beyond difference is of utmost importance. Derrida's (1993) contribution to cosmopolitan discourse is his claim that ethics is hospitality. In the *Politics of Friendship,* Derrida demonstrates that the disposition to welcome others unconditionally into one's home is necessary to cultivate cosmopolitanism and global citizenship: "hospitality should be neither assimilation, acculturation, nor simply the occupation of my space by the Other. That's why it has to be negotiated at every instant" (Derrida, 1997). Though this kind of hospitality can be "scary" (Ibid), it is necessary for realizing a practice of cosmopolitanism that does not reinscribe the colonial patterns of domination.

Translating these philosophical concepts into political and material practices, Held (1999) introduces an "all-affected" principle to cast citizenship in relation to cosmopolitan ideals. The responsibility for others beyond borders implicates overlapping policies and possibilities of citizenship. In a system of cosmopolitan governance, Held asserts people would "come to enjoy multiple

citizenships—political membership in the diverse political communities which significantly affect them. They would be citizens of their immediate political communities, and of the wider regional and global networks which impacted upon their lives" (p. 107). Citizenship recast in terms of issues and communities of concern is also taken up by Dower (2003) who asserts that global citizenship is "premised on the belief that agents have global responsibilities to help make a better world and that they are part of large-scale networks of concern" (p. vii). Although this has been practiced informally for millennia, the formal institutionalization of this ideal into government policy remains unfulfilled. This is no more apparent when Visas are continually denied for those from the Third World, making accessibility to the global networks a reservation system for the elite. An absent presence in cosmopolitan literature is the ways in which social relations of privilege and power influence notions of responsibility and hospitality. To more deeply understand the discourse of responsibility, Young (2007) dissects people's reasoning about their responsibilities and actions towards others. Questions of "power, privilege, interest, and collective ability" (p. 183), she argues, are important to guide thinking about one's positionality within structural processes and how to act responsibly. Introducing a social connection model of responsibility in which "obligations of justice arise between persons by virtue of the social processes that connect them," (p. 159) she states that there are implicit interconnections of humanity that exist beyond borders and education ought to be in the service of elucidating and fostering these interconnections.

The writings of Appiah (2008), Nussbaum (1996), Held (1999; 2005) and Linklater (1999) have been important in translating tenants of cosmopolitanism into the context of education. Nussbaum (1996) suggests global citizenship ought to be the focus of civic education whereby students are educated to be self-reflexive about global issues and the role and responsibility individuals have to address these issues: "If we really do believe that all human beings are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, we are morally required to think about what the conception requires us to do with and for the rest of the world" (p. 14). Young similarly advocates that it is the responsibility of educators

to surface these ideas and get students to critically engage them to understand how agency guides them to act or not act in certain ways.

Despite the convergence and overlap of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism discourse, they are not static conceptions. When put into educational practices, research (see: Jeffress, 2008; Harvey, 2009; Andreotti, 2011) shows that they fall on a wide spectrum, ranging from colonial to social justice reverberations. Jefferess (2008), critically drawing from a global citizenship education project at the University of British Columbia, illustrates how many of these educational practices are a form of imperialism which castigate the non-West as a deficient Other and an object and recipient of the global citizen's benevolence. He states "the form of imperialism has changed: race discourse and the language of inferiority and dependence have been replaced by that of culture talk, nation-building, and global citizenship" whereby "the global citizen is somehow naturally endowed with the ability and inclination to 'help' the Other" (Jefferess, 2008, p. 28). Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship along these veins continue to support the power of the hegemon wherein access to these elitist subjectivities is determined by policies crafted and imposed by the economically powerful.

On the other side of the spectrum, some literature conveys cosmopolitanism and global citizenship educational practices as having the potential to re-imagine global social justice. As Appiah (2006) suggests, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship both provide an ethical framework to understand human interconnections that values diversity. However, as Dower (2008) has critically questioned, "is everyone a global citizen, or only some of us?" universal constructs have the propensity to become hegemonic and produce or subjectivate people as insiders and outsiders. Cosmopolitan discourse, Jefferess (2008) argues, tends to normalize the conditions of power and "privilege," which enable some to be in the position to help or "make a difference" (p. 28) and become global citizens, while excluding others. This discourse plays a prominent role in the formation and function of global citizenship programs that send

students overseas as students' conception of global citizenship becomes intrinsically tied with 'going abroad,' made possible by their privilege to travel (Jorgenson, 2009). These critiques pose crucial questions to thinking through the limitations of cosmopolitan discourse and the kinds of implications of global citizenship educational practices that get carried out in its name.

Finally, Mignolo (2000) conceptualizes cosmopolitanism as a "set of projects toward planetary conviviality" (p. 721) that have been undertaken around the world. In *The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism*, Mignolo (2000) crucially reminds us that colonialism was and continues to be the 'hidden face' of cosmopolitanism. Global designs that have led to international networks such as the Christian civilizing missions, which condition cosmopolitan possibilities and configurations to benefit particular groups over others. Though not abandoning the need for conversations beyond borders as Appiah (2006) endorses, he calls for a critical cosmopolitanism to resist colonial undercurrents of transnationalism where power relations continue to be defined and maintained by the hegemonic West. "At this point in history," Mignolo states, "a critical and dialogic cosmopolitanism leading to diversity as a universal project can only be devised and enacted from the colonial difference" (p. 742). His argument asserts that we need to get beyond "cultural differences" and "cultural relativism" in cosmopolitan debates and designs to think more critically about the coloniality of power and the colonial differences that have been produced and maintained by these designs. Attending to these constructions that maintain and are maintained by global capitalism, which is still largely controlled by former colonial and imperial powers, the inequities that prohibit cosmopolitan ideals can be elucidated and renegotiated to conceive of a global citizenship in which "everyone participates instead of being participated" (Mignolo, 2000, p. 744).

Global vs local perspectives of (global) citizenship

The legacies of colonial discourse and its accomplice hegemony call into question the "global" nature of citizenship. In reviewing current research and

scholarship pertaining to global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, a problematic trend arises; the concentration of Western authors, voices, theories and epistemologies in articulating the *who, what* and *how* of global citizenship and GCE. Scholars from traditionally defined margins of the Third World, such as Walter Mignolo (2000; 2006), Eduardo Mendieta (2008), Kwame Appiah (2006) and Seyla Benhabib (2008), have responded to this trend in cosmopolitanism and global citizenship and similarly call for a critical, dialogic, subaltern and decolonial cosmopolitanism that engages multiple voices, epistemologies and experiences. As Mendieta (2009) posits, "the task of critical cosmopolitanism, then, is to rescue, retrieve, and make audible and visible the voices of those local histories that have been rendered subaltern and silent by the imperial ethos that rolls over with military might those it deems as resistance" (p. 251).

Embedded in these decolonial critiques is an assumption that hegemonic discourses, such as the nation state, citizenship, globalization, human rights and neoliberalism (Dryzek, 2009) have become so extensive that they have become imposed on people as the natural order of things. It has been suggested that GCE has the potential to contribute to the colonial universalization of beliefs and values upon citizens of the world (Jefferess, 2008) if more nuanced understandings and practices of citizenship are not engaged. While there are ample sources of citizenship literature from all locations around the world, they are rarely reflected in the literature and research on global citizenship in higher education.

Enslin & Horsthemke (2004) explore this issue of universalist vs. multi-centric/local/regional foundations for citizenship education by asking; "Can *ubuntu* provide a model for citizenship education in African democracies?" Ubuntu, as will be discussed in the next section, is an indigenous African philosophy that connotes an ontological recognition that "I am, because we are." Ubuntu has been popularized outside of its African locations as an alternative conception of global citizenship and global ethics. Enslin & Horsthemke argue that that citizenship and related educational practices must involve sensitivity to local contexts to have any practical value or application. The authors suggest that

Ubuntu, as in other indigenous philosophies which inform citizenship ideals and practices, must not be lifted and globally applied, but rather "stand alongside other approaches and be judged on the value it can add to better human relations in our complex society" (Ramphele, 1995, p. 15, cited in Enslin & Horsthemeke, 2004, p. 548).

Further critiques of global citizenship have been focused at the lack of attention and inclusion of non-Western and/or non-dominant ontologies and epistemologies. As Odora Hoppers (2009) suggests, education needs to be inclusive of indigenous knowledge systems to shift the centrality of Western epistemologies. Abdi (2009) similarly problematizes theories and practices remnant of cosmopolitan "multiculuralization of knowledge marginalizations" that are essentially a Western co-optation of indigenous knowledge. Examining the historical marginalization of African belief systems and knowledge, Abdi argues that there is a need for "multicentric" approaches to knowledge that "theoretically and pragmatically rewrite the learning trajectories of both the old colonized space and the new, still alienating multicultural classrooms" (p. 269). Failure to do this, these scholars surmise, is a form of cognitive injustice, "inferioritization" (Abdi, 2008, p. 322) and delegitimization of non-Western ontology and epistemology.

Global ethics

Although global ethics is commonly enunciated in and associated with literature and research on global citizenship education, there is a strong tendency for writers to draw on and globalize Western European philosophical roots of cosmopolitan ideals instead of drawing on non-western or indigenous ethical principles. Global ethics suggests that there are norms and values that are universally applicable and shared amongst humanity worldwide. Writers (Appiah, 2006; Dower, 2003) suggest that ethical values embedded in global proclamations, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Declaration toward a Global Ethic (1993), provide a foundation for relating to others beyond borders, cultures, religion, etc. In a much-cited text on this topic,

Dower (2003) suggests that there can be a common core of beliefs and values that exist as a "lowest common denominator" (p. 31) between all cultures and sub-cultures that could constitute a foundation for global citizenship. In trying to map out what a global ethic of global citizenship would entail, Dower suggests two components: a set of *universal values* and norms that apply to all human beings; and a norm of *global responsibility,* in which people promote what is good anywhere in the world (p. 18, emphasis added). While the global ethic Dower proposes would be useful in an idealistic, power-free world, there are gaps in this theory. These gaps are examined by Abdi (2008; 2009) and Jefferess (2008), who both point out the contingencies of power, privilege and socio-historical locations that effect the ways in which one understands and operationalizes what is good and responsible.

In light of various global issues, such as climate change, that necessitate a collective and collaborative response, there is a growing need for conceptions and practices of global ethics and global citizenship that call upon humanity as a whole; yet are responsive to people's lived experiences. Notions of a global village underpinned by Western ideals of cosmopolitanism obfuscate the complexity and unevenness of citizenship. Odora Hoppers (2009) suggests that approaches to understanding knowledge and citizenship in various contexts must utilize the "theoretical and cultural underpinnings from which they have descended" (p. 168). When investigating global citizenship discourse in North America and Ghana, there is a responsibility to look at the philosophical, ethical and moral foundations embedded in each location.

African ontology and ethics

In approaching African ontology and epistemology, Abdi (2008) and Odora Hoppers (2009) suggest that the lens of Western European philosophy through which many scholars analyze African contexts, ought to be dismantled. There is an ongoing tension and debate within African philosophy about whether or not it exists outside of Western frameworks (Gyekye 1997; Wierdu, 1980). Encapsulating this debate, Bernasconi (1998) states: "Western philosophy traps

African philosophy in a double bind: either African philosophy is so similar to Western philosophy that it makes no distinctive contribution and effectively disappears; or it is so different that its credentials to be genuine philosophy will always be in doubt" (p. 188). Although Western epistemology is deeply embedded in the African context through colonial and neo-colonial processes, African philosophers, such as Marcien Towa (1997) propose a new definition of African philosophy: "the exercise by Africans of a specific type of intellectual activity applied to the African reality" (p. 195). Dei (2000) suggests African philosophy recognizes "the multiple and collective origins and collaborative dimensions of knowledge, and underscores that the interpretation or analysis of social reality is subject to different and sometimes oppositional perspectives" (p. 72). Thus, in order to comprehend African philosophy and wisdom, one cannot interpret it through a Western framework that objectifies knowledge, but rather comprehend it through an understanding that knowledge is socially constructed and multi-perspectival (Abdi, 2009).

Swanson (2007) asserts that African ways of knowing, especially prior to colonization, are conceptually circular, organic and collectivist, rather than linear, unitized, materialistic and individualistic as in mainstream Western epistemologies derived from the Enlightenment. As such, "traditional African thought seeks interpretation, expression, understanding, and moral and social harmony, rather than being reoccupied with verification, rationalism, prediction and control, as reified through Western Scientific norms" (Swanson, 2007, p. 56). A fundamental pillar to this ontology is communitarian ethics and communal wisdom. Mkhize (2008) suggests ethics in the African context is largely concerned with the phenomenological or lived experiences of the people in question. African people, he explains, are born into a society with a communitarian view of the self in which personhood is defined in relation to the community, creating an organic relationship between individuals that are responsive to one another's needs (Mkhize, 2008). Contrasting with the Cartesian notion of "I think, therefore I am," that remains central to Western traditions, Mbiti (1969) states that African philosophy is based on "I am because we are, and

since we are, therefore I am" (cited in Mkhize, 2008, p. 40). Unlike modernist notions of autonomy, rational and individualist thought, African understanding of the self and other is relational and interdependent.

These characteristics of African ontology and ethics are illustrated in the African philosophy and ethic of *ubuntu*. As a popular African concept, *ubuntu* expresses the moral and spiritual consciousness of what it means to be human and to be in relationship with "an-Other" (Swanson, 2007). The word itself comes from the Nguni prefix *ubu*, which means a process of a state of perpetual becoming and the suffix *ntu*, which refers to human beings (Mkhize, 2008). It denotes a perpetual state of becoming a human being, which "requires each person to maintain social justice, to be empathetic to others, to be respectful to him/herself, towards others and the cosmos at large, and to have a conscience" (Mkhize, 2008, p. 41). Additionally, *ubuntu* presupposes that "good knowledge" is not imposed from the self, but is rather negotiated and constructed communally. Such a socially constituted form of knowledge is visible in many indigenous cultures, where the ethical commitments to social equilibrium and balancing "the human group and the cosmos as a whole" (Mkhize, 2008, p. 43) are of central importance.

African philosophical concepts such as *ubuntu* comprise a humanizing framework for understanding self in relation to others that is important for conceptions of global citizenship. Despite authors indicating its potential as an organizing principle of global citizenship (Enslin & Horsthemeke, 2004; Swanson, 2008; Ukpokodu, 2008), the neo-colonial educational apparatus, which has propagated Western ontological and epistemological platforms and pedagogies, have continued to marginalize such philosophies and ethics in higher education. This is in part because the first universities set up in Sub-Saharan Africa were instituted by the colonial powers. The University of Ghana, which was founded in 1948, was bestowed a curriculum and administration based on that of the University of London. Despite some changes to "Africanize" the campus and gain autonomy, much of the curricular structuring of the university remains

analogous to its colonial parent. wa Thiong'o (2012) has elucidated common patterns across the continent where Departments of English literature remain in most universities, upholding the British classics whilst African literature exists as an optional course categorized as "World literature". He has also observed that departments, such as philosophy are still inundated with the 'classics' of white Euro male thinkers and writers (wa Thiong'o, 2012), serving to further normativize and colonize the minds of its subjects to think white is right and African literature and philosophy are merely folk or "traditional" knowledge.

Neoliberal globalization has extended these divides beyond the formal education system. As Mudimbe (1992) writes, civil society organizations, particularly the press and churches, have taken on a "colonizing enterprise diffusing new attitudes which were contradictory" and "broke the culturally unified and religiously integrated schema of most African traditions" (p. 4). The rise of Christianity has further contributed to the neo-colonial and re-westernization of being in Africa. Though Christianity had been introduced to the continent hundreds of years earlier, the influence of Evangelical missionaries from North America and its uptake by local powerful charismatic leaders in the last half century have entrenched Christian values, ethics and other ways of being in new and powerful ways. Current debates and court cases concerning the 'wrongness' and 'illegality' of homosexuality in places like Uganda and Ghana highlight this discursive event. In such nations where conservative Christianity has secured a foothold in the media, newspapers, radio and television programs continually showcase Charismatic leaders proselytizing about how homosexuality is sinful and should not be tolerated. Though homosexuality had existed in many African societies pre-colonization, there is a strong current trying to erase this history and revise with Christian views about morality and sexuality. Such incidents underline the precarious nature of neo-colonization in Sub-Saharan Africa and its effects on the ontological and epistemological constructions of its citizens.

Decolonial border thinking and cognitive justice

As the global power dynamics continue to fracture and shift, modernist Western theories can no longer subjugate the multiple knowledge systems that are emerging through the cracks. This is due in part by the multi-directional and dimensional processes of globalization, which have exceeded, extended, and challenged traditional boundaries of nation states and institutions (Brodie, 2004; Held, 2002), creating opportunities for people to interact across borders, cultures and traditions. Relationships being formed beyond traditional boundaries have propelled particular shifts in our thinking about knowledge. Lather (1991) alludes to some of these shifts in her introduction to *Getting Smart*: "I write in a time when the formerly unsaid/unheard are becoming increasingly visible and audible. Historical 'others' move to the foreground…centers and margins shift" making space for subjugated knowledges to arise and decenter the grand narratives made possible "by the silenced coming to voice" (Lather, 1991, p. xix).

In response to the "museumization" (Visvanathan, 2007) of indigenous knowledges, is a growing body of scholarship on decoloniality and cognitive justice. Decoloniality, Mignolo (2011) proposes is a "relentless project of getting us all out of the mirage of modernity and the trap of coloniality" that "connect through the logic that generates, reproduces, modifies, and maintains interconnected hierarches… in which the colonial and imperial differences have been anchored" (p. 17). This epistemic violence that has been wrought onto indigenous knowledges by Anglo-American and European philosophy have reinforced the idea that: "Native Americans have Wisdom and Anglo-American science; Africans have experience and Europeans philosophy; the Third World has culture and the First World social sciences, including anthropology who study the cultures of the Third World" (Mignolo, 2013). He suggests that the logic of coloniality upon which Western philosophy has been founded and celebrated, ought to be deconstructed in light of the differences and ordering of differences that has fractured us from a common humanity.

Cognitive justice, which asserts the diversity of knowledge and equality of knowers (Visvanathan, 2000), also provides a lens for looking at the inequities being created and reproduced through some discourses and practices of internationalization and global citizenship. Cognitive justice, as envisioned through the work of Shiv Visvanathan (2000; 2002; 2006; 2007), is based on the reciprocal valorization of knowledges. This does not suggest that all knowledges are equally valid, but rather that an inclusive and equitable platform needs to be constructed before deliberation between various knowledges, values and beliefs can occur. Cognitive justice is not a justification for abandoning critical inquiry, but a call for a democratic pluralist understanding (van der Velden, 2006). Yet, "giving 'voice' to knowers or being 'tolerant' of different knowledge is not enough," states Visvanathan (cited in van der Velden, 2004, p. 79). A reciprocal traffic of knowledge exchange ought to be fostered so that the knowers in these encounters are given equal opportunity to convey their knowledge in the ways and media such as one's own native tongue that are consistent with one's knowledge. Contributing to this argument, Odora Hoppers (2009b) advises that indigenous knowledges ought to be included in the dialogues of knowledge without having to fit in the structures and standards of Western knowledges. In practice, cognitive justice interrogates the hegemonic epistemologies and practices of neoliberal globalization and opens space for the "revalorization of diverse knowledge systems" (Chan-Tiberghien, 2004, p. 192).

Summary

As evidenced in the literature, global citizenship education in HEIs rests within a murky and contested landscape of political, economic and social factors. To prevent global citizenship and GCE from becoming empty containers, the literature suggests that a deeper investigation and deconstruction of the multiple and contested discourses needs to be conducted in conjunction with the theoretical and cultural underpinnings from which it has emerged. Odora Hoppers (2009a) suggests that during this deconstruction process, we must come to grips with the "constitutive and regulative ideas that repose in the deeper layer of shared

meanings and understandings that inform those concepts" (p. 178). Of particular concern are the neoliberal discourses of human capital, the knowledge economy and internationalizing of the university curriculum, teaching and students, which have become embedded and reproduced in education policies and practices. A genealogical approach to uncovering the dynamics of knowledge/power discourse that are entrenched in global citizenship literature and policy are suggested by various studies in this review as an important methodological course to understanding these elements.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction: A de-colonizing and destabilizing methodology

Inspired by the work of Sandoval (2000) and Lather (1991), I have aimed to develop a methodology that is decolonial in scope and intention. In *Methodology of the Oppressed*, Sandoval (2000) asserts "poststructuralist theory is decolonizing in nature, prepared during a decolonizing Western cultural breach, developed by those with a stake in increasing that breach – Eastern empires, third world exiles, lesbian and gay theorist, the alienated, the marginalized, the disfranchised" (p. 11). The post-structural framework that this study is situated within is part of the "Zeitgeist, the culture and ethics of its time," and as Lather (1991) suggests; "Its concerns tap into our preoccupation with the politics of knowing and being known which has been spurred by the multi-sited demise of positivism" (p. 89). This "anti-science," (Lather 1991) as qualitative constructivist research has been deemed, referring to its lack of objectivity and questionable validity, holds possibility in uncovering and destabilizing the constructions of 'truth' and power/knowledge relations that unconsciously hold our reality in tact. There are fine lines in this mode of inquiry; for instance the inherent power relations between researcher and research subjects and the subjectivity inherent to interpreting the social world. However, it is not my aim to give a totalizing, objective portrayal of the meaning of global citizenship and its practices, but to attend to "what it means to know and be known, how and why discourse works to legitimize and contest power, and the limitations of totalizing systems and fixed boundaries" (Lather, p. 88). To do so, I draw upon the methodology of Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) to trace (dis)connections between the visible and the hidden, the dominant and the marginalized ideas and institutions pertaining to the discourse of global citizenship.

This chapter introduces a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) and an extended case method utilized to examine the discursive construction of global citizenship of North American study abroad programs in Ghana. Drawing from Foucault's complementary archaeological and genealogical approaches to

detecting and deconstructing discursive formations and practices, I constructed a discursive analytic that establishes a methodological plan to problematize global citizenship discourse and render 'the familiar strange' (Foucault, 1980). In this chapter I discuss methods used to select participants, collect data and conduct analysis. I also address some of the limitations and delimitations of this research methodology and design. Lastly, I discuss how I conceptualized and ensured trustworthiness in this research process and explore the ethical considerations of conducting cross-cultural ethnographic research.

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis comprises a multi-faceted methodology that attends to the social and historical conditions within which specific representations are generated (Loomba, 2005). Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) is related to a broader methodological family of critical discourse analysis (CDA); an interdisciplinary approach to understanding and de-mystifying power relations and ideology in the 'text'. CDA draws on critical theory, to explore the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts while examining wider social, cultural, political and economic contexts (Wodak & Myer, 2009). In the realm of critical theory, CDA is particularly concerned with illuminating and subverting certain power relations that are embodied in text and constitute knowledges and subjectivities. The purpose of CDA, as Wodak & Myer (2009) assert, is "to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (p. 7). Within this interdisciplinary field however, there are differences in what domination and power relations look like and what the possibilities of liberation are. This is where my work, which brings in Foucault's theories of discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality as well as post-colonial renderings of how power, knowledge and subjectivities are constructed and manifested in the (post)colonial context, extends from the reservoir of CDA through particular theoretical streams and considerations.

Fairclough (1995) distinguishes between two general types of CDA; one

which pays close attention to language and linguistic features of text; and another, influenced strongly by Foucault, which focuses on the historical and social contexts of the text. Within CDA, there is tremendous variation in terms of how people understand and utilize the notions of discourse and text. My research takes up discourse in the vein of Foucault, which constitutes statements and "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). I seek to ascertain the deeper ideas, assumptions and rationalities behind global citizenship and study abroad. While language is important in my analysis of discourse, I am more interested in the intersection of language and the material world, where discourses get attached to particular forms of power and constitute particular forms of knowledge, truth and subjectivity. This form of CDA, based on Foucault's theory of discourse, addresses questions such as: what can/cannot be said in a certain time and place? What are the conditions of its emergence and descent? And, what functions do discourses have in constituting subjects and society? (Jager & Maier, 2009).

Foucauldian discourse analysis

Foucault equated his work to a box of tools for people to use as they see fit (Foucault, 1994, cited in Walters, 2012, p. 45). Although there is no template or formula for an FDA, there are a multitude of concepts, theories and methods that Foucault used in his analysis of discourse. FDA connotes that there are conditions that make it (im)possible for concepts, objects, ideologies and subjectivities to be formed and enunciated as particular statements and practices in certain contexts. As Hall (2001) states, "discourse 'rules in' certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write, or conduct oneself" and '"rules out' limits and restricts other ways of talking, or conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it" (Hall, 2001, p. 72). Accordingly, FDA looks at certain statements and practices that produce objects of our knowledge. As Foucault suggests, critique is "pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconscious modes of thought the practices we accept rest" (Foucault, 1988, cited in Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p.

1). By exposing the ways in which power/knowledge relations are inscribed within discursive practices, this form of analysis problematizes assumptions we often have about our knowledge, truths and actions in the social world.

The methodology of FDA has emerged through the application of Foucault's theories of discourse to a variety of topics and disciplines (see: Garrity, 2010; Graham, 2005; Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Mosimakoko, 2010; Olssen, 2004; Rose, 1999; Spencer, 2006). Throughout his writings, Foucault drew predominantly on two modes of analysis. First was the archaeological investigation, which was directed towards an analysis of the unconscious rules of formation that regulate the emergence of discourses. Second was a genealogical analysis, adapted from Nietzsche, which revealed "the emergence of the human sciences, their conditions of existence, to be inextricably associated with particular technologies of power embodied in social practices" (Smart, 1984, p. 39). Although they are not mutually exclusive as both look at discursive formations, the archaeological approach is more synchronic (studying a cross-section of discourses at a particular moment in time) as compared to the diachronic (studying them over time) analysis of genealogy. Scholars have identified Foucault's break from archaeology towards genealogy in the late 1960s as a correlation with a philosophical turn from structuralism to post-structuralism. Although his work becomes more genealogical, he still drew on archaeological analysis of discourse in order to do so (Fendler, 2010).

Since global citizenship is a relatively new discourse, the archaeological approach is important to this research because it describes the historical presuppositions of a episteme of system of thought (Olssen, 2004) and the formation of discourse in a particular period and location. In other words, it attempts to describe what Foucault calls an archive, a set of rules that construct a discourse in that time and place. In particular, it denotes what is sayable/not sayable, valid/invalid, the relations that exist between past and present statements as well as who gets access to particular kinds of discourse (Smart, 1984). The primary unit of analysis is the statement, "words and things intersect and become

invested with particular relations of power" (Graham, 2005, p. 7). In *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1972) claims that the statement is never an isolated entity, but is embedded in a larger network of related statements: "there is no statement that does not presuppose others; there is no statement that is not surrounded by a field of coexistences, effects of series and succession, a distribution of functions" (p. 99). Thus, how and by whom the statement is enunciated and brought into a material form for analysis is important as it gives insight into relations of power whereby some statements are attached to particular ways of seeing the world and how each serves to legitimize certain practices.

This methodological approach seeks to understand what makes certain statements and educational practices related to global citizenship possible and what the conditions for their emergence are. In analyzing the data, I asked: how is it that one particular statement was enunciated rather than another? Who said it, and with what kind of authority? What other discourses are informing and being used to discuss global citizenship? To answer these questions, I examined the concepts, theories, and activities being used to talk about global citizenship and the study abroad experiences of North American students in Ghana. Rather than focusing on individual institutions or individuals, this project investigates conditions that enabled study abroad to emerge. In other words, I was not interested in research participants as autonomous subjects, but rather how global citizenship had become a discourse through which educational programs operate and subjectify some students as global citizens and others as the object of this subjectivity.

In the late 1960s, Foucault's work became more concerned with power and the historical constitution of knowledge. Moving away from the particularities of statements in the archaeological approach, genealogy is concerned with how a discourse and the conditions of its emergence have developed though time and how they become associated with particular technologies of power embodied in social practices. Drawing on the work of Nietzsche, Foucault developed a genealogical approach that "deals with events in terms of their most unique

characteristics, their most acute manifestations" (Foucault, 1984, p. 88), which aims to disrupt the grand narrative of an historical event. Often called 'the history of the present', genealogy situates the present as an historical moment that has emerged through particular events; not in a teleological sense, but rather through the descent and emergence of discourses conditioned by power/knowledge relations. Thus, the purpose of the genealogical approach is "to reveal beneath the constructed unity of things not a point of origin but dispersion, disparity, and difference, and the play of dominations" (Smart, 1984, p. 52). In *Two Lectures* Foucault (1977) describes the intent of the genealogical approach:

> What it really does is to entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects…They are precisely anti-sciences" (Foucault, 1977, p. 83).

Tracing the ways in which practices get attached to certain discourses and condition the emergence of knowledge and related subjectivities is integral to this analysis.

Although I do not conduct a thorough genealogy of global citizenship, this study is a snapshot of one event that is part of a larger genealogical project I intend to continue in subsequent research. I therefore drew on genealogical tools and sensibilities to look for what may or may not be spoken of in discourse: what statements disappear, get re-used, and by what and whom are they (in)validated in a particular time and location. The data I collected was analyzed to trace relationships among different elements of economic and institutional policy and the practices and 'experiences' conducted in the name of global citizenship. Close attention was also paid to power-knowledge relations to illuminate the inequities of global citizenship and reimagine them through a framework of cognitive justice.

Extended case method and critical ethnography

Since it is not my intent to examine or speak generally of a universal discursive construction of global citizenship, I utilized an extended case method to look at a particular practice (study abroad) in a particular policy context (higher education) and location (the University of Ghana) in order to understand how global citizenship is constructed at these intersections. The extended case method, as described by Burawoy (1998), applies a "reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the micro to the macro and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on preexisting theory" (p. 5). The policies, locations and participants I chose for my research are not an attempt to generalize my findings in order to represent all policies, institutional partnerships and experiences concerning study abroad and global citizenship. My intention was to use a particular case to illuminate a broader social situation in the literature. Furthermore, this research is not an attempt to confirm theoretical postulations; it instead seeks to extend and elaborate on existing theory. The ruptures and disjunctures emerging from the policies, theories and practices are as important as the continuities.

The extended case method utilizes ethnographic methods such as participant observation and interviews to "locate everyday life in its extralocal and historical context" (p. 4). As such, I spent three months at the University of Ghana conducing participant observation and interviews in an attempt to capture and make sense of the discursive construction of global citizenship vis-à-vis North American students studying abroad in Ghana. It proved to be an iterative and reflexive process between theory, participant actions and words, the policy that guide material practices as well as my own personal interpretations and insights. The multiple data sources and approaches to collecting the data helped make space for multiple perspectives to better understand the complexity of conditions that co-construct ideas and practices related to global citizenship. In postcolonial contexts, the complexity of conditions and power relations that construct and order differences provide a fertile ground for looking at how power operates in the

intersections and manifestations of local, national and global discourses pertaining to citizenship. The extended case method, Burawoy (1998) contends, is "able to dig beneath the political binaries of colonizer and colonized, white and black, metropolis and periphery, capital and labor to discover multiple processes, interests and identities" (p. 6).

While these power relations are important in my analysis, it is also pertinent to discuss power relations and their implications immanent in my positionality as a young white Canadian female researcher in Ghana. These subject positions posed challenges in trying to detangle and resist entrapment in the complexity of power relations. For instance, my age (28 at the time of fieldwork) and appearance (fair, blonde) allowed for easy access into the study abroad landscape where I was perceived as an undergraduate student participating in a study abroad program. Although I often expressed my age and reason for being at the University of Ghana, most people assumed I was an undergraduate student, which on one hand gave me access to unfettered conversations between North American students about their perceptions of and experiences in Ghana, and on the other hand, not taken seriously by Ghanaian professors and administrators. Burawoy describes these as "power effects," which are inherent to ethnographic fieldwork. To navigate and make sense of these effects, I employed reflexive strategies offered by Lather (1991) and Burawoy (1998). This is further discussed in the section *Trustworthiness revisited*.

My research questions and theoretical framework imply a specific attention to the research field and my participants. Ethnographic methods were used to gain access to how the material practices of global citizenship and study abroad operate in the field and collect relevant data through interviews and participant observation and its effects. As Britzman (2000) suggests, this kind of ethnographic approach does not entail a positivistic attempt to capture reality, but rather, "constructing particular versions of truth, questioning how regimes of truth become neutralized as knowledge, and thus pushing the sensibilities of readers in new directions" (p. 38). Ethnography in this post-structural mode maintains the

position that truth is partial and an effect of power/knowledge and thus, the researcher's authority is not generalizable (Spencer, 2006). Being cognizant of the colonial antecedents of ethnographic research, my intention was not to conduct an intensive anthropological ethnography that necessitated a long period of time to integrate and become an "insider" and "know" a certain community; rather, I drew on such ethnographic strategies as participant observation, interviews and field notes to carry out my data collection and gain deeper contextual understanding of the research locale. It was the intention of "tracing the curve of a social discourse," espoused by Clifford Geertz (1973), that ethnography was most applicable to this research. Ethnography vis-à-vis an extended case method helped to render the discursive production of global citizenship more contextually and complexly, generating data to conduct a more comprehensive genealogy of this snapshot. Similar to Spencer's (2006) doctoral work, I "planned and performed like an ethnographer, but I analyzed and wrote like a genealogist" (p. 45).

Design and procedures

I used a multi-pronged approach to trace and collect data pertaining to the discourse of global citizenship through participant observation, interviews and document analysis. Using a multi-method research design allowed me to investigate the discursive construction of global citizenship and its effects from different approaches through one site of study abroad. Ghana was chosen due to its prominence as a study abroad destination in the 'Third world'. The University of Alberta currently has four programs that send students to the University of Ghana, exemplifying Ghana as a popular study abroad location. Also, having a particular interest in Sub-Saharan Africa, this site was appealing for investigating discourse and power/knowledge dynamics as they pertain to the post-colonial context and the influx of North American bodies. The encounters of the North American and Ghanaian students in the post-colonial landscape provided an interesting context to examine what global citizenship means in light of power/knowledge relations and material practices of living and studying together for a semester at the University of Ghana.

Access to the University was gained through a Ghanaian professor I had met in 2010. I elicited his help in obtaining a Visa to stay in Ghana for three months. I applied and was admitted as a 'Visiting Occasional student', which allowed me access to accommodations at the International Student Hostel and the ability to audit courses at the University of Ghana (UG). Once my documents were received, I flew to Accra to begin my journey of fieldwork. I arrived on January 31st, and settled into a shared accommodation at the International Student Hostel (ISH) with a female Ghanaian student and registered for courses the following day. Since I wanted to expand my knowledge and understanding of Ghanaian politics and philosophy, I registered for four courses pertaining to these topics. For the first two months at the UG, I spent a lot of time in the classroom learning about the Ghanaian context as well as attending to discourses and discursive practices that were circulating within the classroom and between Ghanaian and North American classmates. I frequently wrote in my research journal during class time and used the opportunities before and after class to chat and build relationships with students. When I was not in class I usually spent time in ISH, which was designated primarily for international and some Ghanaian students. ISH falls under the jurisdiction of the International Programmes Office (IPO), which offers programming specifically for international students, such as resident assistance from IPO employees and roommate pairing of Ghanaian and international students. These two locations, the classroom and dormitory, were the principal sites of my participant observation and are also where I recruited people to be interviewed. Most of the interviewees knew me prior to my request to be interviewed, understanding that I was a visiting PhD student doing fieldwork on the study abroad experience and construction of global citizenship. Despite some 'power effects', which I discuss later on, I made sure that I was not too close to the people I chose to interview or too far removed.

Participant selection for individual interviews proved to be an elaborate and intensive process. At the outset of this research, I wanted to select one program or partnership to be the case study through which to conduct both the policy analysis and ethnographic study. Once I arrived in Ghana, it was evident

that there were so many programs and experiences that comprised a spectrum of insights into the discursive construction of global citizenship. I realized it would be difficult to capture this by looking at only one program. For instance, in my first few weeks, I was seeing very little interaction between Ghanaian and international students, despite their close proximity in ISH. I had an interesting conversation with an American student before one of my classes who was living a homestay and literally getting her world rocked. I decided then to expand my scope to capture a spectrum of experiences from North American students in addition to my proposed criteria of balanced representation from female and male, North American and Ghanaian, as well as student and administrative points of view. Thus, an elaborate selection criterion emerged, endeavouring to balance gender, differing perspectives (people who were more/less critically-minded and/or reflexive), nationalities (Canadian, American, Ghanaian) and positions (student/administrator) (see Table 1). Despite attempts to balance the numbers and various rationales to interview more or less of each category, I used the selection criteria as a *guide* to get a balanced group of interviewees, not as a template that had to be reproduced. Criteria based on the following characteristics were used to guide this sampling:

1) Respondents are able and willing to participate in the study.
2) Balanced representation from both North American (Canadian and American) and Ghanaian respondents
3) Balanced representation of both men and women respondents.
4) Respondents are able to discuss and articulate their ideas and thoughts about (global) citizenship education in English

Table 1: Participant Selection

Participant		Number
Canadian student Male	3	
Canadian student Female	1	
American student Male	2	
American student Female	2	
Total North American student		**8**
Ghanaian student Male	3	
Ghanaian student Female	3	
Total Ghanaian student		**6**
Ghanaian administrator		**2**
Canadian administrator		**2**
Ghanaian homestay host		**1**
Total:		**19**

In selecting participants for interviews, I used a purposive sampling technique, which allowed me to choose particular participants to help me understand the problem and research question (Creswell, 2009) and allow for maximizing variation (Wellington, 2000) within the sample. For the North American sample, I chose two students (one male, one female) from two different American programs. I also selected four Canadian participants (one female, three male) from two different programs. The imbalance here was due to the fact that there were no Canadian females participating in one of the selected programs. A total of four North American programs were selected to provide a diverse sample of programming. After two months of participant observation and informal interviews with many Ghanaian and international students, professors and community members, I was able to gauge the different points of view and levels

of engagement in the Ghanaian context. I used these insights to intuitively select participants who would represent this range of experiences in order to avoid a completely biased sample.

Each of the eighteen participants were given a Letter of Initial Contact (See Appendix A) and a Consent Form (See Appendix B) introducing the nature of the study and the conditions of their participation if they wished to partake. Prior to each semi-structured interview, I had a brief conversation with each of the respondents reminding them of their right to withdraw from the study at any time until the end of the year (the time by which the data from the interview would be collated); their choice to have it audio recorded; that they would receive the transcripts of the interview and be able to review and make changes to capture an authentic account of their beliefs; and the procedures to ensure their anonymity. Written and verbal consent were obtained from each of the participants and all the interviews were audio-recorded. Once the transcripts were completed, I emailed the transcripts to the participant to review and make additional comments or corrections. I received five transcripts back from participants with minor edits, which I then incorporated into the final draft of the transcript.

Methods: participant observation, interviews, document analysis

Participant observation situates the researcher as more than a passive observer by allowing for participation in the events being studied (Wellington, 2000). The level of my participation and observation varied throughout the study, ranging from being a participant (ie, an active student in the classroom and the dormitory) to a complete observer (situating myself on the margins of some events and journaling about the experience), with much variation in between. Throughout my time in Ghana I took detailed field notes in my research journal, which was an important text to base and contextualize my discourse analysis. The purpose of my field notes was to record verbal and non-verbal communications and capture a more nuanced perspective of the events. Field notes provided in ethnographic terms, a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) which is a detailed account of field experiences that the researcher uses to contextualize and make

sense of the complex patterns of cultural and social relationships (Holloway, 1997). This attention to and documentation of details not only helped to conduct a genealogy of discourse, but also achieve a kind of external validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1989) that helped to evaluate the extent to which the research findings could be transferable and informative to other contexts.

Qualitative interviews were integral to this research as they enable respondents to articulate their experiences through their own ways of understanding social phenomena (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000), giving tremendous insight into the kinds of discourses summoned to talk about and construct notions of global citizenship. One type of interview utilized, was the informal interview. Such interviews took place in the field and did not use a structured interview guide. I conducted several informal interviews to build rapport and gain insight into the context of the research setting (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). I recorded important information from these conversations in a research journal during the interview or shortly afterward. Informal interviews helped to gain understanding of a setting from the respondents' perspective, important discourses to attend to and develop a foundation for more structured interviews (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

A second type of qualitative interview employed was semi-structured interviews. Here, I used interview guides (See Appendix C) that consisted of predetermined questions and topics to be covered throughout the conversation. Each of the 19 semi-structured interviews conducted comprised a set of questions to ensure that all participants discussed similar topics, yet were open enough to allow flexibility in the questioning and explore emerging ideas that arose. According to Cohen & Crabtree (2006), semi-structured interviews often follow observation and informal interviewing in order to allow the researchers to develop a deeper understanding of the topic and meaningful semi-structured questions. Although I developed a set of sample questions in an interview guide, I modified some of my questions as my understanding deepened and more relevant questions emerged. Each of these interviews was tape recorded and transcribed

for analysis. During these interviews, I took notes to record recurring themes, notable discourses and other non-verbal communication accompanying the respondents' words.

The field notes and interview transcripts, in addition to policy documents, provided the 'texts' through which to analyze the discursive construction of global citizenship. Foucault (1972) asserts any single text "is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network... Its unity is variable and relative... [within] a complex field of discourse" (p. 23). My intention of conducting a policy analysis was to detect the formation of discourses that emerge in the creation and operation of programs that send North American students to Ghana. Since it is neither desirable nor feasible to examine all North American programs that send students to Ghana, I selected one institutional partnership, the University of Alberta and University of Ghana, to illuminate the policy context of study abroad and global citizenship. This in-depth examination of policy documents helped to set the stage for looking at practices through my ethnographic fieldwork, in which I observed a plethora of programs and practices. To collect the documents, I first conducted a public search using the Internet and library access to retrieve relevant documents. If they were not publically available, I asked identified persons to assist in gaining access. Over the period of three years (2010-2013), I collected documents pertaining to internationalization, institutional visions and partnerships and utilized FDA to attend to the discourses embedded in policy and examine them in relation to the power/knowledge dynamics they evoke.

Limitations and delimitations

All methods, theories and ways of knowing have their limitations. Decisions about which method, theory, concept and epistemology to utilize, increases the limitedness of capturing and understanding the social world. The first limitation pertains to the nature of case studies, which are contextual examples from which to understand a particular problem. The particularity of the problem in the specificity of contextual elements makes generalizability difficult.

However, I do not intend to generalize findings in order to speak for all study abroad programs or even all North American programs in Ghana. My findings ought to be interpreted in the context of the particular extended case of four North American programs at the University of Ghana over a period of one semester. I utilized ethnographic techniques such as thick description to illuminate my observations in relation to these contextual factors and to allow for some degree of transferability of the findings, but the extent to which they are transferable is not provable.

Another limitation of this research was my positionality. By the nature of my appearance, it was easy to be an insider to the North American study abroad experience. Living alongside approximately 300 North American and Ghanaian students for three months in a university dormitory, I was able to build rapport with the students I was observing, most of whom assumed I was another Canadian undergrad in a study abroad program. This insiderness gave me access to conversations, especially among North American students, about their perceptions of and experiences in Ghana. Although the interviewees were all aware of my research intentions, negotiating this insider/researcher role was confusing at times. For example, I reflected a lot on whether or not to participate socially with the other North American and Ghanaian undergraduate students as a peer or a researcher. It became increasingly difficult to take my researcher hat off during my field work and consequently I did not participate in the social scene for fear I would overstep some boundaries and reproduce the problematic activities I was trying to address, for example, going to American and European run bars, restaurants and resorts every weekend.

My positionality as an outsider came into play in my interviews with Ghanaians. Generally, the interviews with Ghanaian students were less candid than the interviews with North American students. They were more hesitant to talk about their perceptions of North American students than vice versa. Although they were fully aware of the confidentiality of their statements, I could not help but think that my positionality as a white Canadian researcher limited my ability

to get more detailed responses from my Ghanaian participants. My outsiderness also effected my ability to obtain interviews. I tried, for instance, to get an interview with a senior administrator in the International Programmes Office and I was continually re-directed to an assistant, who did not have much information on university partnerships. Unfortunately, as a result of not gaining perspectives from an administrative level, there is a gap in the data to some extent. As recourse, I interviewed several recent U of G graduates who worked at IPO to gain proximity to this perspective.

Delimitations refer to the characteristics of the study, such as research questions and theoretical perspectives that limit the scope and define the boundaries of inquiry (Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman, 1987). Theory serves a major delimitation, as it essentially constructs a particular lens through which to see and understand social phenomena. The post-structural and post-colonial frameworks that I have chosen to use in this study had a major bearing on my analysis and understanding of the discourse of global citizenship and its effects. For instance, they delimit me from looking more closely at gender relations though a feminist perspective or psychological attributes through a psychoanalytic framework. While it was especially tempting to utilize psychoanalytics to understand the complex relationship between North American women and Ghanaian men, for instance, I delimited my analysis of these encounters by attending to discourses and power relations indicated through my research questions, Foucauldian and post-colonial theoretical framework and methodology; all of which served to define the scope and boundaries of my inquiry.

The scope of this study was also defined by the limitations of time and location. Due to a host of factors, including but not limited to Visas, housing arrangements, and finances, I decided to spend a total of three months in Ghana. I decided this would be a sufficient amount of time to get a sense of contextual factors and observe relationships between North American and Ghanaian students. It is impossible to unpack the entirety of global citizenship discourse or know all of its effects. While a multitude of discourses and contextual elements

helped to inform my study, I delimited my analysis in order to investigate the discourses that circulate and construct global citizenship of four North American university study abroad programs that send students to the University of Ghana for the purpose of conducting a more feasible study.

Trustworthiness revisited

> *"Given that the world is neither without context nor without power, both [positivist and reflexive] sciences are flawed"* (Burawoy, 2008, p. 7).

The most substantive limitations of this research pertain to the nature of qualitative research as opposed to the reputed objectivity and trustworthiness of positivist research frameworks. My research builds on Lincoln and Guba's (1989) premise that there is not a single interpretation of truth, but rather multiple constructed realities. Their widely cited and utilized criteria for assessing the "trustworthiness" and rigor of qualitative research provides a foundation for thinking through and justifying the 'validity' of my findings. Lincoln and Guba assert that the validity of any study is based on the judgment of the reader through their experience, knowledge and wisdom. As Wellington (2000) states, "the value, or 'truth', of case study research is a function of the reader as much as the researcher" (p. 99). However, there ought to be accountability on the researcher to select and present the information as unbiased and fairly as possible. To demonstrate the trustworthiness of my research, I utilized Lincoln and Guba's notions of credibility and dependability in conjunction with Burawoy (1998) and Lather's (1991) frameworks for reflexive science.

Positivist paradigms, historically the gold standard for research in terms of replicability, objectivity and validity, assume that the external world can be separated from those who study it. Yet, we all have a host of presuppositions. Through my reflective writing exercises and conversations with peers about my experiences, I encountered many presumptions that I unknowingly had about Ghana, global citizenship and study abroad. These were informed by my education, theoretical framework, stories and testimonies from students about their previous experiences in Ghana, as well as my questions and intentions. I

recall, for instance, being amazed by the extent of individualism of students at the University of Ghana. Through years of learning about "Africa," I had a picture in my mind of people with a much more communitarian and collectivist orientation. Moreover, I was shocked by the popularity of Chrisitanity and frequently found myself wanting to seek out the collectivist and 'traditional' Ghana that I had been educated to know and expect. This being my first time to Ghana and Sub-Saharan African, the experience became more about my own learning than I had anticipated. While I still tried to make this study less auto-ethnographic by suspending my own journey to highlight the experiences around me, the existential and ethical issues of ethnography prevailed; as Burawoy (2009) conveys, we are "always simultaneously participant and observer, because inescapably we live in the world we study" (p. 9). My research questions and theory helped to ground me and attend to particular discourses and practices, however, my own learning and experiences played a role in what I was most compelled to observe.

In response to this perceived limitation, Lincoln and Guba (1989) assert "truth-value" or internal validity should be replaced by the notion of *credibility.* Testing for credibility aims to establish a "match between the constructed realities of respondents and those realities as represented by the evaluator" (p. 237). In order to establish credibility in this study, I conducted peer debriefing, by "engaging, with a disinterested peer, in extended and extensive discussions of one's findings, conclusions, tentative analysis" (p. 237). While in Ghana and even once I returned to Canada, I had many discussions and email exchanges with my peers and supervisors about some of my insights into the research and data. The nature of this testing was to discuss, ask questions and seek feedback to ensure I did not venture outside the scope of this study. These discussions helped me to stay on track by validating and invalidating some of the ideas that I worked through. Credibility was also established through member checks in which research interview transcripts or interpretation in the research reports were shared with the participants with the purpose of agreeing or disagreeing with how each was represented, as described by Lincoln and Guba (1989, p. 314).

Using a qualitative methodology, there are inevitably concerns about the confirmability of the data and my interpretations. Confirmability pertains to issues of fabrication, ensuring that the data and research findings are rooted in the research context and participants' experiences and not that of the researcher's imagination. In order to address the issues pertaining to the accuracy of data and my interpretations, I endeavored to be as reflexive as possible by attending to the context of knowledge construction and my own biases throughout the research process. One method that I used extensively to ensure reflexivity was writing regularly in my research journal. I recorded all major methodological decisions and the rationale for them. After each interview, I wrote personal reflections that were later used in my analysis to help contextualize the interview and (in)validate ideas when re-reading the transcripts months later. These entries helped map out a thought process and provide a critical self-account throughout this process.

Replicability is also a problematic gauge in qualitative research. My experience in Ghana is contingent on a number of contextual factors. Time and space is ever changing; thus, if one were to replicate my work, he or she would not encounter all the same people, conversations or events that contributed to my perspective. Also, given the uniqueness of individual researchers, our gender, physical appearance, beliefs and personalities, and how I engaged in the field elicited a particular kind of response that would be difficult to replicate. Even if I were to repeat this study, I would likely come up with different insights and results based on my dynamic being and worldviews. While these context effects may pose limitations and questions in a positivist paradigm, they are productive elements in post-positivist reflexive science. Burawoy (1998) contends that the aforementioned limitations of post-positivist paradigms are intrinsic to ethnographic research and rather than see these as limitations, we should honor them as productive elements that are emergent rather than fixed. Positivism can no longer account for the increasingly complex relations of power and knowledge that provide the contextual backdrop of social inquiry (Lather, 1991). The "context effects" and "effects of power" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 22) implicit in social reality suggest a re-orientation to the themes of trustworthiness of ethnographic

research. Ethnography, while valuable, presents a number of predicaments and limitations, such as insiderness/outsiderness, power relations and continually changing social political contexts that shape the interpretation and representation of issues. Burawoy explains the ethnographer can try and contain these handicaps by insulating oneself from the subject and limit participation in the world they study, or turn them in to an advantage by 'dwelling in' the theory and "thematiz[ing] our participation in the world we study" (p. 5) by employing a reflexive model of science. Similar to Lather's (1991) call for a reflexivity to circumvent the traps of reproducing the issues one is trying to address and repudiate, Burawoy suggests it is imperative as a scholar doing outsider ethnographic research to attend to the intersubjectivity of the researcher and the subject of study.

Foucault maintained that the sciences of man are inseparable from the power relations that make them possible (Deleuze, 2006). Thus, it was imperative through this theoretical framework to attend to power relations and cultivate a reflective practice so as to not (un)consciously reproduce the same power dynamics I was addressing. Although it is never certain if we are reproducing the issues and inequities of power we aim to subvert in our work, I endeavoured to be as reflexive in my fieldwork, interactions and writing as possible. Ethical dilemmas, such as the invitation to 'party', emerged several times, where I had to decide whether or not to participate in some of the dynamics that I was critiquing. Through journaling and peer debriefs, I was able to sort through these complicated issues and make decisions regarding the nature of my research and my positionality as the researcher. While this self-reflexivity was at times paralyzing, it was crucial for the project to do science "otherwise" (Lather, 1991, p. 101).

Ethical considerations

Much writing and reflection has been done in relation to the ethical implications of conducting research cross-culturally with marginalized populations (Lather, 1991; Smith, 1999). Issues of appropriation, exploitation,

reporting inaccurate findings are a few amongst a growing body of ethical concerns. In conducting cross-cultural research in Ghana, many of these are valid concerns given the legacy of appropriation and exploitation in research with historically marginalized groups. Principles of reciprocity in conjunction with cognitive justice are thus paramount in this research. While this was a normative ethic guiding my research, the insurance against harm, especially in regards to sharing sensitive information, was observed and operationalized through a number of ethical obligations to the respondents and to the University of Ghana. The ethical questions and implications of doing cross-cultural research are multitudinous, making my decision to conduct this research in Ghana a difficult one. Reflecting on my positionality as a white woman going to Africa to observe, interview and examine Ghanaian and North American students about study abroad and global citizenship, caused discomfort in relation to the colonial legacies and implications which have brazened this path. However, the gaps in the literature, such as the reluctance to examine international programs from the perspectives of the host communities, propelled me to carry out this research.

Finally, in accordance with University of Alberta requirements that all research involving human subjects conform to Tri-Council guidelines concerning research with human subjects, an ethics review was completed. Ethics reviews ensure that study participation is voluntary, and that participants' rights to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity are protected during and after the research study is completed. Observing these ethical guidelines, I sent potential participants information letters and obtained written informed consent from participants before interviewing them. The information letter and informed consent outlined the purpose of the study and the conditions of participation, including participants' anonymity, confidentiality, and privacy. Before commencing the interview, I provided ample opportunity for my respondents to ask questions and obtain more clarity on their role in the research.

Summary

The aim of this study was to trace the discourse of global citizenship from internationalization and partnership policies, to the lived experience of study abroad students and hosts in Ghana. The first component of the study, detailed in the next chapter, involves a case study analysis of relevant policy documents from the University of Alberta and the University of Ghana. Utilizing a FDA, I analyzed the policies that constrain and enable certain practices of study abroad and statements pertaining to global citizenship in two institutions. The case study format enabled me to do a closer reading of the documents than if I examined all the policies from the various universities of each of the students I interviewed. The second component of the study involved the ethnography I conducted in Ghana from February until May 2012, which allowed for a different attention to the discursive construction of global citizenship and power relations. Living with North American and Ghanaian undergraduate students for three months in a university dormitory gave me access to some of the ways in which these policies shape material practices. Participant observation, interviews and the lived experience of being a classmate, roommate and peer, generated important data to analyze and address my research questions in subsequent chapters. Although the policy analysis and ethnography are laid out in separate sections of my dissertation, by no means were they ever disconnected to the conduct and conceptualization of my research. Together they provide a framework for looking at the intersection of policy and practice in order capture the complexities of conditions for creating possibilities of decolonial concepts and practices of global citizenship.

Chapter 5: Policy analysis

Introduction

Since the focus my research is on the discursive construction and implications of global citizenship education in higher education, specifically programs that send students abroad to Third world contexts, it is important to attend to the policies that constrain and enable particular discourses to emerge in relation to global citizenship and study abroad in higher education. In this chapter, I used a case study of the University of Alberta and University of Ghana to analyze the discourses and rationalities in policy documents that have contributed to the construction of global citizenship knowledge and practices. Guiding this chapter are questions pertaining to how it is that study abroad and global citizenship have become prioritized in some higher educational institutions. Under what conditions has it become (im)possible to study abroad? What is the nature of the international partnerships that facilitate these 'exchanges'? These questions have led me to investigate internationalization policy documents from national, provincial and institutional levels to explore how these policies have discursively shaped the practices and rationalities of study abroad and global citizenship in higher education.

In this chapter I conducted a policy analysis using a Foucauldian discourse analytic to examine prominent discourses and power/knowledge dynamics that operate in internationalization, partnership and study abroad policies at the Universities of Alberta (UA) and Ghana (UG). I drew on interviews with administrators from the UA and UG who spoke about the formation and operations of these partnerships and programs. I have organized this chapter into three sections. The first section includes considerations of doing a policy analysis through a Foucauldian framework. The second and most substantial section presents Canadian and Ghanaian policies and key statements pertaining to internationalization, study abroad and global citizenship. The final part of the chapter discusses the discursive formations emanating from the policy analysis. This analysis sets the stage for looking at how these policies facilitate practices

and knowledges of study abroad and global citizenship examined in subsequent chapters.

Policy case study analysis à la Foucault

Policies, Ball (1990) states, "are the operational statements of values" (p. 3). In accordance to this definition, policies in higher education can be understood as statements, most often indicated in documents, which guide (in)action and (in)validate particular norms and values. Policies express prominent discourses, knowledge/power dynamics and truth statements, which circulate and manifest in a particular time and place. What does not get expressed or what drops off the policy agenda, however, is equally important in understanding the construction of discourse. A Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) offers a critical methodology for detecting and analyzing discourse and the production of certain knowledges and subjectivities in relation to policy texts. Key questions I consider in the policy analysis are "what is the relationship between the individual policy text and the wider relations of the social structure and political system?" (Olssen 2004, p. 71) Whose values, knowledges and experiences are included and validated through the creation and implementation of particular policies and what forms of power are involved? Behind this kind of analysis are objectives pertaining to "unmasking power" (Sheridan, 1980, p. 221) and revealing the neutral and independent façade of institutions.

From the outset of this study, I have been concerned with the neoliberal and neocolonial rationalities that underpin discourses embedded in policy and practices of global citizenship and study abroad in higher education. Borrowing from Rose (1999), I understand rationalities to be the "moral, epistemological and linguistic regularities that make it possible to think and say things *truthfully*" (p. 275, emphasis added). How this *truth* validates and is validated by discourse reveals the inter-justifications of power/knowledge. Given my post-structural/colonial theoretical framework, my analysis is directed towards the ways that policies, shaped by neoliberal and neocolonial rationalities, guide practices that serve the aims of the market and imperial order. I am also interested

in the disjuncture between policy and the lived experiences of people involved and/or implicated by these programs. For instance, what are the ruptures within this policy arena pertaining to policy actors resisting the neoliberal and neocolonial rationalities? My aim in this chapter is to look at how policies constrain and enable certain discourses pertaining to global citizenship, and employ this framework to look at how these policy discourses get maintained and challenged by individuals who participate and are implicated in these programs. In doing so, I also attend to the disjuncture between policy and practice to capture the complexities of conditions that policies create; how they reproduce neoliberal and neocolonial rationalities, but also how they are resisted and challenged in practice.

Internationalization in Canada: National, provincial and institutional policy

In a recent report from Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT) entitled *International Mobility Program for Canadian Students (2012),* it is stated that the goal of internationalization in universities is to "ensure that students have the intercultural and language skills to become leaders in the global knowledge economy - that they become 'global citizens'" (p. 35). Global citizenship, in conjunction with internationalization and the global knowledge economy have emerged as important discourses describing and defining the role and purpose of higher education. In the last decade, internationalization has been identified as integral part of Canadian universities' institutional strategies with study abroad and institutional partnerships highlighted as important avenues to achieve this endeavor (AUCC 2007; 2008). These discourses align with nation-wide economic and educational policy statements to remain *relevant* and *responsive* to the changing global realities spawned by globalization and the responsibility to prepare students for the global workforce. The term global citizenship appears in several of these documents, but is rarely defined. In several instances, global citizenship and internationalization are used interchangeably to describe the role of universities to respond to our increasingly global realities. While literature and research pertaining to internationalization

portrays an ever-expanding spectrum of possibilities, the way it is has become connected to the political economy globally, nationally and locally has engendered particular continuities and discontinuities in practice. The ways in which policies interconnect in a collective and (un)coordinated response to global economic pressures can be ascertained through examining internationalization policies at national, provincial and institutional levels. This analysis exposed a shared aspiration for competitive, globally competent students who will take their place at the top in the global workforce.

Canada's internationalization policy arena

According to several reports and studies conducted by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), internationalization is of increasingly high importance in Canadian post-secondary education. One study from 1995 reported that 95% of respondents (senior administrators) ranked "to prepare graduates and scholars who are internationally knowledgeable and interculturally competent" (Knight, 1995, p. 4) as the most important reason for internationalization. University programs sending students to study, work or volunteer abroad were rated as "the most important element/dimension of internationalization of higher education" (Knight, 1995, p. 30). What can be gathered from this study is that an increased emphasis on sending students and faculty members abroad will develop international and intercultural knowledge, skills and competencies, contributing to an 'internationalized dimension' of the university. In 2006, the AUCC similarly conducted a survey of its 96 member post-secondary institutions to collect data about the nature and scope of internationalization across the country. Several reports were produced from the results of the survey; two of which I have analyzed: *Internationalizing Canadian campuses* (ICC) (AUCC, 2007a), a document that discusses a workshop of Canadian university administrators and experts responding to this survey, and *Internationalization of the curriculum* (IOC) (AUCC, 2007b), a report on internationalization activities related to curricula. These documents depict global citizenship as being caught between two competing discourses pertaining to the

knowledge economy and social justice. Furthermore, it has emerged from three prominent discursive practices: study abroad, international student recruitment/retention and university partnerships.

The most pervasive discourse in both documents is around competition. Although there is concern and desire for a "responsible and engaged citizen" (AUCC, 2007a, p. 5), this consistently rubs up against the desire for a competitive advantage. As Steward-Patterson, executive VP of Canadian Council of Chief Executives states: "it makes good business sense for universities to develop global engaged citizens, quite simply because Canadian business operates internationally" (p. 7). Furthermore, "businesses and markets are based on relationships, and the opportunity to strengthen international relationships through study abroad can only help Canadian companies' connections around the world" (p. 7). The rationalities behind the desire to develop global citizens in this document sit within a discursive tug of war between wanting to prepare students "who are aware of global issues and imbued with a global ethic" as the Vice Provost of the University of Alberta commented (AUCC, 2007a, p. 7), to a more business oriented approach of developing international skills and relationships to facilitate the flow of capital. In light of the struggle between whether internationalization and global citizenship ought to be about a global ethic or competitive citizenry, the ICC document highlights that these perspectives "are not mutually exclusive" and "society values the skills needed to be both a global citizen and a competitive, skilled individual" (p. 6), another indication of trying to bring these two competing discourses and rationalities together.

The practices of study abroad discussed in the AUCC documents indicate such programs as a link between internationalizing higher education and fostering global citizenship. The authors of IOC suggest internationalization is "demonstrated by the increasing number of internationally oriented programs" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 2). In response to the question of which strategies are used to integrate an international dimension into the curriculum, "encouraging students to have work/study abroad/service learning experiences" (p. 3) ranks as the top

choice for universities. Although the percentage of full-time Canadian students studying abroad for credit has more than doubled from .9% in 2000 to 2.2% in 2006 (AUCC, 2007b), there are several noted impediments such as lack of funding, lack of flexibility in the curriculum, inadequate language capacity, low faculty buy-in, and safety/liability issues, which prevent these opportunities from being a reality for most Canadian students. Although Canadian university academic programs with an international focus have increased over the past decade, the most significant growth has been in the area of international business-related programs. This trend denotes a particular kind of internationalization consummate with the international business skills, competitive citizenry and those who can afford it.

Another prominent discourse emerging from the documents is the importance of attracting and retaining 'highly skilled and talented' international students to Canadian campuses. According to *Statistics Canada*, the number of full-time international students on Canadian campuses has nearly doubled from 35,988 to 70,000 over the period 2000 to 2006 (AUCC, 2007b, p. 4). International students have been constructed in the documents as "*valued source* of immigrants to Canada, combining the benefits of an *advanced* education and a familiarity with Canada obtained through their studies in the country" (p. 7, emphasis added). The economic rationale of recruiting and retaining international students is discernible, yet immigration documents such as study permits and Visas provide barriers for most international students wanting to study in Canada. There is a major discrepancy between government economic policies that encourage students to stay and meet labour market needs and immigration policies which refuse Visas to students from particular countries on the same grounds (students are often refused Visas for stating their desire to stay in Canada after graduation). There is also an important discursive formation about what kind of citizen Canada wants to retain, which shapes the recruitment practices of HEIs. For a few decades now, China and South Korea have consistently been the most significant source of international students across the nation and recruitment strategies persist in targeting this region. Students from continents such as Africa and South America

continue to be disregarded in endeavors to recruit and retain international students to become Canadian citizens.

In addition to preparing internationally knowledgeable graduates, the second most important reason for internationalization cited is to "build *strategic* alliances with institutions abroad" (AUCC, 2007a, p. 3, emphasis added). What does it mean to have a 'strategic alliance'? Are there institutions or countries that are strategic partners and other that are not? An obvious discursive construction related to international partnerships is stated under a heading in the ICC document: "Exports or partnerships?" While universities increasingly rely on internationally based activities for revenue such as recruiting international students and securing international research grants (p. 14), there are competing rationalities informing these strategies. One of these rationales is steeped in international development, whereby university partnerships facilitate Canadian faculty and student mobility to work on research projects, "training human *resources* and *strengthening* university institutions in the Third World" (Bond & Lemasson, 1999, emphasis added). Funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has made many of these initiatives possible, however, CIDA, being an arm of the Federal government, has particular agendas and rationales related to economic interests. Another rationality is reflected in the trend towards more tailored and client driven programs. One of the main challenges to international alliances indicated is "finding a *niche* in target countries or regions" (Bond & Lemasson, 1999, p. 15, emphasis added). What these niches comprise and how countries and regions are constituted as 'targets' have important implications for the functioning and maintenance of the knowledge economy and its relationship to higher education.

International Education: A key driver of Canada's future prosperity

The heading above is the title of a 2012 policy recommendations report by the Advisory Council on Canada's International Education Strategy. The report outlines a "vision for Canada to become a 21st century leader in international education, and successfully attract top talent from around the world to study,

conduct research, and potentially immigrate, thereby contributing substantially to Canada's future prosperity" (DFAIT, 2012). This report was commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT), and was conducted in consultation with key stakeholders across Canada for recommendations to the Government of Canada, which is currently reviewing the document and will likely put into effect the following recommendations for Canada's International Education strategy. The discourses in this document are explicit in their representation of education as a commodity and students as both consumers and natural resources. The document focused primarily on the competition for skilled labour to fulfill Canada's forecasted labour shortage in the next decade. The authors recommended that attracting highly skilled international students to Canada's educational institutions was essential for curtailing labour issues. Additionally, they advocated for increasing mobility of Canadian students by providing financial support for study abroad programs to gain international competencies and connections.

These policy recommendations have shaped the corresponding political-economic objectives for International Education in Canada. The stated objective is to double the number of international students studying in Canada over the next ten years (from 239,131 in 2011 to more than 450,000 by 2022). Correspondingly, international education is described as a "*pipeline* to the Canadian labour market" (DFAIT, 2012, p. x, emphasis added). With 75% of Canada's workforce growth coming from immigration, international recruitment strategies are "needed to address Canada's future shortfalls in the human capital necessary for building a world-class knowledge economy" (p. x). Yet it is not simply about digging a trench for a student pipeline, as there are others competing for the same 'resources'; as the authors state: "Canada faces strong global competition with industrialized countries to attract the same pool of young international talent." There is a clear sense of urgency in the document, noting several times that the time is "now to effectively market Canada" to attract "top talent" (p. i). Supporting these recommendations are statements illustrating the capital gains of international students. Another associated DFAIT report released in May 2012

estimated that in 2010, international students in Canada spent in excess of $7.7 billion on tuition, accommodation and discretionary spending; created over 81,000 jobs; and generated more than $445 million in government revenue, with nearly 37 percent of that revenue coming from two countries – China and South Korea (Kunin & Associates, 2012). Demonstrating how lucrative international students are not only to institutions, but the larger provincial and national economies, exposes the a deep level of objectification and commodification of students for the purpose of making money.

The policy recommendation to enhance Canadian student and faculty mobility was coupled with the introduction of an *International Mobility Program for Canadian Students* to serve 50,000 students per year by 2022. This objective is situated within a similar kind of rationale to international student recruitment: "we acknowledge that Canadian students are powerful ambassadors that can market opportunities to study in Canada to their fellow students abroad" (DFAIT, 2012, p. xiii). Additionally, study abroad provides students with "intercultural skills" that are good for business. The report states that the goal of internationalization in universities is to "ensure that students have the intercultural and language skills to become leaders in the global knowledge economy-that they become 'global citizens'" (DFAIT, p. 35). In these statements, international education and study abroad are constructed as vehicles to provide opportunities for Canadian students to develop skills to be better global business leaders and thus "be in a better position to contribute to Canada's future international trade efforts and prosperity" (DFAIT, p. 36). Based on these rationales, the document recommends that the federal government co-fund a Mobility Program with provincial governments and institutions. However, and interesting statement below the target that reads: "We also see a role for the private sector to encourage Canadian students to become global citizens," (DFAIT, p. xiii) they may have other initiatives in mind that are more consonant with privatizing study abroad programs, seen commonly in the United States.

Alberta's internationalization strategy

As of December 2012, Alberta's international education strategy was "currently under review". The most current policy document is *Alberta's International Education Strategy* (AIES, 2001) from 2001, which presents comparable rationales and rationalities pertaining to increasing the province and its citizens' competitive economic advantage. The Vision statement, "Alberta will be recognized as a leading provider of education, skill development and industry training, and Albertans will be well-prepared for their role in the *global marketplace and as global citizens*," (AIES, 2001, p. 3, emphasis added) provides an overarching goal of its internationalization strategy, but the correlating lists of principles and objectives provide a more contextual understanding of the neoliberal rationalities propelling this vision. The cited aim of the international education strategy is:

> to ensure that Albertans are well-prepared as world citizens and are able to enjoy fully the benefits and opportunities of their global community, can participate fully in the economic growth associated with international education, can contribute to international humanitarian projects, and can compete successfully in the global economy. (p. 4)

One again, the discursive construction of humanitarian and socially just intentions is conflated with competition.

Several statements in AIES evoke the need for a "coordinated approach" of business, government and educators to work together to meet international objectives including: increasing international learning opportunities to improve Albertans' global competencies, exporting educational services, attracting international students and increasing the mobility of knowledge and skills. The international marketing strategy outlined in relation to the stated objectives illustrates the narrow focus on how certain activities of sending students abroad help Alberta's students obtain a competitive advantage: "individuals who are familiar with other languages and cultures may establish networks of contacts in other parts of the world and obtain a career advantage" (AIES, 2001, p. 5). Also, by attracting differential fee paying students, the policy states that it provides "compensation to institutions" estimating that each international student

contributes between $20,000 and $30,000 each year to the provincial economy. The AIES concludes: "Alberta learners, schools, post-secondary institutions, and businesses recognize the essential relationship between global awareness, economic competitiveness, and strong communities and workplaces" whereby this policy "provides the framework for the Alberta government to work together with education and other stakeholders to ensure that Albertans can take advantage of the opportunities available in the global economy and can contribute to an increasingly interdependent global society" (p. 11).

University of Alberta's 'daring' plan for international engagement

The University of Alberta has espoused a similar call for international engagement that is primarily to advantage Canadian citizens, specifically Albertans. The University's Academic Plan, *Dare to Deliver* (2007-2011), which the current plan (2011-2015) is an extension of, refers to the economic drive for the institution to market itself in such a way to attract and retain the best and the brightest:

> Alberta needs and deserves the benefits that a globally recognized institution brings to its citizenry, who move globally, and its industry, which engage globally. A great research and teaching institution offers leaders of tomorrow an opportunity to study at a level competitive with the world's finest universities. Such an institution will attract the best and brightest students and scholars to Alberta and retain them here in Alberta (University of Alberta, 2007a, p. 4).

Although the Academic Plans are framed by Henry Marshall Tory's 1908 Presidential address that "the uplifting of the whole people shall be its [the university's] final goal," the values of reciprocity, social justice and global citizenship that are evoked throughout the document are overshadowed by the desires of the institution to market itself as a leader in the global institutional arena and "deliver solid returns on public investments" (University of Alberta, 2012, p. 4). Since the university receives public funding, it is the responsibility of the university to "deliver" a successful workforce to contribute to the economy.

The *Connecting with the world: a plan for international engagement* document was produced as a companion to the Academic Plan to address

internationalization at the University of Alberta. Although the document is very vague in its commitments and guidance towards international engagement, there are some important statements shaping these endeavors. First is the mission "to fulfill the promise of a great international university, the University of Alberta engages with the global community in *reciprocal relationships* to achieve its vision of learning discovery and *citizenship*" (University of Alberta, 2007b, p. 2, emphasis added). Secondly are the "core values" cited to underpin international engagement:

> global mindedness, open-mindedness and empathy, commitment to social justice, global citizenship, appreciation of difference and diversity, cultural and intercultural awareness, reciprocity, mutual capacity building and collaboration, opportunities for all, welcoming, safe, and healthy environments and environmental sustainability. (Ibid)

Although these values imply a vast social justice agenda, the corresponding rationalities and practices of international engagement pertaining to the "four cornerstones" (talented people; learning, discovery, and citizenship; connecting communities; and transformative organization and support) of the Academic plan convey a different story. Targets indicate increasing the number international students (University of Alberta, 2007b, p. 5), and creating "opportunities for students to enhance their qualifications to compete in a globalizing work environment, thus engaging the economic strength of our part of the world" (p. 6). Similarly utilizing economic discourse to rationalize international engagement, the social justice commitments manifest as proponents of improving economic capacities.

In the twelve-page "*Connecting with the world: a plan for international engagement"* document, 'global citizenship' is stated eleven times, strongly indicating its importance as an objective of international engagement. In addition to being listed as a key "value," it is also indicated as a "fundamental principle" in terms of international engagement and educational foci: "International engagement activities uphold the University's ethical standards in the areas of teaching, research, and community service and align with ideals of global citizenship, environmental sustainability, and social justice" (University of

Alberta, 2007b, p. 3). Despite the indication that global citizenship is an ideal, there is no definition or clarification about what is meant by the use of the term. Its proximity to discourses such as social justice and sustainability construct global citizenship as an equitable concept, however, neoliberal discourse of competition and the need for students "to be successful intercultural and internationally" to "become successful and responsible global citizens" (University of Alberta, 2007b, p. 6), signifies the perseverance of a discursive economic rationality.

Higher education in Ghana: National and institutional policy

Ghana is an interesting context to look at the rapidly evolving nature of higher education. The British established the University College of the Gold Coast in 1948, which was one of the first post-secondary institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa. The University began as a subsidiary of the University of London, whereby all curricula, examinations, and degrees were under the control of the University of London. Shortly after Ghana gained independence in 1957, the institution became the University of Ghana and gained the autonomy to grant its own degrees. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, was instrumental in expanding the provision of formal education in the country and strengthening its higher educational institutions. Yet in the 1980s, Ghana became the recipient of massive educational reform tailored by the World Bank's structural adjustment programs. The country underwent an Educational Sector Adjustment Programme in the late 1980s, which involved structural and curricular changes as well as cost-recovery methods of financing mandated by Bretton Woods institutions to keep the economy "afloat and avert social catastrophe" (Daddieh, 1995, p. 24). The World Bank also recommended that basic education ought to receive more funding and priority over other education sectors due to its more cost-effectiveness and social rate of return, thus neoliberal policies were introduced in forms of freezing university teaching staff levels while enrollments rose, eliminating subsidies for secondary and tertiary levels and increasing book-user fees. The new educational ethos, Daddieh states, emerged as a "partnership

between the private sector, the state and international donors" (p. 45). It also echoed the emerging knowledge economy discourse (Mazrui, 1995), "emphasizing the provision of the kinds of skills and knowledge that would allow the students to adapt to their communities and make a contribution to national development" (p. 43).

The role and importance of higher education has continued to be overshadowed by policies prioritizing basic education. Ghana's often-cited *Vision 2020*, Rawlings' 1995 presidential report on the coordinated program of economic and social development policies, conveys a noticeable lack of higher education considerations in national development in the 1990s. Although there are indicators given of low enrolment rates in higher education, especially for females, the statistics are neither explained nor contextualized. The statistics are stated as a fact of the "social condition" of Ghana and broad goals of universal access to basic education, increasing female participation, placing greater emphasis on science and technology and expanding and increasing access to secondary and tertiary education are stated without specific policy recommendations to realize these aims. In the aftermath of this *Vision*, most of the focus on improving education continued to be targeted towards basic education. According to World Bank reports, despite educational reforms in the 1980s, there was poor quality of educational instruction, teacher absenteeism and poor school infrastructure (World Bank, 1996). In 1996, the Basic Education Sector Improvement Program (BESIP) was initiated with the assistance of the World Bank to support the Ghanaian government's policy of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education and improve the quality of basic education. Although neglected in macro policy priorities, Ghana's higher education endured through financial support from the federal government. Currently, Ghana boasts six public universities, ten polytechnics, and three professional institutions and as of 2012, the National Accreditation Board had approved 41 private HEIs. In the last decade, post-secondary enrolments have increased drastically. Between 2001/2002 and 2007/2008 academic years, enrolment in public universities increased by 103% to 93,973 in 2007/2008. (Bailey, Cloete & Pillay, 2011, p. 15).

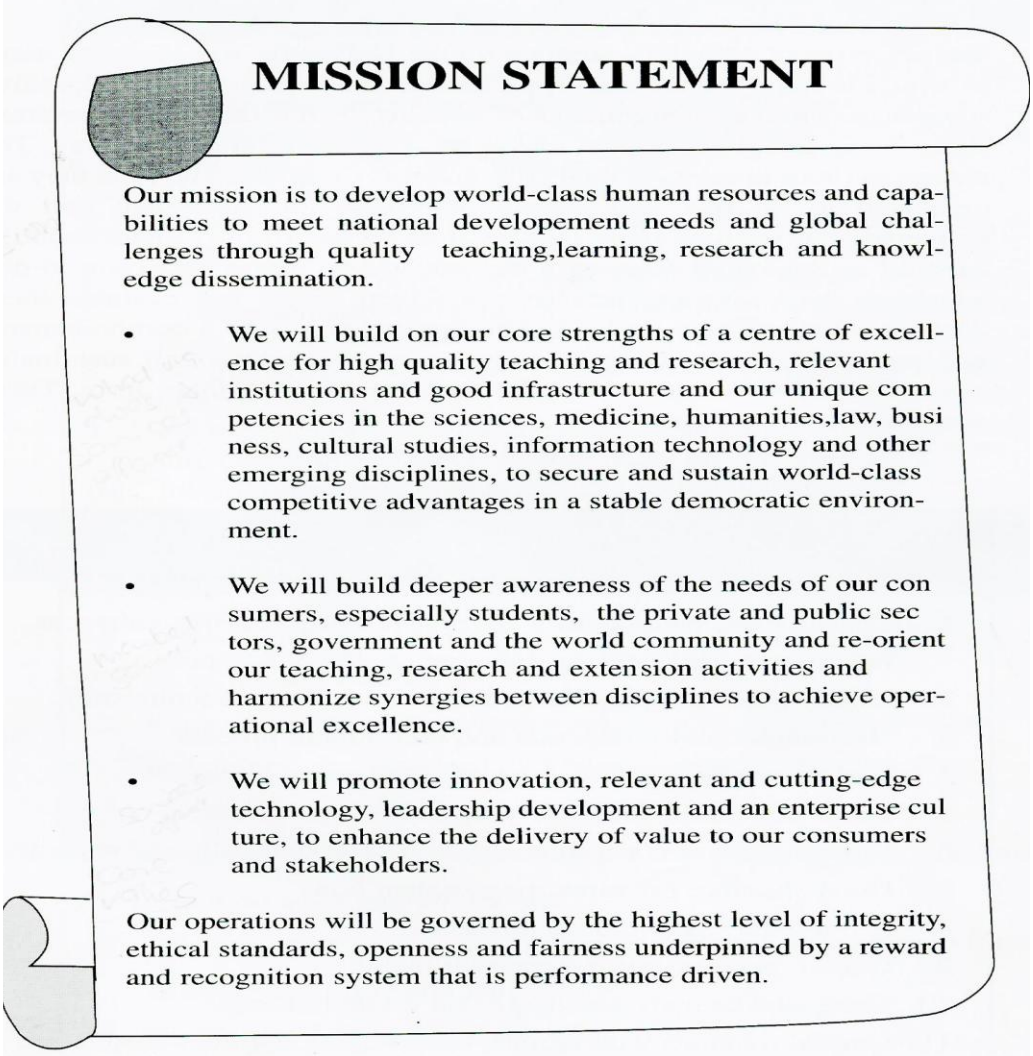
At the turn of the 21st Century, Ghanaian universities have respond to the mounting neoliberal pressures by re-assessing and re-defining the role and mission of the university. Akin to North American HEIs, Ghanaian higher education institutions are being called upon "to be more innovative and more responsive to the needs of a globally competitive knowledge economy, and to the changing labour market requirements for advanced human capital" (Benneh & Awumbila, 2004, p. 1). Coupled with an increasing demand for higher education and a commitment to keep tuition free, economists, higher educational administrators and politicians collectively argued at a *Conference of the African Regional Council of the International Association of University Presidents* (1999) in Accra, for post-secondary institutions to partner with business, industry and civil society organizations to not only help fund higher education, but also make the education more *relevant* to the economy. As Benneh (2004) states, "the nature, form and operations of African Universities have to change in response to changes in the global economy if they are to be sustained and continue to be relevant to the development of their respective national economies" (p. 11). The only solution to these issues, as most of the speakers advocated, was to align the university with the market by increasing participation and partnerships with business, industry and other stakeholders and increasing the privatization of education and competition amongst institutions.

Corporate Strategic Plan: World Bank strikes again

In response to the call of business and higher educational leaders to make higher education more aligned with national economic development and compete in the global economy, the Ghanaian government partnered again with the World Bank between 2003-2005 to direct Ghana's higher educational institutions in developing strategies that would generate supplementary funding, give institutions a "competitive advantage" in the educational market and produce requisite human recourses for the national economy (CSP, p. 2). Correspondingly, each university created a document entitled "Corporate Strategic Plan," which included institutional visions, missions and concrete plans to realize these goals. The

Corporate Strategic Plans (CSP) re-fertilized neoliberal reform in Ghanaian higher education by prompting institutions to re-define their aims in relation to the knowledge economy.

Although the University of Ghana was established in 1948 "for the purpose of providing for and promoting university education, learning and research" (University of Ghana Website), the new Mission Statement portrays a different picture. The following figure (Figure 1) presents the current mission statement of the University that emanated from the CSP process. The methodology of the planning process was conducted through the 'HAX' approach devised at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which looked at the university from three strategic perspectives- corporate, faculty and departmental. According to the authors of CSP, the strategic plan is a "set of clear value-adding initiatives that can be 'sold' to its stakeholders" (CSP, p. 7).



MISSION STATEMENT

Our mission is to develop world-class human resources and capabilities to meet national developement needs and global challenges through quality teaching,learning, research and knowledge dissemination.

- We will build on our core strengths of a centre of excellence for high quality teaching and research, relevant institutions and good infrastructure and our unique com petencies in the sciences, medicine, humanities,law, busi ness, cultural studies, information technology and other emerging disciplines, to secure and sustain world-class competitive advantages in a stable democratic environment.

- We will build deeper awareness of the needs of our con sumers, especially students, the private and public sec tors, government and the world community and re-orient our teaching, research and extension activities and harmonize synergies between disciplines to achieve operational excellence.

- We will promote innovation, relevant and cutting-edge technology, leadership development and an enterprise cul ture, to enhance the delivery of value to our consumers and stakeholders.

Our operations will be governed by the highest level of integrity, ethical standards, openness and fairness underpinned by a reward and recognition system that is performance driven.

Figure 1: The University of Ghana's Corporate Strategic Plan, p. 11. (Accessed August 1st, 2012 from: http://www.ug.edu.gh/index1.php?linkid=285)

There are several important statements in this document. The first is students being referred to as "human resources" and more strikingly as "consumers," in the pursuit for "world class competitive advantage." Students have become objectified in this policy as a means to augment institutional prestige and national development. In the introduction of the CSP, there is mention of the University's purpose of preparing students for "active and productive citizenship," yet nowhere in the document are there indications as to what kinds of knowledge, skills, values and attributes are associated with citizenship aside from cultivating an "enterprise culture" indicated in the Mission Statement. The entrepreneurial citizen seems to

be the focus of this new Mission; one that will actively compete and produce the requisite capital for national development.

The ten key strategic thrusts of the University of Ghana's Corporate Strategic Plan further illustrates the neoliberal shift in higher educational discourse that aligns the purpose of education to fulfill the needs of the knowledge economy. These include:

1. Mobilize financial resources from government and third parties
2. Create a performance-driven structure and professionalize human resources
3. Develop a consumer orientation and third party linkages
4. Strengthen the information and communications and technology system
5. Increase effectiveness and efficiency of governance structure
6. Enhance infrastructure
7. Capitalize on strengths and core competencies
8. Privatize non-core/performing units
9. Strengthen financial management
10. Actively market the university

This CSP, which was undertaken in 2001-2010, continues to be a core focus of the University of Ghana. Its "pragmatic" approach, which it is referred to multiple times in the document, is the "only option" (p. 6) for the university to ensure its "competitive superiority" (p. 18). This Plan of aligning the university to a corporate structure along accountability and "reward and recognition system that is performance driven" (p. 11) has effectively thrust the University into the hands of the market. The neoliberal discourse is explicit in its formation and enunciation in these statements, encompassing the core tenets of neoliberal ideology: "mobilize", "performance driven", effectiveness and efficiency", capitalize …competencies", "privatize" and "actively market the university". These statements clearly construct the strategy and vision of higher education as a conduit for capital gains. The humans who educate and are educated in these institutions are pitted as objects to realize this vision of the corporate university.

Although there is no explicit internationalization policy or document, the Corporate Strategic Plan indicates the importance of attracting international students and researchers through university partnerships to "gain a competitive

advantage". By creating and supporting areas of "comparative advantage" such as African studies and tropical medicine, it is the hope of the Plan to attract interest from foreign institutions and students. At the UG, this policy direction has materialized in a thriving Department of African Studies that welcomes a number of international scholars conducting research in Ghana. The hosting of international faculty members and students have been made possible by a growing number of institutional partnerships being formed by university administrators.

Institutional partnerships: Policies and perspectives from University of Alberta and University of Ghana

To attract students and the funding they bring to institutions, universities have developed partnerships to facilitate these exchanges. Partnerships are rationalized for their contribution to give universities a competitive advantage by attracting students who want the opportunities to study in another institution, as well as giving universities the 'prestige' of having international partners. How partnerships are constituted and put into practice have fostered conditions that shape particular global citizenship discourses. This section takes a look at partnership policies as well as interviews with administrators from the University of Alberta (UA) and the University of Ghana (UG), who were implicated in the development and operation of these partnerships.

Partnership policies and formations

Behind international activities such as sending students abroad, research projects or recruiting students are policies and practices associated with institutional partnerships. Partnership policies have paved the way for particular global flows. At the UA, despite having over 250 abroad programs to over 40 countries around the world (University of Alberta, Go Abroad), there are only two African countries on the list; Ghana and South Africa. Commenting on why Ghana was chosen as a partner with the UA in the first place, a UA administrator stated, "there are always new emerging markets. Ghana is one of these with its offshore oil. It has one of the fastest growing GDP. The rate has surpassed GDP

growth in Canada over the last few years." The connotation of university partnerships stem much deeper than exchange between institutions, as he continues on to explain in the events that led to UA and UG partnership:

> *I think our assessment of Ghana at the time had all the possibilities of a location and a partnership to engage full-campus commitment. Even provincial commitment- the province provided grants to help students go there because we could see the future economic contact, it is one of the most stable African countries, it has economic potential.*

There are many indicators, predominantly economic, that explain why Ghana is a top choice for North American institutions wanting to partner with and have a presence in the Sub-Saharan African context. Ghana is climbing in the economic indicators and is on track to being classified as a 'middle-income' country. Coupled with discoveries of off-shore oil and reserves in the Northern part of the country, Ghana has become increasingly attractive for foreign investment. Historically, Ghana also has 'benefits' over other countries in the region for its relative peace and prosperity. In addition to being the first Sub-Saharan African country that gained its independence, federal leadership has been relatively strong and recent national elections have been peaceful. In many ways, Ghana constitutes a 'niche market', indicated in AUCC's ICC document to facilitate North/South partnerships.

University partnerships can take many forms and serve multiple purposes, but are typically established by Faculty members from different institutions who want to work together and/or establish a program or project at a particular location. Faculty and administrators sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), which formalizes the conditions of the partnership. The MOU at the University of Ghana states:

> Following discussion and exchanges of correspondence between the University of Ghana and _ _ _, a formal memorandum of understanding is made between the University of Ghana, Legon and _ _ _. UG and _ _ _ desire to establish certain cooperative programs beneficial to the respective educational institutions and to promote the development of joint studies, research and training activities, and other educational programs of mutual interest (MOU, p. 2).

This agreement, which stands for 5 years, allows for institutions to work together promoting student and faculty exchanges, sharing of materials and equipment, collaborating on research and conferences. Although the MOU states the agreement is "designed to facilitate and develop genuine and mutually beneficial study programs, relationship and exchange programs," (p. 2) there is no indication about what this 'mutuality' entails. Moreover, although MOUs connote a protocol for developing exchanges, a recent "Policies and Procedures" document circulated at the UA concerning International Agreements suggests that this process is not uniform. The document states that while the UA signs many international linkage agreements each year "there is no procedure that outlines how to initiate and develop a linkage agreement. This has caused confusion across campus" (UAI, p. 1). Although there have been recent efforts to standardize the process in response to a large number of international linkage agreement requests, by implementing a handbook on policies and procedures, this message in circulation suggests policies around partnerships are unclear and ad hoc in nature and practice.

UA/UG partnership: From development to capital gains

The Faculties of Nursing of UA and UG initiated the first partnership in 1999. Building on already established relationships, the UG approached the UA to help build capacity in starting the first graduate program in nursing in Ghana (Ogilvie, Allen, Opare, & Laryea, 2003). The Canadian International Development Agency's *University Partnerships in Cooperation and Development* program funded the project for five years until 2005. This project and partnership paved the way for other Faculties to establish linkages and programs with(in) the UG. In 2007, both the UA's Faculty of Education and Department of Ethnomusicology began sending students independently to the UG for summer programs in their respective fields. Additionally, the UG was added to the list of Study Abroad programs for both graduate and undergraduate students to study at the UG as part of the general Education Abroad Program.

Partnerships are a reflection of macro trends both economically and politically. In review of the evolving partnership between the UA and UG, a

participant suggested internationalization at the UA has continually been a "*moving target*", but one that is now leaning more towards "*big business*." The respondent described a discursive shift of international partnerships and programs; from more development and humanitarian intentions in the era after the Second World War, towards current "*international education as an incredible commodity that is important for many stakeholders*." He stated:

> *So, one of the conversations that has evolved in internationalization is from development to competition. When I was a student at university, it was about global perspectives and global citizenship. The conversations changed in the 80s and 90s to being globally competitive. We saw Foreign Affairs shift its policies around working with developing countries to working with countries more tied to trade. All those things became more overarching in shaping international education*

The shift also signaled stakeholders looking at higher education as a commerce strategy. Internationalization became an agent to facilitate student recruitment and retention to generate income for both the institution and the province and country. Hence, international partnerships that facilitate the influx of differential fee paying students have become prioritized over programs that cost the university more money than they earn. Currently international students at the UA campus pay approximately three times the tuition fees ($9,932.42 CDN per semester) in comparison to Canadian citizens ($3,408.02) (UA Registrar).

UA programs that send students to Ghana are not necessarily part of the monetary equation for the university. In 2007, the UA offered $1500 to each student to supplement the costs of the programs sending students to Ghana. This funding was subsequently cut due to a "budget crunch," as the program director stated, and it has been difficult to "convince" students to pay the required fees (which are cost-recovery) to participate. This is a reflection, a participant stated, of the political-economic ethos of Alberta:

> *There is difference between administrators who are academics who still believe in the educational mission and things like global citizenship. And then there are administrators who are business people and treat students like customers and the university like a service provider around free market principles…The pressures are particularly acute in Alberta because the government has not been so sympathetic to these larger social*

> *issues that don't have a very direct link with improving the economic quality of life. It is Alberta for Albertans.*

Internationalization priorities and programs have thus shifted to what can bring riches to the university or "train students to think globally because they can be effective business leaders," the participant stated. Yet, the programs to Ghana have continued to be fostered at the UA, suggesting other rationales.

$$ and %

From the point of view of the host institution, partnerships allow for the influx of international full-fee paying students, which enables the University of Ghana to generate some revenue. Currently, the government has allotted an enrolment quota of 10% for international students paying full tuition (Bailey, Cloete & Pillay, 2011, p. 19). This equates to considerable income to the UG as current fees for regular undergraduate international students in the Humanities, for instance, pay $4,160 USD per academic year in conjunction with accommodation fees at $1,638 (IPO website). For full 4-year undergraduate programs, irrespective of which part of the world students come from, regular international student fees are in tact. For graduate programs, however, students from the Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS) region get 50% rebate on tuition fees for all regular programs, those from other parts of Africa get a 30% rebate and students from other parts of the world pay full tuition fees (UG website). Visiting international students (which all the students I interviewed were considered) also have a separate fee they pay on top of tuition, which seems to vary by the year. As a Canadian visiting graduate student auditing a few courses for one semester, I paid $2,000.00 in fees in addition to 882.00 for shared accommodation. With approximately 1,100 international students studying at UG every year, these fees provide tremendous supplementary income for the university.

According to the UG's International Programmes Office (IPO) website and documents, there is a strong aspiration to facilitate international partnerships and international student recruitment. The Dean's Message on the IPO website states: "It is through you [international students] that we continuously achieve our

objective of becoming a world class university with a global presence" (IPO). According to the list of institutional partners on the IPO website, the UG has a total of 165 partnerships with post-secondary institutions worldwide. The top two countries with the most institutional linkages with UG are the United States with 84 partnerships and Canada with nine. Summer and short-term faculty-led programs are also on the rise. Affiliation fees for inter-semester programs (Spring or Summer) charge US $2,500.00 for student groups up to 15 students and 3,000.00 per group (UG IPO) with residential fees on top of that.

In relation to the rising inflow of students and capital to the UG, there is little outgoing flow of Ghanaian students to their university partners. One of the Ghanaian program directors stated that it important for policy to foster more of a reciprocal exchange of students:

> *Ghana is not really providing opportunities for its students to travel abroad, which is the case for North America. It costs so much to travel abroad. For the average Ghanaian, it is very difficult to do this...As much as possible, we should do well to encourage or provide opportunities for Ghanaian students to study abroad. It is coming, but it is slow. Left to me, I would ensure that in every relationship that the University of Ghana builds with any other institution or organization, there should be an element of reciprocity, where Ghanaian students get equal opportunities to travel.*

Despite the equitable call for mutual exchange and policy agreements that allow students on exchange to pay their home tuition costs, the price tags associated with travel and accommodation in North America make reciprocal traffic of students a near impossibility for most Ghanaian students whose education and accommodation is highly subsidized by the government.

A contributing aspect of this one-way flow is the difficulty of Ghanaian students to obtain Visas to study in North America. From a NA administrator's perspective, reciprocal exchanges are important, but are largely out of the institution's hands when it comes to immigration policy:

> *We were never able to make an exchange as I had hoped, where Ghanaians could be able to come here…Ideally, it would be great to have an exchange. You have learning going every which way. You have people there learning from students going there, connections happen and students here learn from them…One of the obstacles though is Visas. Our*

government is so stingy with Visas. They are really nasty. Therefore, it is difficult to make reciprocal exchanges work in practice. It is unfair."

Some Ghanaian students I spoke with validated these statements, claiming that it was nearly impossible to get a Visa to go to North America. Thus, policy statements that call for student mobility and study abroad in order to inculcate global citizenship need to recognize the structural barriers make this impossible for the majority.

Humanizing internationalization and global citizenship

The interviews conducted with administrators and program directors involved in international programs collectively espoused humanizing and socially just constructions of global citizenship. Extending from their own personal journeys and experiences travelling, studying and working abroad, they envision the opportunities for ethical engagement with global issues in a global context that can propel students to think and act differently. A NA participant stated that taking students to Ghana has the potential for students to "turn their lives around":

It makes a big impression. It is very easy for people to get comfortable in their own environment, whether it is in Canada or wherever… There is a big world out there and so many issues and they aren't aware of them. It is this whole global citizenship concept. If students can somehow connect with that, it is this mystical thing. Something opens and they are connected to a bigger reality. We can't always focus on these things all the time like thinking about poverty all the time and then never go shopping again. But at least that there is this awareness, like the dawn breaks, and they are aware of things beyond their local perspective…Ghana is relatively privileged compared to many places, but at least they start to have a sense of what the rest of the world is like.

Visions of the "dawn breaking" and beginning to understand the interconnections of local/global issues, suggest that students begin to questions their taken for granted assumptions and experiences in the world. These opportunities he describes, however, are solely for the North American student. The Ghanaians who embody the locale and gaze of 'what the rest of the world is like' are excluded from this vision. A Ghanaian participant similarly evoked the importance of creating opportunities for students "*to have an idea about how*

things work out in this part of the world." Upon asking him about the UG's internationalization directions, he stated although there are a number of international programs bringing students onto the UG campus, "*what I am not sure of is the University of Ghana sending its students out*." He recalled the UA nursing program, which annually sends a few Ghanaian graduate nursing students to UA, is one of the few programs that offers opportunities for reciprocal exchange of NA and Ghanaian students.

Despite the limitations associated with mutual and reciprocal exchange, the administrators spoke passionately about the opportunities that are possible by one-way exchanges. Reflecting on his personal experiences studying and working and Africa, a NA participant stated:

> *They are powerful experiences. Thinking back to mine, some of the most powerful experiences I have ever had. After all these years, it can still affect you so strongly. Some of my strongest experiences about humanity came from places like Africa that you simply wouldn't be able to have through other experiences- aspects around women in development. Where are you going to confront those kinds of experiences except for in a developing country? Things around women's rights. Powerful experiences.*

Recalling the "powerful experiences" brought up much emotion in the interview. It instigated a reflective process about the role of these types of experiences in educating for global citizenship and the types of policies that enable or constrain its humanizing potential. However, when trying to distinguish global citizenship from internationalization, colonial constructions of otherness were evoked:

> *Those learning experiences simply have been lost in the current conversation around internationalization. We talk about students getting international competencies and business skills, intercultural communication, which they still exist when you go to places in Africa. But there are major things missing if you don't have a conversation around global citizenship in its fullest extent. You simply can't have that in certain parts of the world. Topics around poverty, the role of women, governance, and corruption are overwhelming in places like Africa and Latin America. As broader conversations, you need people who understand these things, especially in policy development. You can look at policy here and you can understand policy implications there. Global citizenship brings the part of the discourse that internationalization misses.*

In these statements, Ghana is constructed as a place to see poverty, women's

issues and development issues: "*Where are you going to confront those kinds of experiences except for in a developing country?"* Co-constructively, it is suggested that these same issues cannot be experienced in Canada. A strong dichotomy emerges, pitting Ghana as the poor deficient, backwards Other to Canada's comparative wealth and prosperity. Also indicated is a strong urgency for students to go to abroad to have these experiences to learn about and claim global citizenship. As a participant noted, international programs that send students to Ghana provide an opportunity for students to encounter the Other which comprises many humanizing possibilities. How the policies and practices of exchange are constructed and the Ghanaians are objectified for these purposes, however, conveys an opaque interdiscursive terrain between internationalization and global citizenship that is not easily distinguishable.

Role of higher education institutions in the production and regulation of neoliberal discourse and subjects

Global citizenship emerges in policy and administrators' statements as being something 'other' than the makes the institution money. "*Global citizenship brings the part of the discourse that internationalization misses."* The ways this concept gets constituted through policies and practices of a neoliberal institution, constrains the humanizing possibilities evoked by its advocates. Despite ideals or efforts to distinguish global citizenship from the internationalization, the policies leave prominent discourses undefined and room for huge variation in practices. Global citizenship remains an empty signifier, constituted through the practices carried out in its name.

The neoliberal policies of higher educational institutions (HEIs), which aim to bring capital to its stakeholders and 'consumers', play an important role in shaping the subjectivities signified by global citizenship. It is apparent from policy statements that HEIs in Canada and Ghana have been shaped to serve particular economic and political interests. This is largely the result of a pervasive shift in 1980s with Structural Adjustment Programs spawned by the World Bank

in developing countries and governments of the global powers falling prey to manipulation of Big Business. Neoliberal reform, by way of de-regulation and decline of public services and social subsidies and an increase in competition for these resources (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005), has further penetrated market logic into higher education. Within this shift, the state has become an active agent that "creates the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for it operation" (Olssen, 2003, p. 199). Although higher education has always provided the means through which to educate a workforce to facilitate the development of the economy, what we see in these policy documents is a policy web from national, local and institutional levels weaving economic logic and interests with the goals and practices in higher education.

In the preceding Ghanaian and Canadian policy statements, there is a discursive shift in the construction of higher education from a public good into an economic good that is being defined by the market. There are several references in both contexts that HEIs have had to make courses and programs more *strategic*, *relevant* to and *productive* for economic growth. According to Jones, McCarney & Skolnik (2005), the university is being repositioned in terms of its relationship to the state and industry "because it is now viewed as a key player in a global economic system where new knowledge and highly skilled human resources are perceived as the fuel of economic development" (p. 7). Knowledge is subsequently being re-framed as the key to economic growth and it is the role of the university to produce it. Intercultural and 'global' knowledge are indicated in the policy documents as important types of knowledge to acquire for their contribution to expanding and intensifying international business. There is little to no indication or concern, however, about whose knowledge is being talking about, and who and what the universities are producing knowledge for. Olssen & Peters (2005) argue that this shift has prompted a conception of "knowledge capitalism" whereby certain competencies, necessitated by industry and business, determine priorities in higher education.

Davidson-Harden (2009) argues that higher education, through its

relationship with the knowledge economy, is being steered to meet economic needs and objectives by "cultivating the behaviour of faculty and the policies of universities to conform with market models, needs and demands" (p. 171). The emergence of neoliberal governmentality that the knowledge economy evokes is an important framework for looking at the rationalities and sentiments expressed in the following chapters. What this theory suggests is that neoliberalism has done more than mandating marketing principles in education; it has exerted its "hegemonic discursive impact" (Chan- Tiberghien, 2004, p. 193) on educational policy and practice, by fostering a competitive citizenry. As the AUCC studies and internationalization policies convey, study abroad programs help students get an 'edge' in competing in the global marketplace. Global citizenship in these endeavours is a byproduct of the international experiences, skills and attributes gained abroad, which will help them to contribute to not only "international humanitarian projects," as stated in Alberta's International Education Strategy, but also "compete successfully in the global economy" (p. 4).

Competing for advantage in the global knowledge economy

The policies of internationalization, study abroad and university partnerships continually invoke the importance of competition. Canada and Ghana's shared goal of being "globally competitive" is intrinsically linked to the need for post-secondary institutions to attract, develop and retain human capital for economy growth. Global competencies acquired through study abroad such as intercultural communication skills and flexibility, are indicated as important qualities for Canadian students to compete and "take their place" in the global market. Similarly for the UG, university partnerships with international institutions are important to gain a 'competitive advantage'. The knowledge economy, as Ozaga (2007) states, appears "as a meta-narrative that assumes the commodification of knowledge in a global system of production and competition" (p. 65). Within this narrative, higher education has increasingly become a tool for national economic development wherein the production of knowledge, human

capital, competencies and competition to gain competitive advantage, are central to national economic development strategies.

The discursive shift of higher education being in the pursuit of knowledge to *knowledge capitalism* is a common theme across universities. In Knight's (2004) analysis of Canadian HEI's internationalization policies, she argues that social, political and academic rationales are being increasingly overshadowed by economic rationalities (institutionally, provincially and nationally) to develop and brand an international profile to ultimately generate revenue. Looking at discourses at all multiple levels of policy and practice, my findings support Knight's postulation that internationalization policies and practices contribute to the aspirations of HEIs and nations to gain a "competitive advantage" and "attract the best and the brightest" students and scholars to generate economic growth. Programs and practices of study abroad undertaken in the name of global citizenship education are implicated in this relationship, serving institutional goals and rationales to develop an international profile and educate a globally competent and competitive citizen/subject.

In an era of budget cuts and decline in public funding, public universities have had to secure alternative funding. Internationalization has been described as a "white knight" (Brandenburg, 2011) in this regard by helping institutions attain funds from alternate sources such as differential fee paying students and trans-national corporations that want to invest in research which will expand their markets. To facilitate these operations and increase efficiency, many institutions have introduced neoliberal policy reform such as corporatized institutional governance and accountability pillars. Marginson (2010) notes that such governance has spread through global policy borrowing, homogenizing the policies and practices along this Euro-American neoliberal system. This is evidenced in UG's Corporate Strategic Plan, which undertook an American business methodology to ascertain the most viable strategy to achieve a set of corporate goals. What seems to be missing from this plan is attention to the contextual specificities of the institution, which carries tremendous colonial

baggage from being initially instituted as an offshoot of the University of London. The CSP asserts that the strategic planning process had been proven in industry by examining the operations in "strict business terms" (p. 22), thus should work in higher educational institutions, which are experiencing similar economic challenges. The risks of adopting policies from another context pose threats of overlooking the issues of context and relevancy that contributes to what Marginson (2010) terms "global other-determining standardization" (p. 6).

Cultivating subjectivities: Competitive vs humanitarian global citizens

Discourses of knowledge economy and human capital have gained prominence in higher education, particularly in internationalization policies. Policy rationales citing the benefits of international programs as increasing global connections, markets and competencies, have objectified people as statistics in the pursuit of making the university more money. In both Canadian and Ghanaian policies, students are consistently referred to as 'human resources', 'consumers', while one of my interviewees noted that "*statistics from Citizenship and Immigration Canada refer to international students who have been in the province for a while as 'stock,*" exemplifying the objectification of humans for the purpose of equating the tuition they pay with budget lines. Yet, these humans are also referred to in policy statements as citizens, and in especially in Canada as 'global citizens'.

Neoliberal governmentality, which connotes the governance of people vis-à-vis the governance of the self, particularly in the cultivation of neoliberal rationalities such as competition, entrepreneurship and liberty, provides an important frame for looking at the operation and effects of internationalization policies and its contribution to the neoliberal and neocolonial conditions of study abroad and global citizen subjects. As Mckee (2009) notes, "by illustrating the 'inventedness of our world,' governmentality poses questions that undermine the familiarity of our present…emphasi[zing] that government policies are themselves 'social artefacts' with a specific historical trajectory" (p. 486). Neoliberal governmentality has played an important role in cultivating a citizenry

that is in line with market principles of competition, entrepreneurship and individualism. This market approach to education fails to account for the human *beings* that educate and are being educated in the institution. In light of its near absence in policy statements, "equity" appears not to be of concern for internationalization strategies, which are centered on economic growth. Altbach & Knight (2007) suggest the ethos of internationalization has induced economic priorities that "see international higher education as a commodity to be freely traded and see higher education as a private good, not a public responsibility" (p. 291). The ways in which policies have become interconnected with the political economy have constrained policies and practices of study abroad and university partnerships to emanate contradictory and competing aims.

Statements made in the University of Alberta's vision and interviews with UA and UG administrators connote a discourse of global citizenship that has humanizing qualities that destabilize the neoliberal order. However, when looking at these statements in relation to the wider educational policy arena, the 'human spirit' and 'global citizenship' have been used to promote and rationalize paradoxical pathways. On the one hand, there is a social justice discourse recognizing the importance of educating students to become critical and humanist citizens that care about development issues and compelled to do something about it all the while realizing the interdependence of the world and its citizens. Another trajectory that is most celebrated in policy statements, is to educate for a competitive, mobile and entrepreneurial citizen that helps to gain global connections, competencies and a competitive edge to help facilitate capital gains. In the Canadian context, there is a desire to bring to competing social and economic rationalities together, in particular educating students for a competitive advantage and global citizenship. In this discursive tug of war, the construction of global citizenship becomes both a container and empty signifier to connote a spectrum of intentions. In effect, it becomes less either/or and more geared towards developing students who are aware of the world and their place within it *and* making sure that they are equipped to be top competitors in the global marketplace. Attending closely to the discourses from policy statements, the

social logic aiming to promote social justice is co-opted by and reinscribed within a more powerful economic logic of making capital gains. However, who are the students competing with and what are they competing for? How is global citizenship implicated in this competitive advantage?

Part of the competition, as indicated by the policy documents, is for certain competencies pertaining to the global knowledge economy and workforce. As business grows beyond borders, workers are expected to be able to communicate and relate to others in various contexts. As Brustein (2007) suggests, it has become "imperative" for universities to "produce globally competent students" (p. 383) that are able to work in international settings. Flexibility, openness, mobility of students have become key attributes demanded by the global economy and universities have looked to university partnerships and study abroad as an avenue to inculcate them. Similarly, "intercultural communication," the ability to communicate across cultural and linguistic boundaries (Brustein, 2007) and the awareness of and adaptability to diverse cultures, perceptions, and approaches are highlighted as important competencies to compete successfully in the global economy. Internationalization policies and practices in HEIs have responded to these demands from both students and the knowledge economy, as well as competition with other institutions, by creating more internationally based opportunities such as study abroad through institutional partnerships.

An integral part of the competition amongst institutions is for the international student "stock" that pay exorbitant differential fees which pad the HEI's budget lines. In Canada's international education policies at all levels is a high prioritization and urgency of attracting international students, particularly from China and South Korea, to attend their institutions and retain them for citizenship. These students provide the institutions and also the provinces with extra income based on their consumption and other costs associated with living in Canada. In the policy document, *International Education: A Key Driver of Canada's Future Prosperity,* American, British and Australian competitors for wealthy international students have created an urgency to "act now so that

Canada's full potential in international education can be fully realized" (p. x). Little attention is given to what international students can bring to Canada aside from capital in human and economic forms. As policy recommendations suggest a doubling of international student enrolment in the next ten years, the objectification of human beings for the purposes of economic advantage and competition to attract these people will likely intensify.

What is interesting to note from statements regarding international students is a noticeable lack of 'citizenship' and 'global citizenship' discourse. Although international students are deemed ideal for immigration because their knowledge, skills and acculturation garnered from being educated in Canada, they are rarely regarded as citizens and never global citizens. Policy statements regarding global citizenship are directed towards Canadian citizens who are going out on study abroad programs and bringing back global competencies and perspetives gained from these experiences. This finding further problematizes whose citizenship is being evoked in the aspirations concerning global citizenship? When cast into the dynamics of institutional partnerships, the dividing lines between who gets to be a global citizen based on opportunities for mobility are further illuminated.

Partnerships: For what? For whom?

The importance of institutional partnerships in realizing internationalization efforts by facilitating student and faculty mobility and research projects is indicated in both Canadian and Ghanaian policies. The partnership policy between UA and UG suggests an intention to bring mutuality of benefits and interests to the institutions. Hosting international students brings economic benefit to institutions, but without opportunities for reciprocal exchange, wherein UG students study at the UA, this mutuality is constrained. One of the most pressing critiques of internationalization is of unequal movement and benefit for students. Although physical mobility of students and faculty has long been a strong focus of internationalization of higher education, there is a reluctance to look at the limitations and issues of these activities because of the

amount of money required to make reciprocal exchanges a reality. Without substantial funding of international programming, few students can afford these opportunities as they often require capital, and more importantly for citizens of Southern countries, Visas, to participate (Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Pluim & Jorgenson, 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2007). Several Ghanaian students I encountered at UG had aspirations of studying internationally. Some had been accepted to universities in North America, but could not attend because of the financial limitations and the difficulties in being approved for a student Visa. The relationship between immigration policies and institutional policies of recruiting international students and sending local students abroad need to re-assessed in light of these inequities.

Despite these inequities, it is these partnerships and programs that are continually publicized as achievements in the area of internationalization. As the UA's Faculty of Nursing partners convey, "this project has become a powerful tool for enhancing internationalization of the UA Faculty of Nursing" (Ogilvie, Allen, Opare, & Laryea, 2003, p. 116). Although this particular partnership and program made efforts to ensure some mutual exchange of students, the numbers of Albertans travelling to Ghana still far outweighed the number of Ghanaians coming to Alberta. Each of the Ghanaian and North American administrators I spoke to expressed it would be great to provide opportunities for reciprocal exchange, and some had even attempted to provide opportunities for a couple of Ghanaians to come to North America. However, each stated that it was just too expensive to make this a reality. Behind their justifications was the notion that the cost of equity and reciprocity are too high and when it comes to institutional priorities, we are first going to benefit our own.

The UA's *Connecting the World* document clearly conveys this liberal discourse of wanting to help others, but only if it helps us out as well. Statements such as wanting to provide international "opportunities for students to enhance their qualifications to compete in a globalizing work environment, thus engaging the economic strength of our part of the world" (p. 6) exposes the selfish

economic interests despite the mission of forming "reciprocal relationships" (p. 2) with the global community. Another contradictory discourse in this document pertains to the cited aim of not only attracting, but also "retaining" the best and the brightest students and faculty. While this exists as a prominent discourse throughout national, provincial and institutional policies in the goal of recruiting international students to fulfill Canada's labour shortages, it runs counter to the core values of social justice, reciprocity and mutual capacity building that the UA cites in its mission statement for international engagement. Contrary to these values, *retaining* the best in the brightest fosters brain drain and robbing nations of many of their most educated citizens.

Summary

Neoliberal ideologies have become an agent and effect of discourses such as the knowledge economy and internationalization in higher education. Together they have served to influence the creation and implementation of policy and practice in universities, propelling the commodification of knowledge, tokenistic partnerships and colonial exchanges. Higher educational institutions across the globe have fallen prey to neoliberal agendas, resulting in policies and practices becoming more in line with increasing competition and marketability of the institution, its workers and student/consumers. Internationalization is an example of the ways in which HEIs have responded to global economic pressures to maintain relevance and competitiveness in the global higher education arena. The effects of neoliberal educational policy in relation to programs and practices of internationalization are, amongst other things, the attack on social justice (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005), alienation from the values that are associated with equity in exchange for values that sustain the market. What is important to recognize in these processes are that despite the promise of the market to be an equalizer, it is an agent of capitalism, which will always create and maintain losers at the expense of the few who gain a competitive advantage.

A Foucauldian discourse analysis was utilized in this chapter to examine the prominent discourses and power/knowledge circulating within the policy

arena of internationalization in higher education in two contexts, the University of Alberta and University of Ghana. Since it was not feasible to do an in-depth policy analysis for each of the six institutions that the students and I interviewed represent, I focused on the policies of the UA and UG as a case study to analyze internationalization, study abroad and university partnership policies and the broader knowledge economy policy webs that these institutions are a part of. Analyzing policy documents linked to internationalization and institutional partnerships through FDA provided a framework for examining the rationale(ities) and effects of policies associated with study abroad and global citizenship. This analysis sets the stage for looking at the ways in which policies shape the kinds of knowledge and subjectivities that were evoked in my fieldwork and interviews. This framework helps to illuminate how the discourses and practices evoked in the next chapters have come to be and how ethics can help interrogate what is at stake in these endeavors.

Chapter 6: Student interviews: Global citizenship revisited

Introduction

This chapter draws on ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the University of Ghana from February to May 2012. Living and attending classes with North American (NA) and Ghanaian undergraduate students for three months allowed for me to pay close attention and establish a personal connection to the discursive construction of global citizenship and contingent power relations. Continuing from the policy analysis, this chapter attends to the practices of study abroad and to statements made by NA and Ghanaian students who were involved in this process. The quotes, taken from interviews with consenting participants, capture the complex conditions that policies enable and constrain in creating possibilities of decolonial concepts and practices of global citizenship. To preface, although inclusivity was a primary objective, statements by North American students constitute the majority of this analysis and discussion. In conjunction with Young's (1995) suggestion that post-colonial inquiry ought to be a "critical ethnography of the West," (p. 163) a key concern was the ways in which global citizenship discourses castigate a superior global self in relation to an inferior local other and to see how this discursive formation is perpetuated and/or challenged in policy and practice.

Dismantling desires

When discussing my research, I am often asked, "why Ghana?" I reply, "good question. I am actually trying to understand that through my research." As mentioned, Ghana has become a popular choice for NA undergraduate students wanting to study abroad, volunteer and/or do an internship in the Third World. The University of Ghana, in particular, has become a prominent host for NA students who wish to learn about the *Third World, international development* and *cultural differences* in a *safe* environment. While these discourses are key rationales for the formation of global citizenship policy and practice, the statements from students implicated in these practices suggest deeper epistemic

formations arising from (neo)colonization. Asking students how they came to Ghana elicited desire for difference. The general lack of reflexivity in their responses also indicated anterior forces bearing on their 'choice'.

Choosing Ghana, rationalizing risk

The study abroad menu is often students' first step in their study abroad journey. It sparks the imagination and fuels inspiration for exploring the world. Yet, from a Foucauldian perspective, individual 'choice' is not as autonomous and agentic as one may believe. The study abroad menu has been constructed in ways consonant with various political and economic rationalities; limiting a student's choice long before he or she sees any options. Further, students' choice of and rationale for choosing Ghana provides insights to how students are subjectivated by policy. For instance, when I asked students how they came to study in Ghana, many spoke about the political stability and safety. After deciding to 'go to Africa', which I discuss later on, students generally had a small list of African institutions to choose from. According to most NA students I spoke to, safety, development and political stability set Ghana apart from other African countries on the list. A Canadian student stated that part of the reason why Ghana is one of four African options at his home university and why he ultimately chose Ghana, was because of its relative safety:

> *It is difficult to send students to countries that are more dangerous. You don't want to compromise the safety of your students and all of that. Honestly, a lot of universities have really low standards, so that would cut off a lot of options. In terms of Africa, from what I see and have heard, Ghana is one of the best places. Seeing Togo or hearing about Benin or Nigeria, it would be really hard to have programs with students going to those places because it would be somewhat exposing them to more things.*

Ghana, constructed in policy and development indicators as a soon-to-be 'middle income country', had bearing on how Ghana was conceived of by NA students. In contrast to other countries, such as Nigeria, which had recently become infamous for its religious strife, Ghana's relatively peaceful track record in Western media contributed to the construction of Ghana as a less dangerous African option. Although many NA students complained incessantly about the "low standards" at

the University of Ghana, the crowded classrooms, lack of resources and unreliability of professors, the students I spoke to maintained that Ghana was the best of the worst, evoking neighboring countries, such as Togo or Ivory Coast as juxtapositions of 'how bad it could be'.

The construction of Ghana and other African higher educational institutions as having low standards conveys an imperialistic attitude that was evident in the policies pertaining to university partnerships. Quality control of programming and the maintenance of high educational standards were prominent discourses; as a NA administrator conveyed, "*There is also this kind of rhetoric where universities will say that they have control over the quality or standards of education here and when students go abroad, they don't have that kind of quality control*." Thus, several programs require NA professors to accompany students to Ghana to ensure the 'quality' of education. Consummate with this rationale, programs that send NA students during intersession (summer months), facilitated and taught by NA faculty, have prospered. These measures are thought to 'reduce risk' and enhance the quality of education, all the while having a 'cross-cultural experience' to develop global citizenship.

While students expressed that they generally felt safe in Ghana, they were not necessarily prepared to feel safe. The regime of risk management, a policy and practice that post-secondary institutions have adopted in their orientation of students and faculty members working in places constituted as 'risky', has contributed to notions that Ghana is unsafe or dangerous. As the University of Alberta International website indicates: "we have designated specialists and programming to ensure students and staff are aware of the potential risks associated with off-campus activities abroad and to provide important resources and information for those undertaking international activities" (UAI Safety). These activities include mandatory pre-departure information sessions that cover topics about health and safety while abroad. But as risk management has manifested in the University of New Hampshire, for instance, it has the potential to make students feel more concerned for their safety than actually feeling safe

and secure. As one female student recalled in their group's preparation, a sexual harassment and rape prevention program did an orientation with the students about what to do if they "*were sexually harassed or raped in Africa*". This student recounted that her expectations and fears were heightened by these kinds of preparatory risk management practices meant to make her feel safer.

In addition to the relative safety and security in Ghana, students' choices to go abroad are shaped strongly by pressures on their institution to internationalize. A Canadian student stated: "*we don't really have a program. What happens is that they advertise study abroad generally and then you get a list of countries and universities that you can go to and a note about how many people they accept to go to a particular place."* He states that no one recruited or told him to go to Ghana; "*people just said go abroad, internationalize your education*." This thrust corresponds to comments from a Canadian administrator who stated a large part of his job was to convince students about the importance of study abroad:

> *Many Albertans require a bit more awareness of the importance and value of study abroad because they are either busy or in debt and it is not on a list of priorities in their life. So one of the challenges was that there weren't a large number of students lined out our door wanting to go abroad. A large part of our work was convincing them that it was worth pursuing.*

A NA program director responsible for taking groups of student to Ghana similarly commented that he had spent much time trying to recruit students and convince them of the importance of study abroad. In the first couple years of the program, he said the program was getting more students from other institutions, noting "*Albertans generally don't see the value in this kind of thing. The study abroad programs just don't thrive. Partially it is about how much money people have and also what they value about education and what education should be*."

If students were convinced that the study abroad was worth pursing, other factors, such as cost and duration, also influenced their decision. A NA student noted that although there were other programs offered, cost was a factor in her decision: "*They also go to Georgia, but it was never really something that I*

considered. For one thing, it is way more expensive than going to Ghana, which seemed kind of crazy." However, as she continues in her rationale, the main factor that shaped the desires of nearly all the NA students I interviewed was, "*I also wanted a completely different experience*." She stated that the Georgia program "*is for people who want to work in super high tech hospitals, which is not what I was looking for. I was looking for something on the other side of the spectrum*." Persistent throughout interviews with students were comparisons that constructed Ghana as an underdeveloped country that was developed just enough to experience something 'different.'

Desire for difference: Racial and cultural constructions of global citizenship

> *When I applied for exchange, my hand went to click France and I said, wait, I don't know if this is still what I want. I looked down at the list and I saw Ghana and something clicked. I didn't want a European experience. I wanted something that was much different than a Canadian lifestyle. So, I only applied to Ghana.*

In describing why they chose to go to Ghana, NA students stated that they wanted something different from their 'norm'. Several students spoke about deciding between Europe and Ghana, which was *different*. As the quotation above expresses, the student juxtaposed a "European" experience, understood as similar to his own lived experience in Canada, with an "African" experience. This sentiment is further reflected in an interview with a Canadian administrator who suggested:

> *Sending a student to Europe is a learning experience, but it can't be compared to sending a student to Tanzania or Ghana. They are very different places on the planet. They bring about conversations such as poverty, human rights. These probably won't be conversations that people who go to Europe will have*.

In such accounts, Ghana is consistently constructed as a binary opposition to Europe, a place where poverty and human rights issues can be encountered. Conversely, North America and Europe were co-constructed through these dichotomies as contexts void of these issues.

Similarly, another student's desire for something *different* propelled him to choose Ghana over the UK:

> *It was kind of a hard decision to come here. A lot of people wanted to see me go to UK, as I am an English major, like my parents. Ghana was a bit more scary for them. A lot of professors recommended Ghana, and some recommended UK. Some of it was cost. Going to UK was a bit more expensive. But, as I started weighing things more, I saw so much more benefit to go to Ghana. The UK is just not that different. Coming here, I got to absorb so much more culture and still witness the same archaic beauty that you would see in Europe's gothic cathedrals and all that other stuff. You get the same beautiful vacation component too, like going to a place like Australia. I was on a beach when it was snowing back in NH. It is more difficult, but that is reason why I wanted to go. All my roommates and friends were planning on going abroad. It was a good motivation to see how everyone was going to do something. I knew that I wanted to get the same kind of experience. I didn't want to be behind them in anyway. I actually wanted to take it a step further by going to Africa.*

In his response, there was desire for experiencing something different than his peers did. The UK was neither different nor difficult enough for him. The desire to "*take it a step further by going to Africa*" also constructs Ghana, and other countries on the continent, as a place to experience difference and difficulty. This corresponds to a sense that I received from several NA students; this was an adventure and a competition amongst peers to see what unique experiences they could obtain. Study abroad emerges in these statements as the prized credential of the undergraduate experience. The location of Ghana, however, constituted the difficult choice and the road less travelled for its constructed differences and difficulty. Correspondingly, another NA student noted, "*Ghana attracts a certain type of person. I am not really settled on that theory just yet, but I think we all kind of have this adventurous spirit about us*." This *certain type of person* is interesting in light of the production and maintenance of subjectivities related to global citizenship discussed later.

The construction of Ghana as a place where culture could be consumed and benefit the global citizen subject represented another common theme amongst NA interviewees. In relation to Europe, Ghana's culture constituted a "benefit" for the students who desired something different from the everyday, while still

getting the "*same beautiful vacation component"*. In discussions about how students chose Ghana, the essentialization of culture emerged most prominently. France and Britain were constructed as familiar and similar to NA; whereas Ghana was constructed as unknown and different. The majority of NA students I encountered knew very little about Ghana before arriving. One student I spoke with stated that she had prepared for Ghana by watching *Hotel Rwanda* and *Blood Diamonds*, neither of which take place in Ghana. The assumption that all African culture is the same was also evident in the common substitution of "Africa" when talking about experiences in Ghana. As one student stated several times in her interview: "*this is Africa, this is Africa*."

Other students who had some knowledge of Ghanaian culture, such as the drumming, were attracted to Ghana to learn more about West African culture. As one student reflected:

> *I have always wanted to come to Africa, for as long as I can remember… I always had a thing for Africa and things related to Africanness, like black music, beats and rhythm. I started studying international studies and it has always been a region of interest for me. I didn't want to have the pre-conception of seeing Africa through the typical stereotypes. I wanted to see things for myself. The fact that I have studied the area made me want to come.*

The image of West Africa has become associated with strong cultural traditions. This sentiment was reinforced by a Ghanaian student who stated: North American students come here for the "*African experience, which is not a South African experience, but one that is in the Western part of Africa*." Some students had even taken West African drumming and dancing classes at their home institutions in North America. These traditions have consequently captured the Western imagination of Ghana as a place of "culture" and thus, an exotic context to learn about cultural difference.

Cultural differences were mutually constructed as exotic objects of one's knowledge; first imagined at home, then acquired in the study abroad experience. These constructions suggest that one cannot experience difference at home and that global citizenship requires a racialized and culturalized Other through which

to learn about one's self. Students from New Hampshire, for example, described being from homogenous white middle-class communities, stating that they could not learn about global citizenship because of the lack of difference at home:

> *I go to a university that is homogeneous in race and colour and ethnic background. But we pride ourselves on the idea that we know we are bland and not very culturally rich in that the knowing makes up for the fact that we are not… But at the same time, there is no substitute for going and experiencing things. The hands-on experience is not going to come down the street in New Hampshire. There is absolutely no substitute for this experience.*

There are several interesting statements in this passage. First, despite a multitude of differences which exist in most communities, such as socio-economic status, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, etc., the 'real' differences between Ghana and NA evoked pertain to race and culture. Second, is the desire to go into the space of the Other to experience these differences for themselves. Finally, is the evocation of experiential knowledge as a superior way of knowing, for which there is no substitute.

Interestingly, when students described what they would take away from their experience, the aforementioned binaries began to be dismantled. For instance, when I asked NA students about some of the challenges and learning experiences they had in Ghana, most reflected on the difficult encounters they had with gender inequality, religion, racial stereotypes and homophobia. These were the differences that caused them to reflect on their own views, values and assumptions; not the tangible cultural components that had been their reasons for choosing Ghana. These 'difficult encounters' are examined later on, but it is important to note here that the exoticized racial and cultural differences, which ignited the imagination and desire for difference, did not prompt deeper critical self-reflection about self/other relationships and global citizenship. However, when I spoke informally to students about their experiences in Ghana or read their blogs, there was a reliance on an exoticized portrayal of Ghana in their representations. What I began to sense was that language and modes of representation consistently constrained people's communication of their deeper and difficult learning experiences related to global citizenship.

From the object of desire: A Ghanaian P.O.V

It is also necessary to examine this phenomenon from the Ghanaian students' perspective; the object of desire. In response to my question about why NA students choose Ghana, Ghanaians responses reflected the North Americans' sentiments of encountering difference and the experiencing the "exotic". As one Ghanaian student stated:

> *I know they come for a cultural experience and exposure, but they do not put much premium on their academics, which for me is odd. I don't know why anyone would not want to take their academics seriously. I appreciate the fact that they come here to gain cultural exposure, but generally I realize that they don't put much emphasis on academics. I think they come here for a sense of adventure. I think they are just tired and in their comfort zones. They think there are lions, tigers and monkeys on the street and in the trees and they want to see these things for themselves. Like a safari adventure.*

Witnessing groups of North American students arrive on campus each semester, the Ghanaians I interviewed conveyed a slight hostility toward this invasion of their space. An employee at the International Programmes Office (IPO) shared this sentiment stating, "*some of them come here not to learn, but to travel. During the orientation, some people told me that they will skip class and just travel. Some of them do pull it off, going away for a whole week and miss class. Some of them come here just to travel, take pictures, write blogs and go home.*" The disregard for the academic experience and uptake of the "cultural" safari experience unsettled the Ghanaians I interviewed, many of whom suggested that if they had this opportunity, they would make the most out of the academic experience.

Another prevalent discourse throughout the interviews was the emphasis given to experiential learning and the ability to give a first-hand account. By going to Ghana and not just reading about it, NA and Ghanaian students both saw the benefits of study abroad in giving a more accurate representation of a place:

> *I will try to put myself into their shoes. One important thing is the educational exposure. If you stay in Canada your whole life, talking about global citizenship, you can't really give an account of what it is like elsewhere. They have to see for themselves, how people are learning. It*

> *would be very advisable to come to these other countries to see how it really is.*

Looking from the point of view of the NA student, the Ghanaian participant could see the importance of experiential education in "*talking about global citizenship*". However, he did not address the assumption that one needs to enter an Other's terrain to give a true account, or if Ghanaians also need to travel in order to see "how it really is" in NA.

Orient(aliz)ation

Once the decisions were made to go to Ghana, students underwent varying degrees of preparation and orientation. According to the students interviewed, each program encompassed a general study abroad orientation, with past student travellers and professors giving talks about 'what it is like over there', what to pack, the logistics of Visas, immunizations and various safety protocols. More structured programs, such as Faculty-led programs, provided more in-depth orientations to prepare students with disciplinary-specific knowledge before departure. Yet, regardless of the program structure or duration, each of the NA student respondents felt that they were not adequately prepared for their experiences in Ghana. Orientalist discourse was pervasive in students' descriptions of their orientations. It became obvious that study abroad orientations prepared students in ways that prejudicially constructed Ghanaians and Ghanaian culture, having a negative effect on initial perceptions and relationships.

An American program that had an office at the UG gave students the option to live in homestays and participate in a number of activities, such as volunteer placements and group tours. In an interview with one of the Ghanaian program administrators of this program, he described the importance of having an extensive orientation to "bridge" the different cultures:

> *We have an expansive orientation with students for them to become aware of the new environment and themselves as Americans... Also, to become literate and knowledgeable in the different culture they are encountering and then helping them to gain skills, like the ability to manage the different environment and to be able to build bridges across from where they are from and where they have been taken. How these two different*

> *environments can function together. We do this through our on-site orientation. We speak on a variety of subject matters, such as Ghanaian customs and etiquette, adjusting to culture shock issues.*

Despite the intention of providing a buffer of information to orient students to Ghana, a NA female student conveyed that the onsite orientation was extremely problematic in how they constructed Ghana and Ghanaians and reinforced pre-conceived notions:

> *As soon as we got here, they stuck us in this nice hotel before going to the homestays and ISH. We went to lectures and one of them was about interactions with students and they were talking about how men may come up to us and ask us to marry them and come on to us and told us ways that we can handle that. "Tell them you are from Canada or Sweden and they will probably be less annoying that if you are from America. You can make up a fake name." We had a discussion after they said that about what we do in case that happens. They also mentioned that Ghanaian girls are really reserved…So at first, I was expecting this kind of behaviour. Like when a guy came up to me, I just wanted to dismiss him. Then I realized that not everyone fits this stereotype and if I assume they do, I will be missing out on a bunch of cool opportunities and friendships. So, when a guy comes up to me, I may give him a chance and not ignore him. If it is obvious that he wants my number because of my skin color, I will ignore him. But if he genuinely wants to interact with me, I will give him a chance. But it definitely affected my interactions when I first got here… Some of the stuff they needed to explain to us like how to get on a tro-tro or to warn us that we may not have running water- not to come and complain to them if we didn't. Those are reasonable things because it is about the system. But warning people about interactions will definitely effect your interactions. I felt at first that I was dismissing guys, thinking when they come up to me, they just want my number and then I realized, not all them want my phone number. And some guys who I want to talk to more and they wouldn't ask for my number and it blew my mind. I didn't expect that.*

Programs that try to bridge cultures by essentializing complex histories and ways of being, run the risk of perpetuating stereotypes that strongly condition perceptions and encounters. Common discourses evoked in the preceding statements pertain to superiority/inferiority complexes associated with race, gender and class. When I began to hear such statements, Fanon's insights on power relations in Black Skin/White Masks came into focus. The inculcation of these stereotypes in the orientation was felt strongly by this student and it gave

her a set of expectations of Ghanaians, especially the men, which constrained her encounters and relationships.

The preceding narratives from the administrator and student elicit the problematic ways programs orient students to be in relation to and with an Other. To orient students *to become aware of the new environment and themselves as Americans,* conditions students to see themselves as separate and different from Ghanaians. The NA student also suggested that information about transportation and infrastructure were reasonable orientation topics, but interactions and relationships ought to be arrived at experientially and authentically.

There lies an implicit Orientalism in the students' recollection of their orientations. The suggestion made to one NA student to not bring any nice things or clothing to Ghana, and to remain near 'wealthy places,' presents a contradictory construction of Ghana, complicating students' expectations. After seeing how beautifully Ghanaians were dressed, NA students expressed regret that they did not bring nicer clothing because they felt underdressed compared to their Ghanaian peers. This illustrates the discursive construction of Ghana as an underdeveloped location, which was inconsistent with their lived experience. As a Ghanaian student commented:

> *A lot of people come here and see how nicely people are dressed here and they say, 'oh I should have brought nicer clothes, these clothes I am wearing here are not what I would wear at home'. Every foreign student tells me this. There is that kind of misperception. It takes people coming here and understanding the context to go back and inform people about what it is like here.*

The discourse around safety and poverty instilled in the NA student a sense of positional superiority. The inferiority/superiority complexes constructed prior to encountering the Other engendered many misconceptions that troubled the students while they were in Ghana.

The importance and preeminence of experiential education and knowledge arose in several interviews with NA and Ghanaian respondents. The significance of seeing and thinking for oneself conveyed powerful messages about the

value(ing) of experiential education. There are both encouraging and dangerous possibilities of experiential education. One of the positive venues is the potential of personal experience, especially relationships, to counteract and subvert stereotypical constructions of the Other. Some programs, which lacked formal structure, propelled students to learn about context independently prior to departure and then from the Ghanaian people once in country. For one student, he was happy that he did not partake in a Faculty-led program because a structured orientation would have biased his perceptions and interactions with people:

> *I would have been really unhappy coming with a program where you have a long orientation and sessions all the time and weekend trips with all the same people. What I like about my experience was that I had to learn by doing and mostly through conversations with actual Ghanaian people.*

His experience, as he reflects on his preparation for Ghana, was very self-directed. Once he decided to go to Ghana and was accepted, he learned about Ghana through literature and in conversations with people who had visited before. His home university gave a general session for everyone going abroad that discussed culture and re-entry shock, how to obtain visas and passports, but offered no Ghana specific information. Consequently, he states "*I just arrived in Ghana and was essentially on my own from day one when I got here*." Still, he believed that his experience was much more exploratory and independent than that of his peers and that it positioned him to learn about Ghana from Ghanaians. However, as I discovered in the prominence of international student cliques, this experiential knowledge is not as well informed or legitimate as people are often led to believe.

(Dis)comfort

The experiences in Ghana were central to NA students' learning and subjectivity associated with global citizenship. As this became more prominent in participants' responses, I began to ask all interviewees, "do you need to travel to be a global citizen?" To my surprise, the overwhelming response was, "yes." Although surprised at first, when I started to unpack some of these statements, an interesting construction emerged: the comfort zone. The respondents conveyed that travelling to places outside of one's home or nation provides opportunities for

people to get out of their "*comfort zone*" and reflect upon their biases and assumptions in relation to another way of knowing and being. How students negotiated the discomfort and ambiguity that encountering difference and difficulties brought forth had a significant bearing on how the global citizen subject was constituted.

Travelling out of the comfort zone

For most respondents, the desire to go to Ghana was fuelled by a yearning to get out of a comfort zone and encounter something 'different' than what they were used to. As a NA student reflected, "*If I hadn't actively sought out ways not to put myself in uncomfortable situations, I never would have tried to come to Ghana*." According to most participants, global citizenship could not be achieved through travel to Europe or elsewhere in North America. Upon asking a NA student if a person needs to travel to be a global citizen, she responded, "*Yes, you need to travel, but not to another comfort zone. You need to travel and experience the opposite of what you are used to."* Thus, Ghana being constructed as "exotic", "different" and "difficult", represented the opposing side of a binary with North America and, a context that to push NA students out of their comfort zone. Ghana was depicted as a fertile, yet uncomfortable space to encounter difference and difficulty.

Many respondents described travelling out of the comfort zone as a key component of global citizenship. The discourse of learning and transformation at the limit of one's comfort zone emerged in interviews with both Ghanaian and NA students and administrators. One of the Ghanaian administrators gave an interesting portrayal of how travel and comfort zones work for both the traveller and host:

> *There is a certain level of comfort if you live in your own environment and haven't travelled, you may know of the existence of something through reading about it, but you will rarely get yourself out to experience it. ...You are forced to do things that you wouldn't normally do. Travelling pushes you outside of your comfort zone. You don't have a choice but to deal with it. If you feel the opposite is the case and you can't deal with the difference and diversity, feeling like you stick out too much, sometimes*

> *they have to go home. Travelling helps provide the opportunity to encounter difference and learn.*

Having seen engagement from different perspectives, he revealed the ways in which a threshold of (dis)comfort compelled people to either together or immerse themselves in a new environment.

A few students provided more depth and complexity to the suggested requirement of travelling abroad to ascertain global citizenship. After initially saying 'yes' to the question I posed, one student's ambivalence and subsequent reflexivity led to a more nuanced understanding of the need to travel:

> *I think travelling certainly helps because when you travel, you are so fully immersed in a different place that it forces you to step back and look at your own life as well as those around you. It is like getting a bird's eye view of how you live and how others live. I think travelling is good if you go with an open mind. If you are in Alberta doing a global citizenship thing, your mind wouldn't be as open to other people. Like you wouldn't go up to people as ask them how they deal with death. When you are in a totally different place, you want to know about everything there and ask a lot of questions. The experiences are so different that it makes a strong contrast that gives you that view. If you were to go somewhere unfamiliar in Canada, I think you could have the same experiences. If you dropped me in a long-term care centre that had a different culture than mine, like a Chinese long-term care facility, I would have similar learning experiences. When you are an outsider, you mind opens up a bit. If you put me on a [First Nations] reserve, I would be an outsider and I would learn a lot.*

In these statements, a construction of a racialized and culturalized Other necessary for opening one's mind to global citizenship is seen; however, the notion that students do not need to go far from home to have these encounters is of most significance. Being immersed in a new context propelled students into a liminal space where difference, constructed and experienced, could be negotiated. The *contrast*, as this student suggested, gave students the opportunity to renegotiate and understand self in relation to an Other and ultimately open their minds. Nevertheless, the luxury of flying into another's space to have the opportunity to encounter an Other requires particular forms of power and capital to do so.

Another NA student similarly described that spending time in a local community with a different culture could engender similar learning experiences he had in Ghana. How travelling is constituted in relation to learning about difference provides a more complex dimension to local/global constructions of citizenship:

> *I think Canada is unique in this in that you can spend time on a First Nations reserve and have similar experiences. But I wouldn't consider that really travelling. I can go to Europe, but I wouldn't have the same revelations. I would have different ones. I wouldn't probably have these ones and that has less to do with the travelling somewhere, as it is that I am in a much different lifestyle setting. Travelling internationally doesn't necessarily mean much. If I wanted the same kind of experience I am having now, I could have also moved to a Northern isolated community in Canada. You may even have a deeper experience because here I live in a city. People probably have even stronger and revelations along the same line. Fly to the UK and live in London, you probably aren't going to feel the same way.*

Globalization in the forms of shopping malls, American restaurants, bars, and familiar grocery items, gave NA students an unexpected taste of home. Although some students suggested that you do not need to go far to find the global in the local, they still implied the need to enter into someone else's space, which is similarly racialized and culturalized. The Chinese long-term care facility or First Nations reserve in Canada were depicted as being 'different' than their norm. Despite being both being local contexts, the cultures of these spaces and the people who occupy them are constituted as Other, which could push people out of their comfort zones.

Clinging to and averting the comfort zone

A prominent way for students to "*manage*" the discomforts that difference engendered, as a Ghanaian administrator suggested, was to create an international student bubble that acted as a buffer from difficulties and discomforts. A NA student observed that most students tried to "*take their comfort zone wherever they go*". Reflecting on why some students do this, she stated:

> *A lot of students want to recreate their lives here. Even the homestay students- they may like cultural integration, but only so much. A lot of the time when they see something weird, they just want to dismiss it… Being in*

> *a very new environment can be a very exhausting thing sometimes so I think creating comfort is something. There are still some students who don't fit into the student bubble, but they create comfort in their own ways to help so that they don't have to be experiencing too much at a time because I don't think they experience too much at home.*

Her statement accurately reflected my observations of the movements and activities of international students on the UG campus, especially in the International Student Hostel (ISH), a fertile ground for cliques and student bubbles. Following arrival, there was a distinct adjustment period where newcomers confronted differences, such as climate, food, language and transportation. During this time, a threshold emerged for international students that either inhibited or fostered their immersion in the new context. It appeared that most students could only take a certain amount of difference and cultural integration before it became too uncomfortable, resulting in a retreat to familiar comforts: friends, food and conversations. As one NA student observed: *Often times you walk by the kitchen and they [international students] are all sitting there and chatting instead of being out there doing something with the locals… You see the lack of interaction with them and the Africans and they are just doing the things as they would do back home.* Few students pushed past this discomfort; instead, integrating more deeply into the familiar environment when 'difficulties' arose.

The most often cited and noticeable comforts were the friendships formed between peers going through similar discomforts and adjustments. Students from the same program or geographic location most often stuck together and created quick bonds that sustained throughout the semester. For one young NA female student I interviewed, the relationships she made with her NA and British peers in ISH were the highlight of her experience in Ghana:

> *The highlight in the beginning was coming and being completely surrounded by people in the exact same situation as you are in. Not only learning about the Ghanaian culture together, but why we all interpret Ghanaian culture differently... When you are homesick, there are 160 other students going through the same thing. You never feel alone, in a place that I would otherwise feel very alone.*

For this student, the bubble was a place of refuge. She felt very comfortable in this setting where she could relate easily with others. As for her Ghanaian peers, including her Ghanaian roommate, she stated, "*I like having them around."* While Ghana was the object of her learning experience, her encounters were based from her positionality in her peer group that provided her with a base of certainty. For other students, particularly the male NA students I interviewed, the international student bubble was a source of discomfort. A male peer of the previous female student did not understand why the people from his program cliqued together. While he recognized they were learning about Ghanaian culture, he did not think they were experiencing it to a sufficient extent. By shunning the clique, he believed he had a more "*deeply engrained experience,*" and could not understand why his peers were not following a similar path.

Another NA male student stated that it was a careful and intentional decision of his to not join a clique. Although joining NA students' activities was an *easier* and more comfortable thing to do, it was not the experience that he came to Ghana for:

> *One of the challenges that I saw happing at the beginning was that at the 2-3 week point, things became not all that new anymore. I had a few conversations with other international students where we said, we have to make a decision of whether to join a clique with other international students or disconnect ourselves from them and be with Ghanaian people. The two weren't compatible. It was internationals stuck with internationals and Ghanaians were with Ghanaians and it was like you had to choose a camp you wanted to be in…I think for the first bit, it was a comfort thing where all the international students hung out together. At first I was comfortable, but it wasn't the experience I wanted to have, where you don't have to challenge yourself. I felt sad for them. It is easier to connect with international students, like I have more immediate in common with them. So, I had to intentionally distance myself.*

Observing peers miss experiences offered through relationships with Ghanaians, these two students commented that it was sad and inconceivable that anyone would come to Ghana and not get to know Ghanaian people. Remaining in an international student bubble, which involved going out to restaurants, clubs and resorts together in large groups of people from one's program or country, were looked down upon by these students, who formed bonds with Ghanaians and had

what they perceived as more 'local' experiences. However, there is also a sense of superiority of 'going native' in these statements that warrants examination.

From a Ghanaian point of view, the international student cliques were deeply problematic. When calling a floor meeting for the International Students Hostel (ISH) residents, one of the Ghanaian Resident Assistants (RAs) observed, "*they came in groups. Those from a particular university would come together, the Canadians would come together, then the Americans and then the Nigerians*." Despite efforts by the International Programs Office to mix students via room assignments, she noted "*they are still in their little groups*." She suggested that another way is possible:

> *If they could just let go of certain preconceptions and think they have certain things they have right to get, they will enjoy Ghana and the university more and friendships with the locals. To really get the most out of University of Ghana and local people, you have to let go of your own biases, let go of what you have learned in your own country and open up to new ways of doing things. You have left your country, paid so much money to come to a new environment. It is worth it to try and get along, embrace the new culture you see. Many of the students, like in the room next to mine, I don't know... she does not want to enjoy herself as she is here. She is so stuck-up. It is bad. It is a sore sight to see someone like that. You know that she is not going to learn or gain anything from being here. It is kind of sad.*

As indicated in this passage, the conditions of these programs to foster relationships, open up to new ways of knowing and being and learning from the other, are numerable. Yet in order to do so, students need to get of their comfort zone and let go of preconceived notions. The processes of letting go and unlearning were deemed essential by this participant to learn about Ghana and effectively become a global citizen.

While it was easier to detect students who left their comfort zones, it was not a simple question about whether comfort zones create or negate possibilities for decolonial global citizenship. In observing, interviewing and analyzing the students, it was apparent that discomfort and ambivalence engendered significant learning about self and other. According to one participant, "*I am ok with going out of my comfort zone without holding on to this white, male, US, New England,*

high SES status citizen. I learned to let it go. I recognize it, I know how I am perceived and so I try to be more Ghanaian." His examples of 'being more Ghanaian' included bringing his roommate small gifts and sharing food together. The perceptions of self and other are complex and in this case, inducing a kind of mimicry, wherein he was trying to copy the actions of his roommate. Although it was stated by both Ghanaian and NA respondents that there is a need to let go and open up to new ways of doing things, there is often a fine line between appropriation and being otherwise.

By clinging to comforts as depicted in student cliques, global citizenship was depicted as something that travelling to a difference context precipitates, but does not necessarily guarantee. Nevertheless, it was deemed an important component to foster openness and stepping outside of one's comfort zone. As a NA student reflected: "*Do you need to travel to be global? Ideally, yes. But, it doesn't guarantee that you would be global. I have met a lot of people travelling who I wouldn't consider global. They just take their place to wherever they go. Equally, you could say that there are people who are global who haven't travelled. But I think ideally, having that experience makes your more global."* This response problematizes the assumption that one becomes a global citizen simply through travelling. The local and global articulated in this statement conveys an interpenetration of these two seemingly opposing constructions. Especially when considering individual dispositions and intentions of their study abroad experience, travelling out of one's country does not equate with 'global' citizenship. Whether or not study abroad programs in Ghana were successful in pushing students out of their comfort zones into the liminal to negotiate their perceived differences was not simply a question of the program structure, but rather of ethics and relationships.

Difficult encounters

Despite the many points of connection that facilitated friendships and relationships across difference, there were several difficult encounters that produced conflict in their perceptions and relationships. These encounters

centered around four interconnected themes: racialized and gendered constructions and inequality, religious zeal and homophobia. These themes were often fused together in NA and Ghanaian students describing some of their challenges relating to the Other. Interwoven through the narratives were interlocking systems of oppression and a colonial power relations that have deep historical roots and complicated manifestations. The difficult encounters reflected upon by the interviewees present insights into constructions of global citizenship and contingent power relations.

Racial and gendered dynamics

Although interviewees rarely addressed race explicitly, discourses around visibility, minorities and otherness were used to describe racialized dynamics. In response to my question about how NA and Ghanaian students encountered and negotiated difference and otherness, a Ghanaian administrator illuminated significant aspects of student psyche that are triggered when they are out of their comfort zone:

> *For the first time, people will feel they are visible when they come to Ghana. Like a student comes from Minnesota where they have lived all their life. Everyone is white and no one really pays attention to them and when they come to Ghana, they feel like they stick out and everyone sees them. The fact that they are so visible makes them feel anxiety that comes with being in an environment like this. Besides visibility, there is the first time being in a minority for most students, which has many implications. Coming from a majority to a minority and being in a classroom of 400 or more students and you are the only white person, everyone looks at you. There is also this perception of wealth. Everyone perceives you as being rich and wealthy because you come from Europe or North America. All of those things tend to impact on how students adjust. Some people are able to manage it. Some are unable to manage it.*

This poignant portrayal of the ambivalence experienced by students in the simplicity of *being seen*, gives words to a dynamic that I encountered and observed daily in Ghana. Being a minority and/or 'visible' for the first time suggest important dynamics at play in constructions of global citizenship.

Describing the challenges faced in Ghana, one NA student reflected the kinds of vulnerabilities expressed by the Ghanaian administrator. Being from a

small town where she did not lock her doors, she stated that she felt vulnerable and homesick in Ghana and. "*So, coming here and having to adjust and keeping in the back of your head that you are more vulnerable than ever, is a challenge for me. I was told me in the beginning and throughout, this is Africa, this is Africa, this is Africa, it is going to happen*". Coinciding with her preparation, which included the sexual harassment orientation, the student was predisposed to being guarded in Ghana. Her visibility induced vulnerability that she had never experienced before in her white homogenous hometown. She stated that this was most intensely felt when she encountered the "*everyday challenge*" of Ghanaian men: "*As a female student it is different here than my male counterparts. I am always jealous of that. We can go out as a group somewhere, go to a club or to the beach and we will be stopped 10 times and the guys can just walk right by and no one is going to bother them."* Perturbed by the unequal treatment of her American male peers, she went on to describe how she negotiated this perceived challenge by "*figuring out what to say and get them to go away, how to not give them your number. It is becoming an easier challenge of learning how to play their game and use it against them*." The 'management' of these difficult encounters reinstates the stereotypes and epistemic colonial 'differences' that continue to construe Ghanaians as Other and retain ones positional superiority.

From a NA male student's perspective, the interactions between Ghanaian men and NA women were also troublesome for him. Although this particular student was relatively at ease outside of his comfort zone, he stated that going out to a club with a white woman made him feel "*uncomfortable because of how much she is mobbed by Ghanaian men*":

> *Maybe it is a cultural thing, but it isn't treating her respectfully. There is a big lust for white women. Every white female international student I have talked to is very frustrated because they can't have friendships with Ghanaian guys because they are very skeptical as to whether or not they just want to be friends or they want more in terms of a relationship or that he just wants to sleep with her. They say that most of the time they are right in their suspicions and they want to try something more with her.*

Apparent in these statements is a vast generalization by NA students about the black male and his sexual desires for the white woman. Culture and disrespect are

attributed to this construction of the sexualized black male preying on white women. The statements by these students invoke a racialized and gendered perception of this relationship and discomfort without eliciting systemic power relations inherent to this particular dynamic. Emanating from these reflections is the notion that every Ghanaian man wants to sleep with every white woman. As indicated in these broad sweeping statements, the negotiation of difference and difficulty can reinscribe stereotypes and power relations. Once again, Franz Fanon's words in Black Skin/White Masks echo clearly in response to such sentiments, which will be further explored in the next chapter.

From the point of view of a few Ghanaian respondents, the concept of race is interrelated with gender and cultural constructions. According to a Ghanaian male student, Ghanaians "*cannot be racist because they live in the same culture and have the same skin color. We don't know what it means to be mean to someone with a different color. You hardly see a Ghanaian being racist."* Race is understood in this statement as having cultural connotations. If everyone is of the same skin color and culture, there is no discrimination based on these attributes. However, when Ghanaians spoke about their perceptions of African Americans, there was an ambivalence and hostility towards the perceived superiority that African Americans projected when they came to Ghana:

> *One of the things about African Americans is that you may be black, but you need more than that to be Ghanaian. When you come to Ghana, don't expect me or any other Ghanaian to treat you differently in a positive way in comparison to another person is white. It takes a lot to be Ghanaian. There is a greater expectation from African Americans to be treated more nicely because they are now in the majority or something. But Ghanaian people don't feel that. It takes a lot to be Ghanaian, not just being black. We as a people don't believe in preferential treatment for skin color.*

The perception of differential treatment based on skin color turns on itself in such statements, where the respondent uses the same argument to support what he was also attempting to dispute. This is an example of the tautology induced when using constructs of 'culture' or 'race' to support cultural or racial arguments. It is mentioned that it "*takes a lot to be Ghanaian, not just being black*," but there is no indication as to what constitutes this subjectivity other than skin color.

Another interesting construction arising from this participant's reflection on relationships between Ghanaians and North Americans is the gendered construction of culture and race. He stated that relationships between Ghanaian and NA females are particularly constrained because Ghanaian women are "*accustomed to be more conservative and not approach people."* From a Ghanaian female student's perspective, these notions are validated. Reflecting on relationships between Ghanaians and North Americans, including her own, she stated:

> *I think that Ghanaian females have their own sense of pride. International students, when they come, they have nice hair, they are white, they are different. There is that kind of, "hey, these are different people, these are nice people". The females will try and protect their own. They wouldn't want you to look down upon them, so they will want to protect their pride... You call attention to yourselves already, so they want to do something that is a bit more superior to you. So, I think that is the reason why they wouldn't want to communicate…Ghanaian girls will rarely talk to you and open up to you first. They will take their time to warm up to you too. It is very unfortunate really.*

The superiority/inferiority complexes are pronounced in this reflection. The statement "*they [Ghanaian females] want to do something that is a bit more superior to you [white North American]*" elicits a complex discourse ripe with colonial constructions and power relations. The fear of difference and competition for men constrained authentic and reciprocal relations between white and black skinned students. Yet, her reflection on relationships between white North American women and black Ghanaian men complicates this. The desire for difference and knowing and relating to difference speaks to a deeper human curiosity that transcends skin color:

> *I think another thing is that Ghanaian guys are so used to Ghanaian girls so when they encounter someone different, they are like, "wow, let me get to know this person." So, they will hit on the international girls. They will openly want to get to know other international students. For the Ghanaian guys, they are more open and will relate more easily to international guys as compared to Ghanaian girls relating to international girls. A Ghanaian guy will relate much more easily to international females as compared to Ghanaian female relating to an international male. For me, I think that is because we are different people. The color of our skin, the nature of our hair. There is this interest in getting to know the opposite sex and also*

> *people of a different color. When a Ghanaian guy sees an international girl, he will want to know the kind of person she is and get closer to her. On the other hand, a local girl will not approach an international guy. Already, girls here are taught not to make the first move.*

This curiosity of *getting to know the opposite sex and also people of a different color,* however, has an important gendered dynamic that is laced with power relations.

A second discomforting encounter that nearly all NA respondents spoke about was confronting gender inequality in Ghana. A NA male student suggested this was the most difficult thing to negotiate and tried to understand this dynamic by asking his Ghanaian female friends why there was a power imbalance:

> *Even at university, I think that men's voice and opinions are louder and more respected. I also know that women aren't outraged by that. I just had a conversation with one of my female Ghanaian friends about differences between relationships in Ghana and Canada. She said things are changing now since women are going to school more and have jobs and don't rely on guys as much for support. She said something along the lines of, "they are getting out of line and they aren't obeying what the man says." I was like, isn't that a good thing? And she said "no, it is really bad for the fabric of the family." It comes back to the Bible that men should have the final word about the family. Women should just sit back and listen to the men. There are many times where I'm like, "why are you allowing yourself to be subservient to men?" A lot of women are like, that is the way it should be and I am happy to play that role.*

Without knowing or inquiring into the historical constitution of gender roles and socio-economic manifestations of power, this respondent claims that he "knows" women are not outraged by power imbalance, but is unable to accept the cultural relativist argument. He states, "*it is just not really talked about, how they are unhappy with the differential treatment, which I find kind of frustrating*." There is an inherent assumption made that Ghanaian women are unhappy with the power imbalance despite claims that this is part of the socio-cultural fabric.

Yet again, gender and power dynamics are not as clear-cut as discussed by students. While in Ghana, I attended a screening of a controversial film that portrayed an ambitious African businesswoman taking more than one husband. After the film, a debate amongst Ghanaians erupted in the crowd, illuminating the

various and contentious opinions on the nature of power and gender roles in the Ghanaian society. A young man in the crowd stood up and said, "why shouldn't women be able to take multiple husbands when men can take multiple wives?!". An enraged woman stood up and retorted that it was not "African" and it would ruin the fabric of Ghanaian culture and society. Another woman countered, "if a man can, then why can't I?" The issues around gender roles and historical power imbalances are complex and induce diverse opinions.

On the issue of gender inequality, a Ghanaian male I interviewed stated: "*Some African culture we need to get rid of, it is a fact. For example the idea women can't and shouldn't do certain things like farm or fish. I don't want to marry a woman who sits in the house all day. I want to marry a woman who works like I do and puts something on the table."* He went on to say that exposure to other cultures has and will continue to change the social fabric of Ghana. Study abroad programs provided him the opportunity to see things from a different perspective and begin to incorporate different ways of knowing and doing things into his life in Ghana. "Westernization," like globalization, has multiple effects; some good and some dangerous. He stated, for instance, "if Africa wasn't colonized, we probably wouldn't be having these problems about homosexuality." Here lies the most contentious and widely discussed subject by both Ghanaian and North American respondents: the issue of homophobia and its intersections with religion and Western beliefs and values.

Religion and homophobia

A third encounter that posed discomfort and difficulty for NA students was the intense religiosity in Ghana. All respondents spoke at length about the potent Christian zeal that permeated Ghanaian society. Bombarded with billboards advertising prominent pastors, bumper stickers bearing Biblical verses and impassioned evangelism blaring from megaphones, Christian dogma was impossible to ignore. It played a role in NA students' encounters with Ghanaians and their relationships in dynamic and 'difficult' ways. In one NA student's

reflections on her experiences and relationships in Ghana, the effects of Christianity were paramount:

> *It was the one thing in Ghana I couldn't believe. People would always ask me if I was a Christian. If I said no, it almost seemed like I couldn't be their friend and that didn't seem very Christian to me. It was like, you don't go to church, I'm either going to try and convert you or not be your friend because I don't respect the choices that you make. That was kind of hard. They want you to be a Christian. They ask you as if they are really asking you if you have the same morals as the slutty girls in Hollywood. I think that is the picture they have of North American girls. You get slapped with the nametag of being a rich North American who has like 40 boyfriends and gets drunk everyday and wears no clothes. So if you say that you are a Christian, it almost pulls you out of that or something. In the hospital, all the time I was asked if I was a Christian. The nurses would also make inappropriate jokes all the time like, oh you girls would never wait until marriage to have sex because everyone is super slutty. I was like, that makes me uncomfortable. There were so many awkward conversations like them saying oh, you are always drinking and doing bad things and a good African girl would never do that. That conversation would always come with the religion conversation. It is a sensitive and tricky topic and I haven't really figured it out in my head. The way I experienced it was that I felt very stereotyped as an obruni and having to put on a façade of being a Christian to get through that point in the relationship with nurses, especially.*

Constructions of being a white, rich, North American, promiscuous and non-Christian woman illustrate the intersections of class, race, religion, gender and citizenship that essentialize identity and engender stereotypes that constrained initial relationships formed between NA and Ghanaians. What is particularly interesting is the notion that Christianity can mask these perceived differences. If a North American student claimed a Christian identity, the power differentials around such constructions were no longer seen in a negative light.

Another NA student found Ghanaians using religion to rationalize colonialism and homophobia problematic. Having previously participated in decolonizing work in his home city, the student was amazed to hear from a number of Ghanaians that

> *colonization is a good thing, that Africa would be less developed if it wasn't and how white people brought Christianity and it is the best thing to happen to Africa. Even in my church, this past Sunday, the pastor got up and said, 'I forgive every white man in the past with the sins he*

committed of colonialism because he brought us the word of the Lord, showed us light when we were in darkness.'

For him, the "*shameless acceptance of Christianity*," disguised the havoc that colonization had brought upon the continent. He stated, "*It is cultural destruction. Yes, you brought Christianity, but it displaced and eradicated, like in the case of the Americas, previous religions and cultures that preceded it.*" He observed that although people are happy and thankful for their Christianity and it serves as a unifying agent in Ghana, he could not accept the way in which Christianity masked the dehumanizing forces of colonialism and homophobia.

The Christian dogma precipitated many difficult encounters for students concerning homophobia. A NA student, who stated he had many gay friends back home, expressed that the topic of homosexuality in Ghana is *"literally suffocating. Shameless, it is just shameless."* He stated that there "*wasn't a hesitation to talk about how wrong homosexuality is. There is a strong belief that by referencing the Bible, which says it is wrong is good enough- that it is a sin, period."* It was difficult for this student to hear how his Ghanaian friends could be so discriminatory. Hence, he did not hesitate to enter into dialogue and debate with his Ghanaian peers about homosexuality. One of his strategies to counter both claims about homosexuality and the citation of biblical passages by Ghanaians, was to mention other things people do that the Bible says are sins, which are not made illegal. From his point of view, part of the reason why homophobia exists is that most Ghanaians have never encountered "*an out of the closet gay person before*" and thus "*have no actual human experiences to back up their beliefs*."

From the perspective of a Ghanaian student, the issues of homosexuality and its current 'illegality' is complex and not easily remedied. In response to questions pertaining to his relationships with international students, he mentioned that his conversations with North American students about political and social issues, such as homosexuality have helped open his mind. He recalled one heated

debate with a NA friend on the issue of homophobia after a couple of Ghanaian homosexuals were found lynched in Accra:

> *When the news of the lynching came up, we needed to talk about it and deliberate and understand it better. A Canadian friend was trying to explain to me and link it to some people who live this kind of lifestyle and the good and bad aspects of it and the way forward. I told him that the place we live in, a developing country, we have a different orientation of sex. To buy a condom in Ghana is very difficult. The whole society is not prepared to accept these kinds of people. I cannot tell you why but there is the fact that in North America, 300 years ago or 50 years or 10 years ago, it was not allowed there either. These countries are only now allowing it too. So, as developing countries, it is proper for us to allow us to grow and get to the perception that they are accepted. It is not just whether or not we pass the legal infrastructure to allow for it. People must accept them first and also the governance system must allow for it.*

The politicization of homosexuality in Ghana has incited wide debate about issues related to international development, imperial imposition, religiosity, gender inequality, sexual health and political will. The student acknowledged that while his NA friend helped him think more broadly about the issues, context must also be considered.

Breaking down assumptions, becoming global citizens

As conveyed in the reflections of both North American and Ghanaian students, open and respectful conversations provided the opportunity to understand, empathize and challenge assumptions on controversial topics. As one student noted: *"As American students, we have been trained to think that we have the answer and that we will always know better. For students travelling to developing countries, I think we have this idea in our minds that we are going to go and fix things and we have this better idea. I am having to let that go and it was hard for me at the beginning- to realize that I am 20 years old, how could I have the answer?*" Yet, at other times, power differentials constrained the ways in which beliefs could be shared, resulting in the imposition of beliefs and values upon others. A few key themes materialized as students recalled experiences that they identified with global citizenship. First, the discourse of openness to describe dispositions of some students who 'got it'. Secondly, relationships between

roommates or with homestay families that provided the foundation to learn reciprocally and authentically. Thirdly, learning the local language precipitated learning from others and expanded worldviews.

Open mind, open heart

Having the rare opportunity to do a semester abroad in France, one Ghanaian student was adamant about the necessity of travel to learn about global citizenship; not only in terms of getting beyond one's comfort zone, but also beyond one's ethnocentricity and assumptions. Part of this, as she mentions, has to do with encountering and negotiating difference and preconceived notions of what difference entails:

> *Now that I have been to university, I have quite a number of friends who have travelled and have seen the world and come back. It is easy to tell "burgers," a local term for people who have travelled and come back. They are not narrow-minded, they see and talk and act differently. If you have travelled before, you act differently from someone who hasn't. I spent a year abroad in France and that year opened my eyes to a lot of things. I understood things that I didn't understand before. I began to accept people for who they are. Even though we are different people in different nations, we are all still human beings. We may have different colors of skin, but basically we are all the same. The stereotypes that I had about different people like white people, I didn't have them anymore. Students who have not travelled before, they are so narrow-minded. They still hold on to their small views about issues, their own stereotypes about people they don't know. They haven't been outside, so they don't know for a fact. All they know is what they hear. The difference is really clear. I was like that before I travelled. I used to be very narrow-minded. I thought white people were from different planets- they were quite a mystery to me. When I came back, I realized that we are all the same. Apart from the color of our skin, we are all the same.*

Travelling provided her the opportunity to engage with Others that she previously stereotyped and challenge her biases. The personal connection she made with those she perceived as Other helped her see the ways in which differences were constructed and her assumptions based. Travelling, she expressed, exposes people to different people, places and ways of doing things. She suggested these opportunities will help people to see the world and their positionality beyond ethnocentric orientations. To illustrate her point, she offered a proverb: *"if a child*

doesn't travel, he will think his mother's cooking is the best." If people do not travel, she argued, people will continue to think that their country, ideas and worldviews are the best: *"If you don't travel, you will be so myopic and narrow-minded in all that you do. I think everyone should travel to be a global citizen."* Worldviews are an important discourse pertaining to global citizenship. As this student noted, her worldview was expanded through the experiences of traveling and experiencing different ways of knowing and being. Crucial to this experience, however, was opening her mind and letting go of the ethnocentric disposition of thinking her way of knowing and being was the right and only way. From this experience, she realized there are more similarities than differences. However, racial constructions of skin color remain an indicator that delineated self from Other.

From another Ghanaian student's point of view, the importance of shedding one's biases and assumptions is critical to experiencing the country as it is, not as it has been portrayed in the media or through other travellers:

> *If students want to come to Ghana or Africa, they should try and put their biases aside and try to experience things for themselves. Sometimes if you come with your own biases from things you have heard from other people, you will not see things as the way they are. The best thing people could do to prepare themselves is to try to come with an open mind. You have signed up for this, so try and experience it on a clean slate and less expectations. That way, if things happen, you don't feel so frustrated. Try and embrace and deal with it.*

Though impossible to sustain unbiased perceptions of reality, especially when encountering new ways of knowing and being in the world, most of my respondents evoked the importance of opening the mind and clearing prejudicial assumptions. A common sentiment conveyed was that 'global citizenship happens at the end of one's comfort zone', where the mind and heart begin to open. As a NA professor remarked, "*Something opens and they are connected to a bigger reality… like the dawn breaks, and they are aware of things beyond their local perspective*." The opening of the mind and heart to think and be otherwise, was indicated several times throughout the interviews. The vital conduit to this

learning and becoming was the relationships the students formed with their North American and Ghanaian peers.

Relationships: Living with an Other

In response to the questions, "what is the most important thing you will take away from your experience in Ghana/experiences with North American students?" the respondents talked about relationships. Common amongst all interviewees was the significance of learning from one another through the relationships formed with those (once) deemed Other. While often fraught with conflict around different norms and values, these encounters provided participants with the opportunity to learn about one another, open up to new ways of knowing and being in the world and understand what one student remarked as, "*what makes us human*."

One of the first encounters between North American and Ghanaian students was the introduction to their roommates. The International Student Hostel was designed to pair Ghanaian students with international students to enhance intercultural engagement. A couple of American programs skirted this strategy and let students room together, but the majority of NA students had Ghanaian roommates. The relationship students had with their roommate provided an important series of encounters to better understand the Other and facilitate learning they associated with global citizenship. Despite some differences and difficult encounters, particularly the intense conversations and conflicts concerning religion, gender roles, and sexual orientations, students were able to relate to one another beyond differences and learn from one another.

One of the NA students who was particularly social and seemed to get beyond the student bubble more frequently than her peers, suggested that her favorite moments in Ghana were being with her Ghanaian roommate:

> *They just love to tell you their stories and they want to hear yours. I loved that. Getting into debates with people and having really good discussions was so beneficial for me. I remember sitting with my roommate one night and her and her friend and sister and I were there talking about politics,*

> *Ghana, Canada, immigration. It was so cool. I wish I could have filmed it and watched it again later.*

As she described this encounters, her eyes lit up as though she was replaying the scene in her head. It was similar to some of my own intense discussions with my Ghanaian roommate and our Ghanaian, Nigerian and Malian friends around topics such as religion, homosexuality and development, of which we all had differing points of view. Each person came into the discussion with various experiences, beliefs and opinions. What was so remarkable through these encounters sitting around jollof rice with our friends, was the kind of mutual learning and shifting of perspectives that transpired. As one Ghanaian participant noted from such discussions: "*I have had a lot of discussions with people about certain civil rights issues and it is re-constructing my ideas again towards issues that I used to have a kind of unwavering ideas that I didn't think I could let go. Living with people here in ISH, I am having a reconstruction of ideas and how I see certain things are changing."*

Common ground may have been difficult for some roommates to establish, but according to a Ghanaian Resident Assistant, it is often people's attitudes and degrees of "openness" that facilitated or prohibited relationships. Reflecting on last semester, where she said there was more intermingling between international students and Ghanaians, she related the story of her neighbors in ISH who were Ghanaian and Norwegian respectively, and became very good friends. She noted that the Ghanaian student "*wanted to make it work and she really wanted her roommate to feel at home. The international student was open, she came here with an open mind and wanted to experience Ghana in its fullest*." Supporting this notion was another Ghanaian student who stated:

> *If you come to Ghana, you should be open to meeting people and not stick to a group the whole time. Get to meet other Ghanaians and Nigerians and others. Some people are more open to interacting with others based on their roommates. Those who don't have Ghanaian or Nigerian roommates don't interact much with other Ghanaians or Nigerians. In the end, all their friends are in their room and they end up hanging out with themselves all the time.*

These statements suggested that the IPO programming helped to facilitate the kinds of relationships that are formed between Ghanaian and International Students. However, as the Resident Assistant noted, relationships involve much more than putting two people in a room together. Certain dispositions, such as being open, friendly and willing to compromise, enabled and/or constrained reciprocal relationships. When reciprocal relationships did form, the NA and Ghanaian interviewees indicated that horizons expand as possibilities emerge for learning and becoming otherwise.

Homestays: going native, becoming the other's Other

While waiting patiently for an African philosophy lecture to begin, I encountered one of my research participants. We chatted for a bit and she began to tell me about her experiences living in a homestay and all the lessons she had learned in two short weeks. It was at this early point that I decided to expand my study to include homestay students, in order to capture this deep engagement that some students living with Ghanaian families were experiencing. One of the most important things I was able to capture in our interview was the transformational learning she experienced through the relationship with her host mother:

> *I think I am really lucky that I have such an amazing host family. They love getting to know me and include me in things. They are really patient and they understand that I have never eaten foods like fufu before or been exposed to a language like this before. They work with me, explain a lot of things. It is really wonderful... I mean the bucket shower seems like a stupid little thing, but I love doing what other people are doing on a daily basis. Like eating the food they eat and seeing how their lives are. It is not just about coming home and being able to interact with them, but it is seeing what they are doing and trying to interact and be a part of what they are doing. Getting the opportunity to have conversations about things that I never would be able to. Like sitting over cassava and cutting it, I had a conversation with my host mom about gender norms in Ghana and the few things about American culture that she wishes Ghana had. You would just not have the opportunity to have a conversation with a woman of her age as a study abroad student. You get to interact with people of all ages. I get to interact with a 16 year old who is going to school. He will help me with things like practice Twi and I get to see his life and what excites him.*

I gathered from her reflections a profound learning from the Other. At one point in the interview, she mentioned "*I love to just throw myself into situations*." Unlike the majority of students I observed and interviewed, she persistently tried to live as a Ghanaian would during her time in Ghana; helping to prepare meals, taking local transportation and practicing Twi.

A Ghanaian administrator of the American program offering homestays suggested that students who opt to live in homestays have a deeper understanding about self/other and Ghanaian culture. He cited certain competencies, such as language acquisition, that were much higher amongst students living in homestays. He attributed this to the intense immersion homestays offer. In some instances, students are *forced* out of their comfort zones:

> *I have observed that students in the homestay tend to perform better in the language course. They interact with their family members. Sometimes they are actually forced to learn Twi because that is the language they speak at home. If there is an old or young person in the home, they may not speak English and the students have to learn Twi in order to interact them. These students also tend to learn more about Ghanaian people and their way of life than those students who live at ISH. Getting to understand the community that one lives in, transportation, etc., the students in the homestays tend to do better... They tend to get out of their comfort zone a lot more and are challenged a lot more.*

Learning to live as a Ghanaian through a homestay helped students to see and do things differently. While this assertion could be measured by things such as language proficiency, there were deeper experiences with some of the homestay students that could not be accounted for or measured on any indicator; for instance, the bonds that students made with their host family. Both of the homestay students that I interviewed had a deep, personal connection with their host mothers, who they respectively called "Maame".

The way that one of the participants described her relationship with her host mother provoked my interest to gain closer access to better understand this relationship. I was invited to their home and interviewed her host mother while she was preparing okra and cassava for dinner. The host mother talked at length

about her children and how they have all moved away. When I asked her what led her to host international students, she replied:

> *I love meeting people. I love people. I feel it is part of me. I like having people in my house all the time…When I ask God what to do with my life and how I can give back, I have to help people too, I feel that I can share with others the little I have and it is through them [hosting international students] that I can express my love to God*."

Connected to this altruism that impels her to host is a need for connection. They began hosting students about five years ago when a relative living in Germany set them up with another relative who was volunteering in Ghana. She expressed how the two girls that came to stay with her became like daughters and came back to visit her a year later. She related to me all the students she had hosted, who were inconsistent in their willingness to integrate into a Ghanaian way of life. As part of the programming, she was advised to have the students do everyday tasks, such as sweeping, preparing food and washing. When I asked about what the international students gain from these experiences, the host mother suggested that they learn to live as Ghanaians and vice versa: "*We learn a lot from you and you learn a lot from us*." Yet, when I asked about what she and her family take away from this experience, a racialized discourse emerged:

> *what we have learned… I can say… I never thought I would be so close to obruni, foreign people, especially the white people. I knew they were friendly, but I became closer to them. I thought they would be this way and that way, but they are down to earth, so I love it, I love it… being their mother, I love it.*

The program offered opportunities for everyone involved to relate and understand the Other beyond the differences. In the intimacy of the home, they began to relate to one another as a family would by doing chores, sharing meals, and helping each other when in need. However, the short periods of time (3-4 months) and revolving door of students shaped this formation to include ambivalence. As the NA student conveyed to me, "*I don't want to be just another exchange student*," demonstrating her unease about having to leave the family only for another student to replace her. This cognizance and reflexivity about the impacts she was having on her host family seemed to impel her to be more committed to

embracing the homestay experience and to get to know her host family on a deeper level.

For the other homestay student I interviewed, a greater personal tension seemed to be shaping his experiences while in Ghana. I encountered this participant while reading a story from his blog where he describes born in Ghana to Ghanaian parents and coming back for after 20 years through his university's study abroad program. His motivation to come back to Ghana was the "*cultural connection*" to redefine himself in terms of where he is from: "*I have lived in America most of my life, but there is also the Ghanaian side, so I am trying to understand the Ghanaian side a bit more, like why my parents do what they do and why Americans do what they do. Being here was a way to discover what a Ghanaian is, in a sense."* This exploration of identity was, however, fraught with ambivalence. Although he "*looked the part*," he realized through his encounters with Ghanaians that he was more American than Ghanaian because of certain values he was inculcated with:

> *In terms of identity and citizenship, like questions, "are you Ghanaian or are you an American?" I think I look at more of a spectrum of values. My values lie more on the American side than the Ghanaian side. My language acquisition is more American, the way I behave is more American, like I walk fast, I always check the time to see if I am late, I don't cut in the line to get food and this and that. If someone was to ask me if I am Ghanaian; ethnically, yes, I am a Ghanaian. But in terms of identity, I am not a Ghanaian, I am maybe 20% Ghanaian and 80% American.*

Discourses pertaining to values and citizenship that construct identity are particularly important in these statements. The daunting question of "who am I?" which led him to Ghana in the first place, was complicated by sorting through an assemblage of beliefs and values. His learning about self through Other emerged through difficult encounters such as 'being mistaken for a Ghanaian': "*I get taken aback when people start speaking Twi with me. I can understand what they are saying, but when I reply in English, they are like, 'what? We thought you were a Ghanaian.' I was like, 'no, I was born here, but I am very much an obruni".* Such encounters instigated a profound ambivalence wherein his complex identity was

split and communicated that he is not Ghanaian, but rather an "*obruni*." His homestay, which he described as being very similar to the way he was raised, facilitated profound learning about himself through the Other. But in another sense, he was describing the complex situation of becoming the Other's other.

Speaking Twi

A final theme pertaining to global citizenship that emerged in the interviews was the ways in which learning and speaking Twi altered students' experience. For some NA students, language acquisition was a way to more easily navigate through Ghana and and helped facilitate friendships with Ghanaian peers. One American student, stated that learning the language "*completely changed his experience in Ghana"*:

> *It was still new, but it became a much deeper experience. It became something different than just being a tourist in a way I can't really describe. Hanging out with people, trying to talk in Twi, getting to know people on a deeper level and trying to understand their culture. Simple things like mannerisms, talking differently. All that combined together totally changed the experience. As that happened, I became closer to people, I started to go out and travel more with other Ghanaians...When you are doing stuff like that with people who matter, like the Ghanaians, it changes the experience where it is not about where you are, it is about who you are with. I was just so happy. I feel blessed, I feel like I'm absorbing so much, meeting so many people. I could go back home right now feeling fulfilled and every day I still have here is such a blessing. It is crazy how much I am learning from the people I am engaging with.*

Learning Twi helped to shift power relations by putting the mono-language speaker in a different position of power than they are used to and made them cognizant of the ways they put non-native English speakers in on a regular basis.

Learning Twi also helped to facilitate a shift in subjectivity wherein students no longer felt like *tourists* and it *opened up the experience* to facilitate relationships with Ghanaians:

> *There is this sense of insiderness… Learning the dance moves and things like that, we were an instant hit. Also when I began to learn some Twi, everything opened up. I could build relationships and make friends within minutes. You could feel like an insider if you joined in and talked about things that they were interested in. Like, 'oh, I love that Azonto song!'*

The students who expressed such sentiments of learning Twi understood the importance of stepping out of their comfort zone and mono-lingual positionality in order to form reciprocal relationships. Instead of relying on Ghanaians to speak English, learning and speaking Twi reflected respect and willingness that was appreciated by Ghanaians I interviewed.

Nevertheless, there are challenges around learning or acquiring a new language that preclude reciprocity. When asking one NA how learning Twi helped to facilitate his relationships, he responded that it "*doesn't do that much*" with the people at the UG:

> *People are like, 'thanks for trying, you aren't very good, let's just speak English'. Usually with my friends here in ISH, I speak English, but with women in the market, the cleaning ladies here, the taxi drivers, anyone that isn't in the university, it does wonders. Just to say a little bit, like asking them how they are doing. They are so impressed and appreciative. It keeps me motivated to learn more.*

In these statements there is a contrived sense of learning the language. The fact that speaking Twi *impresses* people and motivates him to learn more, speaks to a much more insincere ambition to learn the language and form relationships. Beyond learning the language are dimensions of power that are important in relation to global citizenship. Understanding and negotiating power relations pertaining to language and interactions with others constrained and enabled the reciprocal ontological and epistemological relationships.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Introduction

Subjects are constituted through discourses that 'subject' them to certain positions. As institutions call for education to inculcate global citizenship, there ought to be a recognition that most of the world could be more accurately described as Karlberg (2008) connotes: "global subjects - subjects of political and economic forces that are governed in distant capital cities and distant corporate board rooms" (p. 319). Knowledges are historically constructed through events that are infused with differentially constituted relations of power. This chapter demonstrates that subject constitution and object formations of global citizenship through current study abroad programs are contingent on colonial relations of power and knowledge. For instance, a common discourse conveyed in the literature and interviews was the notion that if you travel somewhere internationally, you can be a global citizen. Subjects of global citizenship are thus constituted by wealth, nationality and mobility, as you need appropriate capital, a passport and/or a Visa to travel in order to access this subjectivity. Yet, other statements made countered that one does not have to travel far in distance for such access; instead, one should travel out of his or her comfort zone where different terms and conditions push people to reflect upon and challenge ontological and epistemological assumptions on which beliefs and subjectivities reside. Where there is power there is resistance, and despite policies that reinforce the one-way exchange of bodies and knowledge, some students challenged these colonizing subject formations in their relationships with one another and the understanding of interconnection and interdependence that relating beyond 'difference' induced.

Although there was not a common definition or sentiment conveyed about what global citizenship is or whether or not students identified as global citizens it became evident that statements concerning global citizenship construct the object of global citizenship education as learning about the self through the Other, which has both encouraging and dangerous effects. Drawing on post-structural and post-colonial theories of power, knowledge and subject/object relations, this chapter

illuminates the spectrum of discourses and their effects as they pertain to global citizenship and study abroad. It highlights the discursive construction of global citizenship as derived from policy and the experiences of students implicated by study abroad practices. The following discussion of my data also suggests the need to rethink the formations and effects of neo-colonialism and neoliberalism. Part of this entails an acknowledgement of the "historical and social situatedness of the discourses that frame and 'colonize' our experiences and locate ourselves in our experiences" (McLaren & Giarelli, 1995, p. 5) as well as rethinking the relationships that we construct between ourselves and those we deem Others.

Ethnographic considerations

Ethnographic research incites a kind of hermeneutic wherein the researcher comes to terms with the process of subject formations through encounters with Other(ness) on multiple levels. Engaging in fieldwork internationally, I was left with my own interpretation and translation of the social world that was dependent on my language, knowledge and articulation. As Brinker-Gabler (1995) suggests, "whatever can be experienced about otherness - for we can never posses the original - is always dependent on one's own cultural background, one's own system of perception" (p. 3). I would also add that it is dependent on our own *becoming* in relation to the fieldwork experiences and immersion within the data and theory. The collection and analysis of data is intrinsically hermeneutic. Since theory can only point to the truth, not replace it, understanding social phenomena involves a fluid process of revision that is temporal, circular, finite and incomplete (Gadamer, 1975).

The statements I captured and interpreted comprise a snapshot of the discursive construction of global citizenship and my interpretations ought to be read in this light. Attending to ways in which people are subjectivated as global citizens through discourse and power/knowledge relations does not translate into an objective assessment of what occurs with/in discursive formations; rather, it raises important questions concerning the implications of such a discourse and related practices. My role as ethnographer-post-structural analyst is not to exude

another totalizing theory about what this experience was for anyone, but rather to interrogate through an analysis of discourse, what the implications and conditions of possibility are pertaining to this concept and associated educational practice of study abroad. Ethnography helped to flesh out localized tensions, ambiguities and paradoxes that were missing from policy documents. The following theoretical discussion contributes to seeing the effects of policy and practice associated with global citizenship in a new light. My hope is to influence the formation and implementation of policies from the ground up by evoking important questions and considerations gleaned from this research.

Subjects/Objects of desire

In response to questions concerning one's understanding of and subjectivity as a citizen and global citizen, interviewees evoked a multitude of discourses. Particularly in reflections pertaining to their difficult encounters with ideas and bodies they deemed Other, students articulated important statements regarding global citizenship. The statements captured in the previous chapter conveyed that global citizenship was neither an outcome of the study abroad experience as suggested in policy documents, nor a solid container to hold one's experiences as cited in literature. The questions I asked the interviewees about their experiences, expectations and challenges associated with study abroad programs provided a space to see how discourses pertaining to global citizenship were negotiated and constituted through power/knowledge and attachment to other discourses. Emergence, Foucault (1984) maintains:

> designates a place of confrontation, but not as a closed field offering the spectacle of a struggle among equals…it is a 'non-place,' a pure distance, which indicates that the adversaries do not belong to a common space. Consequently, no one is responsible for an emergence; no one can glory in it, since it always occurs in the interstice. (p. 150)

The semi-structured interviews, which allowed respondents to reflect on common questions, facilitated this type of interstitial emergence to evolve where assumptions about difference and otherness in relation to the self were enunciated and re-negotiated. The interviewees consistently contradicted themselves in their interviews, making claims about their experiences and representations and

attitudes towards Others, only to make the opposite claims later on in the interview. The most conflicting and robust statements concerning global citizenship emerged in their reflections on relationships. The students' encounters with difference and the discomfort punctured the self-contained and constituted global citizen image. These reflections revealed ruptures in thought and being that altered one's understanding of self and Other in relation to citizenship, identity and responsibility.

The subjects and objects of this research continually shifted. In the policy chapter, the discourses of neoliberalism constructed objects of knowledge pertaining to international and intercultural competencies, competition, mobility and entrepreneurship that were contingent on North American students studying abroad in a 'developing world' context such as Ghana. As previously discussed, this produces global citizen subjectivities related to neoliberal subjects and Ghanaians as objects necessary for this formation. In practice, however, these subject/object formations were convoluted. While the racialized, culturalized, sexualized and Christianized Ghanaian Other embodied 'differences' that NA students could learn about, the Ghanaians simultaneously resisted and complied with these constructions. For instance, although some Ghanaian students expressed concern that many North Americans were not there for the right reasons, as they 'just wanted to party and not study', there was a general consensus that it was a good thing for NA students to come to Ghana in order to challenge their assumptions about Africa and give people in NA 'an account' of what life is really like in Ghana. What was apparent in interviews of both Ghanaian and NA students, as well as program administrators, was the necessity of encountering *difference* and *otherness* to learning about and becoming global citizens. However, the colonial constitution of knowledge and representation remained an absent presence in the interviewees' reflections and statements depicting their experience and desires.

Desire

"Humankind's common desire," wrote Spivak (1976) in the preface to Derrida's *Of Grammatology*, "is for a stable center, and for the assurance of mastery - through knowing or possessing" (p. xi). In this study, the self-constituting center was predominantly constructed through statements of what the center is not. Ghana emerged as an object of desire for NA students through statements of wanting to experience difference and difficulty, which could not be attained by staying at home or going to Europe. How difference and difficulty were constructed through the 'Ghanaian choice' conveyed deeper colonial and capitalist desires. Although the broader implications of desire could be more thoroughly discerned through psychoanalytic theory, I detected important discourses through participants' statements around desire that generated key considerations in the construction of global citizenship. The psychoanalytic implications of these discourses were delimited in this study and signal important avenues for further research.

Colonial desires, reticent of early explorers depicting an exotic land and peoples, were echoed by some Ghanaian participants reflecting on why they thought North American students chose Ghana: "*They think there are lions, tigers and monkeys on the street and in the trees and they want to see these things for themselves. Like a safari adventure.*" In this statement, there is cognizance that one is seen as an object of the privileged student's study abroad experience. It also conveys the recognition that NA students were not adequately prepared before arrival. This image was validated through one NA student's reflection in which she thought she was coming to a more rural and underdeveloped destination for her study abroad experience, stating that she had no previous knowledge about Ghana prior to arrival and wanted to see things for herself. The Ghanaian students I spoke with resented NA students coming to Ghana just to party, travel and hang out with each other. Given the opportunity, they said they would take their academics seriously and get to know the locals. However, each of these respondents stated elsewhere in the interview that it is good that NA students

come to Ghana to counter the misperceptions and give an *account* of *what it is really like*. The discourse of 'seeing is believing', endemic to experiential education, was a common discourse amongst the participants, rationalized through statements that "*there is no substitute for this this type of experience*".

In the Findings section, *Dismantling Desires*, the dynamics of desire are complex, invoking the yearning of North American students for something different and an opposing wish of Ghanaians to pursue this desire. In *Subject of Desire*, Butler (1987) states, "desire is *intentional* in that it is always desire *of* or *for* a given object or Other, but it is also *reflexive* in the sense that desire is a modality in which the subject is both discovered and enhanced" (p. 25). Desire in this Hegelian vein suggests that the self is encountered outside of oneself in the pursuit of metaphysical knowledge; "the human way that such knowledge 'speaks'" (p. 25). The ways in which desire for otherness manifested in the interviews ascribes to this unconscious longing for an Other to see and encounter oneself in relation to this otherness. What became more apparent when looking at the statements evoking this desire through post-colonial and post-structural theory, however, were the colonial discourses and rationalities that condition these particular desires beyond the subject's awareness of them. The general lack of reflexivity of the NA student interviewees about why they chose Ghana, illustrates a deep colonial power/knowledge dynamic. Although there was a kind of self-consciousness and reflexivity elicited when recalling their expectations, which were often dismantled when they had arrived and spent a bit of time in Ghana, the NA students demonstrated little self-reflexivity about their study abroad destination choice.

According to Foucault, there is no desire outside of discourse (Butler, 1987), and discourses are infused with power relations. Certain discourses and power relations pertaining to desire will be illuminated throughout this chapter, but it is important here to discuss the colonial dimensions of desire that permeated the interviews and my field observations. Tracing the emergence of desire historically through a post-colonial framework, Young (1995) exposes the modes

by which race was constructed and used to de-humanize people in order to colonize and exploit people and their land. He states *race* was part of the production of an emergent capitalist European society:

> the conflictual structures generated by its imbalances of power are consistently articulated through points of tension and forms of difference that are then superimposed upon each other: class, gender and race are circulated promiscuously and crossed with each other, transformed into mutually defining metaphors that mutate within intricate webs of surreptitious cultural values that are then internalized by those whom they define. (pp. xi-xii)

Legacies of the social construction of race produced in the Enlightenment and reproduced in the travel writings of European explorers, have continued through this evocation of alterity- the distant, exotic Other. The Other has incited a desire of the white Westerner (who has been led to believe that he/she has no race or culture) to know and experience the alterity the Other represents. Conterminously, the colonial constitution of knowledge and subject formation engendered the conditions for the colonized to see themselves as 'Other' (Hall, 1994).

Constructions of difference and constituting otherness

Differences and binary oppositions were consistent throughout the interviews. A prominent discourse pertaining to global citizenship was that the "*experiences are so different that it makes a strong contrast,*" and catalyzed understanding aspects of oneself through learning about the racialized and culturalized Other. This discursive construction emerged most prominently in NA students' statements about culture, visibility, being a minority, Ghanaian men prowling on white women and Ghanaian women being more conservative than Western women or Ghanaian men. These were conveyed as differences that NA students found challenging, yet transformative in the ways that they began to see themselves in relation to others. These constructions of difference, however, imply that skin color has bearing on how people are deemed different, and that an Other is necessary for learning about oneself in relation to the world. Young (1995) suggests the constructions of race and culture are contiguous: "Culture and race developed together, imbricated within each other: their discontinuous forms

of repetition suggest, as Foucault puts in, 'how we have been trapped in our own history'" (p. 28). How differences get constructed as *Other* has deep roots in the Enlightenment and colonization.

As evident in the interviews, binary oppositions prevail in representations of reality and subjectivity. Despite the construct of race and its attachments being debunked as representing nothing but skin pigmentation determined by phenotypes, this remains a pervasive discourse to construct differences beyond skin color. In Black Skin/White Masks, Fanon (1952) demonstrated the ways in which white colonizers constructed black skinned people as lesser beings to rationalize their colonial domination. Derrida's work supported this observation by suggesting that the pairs of contrasted terms depend on each other for its meaning. This implies that there is a transcendental signification and correct ordering of the binary oppositions: white is right and black is ____; West is the best and the non-West is ____. In contrast to the first term and its attachments to positive value statements, the second term emerges in opposition. This theory demonstrates how subjectivity is discursively constructed and located in linguistic and textual representations. Foucault and Fanon bring these textual constructions to light by examining the power structures that constrain and enable certain possibilities for subject positions and subjectivities.

Binary representation emerged frequently in interviewee's representations of self and other. When the NA students described why they chose Ghana as their study abroad location, Ghana was described as a place that NA was not and a place where culture could be experienced. This further inscribed the notion that NA does not have a culture. Such representations also served to appropriate the Other as the object of 'difference' to facilitate one's global citizenship subjectivity. This was also apparent in statements that global citizenship could not be attained at home because it was too "*homogeneous in race and colour and ethnic background"* and *"the hands-on experience is not going to come down the street in New Hampshire."* There lies a deep desire for the Other, constituted by race and culture, that precipitated one's desire to go experience it.

Differences, as depicted by the interviewees, were not static and in some instances, became cast as similarities. Utilizing the work of Levinas (Todd, 2009; Riveros, 1995), studies have shown that Others are cast in these types of engagements in terms of alterity. According to Levinas, being is exteriority: "What shatters the self into subjectivity is the shockingly unmediated nature of this exposure to the Other" (Eagleton, p. 225). The raw exposure to the Other, which Levinas deems is preconditioned by an ethical responsibility, was influenced by the orient(aliz)ation that students received prior to going to Ghana. The NA students' reflections of Ghana as a distant, different, exteriority positioned it as a binary opposition to North America, which conditioned the ways in which students encountered one another. This was made explicit in a NA female's reflections about being warned about the sexual advances of Ghanaian men and aloofness of Ghanaian women and how these stereotypes affected her initial relationships. Through such statements, Ghana and its inhabitants are discursively constructed as an exotic Other, through which to reflect and redefine a superior North American global citizen subject.

The notion of "being for others" that was integral to Hegel's philosophy and the Enlightenment project, have left scars evidenced in the interviews. As Fanon (1952/1994) states, "as long as the black man is among his own, he will have no occasion, except in minor internal conflicts, to experience his being through others" (p. 257). The ontological ordering of human subjects have conditioned the encounter between 'races' as a "crushing objecthood" (p. 257) determined from beyond and unattainable in a colonized society. The notions of inferiority and superiority, in addition to an intense ambivalence around racial and cultural constructions of otherness, emerged through these encounters. Reflecting on experiences with NA students, a Ghanaian student illuminated the complexity of racial constitution and ordering of difference:

> *One of the things about African Americans is that you may be black, but you need more than that to be Ghanaian. When you come to Ghana, don't expect me or any other Ghanaian to treat you differently in a positive way in comparison to another person is white. It takes a lot to be Ghanaian. There is a greater expectation from African Americans to be treated more*

> *nicely because they are now in the majority or something. But Ghanaian people don't feel that. It takes a lot to be Ghanaian, not just being black. We as a people don't believe in preferential treatment for skin color… We don't know what it means to be mean to someone with a different color. You hardly see a Ghanaian being racist.*

Despite these statements that depict a lack of racialization in Ghana, he contradicts himself throughout the interviews. The constitution of otherness in relation to skin color and culture are very pronounced in these statements, despite claims that race does not determine how someone is perceived or treated. Fanon's (1952/1994) shrewd self-reflection of racialization portrays the ambivalence evoked in many statements:

> Completely dislocated, unable to be abroad with the other, the white man, who unmercifully imprisoned me, I took myself far off from my own presence, far indeed, and made myself an object. What else could it be for me but an amputation, and excision, a hemorrhage that spattered my whole body with black blood? But I did not want this revision, this thematization. All I wanted was to be a man among other men" (p. 259).

The desire to be seen as an equal was conveyed by both North American and Ghanaian students, yet there existed an over-determination contingent on ontological divides and epistemic constructions that pitted oneself separate and different than an other.

In reality, objects of our knowledge are interpenetrated with other discourses that cannot be separated into distinct entities. While some of the interviewees spoke about the Other, connoting binary representations of developed/underdeveloped, Western/African, the stories they conveyed about their encounters with/in these constructs did not reflect these dichotomies. Throughout the interviews, I began to see the desires and representations of Otherness rupture. Especially, when speaking about relationships, the differences that both NA and Ghanaian students discussed were about deeper dynamics of power, racial, gender, cultural and religious differences that delved into epistemic questions of humanness and historical formations. As I wrote in my journal on my last day in Ghana, "the constructs that we utilize to make sense of who we are- are not sufficient." The dichotomies evoked through my conversations, lectures and

interviews I encountered in Ghana by both Ghanaians and North America - traditional/modern, Western/local, global/local, developed/underdeveloped, colonizer/colonized - connote an ordered world that still exists in the lexicon of the people I encountered, but not necessarily in their hearts.

Ambivalent ruptures

The interpenetration of concepts evoked in the interviews, which rupture binary oppositions of self/other, local/global, suggest that concepts are not static, as difference evolves into sameness and sameness into difference. This notion of hybridity, which Bhabha (1994) described in *Location of Culture*, demonstrates that when the dismantling of subjectivity occurs, sameness is no longer tethered to what was previously evoked as the 'same' and difference no longer conveys the same type of 'difference'. Bhabha asserted that hybridity manifests from the liminal, which is an interstitial space that comprises the connective tissue between upper and lower, black and white (Bhabha, 2005). When one enters a 3rd space where liminality resides, boundaries of difference are renegotiated when one realizes that binary oppositions are essentialist and inaccurate representations of reality. Emerging from this negotiation is hybridity, which reflects a more accurate melding together of various aspects of a subject's experience and identity. This is often expressed as an 'in-betweeness', wherein subjects feel they occupy a space that is between cultural and geographical formations that constitute their identity.

Colonial discourse operates as a mode of constructing knowledge, but in doing so, elicits ambivalence when thinking and enunciating such deficient constructs to depict reality. Bhabha's (1994) work helps to reveal the fluctuations and contradictions conveyed in the interviews. Statements such as "*When I came back, I realized that we are all the same. Apart from the color of our skin, we are all the same,"* and "*We got along…we had similar schedules, we are both kind of messy, we would always get food for each other,"* suggest that students found similarities in their perceived differences, which destabilized their constructions of self/other. What I began to see through the formations of relationships, was that

the constructions of the 'Other' began to change. These differences became less different as they were accommodated into their understanding; more importantly, they began to see themselves differently in relation to their environment and peers.

The 'Other' has been intrinsic to discourses of citizenship for millennia, wherein borders drawn to delineate state sovereignty entrenched dividing practices that signified insiders and outsiders. Beyond which side of the line someone is born on, the students I interviewed suggested there is more to *being* Ghanaian or North American. Yet, when trying to articulate what that *something more* is and what ought to determine citizenship, there was ambivalence. A Ghanaian student who spoke about the perceived entitlement of African Americans when they come to Ghana noted multiple times through his interview that "*It takes a lot to be Ghanaian, not just being black*." Yet, he could not tell me what it *really* meant to be Ghanaian. In moments of differentiation between 'us and them', discourses surrounding nationalism and the kinds of 'values' and sensibilities that being raised in a particular society were enunciated. In these constructions about citizenship and belonging, the respondents were ambivalent in trying to describe what citizenship meant for themselves and if it applied to others as well.

One of the most interesting and ambivalent events I encountered came from a Ghanaian-born American student. In response to my question about why he came to Ghana, he stated, "*the cultural connection to kind of redefine myself in terms of where I am from…Being here was a way to discover what a Ghanaian is, in a sense*." His relationships with Ghanaians, he said were strained because he felt like he was perceived as "just another Ghanaian student," which he interpreted as them not thinking it necessary to interact with him:

> *It is comforting sometimes because I don't get bothered as much as my non-Ghanaian looking peers. I can walk through markets freely. No one is looking at me, no one is trying to grab me. But I have had some strange occasions happen. Like at Independence Day, Ghanaians wanted to take a picture with the people I was with. Sometimes I am slightly jealous because other people get extra attention. It seems like Ghanaians go out of*

their way to talk to my American peers and I am just sitting in the back saying nothing. Sometimes it is frustrating.

The student's ambivalence emerged most strongly when he reflected on perceptions of himself and of others. In response to questions about citizenship, he stated, "*If someone was to ask me if I am Ghanaian; ethnically, yes, I am a Ghanaian. But in terms of identity, I am not a Ghanaian, I am maybe 20% Ghanaian and 80% American."* This vacillation between being American and Ghanaian demonstrates and uncertainty about his identity and sense of belonging. Instead of negotiating or hybridizing these constructs, he further essentialized them by quantifying and fracturing his identity. A profound rupture occurred where these constructs denote particular subject positions that cannot be congruently held (ie., being 100% Ghanaian and 100% American). Accordingly, he sees himself a stranger in Ghana: "*I am very much obruni*."

This type of transnationalism has been celebrated in the literature as the quintessential global citizen- the "global nomad"- whose sense of belonging is in flux and undetermined by national citizenship. Yet ambivalence enunciated in the hybrid space, where one is not quite 'us' or 'them', can be over-determined by territories of allegiance. In the *Post-colonial Aura*, Dirlik (1997) suggested that power, ideology and structure get overlooked in the constructions of who gets to be determined hybrid/pure. Although the student suggested global citizenship was an important way to think about global issues and collective responses, discourses around identity were conditioned by where he felt included and excluded. His values and "dispositions" as he described them were more American, and this was strongly affirmed through his encounters with Ghanaians who he came to see as Other and vice versa. Giving an account of one's citizenship was a difficult experience for participants. Although "I am American" or "I am proud to be Ghanaian" were often evoked throughout the interviews, these statements were destabilized by bouts of self-reflexivity in response to questions concerning global citizenship. When I asked each of the interviewees about their understanding of citizenship and global citizenship, there were long pauses in which each began to reflect and question the identity and responsibilities in relation to Others within

and beyond borders and national subjectivities. This kind of ambivalence is encouraging in its deconstruction of colonial divides where the participants began to interrogate borders and what makes someone Canadian versus Ghanaian. However, in the moment of 'giving an account' of one's citizenship, whether on a Visa application or basic question, 'where are you from?' the hegemony of the nation state in suggesting, "I am Canadian" or "I am Ghanaian" reinscribe essentialized identity constructs.

One of the encouraging effects of ambivalence pertaining to global citizenship resonates with Diken's (1998) evocation, "with the stranger, we find ourselves" (p. 334, cited in Ahmed, 2000, p. 6). Similarly in Bhabha's (1994) introduction to the *Location of Culture,* the stranger and strange encounters provide possibilities in seeing oneself and another differently: "In another's country that is also your own, your person divides, and in following the forked path you encounter yourself in a double movement…once as stranger, and then as friend" (p. xxv). A powerful reflection that captured this encounter came from a male NA student who, when asked about his understanding of global citizenship, stated:

> *There is this mass cultural diffusion and entropy going on with the global citizen. I also see the lackadaisical exchange student who travels as a tourist who doesn't really care about getting to know other people vs. the more engaged student. What you are taking from travelling vs getting to know a Ghanaian deeply, falling in love with a Ghanaian? What does that mean? How does that change your perspective? I don't know. It may become too philosophical for me to understand, but it definitely changes things. When I first came here, I think I maybe felt it- like when you first get to know people- they just become more real. You can take as many pictures as you want, but there is a lack of depth to it. But getting to know people, it is so real. It is not just a country, it is a country full of people that you are close to and care about. It is more integral to my being. I know when I go back to the US, I am going to follow the news and the music industry here because it matters to me now. My friends are there. I am going to be worrying too, like with what is going on in Nigeria and having Nigerian friends who live there now. There is that integral connection now. It is not just the pictures anymore, it is about the people. It is a very intimate connection.*

In this student's journey, his sense of responsibility, and thus citizenship, transformed to include those he made deep connections with. He was able to stay within the ambiguity that shifting borders induced to portray this hybridity and complexity in a way that did not reinstate the divides between self and other. On the other hand, as Ahmed (2000) describes, "the stranger functions yet again to establish and define the 'I'" (p. 6). The Other, whose differences have been constructed from beyond and castigated as Other, personifies a mirror for seeing oneself in a different light. The objectification of the Other in these encounters needs further examination.

Although some statements about global citizenship invoked the rupturing of constructed difference, how these differences get re-constituted in terms of power relations in the liminal remains an important consideration. One of the misperceptions of Bhabha's liminal 3rd space is that it is neutral and power-free. As Cesaire describes, "it is an excellent thing to blend different worlds… that for civilizations, exchange is oxygen," (1972/2000, p. 33), but there is a difference between civilizations coming together equally in a 3rd space and the space which colonization has always fostered, which is dominated by one group. Power/knowledge is important to keep in mind when thinking about liminal space. Questions pertaining to 'on what grounds of power/knowledge is the space of encounter conditioned?' and 'who/what gets privileged?' are critical.

Another risk involved with notions of hybridity is the essentialization of diverse ontological and epistemological formations. Broad constructs such as 'African' or 'Western' connote universal realities for those living on the continents of Africa or North America, which do not exist. Claims of "Westernization," which were conveyed mostly by Ghanaians to depict the social change that Ghana is currently experiencing, conceal the structural agents of capitalism that have infiltrated political and social economies around the globe. A Ghanaian participant noted that although there are good transformations spawned by "Westernization" such as gender equality, the conflict around Christianity and homosexuality poses difficult encounters that are laced with the imposition of

values. In response to the coming together of differences, he claimed, "*Some African culture we need to get rid of… all we need to do is get beyond our differences, whether someone is a Christian, Muslim or traditionalist and fuse them together and we can work together for the future*." How differences are reconstructed in this fusion presents many concerns in relation to power and hegemony.

"We need to get beyond differences," was a common sentiment conveyed by both NA and Ghanaian interviewees. As a Canadian respondent stated, "*people should ideally see their allegiance as being to primarily the human species as a whole and that all the other divisions are arbitrary*." This seemingly humanist melding together of differences signifies a notion of global citizenship that positions everyone as equal- there is no Other. However, in our lexicon, which is an extension of our metaphysics, there is a desire for an Other to define ourselves in relation and opposition. Strangers have been construed to help us determine who is one of 'us' and one of 'them' (Ahmed, 2000). Although the discourse of strangers was not enunciated, it functioned strongly in reflections concerning people's relationships. Being seen as a stranger to an Other whom one previously deemed as a stranger, provoked powerful sentiments of oneness that transcended arbitrary divisions. As Ahmed (2000) argues, "the face to face meeting is not between two subjects who are equal and in harmony; the meeting is antagonistic" (p. 8) and imbued with asymmetrical power relations. I will now discuss the nature of these power relations and their effects on discourse, knowledge and practices related to global citizenship.

Discourse, power/knowledge

Power relations constrained and enabled the emergence of global citizenship in various ways. Although power relations were evident, they were not well cognized or articulated by the people I interviewed. Ghanaian and North American students and administrators generally lacked critical reflection pertaining to their positionality and power. The binaries that were conveyed in the interviewee's responses, for instance, connote epistemological divides created and

sustained by the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2011). These discursive constructions signaled a need to attend to the conditions which encounters take place. This section will discuss the conditions and effects of these power relations and will be reimagined in the following chapter.

The interrelationship of discourse and power connotes the complexity of discursive formations. In *Power/knowledge*, Foucault (1980) described power as "a more-or-less organized, hierarchical coordinated cluster of relations" (p. 198). These relations are contingent to particular temporal and geographical locations and although Foucault's conception of power changed substantially throughout his career, he consistently posed a challenge to top-down juridical forms of power that simply repressed or denied people freedom. Microphysics of power and biopower asserted a new vision of the capillary-like nature of power that drew attention to the need of an analytics of power to understand the specificities of it (Walters, 2012). In the Ghanaian context, it was imperative to keep in mind the colonial history and relations of power, which continue to be reinscribed socially and politically. In order to understand the relations of power in Ghana, post-colonial scholars such as Fanon, Cesaire and Mignolo captured the complexity of colonial formations and the epistemic ordering of differences. These contexualizations complement Foucault's notions of power/knowledge and discourse, which helped elucidate the ways knowledge about the Other were constituted by power relations entrenched in the colonial era and maintained by the capitalist and neoliberal political-economic order.

Capitalism/Colonialism, Superiority/Inferiority

Colonialism was simultaneously a capitalist and a 'civilizing' enterprise (Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1962). The connections of capital ventures of creating markets for European goods and taking over and exploiting resources, both human and non-human, cannot be separated from the desire and power to colonize a population by imposing language, education, religion to bring more people under the reign of the market. Cesaire's equation of "colonization= 'thingification'" rings true today in the ways that discourses around progress and

development have subjected humans as objects of capitalist expansion. Although it is capitalism's intent to create new markets, it is equally important to keep regions underdeveloped to maintain power over them. Thus, the capitalist societies that we find ourselves immersed within are "incapable of establishing a concept of the rights of *all* men," (Cesaire, 1972/2000, p. 37, emphasis added) and have relied on ideologies such as racism to aid in the continuation of objectification and underdevelopment of Africa and other regions in the world.

Although capitalist discourses were not made explicit in the student interviews, they were firmly embedded in statements made regarding superiority/inferiority complexes that are an effect of capitalist and racist discourse. Statements such as*, "a lot of [African] universities have really low standards"* and Ghana brings up "*conversations about poverty* and *human rights,"* convey the superiority of the North America(ns). Such statements by Ghanaian students as "*they [Ghanaian females] want to do something that is a bit more superior to you [white North American]*" because white NA women stand out and get male attention, suggest the internalization of inferiority. According to Fanon (1962), racist ideology is integral to inducing and maintaining superiority/inferiority complexes that sustain capitalism: "the inferiority complex can be ascribed to a double process: first, economic. Then, internalization of epidermalization of this inferiority" (pp. xiv-xv).

Capitalist and racist discourse work hand in hand in separating and hierarchizing humanity. Fanon's sentiment that the "the economic infrastructure is also the superstructure. The cause is the effect: You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich," (1961, p. 5) expresses the discursive connection which conceals, yet perpetuates capitalist and racist discourses. As a Ghanaian administrator stated, "*being in a classroom of 400 or more students and you are the only white person, everyone looks at you. There is also this perception of wealth. Everyone perceives you as being rich and wealthy because you come from Europe or North America,*" the logic of whiteness=wealth and blackness=destitution operated strongly in people's perceptions of self/other that

constrained encounters between NA and Ghanaian students. Correspondingly, a NA student stated, "*you get slapped with the nametag of being a rich North American who has like 40 boyfriends and gets drunk everyday and wears no clothes."* The construction and effects of stereotypes by racist and economic discourses perpetuated divisions of humanity. Yet, in her next statement, *"if you say that you are a Christian, it almost pulls you out of that or something,"* there are other discursive mechanisms at play that conceal epistemic differences even further.

The effects of colonial missionaries in Ghana continue in the concealment of epistemic and human divides. Since the 15th Century, Ghana has been the recipient of Christian missionaries- first by mainline churches (Methodist, Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian churches), and currently, American Evangelical Pentecostals. In a class I was taking at the UG on the History of Pentecostalism in Ghana, the professor stated that "many Africans found it difficult to identify with these mainline churches and there arose African independent churches (AICs) that modified the practices and worship and language of the mainline churches, which unleashed a whole development of Pentecostal churches and fellowships" (class notes, 2012). Pentecostalism articulated well with traditional Ghanaian spiritual worship, such as singing and dancing and faith healing. Coupled with translating the Bible into Twi, the Pentecostal churches, led by charismatic Ghanaian pastors, have escalated since the mid-20th Century and continue to grow in power and numbers. It is impossible to go to Ghana and not feel the effects of the Pentecostal hold. Pastors plastered across billboards, radio programs broadcasting liturgy, taxi bumper stickers and Ghanaian students going door to door in the dormitory asking, "Have you accepted Jesus?" illustrate the depth and breadth of Christianity in Ghanaian life.

One of the interesting discursive effects of Christianity in Ghana is the way in which it paradoxically operates to mask the colonial history. Another, in the way it simultaneously divides people, as in the case of homosexuals, and unifies people. As one NA student indicated, she was 'pulled out' of the stereotype of a rich, slutty American if she said she was Christian. Another NA

student, who attended church with Ghanaian friends of his, also wrestled with this complex encounter. He disclosed that at one of the services, the pastor got up and said, "I forgive every white man in the past with the sins he committed of colonialism because he brought us the word of the Lord, showed us light when we were in darkness." The student reflected: "there is a shameless acceptance of Christianity although it came from abroad through colonization." Although realizing that Christianity constitutes a profound foundation for Ghanaian life, for instance, "people are very happy and thankful about their Christianity. They think that is what unifies their country, even politically," he mentions that "it is a really hard thing to swallow" because of its cultural destruction in eradicating and displacing religious and cultural practices that existed prior to colonization.

Since colonial contact, religion has been intimately connected to education, literacy, and other indicators, which apparently improved living conditions in Ghana; but at what cost? Human contact that is marred by power/knowledge entrenched in colonial and capitalist relations, condition these engagements in such a way that they entrench and reproduce colonization of the mind. In *Discourse on Colonialism*, Cesaire (1972/2000) eloquently conveys the danger in development discourse. He hears "the storm" in statistics about roads and railway tracks, revealing "societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated… extraordinary possibilities wiped out" (p. 43). What is not being said in the discourse around development and religion, is the negative consequences of imposing one's beliefs and bodies in the mental and physical space of an Other. Behind statistics and desires are more important dynamics associated with power/knowledge- the power and knowledge used to speak, define and legitimate one's beliefs:

> I am talking about millions of men torn from their gods, their land, their habits, their life-from life, from the dance, from wisdom. I am talking about millions of men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, despair. (Cesaire, 1972/2000, p. 43)

These inferiority/superiority complexes emerged frequently in statements and practices. NA students frequently expressed that they wanted to 'do' something

about the inequities they experienced, such as fundraise money for development projects to lift what they saw as the 'poor Africans' out of poverty. Their actions, however, reproduced the discourse and inferiority/superiority complexes they intended to overcome.

Embedded in students' desire to go to Ghana were discourses around development and wanting to see first-hand the realities of the Third world. Their experiences of 'what it is like over there', precipitated many NA students' desire to 'do something about it' and manifested in dozens of students volunteering once a week at an orphanage or school. In response to this demand, the International Programmes Office (IPO) instituted a volunteer program for international students. According to an IPO employee in charge of the program, every semester there is "a group of people wanting to do something worthwhile while they are here. For most students, a couple of hours of week is enough for them." The volunteering experiences, which appeased sentiments of guilt associated with privilege, reinstated positioning of the superior North American in relation to the helpless, inferior Other. Constructing Ghana as a place in need of intervention, Heron (2007) argues:

> normalizes our centering of ourselves in relation to other people's needs, not by recognizing how we are implicated in global economic processes of globalization that underlie these needs, but by erasing the agency of local peoples who are Othered in these processes, and by presenting "our" (read white middle-class Northern) knowledge, values, and ways of doing things as at once preferable and right, since the North, especially Canada, appears orderly, clean, and well managed in comparison. (p. 3)

The lack of reflexivity elicited when asking students about why they wanted to volunteer while they studied at UG suggests the normalization and continuation of an inferior Other stuck in their local incapacity and waiting for the enlightened global citizen to help educate and point them in the right direction. However, as one student noted, "*for students travelling to developing countries, I think we have this idea in our minds that we are going to go and fix things and we have this better idea. I am having to let that go,"* ambivalent ruptures can and do occur, destabilizing these inequitable assumptions and relations. This particular student, although beginning the semester as a volunteer, began to see the volunteer

experience as doing more harm than good and eventually quit in order to focus on learning about the systemic change required for social development.

Though it was perhaps not surprising to hear North American students compare NA education as being superior to Ghana, it was interesting to these hear statements made by Ghanaians. At first I did not want to accept the suspicion that the Ghanaians I was speaking to were repudiating their culture and education and reproducing the inferiority complexes instilled generations ago. Yet, when students and professors wanted to appear authoritative, or be taken seriously, the Western suit jacket and neckties would appear, North American and Western European philosophers and economists would emerge in arguments and American ivy league universities were discussed as ways of validating one's ideas and beliefs. I was constantly amazed that in a Department of Philosophy, where I spent three months studying and interacting with philosophers, there was a constant utilization of Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel to discuss on African ontological and epistemological questions. Where was the "African" in the African philosophy? Also, how was it that English was constantly upheld as the language and medium of knowledge and truth?

Learning Twi/ reinforcing English

Language played a crucial role in conditioning the discourse and power/knowledge relations related to global citizenship. Like most countries in Africa, Ghana has adopted the language of its colonizers (English) as its 'official' language. Although a number of languages are spoken across the country, especially Twi, which is most widely spoken, English remains the language of instruction of higher education. Operations of power are important to consider in language and education. I often heard mono-lingual North Americans talk about the devastating literacy rates in Africa, and complaints about Ghanaians not being able to speak 'good enough' English, without reflecting on the fact that these same people speak multiple languages. This discourse emerged in an interview with a Ghanaian administrator who said NA students who are accommodated in homestays have an advantage in language acquisition because they get to

"*encounter the actual, everyday Ghanaian who doesn't speak that good of English or just speaks Ghananese and they have to figure out what they are saying. The students who live in ISH live with educated Ghanaians who speak good English. They don't have as many communication problems as with the people who are in homestays*." In such statements, the Ghanaian hosts were constructed as the source of communication problems instead of the NA students who were not versed in the local language. Coupled with post-secondary education being equated with "good English," Ghanaian languages and native speakers continue to be discursively subjugated in relation to the superior Western, English norm.

Discourse surrounding language echoes Fanon's argument that the more the colonized assimilate the colonizer's language, the closer they become to being 'modern' citizens. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1952/1994) explicated the dynamic of the colonized adopting the language of the colonizers to improve their status: "the more the black Antillean assimilates the French language, the whiter he gets- i.e., the closer he comes to becoming a true human being" (p. 2). Illuminating the power/knowledge dynamics implied in language, Fanon stated: "A man who possesses a language possesses as an indirect consequence the world expressed and implied by this language" (p. 2). Power to name and be named in the language of the hegemon is implicit in constructions of self and other, and point more deeply to the level of subjectivation and colonization of the mind. Language is the seed through which the inferiority complex has been sewn wherein "all colonized people…position themselves in relation to the civilizing language; i.e., the metropolitan culture" (p. 2). Furthermore, "the more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become" (pp. 2-3).

The connotations of language have important epistemological and ontological implications. According to wa Thiong'o (1986) "language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (p. 16). The adoption and continued authority given to the colonizer's

language illuminates the adoption of values, desires and ways of knowing and being in the world. Ghanaians' desire for a Western education, which was commonly evoked in conversations and interviews, as well their adoption of Western dress, music, cinema, etc., align with the insights of Cesaire, Fanon and wa' Thiongo that colonialism is enshrined with power/knowledge and continues to flourish under capitalism through a reproduction of these desires and conditions.

Higher education serves as an important agent in reinforcing the colonial epistemic order. The University of Ghana, founded by the British as a subsidiary of the University of London, encompasses material colonial continuities in the structure and curricula of the institution today. African higher educational institutions have been called upon to produce human capital to further development efforts, but how is this possible, Mazrui (1995) asks, when the university is "linked in a chain of dependency that seeks to remold the African self into a Western other," (p. 333) whereby curricula and the language of instruction are an extension of its colonial masters. He argues that the African university, drawing extensively on examples from the Ghanaian context, "is not only sick itself--it is also a source of wider infection and social contagion" that is part of cultural dependency on the Western world (p. 334):

> African universities have been the highest transmitters of Western culture in African societies. The high priests of Western civilization in the continent are virtually all products of those cultural seminaries called 'Universities.' They change African *selves* into semi-Western *others*. (Mazrui, 1995, p. 351)

Although 'Western' and 'African' portray and reinstate binaries oppositions that are insufficient in ascertaining the constructions and effects of culture, Mazrui's statements convey the inherent globally constituted neo-colonial power relations that continue to subjugate local ways of knowing.

North American students' desires and endeavors to learn Twi present an interesting dynamic and potential resistance to the neocolonial order. Despite some statements about learning Twi as a "fun friend-building thing" and way to

"impress" people, the ways in which some of the interviewees described the ways that language 'opened up their worlds', spoke to a humanizing, rather than de-humanizing, process. For one NA student, learning and speaking Twi "completely changed" his experience that shifted his positionality from being a "tourist" into a deeper connection that he "can't really describe". From his passionate description related to this experience, it appeared to be an alteration of power that facilitates learning *from* the other and on the Other's terms. When speaking in Twi, the power relations change to 'If you want to understand what I am saying, you have to speak *my* language', putting the mono-lingual speaker in a different position of power than they are used to. The Ghanaians I interviewed expressed a general appreciation that some NA students made an effort to speak Twi and step out of their "comfort zone" as one participant noted. Another student expressed that it demonstrated a "respect" for Ghanaian culture.

Intersectionality of discourses and power

Intersectionality is an important theoretical framework to understand the intersections and interactions of difference and power. Although I did not conduct a full-scale intersectionality analysis (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991), in this section I look at how race, class, gender, sexual orientation and religion intersect and manifest as complex and interlocking systems of oppression. In the vein of Crenshaw's work, which illuminates the intersection of race, gender and class in constituting particular forms and levels of oppression for poor African American women in the U.S, it is important to look at the "sites where structures of power intersect" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242) to ascertain the varying degrees and layers these formations engender. Mignolo's (2011) colonial matrix of power similarly illustrates how interconnected historico-structural nodes of power such as knowledge & subjectivity, racism, gender & sexuality, authority, economy, theology/secular philosophy and patriarchy contribute to the ordering and perpetuation of divisions of and by Western ontology and epistemology. As a caveat to the following discussion, these interconnected discourses provide only a

snapshot of intersectionality. Further research is needed to flesh out in more detail the construction and effects of these discourses.

It is important to remember that the racial classifications first undertaken by White European men, placing themselves atop a hierarchy were sustained by the "white men of letters and scientists who were the gatekeepers of Western and modern knowledge" (Mignolo, 2011, p. 45). Knowledge emanating from these positions of power was codified in interrelated discourses that simultaneously constructed, classified and ordered human beings according to class, race, gender, sexual orientation, religion and spirituality. Kant's *Physical Geography* depicting a hierarchy of races is one example. Such epistemic classifications of humanity were mere social constructions created and maintained by those on top (ie, white, Christian, heterosexual, middle-upper class, educated European men) whose subjectivities are construed as known and superior to whichever term(s) it opposes (ie, black, animist, homosexual, poor, uneducated African women). Thus discourses of cosmopolitanism extending from Kant ought to be contextualized through these discriminatory constructions of power/knowledge.

In addition to race, one of the most obvious discursive nodes in Ghana was religion. Each NA student made reference in his or her interview about the pervasive and complicated nature of Christianity in Ghana. Statements by NA students such as, "*here, Christianity is such a big part of people's personalities*," "*One of the questions you get asked here all the time is, 'are you a Christian*?"" and "*They want you to be a Christian*," convey the omnipresence of Christianity in Ghanaian society. Despite their cognizance of it, the NA students did not really grasp it. This is partly because it was so strongly connected to other discourses such as gender, sexual orientation, colonization, class and even race. In my own reflections written in my research journal about the manifestation and effects of Christianity in Ghanaian society, I contemplated Weber's thesis on the Protestant work ethic and the spirit of capitalism, which corresponded to the capitalist salvation narratives that I heard expressed so often by my roommate. After attending a service at a Pentecostal Evangelical Church with her, she explained to

me the rules of paying Tithes, where she paid 1/10 of her earnings to the House of God, which was recorded on a card, so that when she went to heaven, she would be taken care of. "Once you have a card, it is like a membership," she stated, and even "employers will ask which card you have." Pentecostal Pastors, who were the richest men in Ghana, contributed to the Christian-capitalist formations in Ghana. This dynamic has conditioned Ghanaian's subjectivities, but more research is needed to ascertain its effects on notions of global citizenship and social development.

A Canadian student's reflection of her experiences being constantly asked whether or not she was a Christian, illustrates the discursive construction of religion in connection with other discourses. She reflected:

> *It was the one thing in Ghana I couldn't believe. People would always ask me if I was a Christian. If I said no, it almost seemed like I couldn't be their friend and that didn't seem very Christian to me. It was like, you don't go to church, I'm either going to try and convert you or not be your friend because I don't respect the choices that you make*.

In order to circumvent the difficult encounters such as stereotypes of promiscuity, the student stated she "*put on a façade of being a Christian*". This subjectivity enabled her to form relationships with Ghanaian women and escape the subjectification as a rich, promiscuous American. This was a common narrative conveyed by North American women. The absence of this for North American men, on the other hand, portrays a gendered implication of this discourse.

The most complicated intersection of Christianity was the politicization of Ghanaian's views and constructions of sexuality. While I was in Ghana, the public debate around homosexuality was at a peak. On October 30, 2011, British Prime Minister David Cameron released a public statement expressing that countries receiving UK aid should "adhere to proper human right," and countries which ban homosexuality risk losing foreign aid (Guardian). Shortly after this statement was released, African nations such as Uganda and Ghana, which have anti-homosexual laws, retorted that such conditionalites is reticent of colonialism

and treating African nations as "infants" (BBC). In response, then Ghanaian President John Atta-Mills publically declared:

> No one can deny Prime Minister Cameron his right to make policies, take initiatives or make statements that reflect his societal norms and ideals. But he does not have the right to direct other sovereign nations as to what they should do especially where their societal norms and ideals are different from those which exist in the Prime Minister's society. (Clottey, 2011)

A few days after Cameron's statement, Ghanaian legislators began discussions on strengthening legal sanctions against practicing homosexuals and Atta Mills maintained that homosexuality would never be legalized under his authority (Clottey, 2011). The politicization of homosexuality unleashed massive public opinion as well as that of religious leaders on the topic, most claiming that homosexuality is a foreign imposition, taboo, immoral act, and does/should not exist in Ghanaian culture. As a columnist of the popular news website, *Modern Ghana*, claimed: "In Ghana, it is illegal, an abomination and a taboo by our tradition and custom backed by Constitutional law for anyone to engage in illicit sexual acts – homosexuality." Such statements circulating daily on the radio and television, in classes and conversations entrenched this narrative.

One of the most noticeable oversights was that laws against homosexuals were inscribed in and by British law in the era of colonization. Approximately 41 nations within the 54-member Commonwealth have laws banning homosexual acts, most of which are a legacy of British rule. Utilizing colonial apparatuses such as religion and law to rationalize the continued oppression and de-citizenization of its people is appalling; however, it signals the success in colonizing the minds of colonial subjects. The additional layer of insult to this dynamic is the continuation of Britain telling its 'former' imperial subjects what to think and do and tying strings such as financial aid to the situation. Ghanaians I interviewed felt that the conditionalities of aid were a continuation of the paternalism and imperialism towards Ghana. One respondent went as far to state, "*If Africa wasn't colonized, we probably wouldn't be having these problems about homosexuality*," to indicate not that homosexuality is a foreign imposition,

often heard in public and religious discourse, but that the ways that Ghanaians have incorporated a strict morality to sexuality based on the Bible has led to this lack of acceptance in contemporary Ghanaian society.

The religious, political and cultural connections to sexual orientation were elucidated clearly; however, the racial and colonial connotations were an absent presence. Little research and theorizing have been conducted on the intersections of race and sexual orientation in the post-colonial context. Upon searching for literature on homosexuality in Ghana, I found scant information to help think through this complex dynamic of religion, colonization and homophobia. In one of few texts on the topic, *Queer(y)ing the Postcolonial Through the West(ern)*, Alexander (2008) suggests that in the realm of post-colonial studies, "the issue of homophobia and homosexuality goes unaddressed in significant ways, as to leave Fanon a space of authority in defining the terms of its justified absence in the larger course of postcolonial interest" (p. 106). The absence of the theorization of homophobia's intersections in the post-colonial landscape is also attributed to the 'internal colonialism' that is often overlooked in traditional constructions of colonialism that pit the colonizer against the colonized- not the colonized oppressing the colonized (Alexander, 2008). The Other's other, which African homosexuals embody, remains a relatively untouched, yet extremely important construction to further interrogate in subsequent research. Although there are significant debates in queer studies about the fracturing induced by identity politics, the contextual specificities of power relations temporally, geographically and socially, and the manifestations of Africans being de-humanized by their brothers and sisters according to a religion and law imposed by their colonizers, strongly indicates the need for re-mapping this contested terrain.

Though the intersections are many, a final intersection I would like to discuss is the complex relationship and set of encounters between white NA women and black Ghanaian men. Nearly all of the students I interviewed (aside from the Ghanaian men) expressed their discomfort around Ghanaian men stalking white NA women. The pre-departure orientations conditioned the

students' minds prior to this encounter, particularly the program that made all the students attend a rape prevention program. Even before Ghanaian men interacted with the NA students, there were stereotypes that negatively conditioned these relationships. As one NA white female stated, "*So at first, I was expecting this kind of behaviour. Like when a guy came up to me, I just wanted to dismiss him.*" The student later reflected that "*not everyone fits this stereotype and if I assume they do, I will be missing out on a bunch of cool opportunities and friendships. So, when a guy comes up to me, I may give him a chance and not ignore him. If it is obvious that he wants my number because of my skin color, I will ignore him. But if he genuinely wants to interact with me, I will give him a chance."* However, several Ghanaian men lived up to their stereotypes, by following white women around and asking for their phone number, and in more instances than I could count, flippant marriage proposals. These encounters posed many difficult encounters for NA women and furthered the negative portrayal and universalized stereotype of Ghanaian men.

What is particularly interesting about the power dynamics of this relationship was the way in which gender and race co-construct subjectivity and positionality. For instance, the white female North American oscillates between a dominant position of race, but a subordinate one of gender. The intersections of race and gender are critical in further unpacking citizenship discourses and power relations in the post-colonial context. As Oyewumi (2000) argues, the colonial classification was based primarily on race, but also gender: "In the colonial situation, there was a hierarchy of four, not two, categories. Beginning at the top, these were: men (European), women (European), native (African men), and Other (African women)" (p. 256). Patriarchy and its effects on the ordering of humanity was an absent presence in this study. Given its vital importance in constructing notions of citizenship, I have delimited it in this study to give it more ample attention in further research.

Governmentality: Global citizen subjects

Governmentality provides a productive framework for looking at how we are all disciplined subjects of a neoliberal apparatus, which compels us to inculcate and perform particular economically laden subjectivities. As indicated in in Chapters 2-4, governmentality is not a theory in itself, but an analytical toolkit of ideas and methods to understand the complex nature of the art of governing. I draw on governmentality in this section to attend to particular rationalities that condition the emergence of knowledges and material practices associated with global citizenship and study abroad. The interviewees did not make explicit statements about the ways in which they were governed or were made to think study abroad and global citizenship were important, but the rationalities that were evoked in their desires and choices convey the ways in which individuals are "implicated in societal webs of control and co-ordination through their own liberty and self regulation" (Davidson-Harden, 2009, p. 278).

Although different forms of governmentality can be at play in any given time or place, of particular concern is the role and constitution of neoliberal governmentality, which involves neoliberal policies and rationalities in the production of responsible and free citizens who employ their own entrepreneurial and self-governing capabilities. We can see this rationality play out in the ways in which policy creates certain pathways and 'choices' for student consumers to choose from, all the while individuals are led to believe they are free agents. This paradox, Smith (2010) observes, "is like playing poker against someone who has already seen your hand unbeknownst to you… In such a context, the actor under surveillance chooses, she is acting freely, but she does so in a context constructed to advance the priority of others" (p. 9). To question this system is to invite derision, as we are all implicated in the market and neoliberal governmentality that has shaped to varying extents our rationality and subjectivity. In this section I discuss statements from interviews that pertain to neoliberal governmentality and illuminate some of its discursive effects on students' global citizenship subjectivity.

Choice

According to Foucault, different modes of governing depend on one's notion of freedom. For the North American students, the notion of freedom to choose their destiny and next adventure was commonly spun into their narratives of how they came to Ghana and understand their subjectivities related to global citizenship. This liberal notion of the freedom to choose was pervasive in the ways the students spoke about their experience. The following statement by one NA student, for instance, demonstrates the freedom to enact a choice based on what 'he' wants: "*When I applied for exchange, my hand went to click France and I said, wait, I don't know if this is still what I want. I looked down at the list and I saw Ghana and something clicked."* The counter-narratives of the Ghanaian hosts, who were not afforded such luxuries of being able to choose where they wanted to travel or study abroad, demonstrate the inequitable relations of power between host and traveller. These 'choices', or lack thereof, are not necessarily Ghanaians' own, reproduce inequitable formations of knowledge and subjectivities associated with global citizenship constituted through the necessity of travel. Attending to these formations through governmentality demonstrates the choice and supporting rationales to study abroad are not expressions of their freedom to choose, but rather feel free to understand and enact their lives in terms of that choice.

Looking at the relationship between statements in interviews from students and administrators and policies pertaining to "why Ghana?" as the site of study abroad for NA students, the complexity and complicity of economic conditions become more evident. According to a Canadian administrator, Ghana was chosen as one of UA's two African university partners "*because we could see the future economic contact, it is one of the most stable African countries, it has economic potential."* The province in turn gave students financial subsidies in the first few years to students participating in these programs. Programs became marketed to students as a way to gain "opportunities to broaden their global perspectives." The UA Education program, was even highlighted on the Government of Canada

website in recognition of the exchange between Canada and Ghana and "broadening students' horizons through global citizenship" (Government of Canada). Government support and marketing of such programs demonstrate the political-economic apparatus and rationales that make such experiences possible for students in the first place.

For Ghanaian students, the choice to study abroad is conditioned much differently from the political and economically constituted menu that NA students choose from. For one Ghanaian student I interviewed, who had the rare chance to study in Canada, stated, "I never really meant to travel outside for school. It never crossed my mind because I could never afford to travel outside." However, in the third year of his undergraduate degree there was an opportunity where three students from the UG were offered scholarships for a year abroad in a Commonwealth country. Not knowing where in the Commonwealth he would be placed, he applied and was awarded a scholarship and plane ticket to Brock University in Ontario, Canada. He expressed that he was delighted, but:

> *a few days before we had to travel, we found out we had to pay accommodation on our own. We had to find a place off campus and pay it ourselves. It said that we needed money just in case, but to pay for accommodation came as a shock. But at that time, we had a Visa and were ready to go, so we had to look elsewhere to go. If I had known that I had to pay for accommodations, I don't think I would have gone. It was the situation that everything was ready for me to go, so people helped me out. That is how I came to Canada*.

Arriving in St. Catherine's in January to snowstorm and with little money to spend on accommodations or living expenses, the struggles of his study abroad experience varied greatly from the NA students in Ghana. His decision was clearly not his own, but took whatever option was available to him. The desire to travel and study abroad were commonly conveyed by Ghanaian students, but the differential in costs of accommodation, travel and living expenses make this an impossibility for most.

According to Foucault, subjects are constituted through discourses that 'subject' them to certain positions. Subjects of global citizenship were continually

constructed through statements of the necessity to travel and 'see the world'. Given that the luxury of travel, especially internationally, is afforded to few, mobility becomes a dividing practice that pits those with money as global citizens and excludes those without. Some Ghanaian participants picked up on the inequities that travelling and subsequent subjectivities of global citizenship engender. One Ghanaian student suggested that while it is good to bring in foreign students to the University of Ghana, there ought to be a reciprocal traffic of students:

> *It is important for foreign students to come here. I would even say that it should be a two-way system. It should not just be one-way traffic. It should be a two-way relationship. The policy should reflect this and have more African students going abroad. But if they go abroad, it should be mandatory for them to return to African and have them stay for at least a year before they can leave again. If this was carried out, we would achieve many things. If it continues to be a one-way traffic, we won't achieve as many good impacts. It also calls for a lot of investment.*

Recognizing that few Ghanaian students get the opportunity to study abroad and travel, whether it is finances, Visas and other immigration policies barring their participation, the interviewee pointed out the inequities of study abroad and called for a more reciprocal exchange of students.

Neo-liberal/humanitarian global citizen subjects

The contradiction of the neoliberal humanitarian emerging from policy statements was reflected in discourses evoked by both Ghanaian and NA respondents. Through this experience, students began to think through their citizenship in new ways based on their relationships and experiences with Others. As an American student stated, "*when you go to Ghana, you learn about the world. You don't just learn about Ghana, but it and its relationship with the world. The narrow focus in the US handicaps us in our ways of thinking. My idea of citizenship is that we are citizens of the world, not a country*." Global citizenship in these statements gave her a sense of belonging and responsibility beyond the borders of her national citizenship and a more inclusive way to understand who she is. However, her next few statements elicit a common problem- that global citizenship can only be attained through travel:

> *I think for myself and for other students here, we think less about our ideas within countries' borders because our hopes and expectations and goals are so much bigger than a country's borders. Being a citizen means being a global citizen. It doesn't mean being in one place. It means gaining an understanding of the world through travel and only through travel.*

The assumption that the world can be gleaned only through travel provides a common narrative amongst all interviewees. Although a few stated that you did not need to travel far, just out of one's comfort zone, there was still a sense that borders needed to be crossed. According to Ghanaian participants, there was a general consensus that it was a good thing for NA students to come to Ghana in order to challenge their assumptions about Africa and give people back home 'an account' of what it is really like. The discourse of 'seeing is believing', endemic to experiential education, was a common discourse amongst the participants. In order to understand what it is like in Africa, however, the widely cited narrative suggested that you 'have to go there,' enter another's turf as if you have an unrestricted right and freedom to do so.

The humanitarian desires of the mobile NA citizen to volunteer and the complicity of Ghanaian hosts to facilitate these endeavors present another dimension to the complicated global citizen subjectivities. When I delved deeper into the rationalities of the volunteer program at IPO, the Ghanaian interviewee expressed that local NGOs prefer international students to Ghanaian students in order to get more "more international exposure". What was particularly interesting in the interviews with NA participants, who were volunteers, were the ways in which Ghana and Ghanaians were constructed as deficient and in need of North American's help. The Ghanaians in some ways painted a different picture of the volunteer experience, portraying it as a market and initiative to attract students into their programs. They are meeting the demand for the 'volunteer experience,' which was available only to international students. This encounter illuminates the complexity of discourses shaping subjectivities of the rich white savior student, the poor black helpless Ghanaians and the middle-class Ghanaians complicit in this endeavour. This exemplified neoliberal governmentality, which constructs subjects beyond their awareness vis-à-vis the political economy, while

also covering up any complicity through humanist discourses of 'helping' and 'doing good'.

Summary

Educational practices that aspire to inculcate global citizenship ought to be cognizant of the colonial constructions and their continued effects, which castigate the Ghanaian as an object of the North American's education. The continuities and disruptions of this discursive construction gleaned from statements from my participants offer many insights into the (im)possibilities of decolonizing these encounters. Shifting gears to the question of ethics, the next chapter begins to re-imagine the policies and practices of global citizenship and study abroad in higher education. I attend to the importance of ethics to make sense of these divisive discursivities. Though it is language that we use to articulate our sense making and subjectivity, the ethical foregrounds these enunciations.

Chapter 8: An Ethic of Discomfort: Ruptures, recapitulations and recommendations

Introduction

"When we are comfortable and inattentive, we run the risk of committing grave injustices absentmindedly" (Achebe, 2009, p. 95)

Theory enables us to see and interpret particular themes sometimes unrecognizable without it. Yet, the theories we employ to explain and problematize the social world and its patterns, do not allow us to fully see what we feel and think. Theory can point to and uncover reality, but it cannot substitute it. I came home from Ghana *different* and with more questions than answers. Through difficult encounters with superiority/inferiority complexes, homophobia, throngs of international students spending their time partying and travelling through the neoliberal pathways of Ghana, I came to face my own assumptions about these realities. Despite the urge to leave my research questions and conceptual framework to look at other theorists and paths of inquiry, I continued with Foucault's theories of discourse and power/knowledge to ascertain those often neglected assumptions about global citizenship and how universities ought to educate on the subject. These theories allowed for an uprooting of "ideologies by exposing the mechanisms of their workings" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 42). However, they imposed limits when attempting to understand the more complex ways the internalization, reproduction and resistance of these ideologies operate in people's being. Re-visiting post-colonial theorists such as Fanon, Said and Mignolo was essential to understanding the conditions and conditioning of the possibilities of global citizenship and study abroad. Their insights allowed me to see the deeply rooted colonial power relations in human subjectivity and subjectivation. Nevertheless, there is no theory to encapsulate and illuminate the social world in all of its complexities, or to universalize assumptions about how it ought to be.

In this final chapter, I open a discussion on an important rumbling in this research: discomfort. As indicated in the previous two chapters, openness and going out of one's comfort zone were constructed as prerequisites to becoming

global citizens. Yet, even in the zones of discomfort, stereotypes and unethical engagement were reinforced through colonial discourses and the policies and practices that inculcate them. This chapter begins to rethink global citizenship and educational practices through an ethic of discomfort to help keep channels of ambiguity open. I have borrowed the term 'ethic of discomfort' from Foucault's short essay, "For an ethic of discomfort," which briefly touches on Merleau-Ponty's insight to "never consent to being completely comfortable with one's own presuppositions" (cited in Foucault, 2000, p. 448). Extending from this notion of discomfort and its relationship to our presumptions about reality and those we deem 'other', I engage the wisdom of the interviewees, theorists, poets and teachers I have encountered on this journey to discuss important insights and questions pertaining to theory, policy and practice of global citizenship. This chapter comprises a summative discussion of final observations and recommendations to decolonize policy and practices associated with global citizenship and study abroad.

Difficult and strange encounters

> *"With much reluctance and danger, just an other. And the others, do they discover, with reluctance, that their heterogeneity belongs intimately to the West? Always their subjection; our abjection. Unending injustices; endless restitutions"(Stephen David Ross, 1995, p. 32).*

When people encounter themselves through encountering Others, possibilities emerge to think and be 'otherwise'. Although constructions of difference and practices of othering were intrinsic to many representations and relationships conveyed by the students, there was also disjuncture and resistance to these colonial conventions through the deeper connections made between NA and Ghanaian students. North American interviewees commonly stated that the relationships they formed with Ghanaians were the highlight of their experience in Ghana. The Ghanaians I interviewed also noted these encounters as important experiences towards understanding otherness and thinking differently about the world. Yet, in many of these conversations, there was a reluctance to let go of deep conditioning that constructed a superior self in relation to a distant Other.

When some of the students stepped into difficult encounters and remained within the discomfort they posed, a profound opening occurred that allowed for the possibility of knowing and becoming otherwise. Global citizenship conveyed in these interstices and in the negotiation of difficult knowledge, requires a confrontation and shedding of those colonial knowledge constructions. Through this process of unlearning, discomfort arose and humanity emerged.

Study abroad programs allow for the possibility of individuals deemed each other's 'Other' to come face-to-face. As illuminated in the previous chapter, the exoticization and lack of knowledge about one another prior to arrival, particularly from the North American students, conditioned these encounters in ways that reinforced the superiority/inferiority complexes generated through the Enlightenment and colonization and maintained through neoliberal and neocolonial ideologies and practices. NA students were prepared to live in poverty for a while, wearing old clothes so as "not to display wealth," and female students in particular, were conditioned to think Ghanaian men were out to marry them. Conversely, Ghanaian students were prepared for the next throng of students to come and travel, party, experience, blog about the highlights of Ghana and pick up and return to their comfortable mansions. *One another's Other*. Yet, in my moments of encounter I bore witness to profound openings and resistances to this subjectivation. In these moments, the terms, conditions and discourses changed. The Other became, in some instances, no longer other, but a friend, a lover, someone cared and assumed responsibility for.

The difficult encounters described in previous chapters suggest that power relations complicate face-to-face encounters. "Through strange encounters," Ahmed (2000) states, "the figure of the 'stranger' is produced, not as that which we fail to recognize, but as that which we have already recognized as a 'stranger'" (p. 3). Indicated in the previous chapter, this dialectical need for another to encounter and define ourselves in relation to others is intrinsic to the human species. The exotic Other has become a fetishized imaginary mass produced in film, literature and other media, instilling a longing to know and consume this

difference. These sentiments were clearly expelled in NA students' desires to go to Ghana. The effects of "ontologising the stranger," (Ahmed, p. 5) are important to think through in constructions of global citizenship and practices carried out in their name. Who is the Other we deem stranger and do we really need an Other to better understand ourselves?

Assumptions of and responsibilities towards Others begin to be challenged as otherness becomes more similar: a face, a name and a story that becomes incorporated into one's own worldview. Levinas (1981) suggests that the face-to-face encounters between Others are inherently ethical as they presume a responsibility for the Other. This notion of encounter as a physical and psychological reality summons a phenomenological perspective to understand the experience and consciousness of those in encounter. Although this is out of the scope of my study, a phenomenological inquiry of openness and discomfort in relation to study abroad and global citizenship suggests an important avenue for future research. In this study, rather than interpreting the meaning of interviewees' sentiments from their subjective point of view, I looked at discourse and power/knowledges operating to condition these sentiments and encounters. This analysis contributes insight toward an ethic of global citizenship that does not reinscribe the boundaries that separate us.

Stepping into another's shoes: Learning through the Other

"The Master is bound to recognize that His Culture is not as homogenous, as monolithic as He believed it to be. He discovers, with much reluctance, He is just an other among others." (Minh-ha, 1989, pp. 98-99)

The face-to-face encounters described in the interviews were not harmonious meetings of equals, but rather encounters conditioned by constructions of difference deemed Other. As Eagleton (2009) states, "The other is someone one has under one's skin, an image which is meant to suggest an irritant rather than an agreeable merging of egos" (p. 224). The most profound learning experiences between Ghanaian and NA students communicated in the interviews were the difficult encounters that challenged one another's worldviews

and normative assumptions about how the world ought to be. "*Stepping into another shoes*," a description of global citizenship given by a Ghanaian student, allows one the opportunity to see the world from a different perspective anywhere he/she may journey. This notion was frequently expressed by NA and Ghanaian students reflecting on their relationships and difficult encounters with roommates. Having to work through such trivial differences as appropriate bed times, to bridging more serious disparities, such as Ghanaians proselytizing or NA student's intoxication, made students face their presuppositions in relation to different ways of knowing and being.

When stories and experiences are shared, people's biases are challenged and they begin to understand the interconnections that defy Otherness. The Ghanaian and North American students I interviewed shared intimate stories about what they learned from their peers, such as what it is like to be raised in a family where one's father has three wives and more than twenty children; and what it is like to be in a family separated through divorce; or how it is to not believe in homosexuality because it 'does not exist' in one's society; and how it is to think nothing different of people who are gay because one grew up with homosexuals in a family or a peer group. This deeper learning did not happen in the classroom, but in the intimacy of the dorm room or homestay. This informal learning space, which was intentionally constructed by the University of Ghana's International Programmes Office, was a safe and dynamic space to learn how to be, live with, care and assume responsibility for someone deemed "Other."

In spite of differences in religious beliefs, personalities and moral observances, relationships developed. As one NA student remarked, "We have a mutual understanding that we are so different". Cognitive justice, which asserts the diversity of knowledge and equality of knowers (Visvanathan, 2007), envisions a space for the dialogic engagement of different knowers and knowledges to take place. The dorm room embodied this liminal space where differences could be negotiated and understood in terms of multiple ways of knowing and being in the world. Cognitive justice also calls for an inclusive and

equitable platform for the deliberation of multiple and diverse knowledges to take place. Although the student remarked that there was a "mutual understanding" of dissimilarity, the conditions of mutuality are important to interrogate in light of power relations. As indicated in previous chapters, discursive divides and assumptions pertaining to class, race, religion and gender, greatly impacted relationships between NA and Ghanaian students. The stereotypes of the Other, such as the conservative Ghanaian female, the promiscuous North American female, the poor underdeveloped Ghanaian context and the wealthy North American one, conditioned these encounters in ways that skewed the platform of engagement. From the onset of these relationships, the colonial discourse that separated the NA from the Ghanaian along binary divides and power relations, whereby the West was frequently deemed Best, impeded possibilities of de-colonial global citizenship.

Another hindrance to decolonial global citizenship indicated in this study was the appropriation of the Other's body and space to claim global citizen subjectivities. Stepping into another's shoes assumes that one has access and consent to do so. One NA student, who described and rationalized her frustrations with her difficulties in making Ghanaian friends, stated "*a lot of times the people already have friends here*." Implicit in such statements is the desire for encountering and befriending the Other, which can only be done by going into the space of the Other. What is particularly problematic about these statements is the presumption that Ghanaians are waiting for North American's friendship and that these kinds of relationships cannot be fostered at home. Despite a growing number of international students that reside on most post-secondary campuses around the world, the same Othered people at home do not satisfy people's need to encounter difference 'over there'.

Some NA students, as a few Ghanaian respondents noted, just "got it". Openness to difference and difficulty were terms used to explain why some relationships between Ghanaians and NA students emerged easily and why some NA students immersed themselves in Ghanaian culture more than others. What

was apparent from a few interviews with students who were said to embody this openness were the ways in which they reflected on and challenged their preconceived notions and assumptions about reality. This critical reflexivity prompted some students to suspend their judgment and allow for mutuality and reciprocity in their interactions. But as Heidegger (1962) noted, "an interpretation is never a presuppostitionless apprehending of something presented to us," (p. 150) and thus, the mind is not *table rasa* as presumptions inform one's interpretation of reality. Opening the mind, as described by my research participants, suspends judgment to allow for present experiences to inform one's understanding of and being in the world. Regardless of this 'openness', binary oppositions and superiority complexes surfaced, indicating the pervasiveness of colonial discourses etched in people's minds.

Appropriation and protective enclosures

Privilege, you see, is one of the great adversaries of the imagination; it spreads a thick layer of adipose tissue over our sensitivity. (Achebe, 1990, p. 149)

Although there are many aspects that contribute to the conditioning of the encounters between students and notions of global citizenship, one of the surging critiques in relation to the uni-directional travel of privileged students to the Global South is the appropriation of the Other. My Master's research (Jorgenson, 2009) undertook this question in relation to a group of students volunteering in Thailand. The data from this study correlates strongly with my previous findings that North American programs sending students to the Third world comprise a "benevolent first-world appropriation of the Third World as 'other'" (Spivak, p. 289). Consummate with Spivak's essay *Can the Subaltern Speak* (1988), there is an embedded assumption that students traveling abroad encounter their host communities for the purposes and agendas of the student and institution that he or she comes from. Spivak suggests desires to get to know the other better, often in order to 'help', are undergirded with colonial power relations and representations that ignore the voice and perspective of the Other.

Although NA students are subject to the policies and operations UG, as indicated in Chapter 5, the policies and rationalities shaping institutional partnerships and study abroad programs have significant bearing on the conditions of engagement. Policies that foster one-way engagement reproduce the colonial movement from the center to the periphery and back to the center, all the while being buffered by programs such as student group tours and living with other international students, which impedes NA students from actually 'stepping into the shoes' of their Ghanaian hosts. In *The View from the Veranda*, Ogden (2007) conjures the image of the "colonial veranda," where study abroad students can see difference and culture from their protective enclosures. This metaphor aptly conveys the continuities of colonial families who traversed the world to dwell in and reap the benefits of another's place with international education programs:

> The colonial student casts a striking likeness with the early colonial travelers, who also moved across borders within the confines of a political and bureaucratic system of established protocols and practices. Colonial students yearn to be abroad, to travel to worlds different from their own, to find excitement, to see new wonders and to have experiences of a lifetime. They want to gain new perspectives on world affairs, develop practical skills and build their resumes for potential career enhancement, all the while receiving full academic credit. Like children of the empire, colonial students have a sense of entitlement, as if the world is theirs for discovery, if not for the taking. New cultures are experienced in just the same way as new commodities are coveted, purchased and owned. (Ogden, 2007, p. 37)

The demand for international education has created a market bearing different options to suit the needs of their consumers. Students can choose what country they want to study in, where they want to live and with whom. The discourse of choice supported by supply/demand market dynamics in study abroad programming fosters experiences that Ogden (2007) suggests are "allowing students to remain within the comfortable environs of the veranda while observing their host community from a safe and unchallenging distance" (Ogden, p. 36).

It may appear that students have the power to decide the conditions of their experience due to programs responding to their 'consumer' desires. Through the perspective of neoliberal governmentality, however, these choices are constructed before students even look at the menu or imagine the possibilities of

studying abroad. The discourses of internationalization and the knowledge economy conveyed by NA students in statements such as "*people just said go abroad, internationalize your education,*" indicate forces anterior to the individual student deciding to study abroad and the administrators of these programs trying to recruit them. How students and administrators perform these policies by employing their own entrepreneurial and self-governing capabilities demonstrate anterior forces shaping their subjectivity.

Neoliberal governmentality is far from a structural process of direct correlation. There are many discourses beyond internationalization and the knowledge economy that shape the subjectivities of students, including those of colonialism, patriarchy, religion, race and sexual orientation. The purpose of this research was to tease out some of the pervasive discourses constructing notions of global citizenship and the associated power relations sustaining and challenging them. Despite the prevalence of colonial discourse that Ogden (2007) indicates are endemic to study abroad programs, there was evidence of students resisting these discursive constructions. Some NA and Ghanaian students were very uncomfortable with the protective enclosures; and despite tendencies to stick to what one knows and policies encouraging such trends, some students broke away from the pack. This discomfort provides many insights into what compels students to step-off the veranda, and allow for a conception and practice of global citizenship and study abroad that falls into the pitfalls of colonial consumption and constitution of otherness.

Some of the key instances of discomfort and resistance were captured in Ghanaian and North American students' reflections about other NA students' actions of sticking together. Critically reflecting on why some students come to Ghana and hang out with people from their home country all the time, propelled some interviewees to escape the student bubbles and integrate more deeply into the Ghanaian landscape. One of the homestay students reflected that she did not want to be 'just another' student or daughter to her homestay family, and used this discomfort as a motivation to learn the language and the ways of her hosts.

Another student, commenting on the international student bubble, stated: "*I think for the first bit, it was a comfort thing where all the international students hung out together. At first I was comfortable, but it wasn't the experience I wanted to have, where you don't have to challenge yourself. I felt sad for them*." Seeing the insularity and comfort fostered by sticking to the known propelled him to step into the discomfort. For him and a few others, this is where the learning happened and possibilities for decolonial global citizenship emerged.

Ethical Space: Relationality and ethicality at home and abroad

Given these colonial continuities, how ought ethical space be imagined in order to develop an ethical relationship with the Other? When different worldviews encounter each other, there are several possibilities: conflict, solidification and reproduction of one's beliefs, tolerance of another's point of view or the reciprocal valorization and opening to and becoming otherness, to name a few. Willie Ermine (2005) defines ethical space as the meeting point where two worldviews encounter one another in mutual and reciprocal dialogue. Ethical space emerges when people with differing perspectives are in conflict and seek to dialogically engage across these differences instead of trying to conform or convince someone that their way is best. Through the Levinasian notion that "we exist in so far as we are affected" (Eagleton, 2009, p. 224), the presence of the Other precipitates our ethical engagement. According to the tenants of cognitive justice, however, the conditions of this meeting point need to satisfy a reciprocal recognition of the other having equal opportunity to convey one's beliefs and knowledge in a medium that is true to one's way of knowing. Ethical space in this vein gradually emerged between some students, but was hindered by the epistemological constructs that create divides and constitute differences instead of interconnections and interdependence, which were slower to uncover.

(De)colonial relationality

The self-other relationship as an ethical encounter connotes many important considerations and implications. In this study, it was apparent in many cases that the African Other had become the object of NA students' learning about

global citizenship whereby the Ghanaian student constituted a "*contrast*" to reflect a superior sense of self. In this vein, it could be argued that the global citizen needs a global object through which to define itself. In practice, these constructions of global citizenship become a way of having the upper-hand over the local citizen. This is a dangerous, yet very real discursive practice that resonates with particular statements concerning mobility. The implication of needing to travel to be a global citizen produces dividing practices, wherein those with money are able to become global citizens and those without are barred this subjectivity. Another danger of this discursive practice is evoked in the nature of defining one's subjectivity vis-à-vis subjection. In several statements, conceptions of right/wrong, good/bad were intrinsically related to respondents' subjectivity through the subjugation of others. This logic emerged most commonly in interviewees' comparisons of Ghana and North America where the latter was continually given the upper hand.

Though seemingly counterintuitive, understanding oneself as separate from an Other and morally superior/inferior, underpinned most of the statements and discursive formations of global citizenship in this study. The desires of students to encounter something different, difficult and exotic, simultaneously cast these divisions. According to Heron (2007), the draw of North Americans to Africa (re)produces a feeling of moral obligation: "here are white bourgeois subjects seeking to situate themselves in the global context by claiming a common humanity, and wanting to redress injustice on a global scale" (p. 41). Yet, there is little cognizance of one's complicity in the injustices they seek to address. The NA students' desires for a racialized and culturalized Other, which were said to be the conditions for learning about global citizenship, suggest that global citizenship education relies on the construction of a poor racialized Other to juxtapose and learn about the self. This not only reproduces the construction of the poor, parochial black African, but also the wealthy, global white North American, whose culture and race are non-existent, because they are the center of everything. These deeply interrelated discourses are "colonial continuities" (Heron, 2007, p.

7), which remain integral to the discursive production of global citizen subjectivities.

As indicated several times throughout this study, the necessity and constructions of the Other in global citizenship are steeped in colonial discourse. The findings from this research suggest that the imagined community of global citizenry needs be interrogated to address the deeper epistemic inequalities that continue to divide and pit one against another. The "developing culture" which Fanon invoked in *The Wretched of the Earth* to describe newly liberated nations of Africa, is relevant today in regards to new global dynamics and resulting de/re/constructed citizen formations. Brinker-Gabler suggests that in order for this developing culture and citizenship to become otherwise:

> its subjects must continue their process of decolonization based upon specific historical, political, and socio critical analysis of their inheritances. Only when this happens can language of ex/change emerge, in a 'listening to' and 'speaking to' each other that invites response/ibility without reducing differences between others, and from which new conceptions of communal and political spaces can develop. (p. 8)

Though communication across difference is cited as a foundation for cosmopolitanism and global citizenship (Appiah, 2008), difference constituted through colonial discourse and dividing practices discussed in this study conveys a need to reimagine a new space of engagement committed to principles of cognitive justice.

Extending the Levinasian notion that the Other is necessary for *ethics* to be necessary for *global citizenship*, holds both encouraging and discouraging possibilities. One of the encouraging dimensions arose every time a student talked about how his or her relationship with an Other had an effect on how they now think of the world and their place in it. This was particularly evident in one NA student's discussion on the meaning of global citizenship when he stated: *"getting to know people, it is so real. It is not just a country, it is a country full of people that you are close to and care about. It is more integral to my being."* Being affected by relationships with Others holds the possibility that this student will

continue the process of forming global citizenship subjectivity in relation to those he now cares about in Ghana. During such instances, it is also possible to recognize oneself in relation to Others. This assumes, however, that we are fully dependent on the Other for our identity. If the dependency on each other becomes reciprocal, interdependence can be realized. However, the power structures and colonial constitution of knowledge and Others, have hindered this reciprocal engagement.

Though the instances were few, the critical reflection and reflexivity emanating from some participants were integral to cultivating decolonial global citizenship. In response to a few questions concerning citizenship and desires of NA to come to Ghana, a couple of participants' critical reflexivity evoked a profound and thoughtful reply. As one NA student stated, "*When I was thinking of coming to Ghana, at times I thought it may be unethical and I was questioning it a lot at first… I was like, I am going to a colonized country and I'm coming here as a white male and it is only because of my privilege because of colonialism that I am able to come here*." The reflexivity and negotiation of his privilege and positionality in relation to race, gender and class seemed to prepare him in a way that gave him a deeper intention and purpose for his experiences in Ghana. However, as Heron (2007) asserts, "the moral self is secured as innocent of any hint of implication in domination, even as this very relationship of power is enacted through the panoptical, judging, and unmarked gaze of white bourgeois subjectivity" (p. 44). This subjectivity did not allow him to see or at least articulate to me any limitations of this one-way infiltration of a NA student to Ghana. He stated that sending hundreds of students to Europe and only a few to Ghana is "*robbing everyone*," and NA study abroad programs should increase their flow of students to places like Ghana to inculcate global citizenship.

A question remains about how to facilitate these encounters in our everyday lives without having to pay thousands of dollars to study abroad. Upon asking why travel was deemed essential to interviewees' notions of learning about global citizenship, it was suggested that it was easier to get out of one's comfort

zone and remain there. Conversely, in one's own community, encounters with others can be too easily circumvented and comforts too easily attained. Also, what appeared was that the same Othered people at home do not satisfy peoples' desires for these engagements with difference. The following discussions pertaining to ambivalence, dealing with contradiction, inculcating responsibility and hospitality demonstrate that an ethic of discomfort can be facilitated wherever one is and can facilitate a decolonizing rather than dialectical conception and practice of global citizenship.

Productive ambivalence and dealing with contradiction

> *"In the end, the differences have to be erased. It is kind of like humanizing the Other. Turning a blind eye to things like poverty is a kind of de-humanization. First you dehumanize and then you fight wars. If it is right in front of you, it is disturbing. That is why the points of contact, the boundary points, the points of contradiction are so important"* (Interview with North American administrator)

According to Hall (1997), difference is inherently ambivalent and can lead to both positive and negative experiences: "It is both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of language and culture, for social identities and a subjective sense of self… and at the same time, it is threatening, a side of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the other" (p. 238). One of the positive influences of ambivalence I observed was the way it propelled some individuals to reflect and negotiate complexity embedded in conceptions of identity and citizenship while allowing for a deeper and/or newer understanding. This negotiation was characteristic of Bhabha's concept of liminality, the interstitial space that is in-between the designations of identity, where individuals are able to transgress the limits of dichotomous and polarizing ways of understanding self and other. Although this negotiation was at times difficult, it helped students to see the interconnections, and in a few instances, their complicity in the issues they discussed. As people become more attune to the complex and interdependent relationships between self and other, a sense of oneness can be fostered.

In both the literature and my findings, dialectics are evoked in practices associated with global citizenship where an other is necessary to understand one's

self. However, there are many limitations to this logic that impede the decolonizing potential of global citizenship. Though I observed common dynamics, such as retreating to comforts when encountering too much difficulty and difference, each person I interviewed conveyed different insights, often contradictory, to make sense of his or her experience in relation to global citizenship. My intention, as stated multiple times throughout this study, was not to analyze the individual's subjective experience of NA students going to Ghana, but to ascertain the kinds of statements evoked to describe the emergence of global citizenship. As evidenced in statements suggesting "*...there is no substitute for going and experiencing things. The hands-on experience is not going to come down the street in New Hampshire,*" the emergence of global citizenship arises through an intersection of discourses: race, mobility, class, gender, experiential education, culture, epistemic and ontological difference, and the power relations that constitute each. The experiences captured in this study support the notion that subject formations do not come from a single point in the Hegelian notion of history. The complexity of conditions creates a multitude of possibilities in constructing discourse and practices of global citizenship. The insights garnered from interviews with students and administrators illuminate that neither preparation, program structure, relationships or location will translate into specific global citizenship subjectivities. Correspondingly, there is no concrete object of one's knowledge to connote global citizenship. Though there were trends in policy and practice, *difference* remained the constant. Yet, cosmopolitan and dialectical constructions of global citizenship tend to mask and appropriate, instead of valorize and negotiate these differences.

When people begin to reflect on the complexity of and their complicity in issues such as colonization, an ambivalent rupture can occur that helps them to see and understand differently. In describing his views on global citizenship, one interviewee illustrated the complexity and complicity of power relations and agency:

> *I have read that some of the Israeli settlements are very posh and then right over the barbed wire is poverty in Palestine. Really, we are all living*

> *with the same kind of hypocrisy. It is the same, but we don't see it so clearly in front of us. If you go to the NE Edmonton though, you can see poverty pretty clearly. I think for me, global citizenship is somehow a re-humanization that people pay lip-service to but don't really act on.*

Critical reflexivity helped this respondent to see that one does not need to 'go' to Ghana to see and experience poverty that precipitates global citizenship subjectivity; similar dynamics are present at home. However, critical reflexivity can also become hyper-criticality and hyper-reflexivity that incites a feeling of paralysis. It is difficult to escape the complicity felt when contemplating the inequities of power and our positionality; and few theories give an adequate or encouraging framework of liberation from this entrapment. A common response emanating from such contemplations is 'well, do I do nothing then?' Although Foucault did not expound ways to liberate oneself from subjection, his observation of "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (1976/1990, p. 95), urges us to recognize and understand our locations within complex power systems to then see the possibilities of resistance and liberation.

There are many contradictions embedded in capitalism, but it is these contradictions and our acceptance of them that allows capitalism to flourish. For example, although each of the administrators noted that the one-way exchange of students was a problem in fostering reciprocity and mutual benefit, they were content to carry on because of the expense of changing course. Contradiction and ambivalence also arose in NA students' reflections about the development of Ghana and their desires to 'do something' about the injustices they perceived, but did not really understand. Many North American students spoke about their desire to raise money to build a school and/or come back next year to volunteer in an orphanage to alleviate poverty and underdevelopment. Despite these altruistic intentions, few actually act, and often in the moment of wanting to do something, their actions and constructions of the other reinstate the issues endemic to the main problem: 'he or she is somehow disconnected from you.' Taubman (2010) suggests that the drive to do good, "change others or the world, to bring about

progress… paradoxically dooms us" (p. 9). This is because the 'good' is overdetermined and most often, self-fulfilling. In response to a culture of 'do now, think later' and trying to make change towards a 'good' that is already self-determined, Taubman suggests that educators need to cultivate self-reflection on the assumptions that we base our questions and moral endeavours. He states, even if we aspire to make students aware of their "complicity in human suffering in other parts of the globe, or to be more reflective or less heterosexist. As long as we pursue these goals as the focus of our endeavors, we start down the slippery slope … because the answer or ultimate state is given in advance" (p. 10). These approaches of dealing with the contradictions in the world in the name of helping or doing something often ignore local capacities, knowledges and ways of being. Pike (2008) reminds us global problems are complex and multilayered and have multiple solutions. In response to this complexity, he argues, educators ought to enhance student's appreciation of and comfort within the ambiguity it entails. For the few participants I saw work through these contradictions and ambivalence, critical reflexivity was evident. Additionally, I saw the glimmers of ethical commitments, such as hospitality, reciprocal recognition and mutual respect, to help overcome these fissures in the material world that imprint on our being.

Unconditional Hospitality

> *I have to welcome the Other whoever he or she is unconditionally, without asking for a document, a name, a context, or a passport. That is the very first opening of my relation to the Other: to open my space, my home - my house, my language, my culture, my nation, my state, and myself. I don't have to open it, because it is open, it is open before I make a decision about it: then I have to keep it open or try to keep it open unconditionally. But of course this unconditionality is a frightening thing, it's scary. (Derrida, 1997, no page number)*

One of the limitations of dialectical engagements with otherness implicit in Levinasian ethics is the role of power relations. Derrida's (1997) writing on hospitality, which he generally defines as "all our relations to the Other," (no page number) extends Levinas' theories of responsibility to the 'other', suggesting that an openness must be inculcated before any relationship or reciprocal obligation is evoked. Analogous to principles of cognitive justice, the conditions of

engagement ought to situate actors on an equal playing field where one is not forced to abide by another's rules or conditions. For instance, although English is a widely spoken language due to (neo)colonization, one should not assume and expect Ghanaians to speak English to accommodate foreign visitors. Derrida suggests that there ought to be an acceptance of an other from the outset of engagement in order to experience otherness without the violence evident in assimilation practices that 'reduces Others to Self' (Brinker-Gabler, 1995): "hospitality should be neither assimilation, acculturation, nor simply the occupation of my space by the Other" (no page number). The concept of unconditionality, that one accepts and is open to Others prior to engagement, is important in light of colonial continuities.

The discourse of hospitality emerged in various ways throughout the study, but was rarely articulated as such. Ghanaians were described in ways deemed hospitable, most frequently attributed to the actions and words of welcome to the foreigner. "Akwaaba," meaning "welcome" in Twi was one of the first words to be uttered between Ghanaian and non-Ghanaians. There seemed to be a genuine openness of many Ghanaians I observed; opening up space that invited the Other in without pressures of assimilation or acculturation. But when the topic of religion was raised, the conditions of unconditionality changed. The NA students I interviewed felt pressured to be something they were not in order to facilitate relationships with Ghanaians. Especially in the context of roommates, where the Ghanaians often evangelized to their non-practicing Christian NA roommates, there was a lack of acceptance of the Other without the pressure to conform to one's beliefs. On the other side of this engagement, there was a lack of knowledge and appreciation of the Ghanaian hosts. As one participant noted, she liked "*having them [Ghanaians] around*" when she needed them, but was more content to stay within the known confines of the international student bubble. The power in numbers of these international student groupings conditioned the encounters between host and visitor tremendously. When alone, as in the case of the homestay students, reciprocal engagement was more evident.

These principles of hospitality can be taken into the political realm to re-conceptualize citizenship. Van den Anker (2010) suggests that an ethic of hospitality would contribute to a strong conception of global citizenship. This would require "a combination of concerns for 'others' within and across borders" (van den Anker, 2010 p. 90) with specific attention on the dominant group and this need to become more accepting of 'others'. He suggests that this form of global citizenship premised on hospitality can only transpire "when the nation-states system has been re/de-constructed and only when the citizens have been able to recognize non-citizens, stateless, illegal, refugees as they are, then there is a chance for political and ethical survival of human kind." (van den Anker, 2010, p. 27). In order to inculcate this untethered and undefined hospitality, Derrida (1997) suggests that it must be negotiated every instant: "the best rule for this negotiation, has to be invented at every second with all the risks involved, and it is very risky" (no page number). The risk involves new formations of power that further subject others to the conditions of dominance; however, the risks are undergirded by possibilities of disrupting colonial and hegemonic engagement. The concept of reinvention and renegotiation in encounters with Others precipitates new possibilities in reimaging global citizenship. Evoking the scenario when two people come together who do not speak the same language, Derrida illustrates the necessity of a mutually constituted translation integral to resisting and challenging hegemony. Reinventing language and conditions of engagement that are multi-directional proposes an alternative to the engagements that reduce others to self or objects of self-discovery.

Opening one's self, one's country of origin and being to difference that is not other(ed) connotes decolonial possibilities of global citizenship. As one Ghanaian student offered, "*To really get the most out of University of Ghana and local people, you have to let go of your own biases, let go of what you have learned in your own country and open up to new ways of doing things*." Deconditioning dialectical engagement to incorporate unconditional openness to the other may be risky, but the danger of reproducing colonial logics is even graver. Being hospitable to strangers, regardless of being a host or a visitor,

allows people to become more human (Ahmed, 2000). It is an openness, and invitation to be with an Other. In addition to cognitive justice, these principles are also closely aligned with Ubuntu, the Sub-Saharan African ontological understanding of one's humanity through the humanity of others. Understanding the interconnection and interdependence of self and other holds possibilities in fostering reciprocal and decolonial relationality and global citizenship.

Summary of recommendations for policy and practice

Internationalization as the "white knight" takes on new meaning in light of the racial and cultural constructions of global citizenship through North American study abroad programs in Ghana. Underneath the neoliberal drive to increase the competitive edge of higher educational institutions and their students in the global job market are colonial continuities that constitute the African Other as underdeveloped and in need of intervention and correction. The constructions of global citizenship in this study were shaped by these colonial discourses that were complicit in facilitating the one-way movement of bodies and benefits; a centuries old movement maintained through colonization and imperialist endeavours. Akin to Mignolo's (2011) assertion that colonialism is the underbelly of modernity, so too could the argument be made about global citizenship as it has been undertaken in higher education in North America. Nevertheless, my interviews and observations of NA and Ghanaian students at the University of Ghana highlighted the spaces of resistance to these policy currents. This final section will briefly outline and discuss a few suggestions and recommendations for policies and practices of study abroad and global citizenship as well as avenues for further research.

The first observation and recommendation concerns policy discourses around mutual exchange and reciprocity. The importance of fostering mutual exchange and benefit was evident in partnership agreement documents and statements made in interviews with both Ghanaian and North American administrators. As indicated in the previous few chapters, mutual exchange and reciprocity were severely inhibited by the one-way exchange of bodies and

knowledge. Although policy makers and program administrators of study abroad programs have expressed concern about the lack of mutuality in university partnerships, financial barriers make reciprocity impossible. A Ghanaian respondent insightfully depicted the contradictory constructions of exchange and the neoliberal rationalities that underpin them:

> *The University of Ghana needs to create programs that will cater to foreign institutions. But if you are unable to eradicate the financial barriers for Ghanaian students to study abroad, you will only have unequal exchanges. Some universities take advantage of this. When I was in IPO [International Programs Office], I would have students coming to me and complaining about their experience here and they were going to write to their program officer at home to complain. I was like, look, this is business to your home institution. You pay probably $40,000 a year in tuition and then your university pays the University of Ghana about $1,800.00 plus accommodations. Who is making money here? It is your institution. They have your money and they pay peanuts to the University of Ghana. So most universities benefit by saving money from sending students abroad.*

The roots of unequal exchange and benefit of the study abroad experience spread deep into the budget lines of universities, as indicated by this interviewee. However, much more research needs to be undertaken to follow the flow of capital to verify this dynamic. If it is in fact 'cheaper' to educate students by sending them abroad to institutions in developing countries, there are many implications at stake.

The rhetoric of mutual exchange and reciprocity and its lack of materialization in practice indicate the need for clarity in policy about what these discourses entail. Though it is not necessary to define mutual exchange or global citizenship for that matter, giving a few indicators about what is meant by these terms will provide more clarity to what the program's intentions are. This will also increase the level of accountability for policies and programs that are being undertaken in the name of global citizenship. For instance, if it is stated that in a policy that university partnerships seek to create mutual exchange, there ought to be indicators as to what is being exchanged and to what mutuality entails. If this exchange equally involves students and mutuality, then partnerships need to create the conditions and support the practices necessary to fulfill such

agreements. The 'too expensive' argument that often justifies the lack of reciprocity in programming, needs to be reassessed in light of stated policy objectives.

The numbers game was clearly evident in the policies and programming of study abroad, but not in the subjective experience of the students and administrators I interviewed. At the policy level, students have become objectified as consumers of the study abroad experience and even 'stock' and numbers of a budget line. Markets of international programming bearing huge price tags for participation have followed in the wake of heightening student mobility. The NA student participants of this research were at times cognizant of an economic undercurrent facilitating their experiences, but did not know exactly where their money was going or how they even ended up in Ghana. This ignorance perpetuated their objectification and consent to policies and programs. Along a similar vein, the recruitment of international students to North American campuses has increased in policy importance and is a priority of many institutions. Analogous to the students being sent abroad, little attention is given to what international students can bring to Canada aside from human and economic capital. As policy recommendations in Canada's International Education Strategy (2012) suggest a doubling of international student enrolment in the next ten years, the objectification of human beings for the purposes of economic advantage and competition to attract these people will likely intensify.

The implications of the policy suggestions and the continued objectification of students to facilitate the flow of capital have overshadowed the deeper learning experiences associated with global citizenship that were detected in this study. As a Canadian administrator stated, "*Should we just say 'increase the numbers two-fold' and that would make the ministry more happy? Doubt it. We need to talk about the learning they are having. I think we need to capture and measure the types of experiences students are having abroad and linking them to what is important for Alberta."* Though discourses of the knowledge economy and internationalization significantly shaped students subjectivities relating to

global citizenship, the learning that precipitated from the study abroad experience spoke to more ethical and humanist lessons.

Undoubtedly, NA students will return to their homes, drawing on their experiences in Ghana in their lives and work, making them more 'globally competent' and 'interculturally skilled' workers. However, this is only secondary to experiences of learning a language and living in a different culture that fostered an understanding of interdependence. This is not just important for Albertans or university educated citizens, but for everyone. Policies makers, such as those constructing the Alberta International Education Strategy (AIES), which highlights the need to "ensure that students have the intercultural and language skills to become leaders in the global knowledge economy-that they become 'global citizens'" (p. 35), ought to reassess what international skills they are talking about in regards to global citizenship. My research showed that the intercultural skills gained from experience living in Ghana for four months did not involve business connections, but human connections that foster collaborative thinking and being. Not one participant that I interviewed spoke about his or her experience abroad helping them to become a leader in the global knowledge economy. Their experience, as it pertained to global citizenship, disrupted these depictions of people as numbers or commodities. The human connections, which all of the participants highlighted as the crux of their experience conveyed that people once deemed Other are no longer Other or a statistic, but rather friends that will be taken into consideration when thinking globally about the implications of ones beliefs and actions. The importance of one student's reflection deserves repetition in this regard:

> *You can take as many pictures as you want, but there is a lack of depth to it. But getting to know people, it is so real. It is not just a country, it is a country full of people that you are close to and care about. It is more integral to my being. I know when I go back to the US, I am going to follow the news and the music industry here because it matters to me now. My friends are there. I am going to be worrying too, like with what is going on in Nigeria by having Nigerian friends who live there now. There is that integral connection now. It is not just the pictures anymore, it is about the people. It is a very intimate connection.*

There are many aspects of the study abroad experience for participants to challenge and relate to others beyond borders. Travelling provides opportunities for people to get out of their "comfort zone" and encounter difference. How students negotiated the discomfort that encountering difference and difficulty induced, had significant bearing on how the global citizen subject/object was constituted. One of the encouraging possibilities was the critical reflection precipitated by encountering the Other that created space for a shift in perspective and positionality. However, given the multi-cultural and multi-epistemic communities in major cities around the world and the growing diversity across university campuses, these lessons could be learned at home, critically engaging with Other(nes)s we already live with/in.

Educational policies that are geared towards education for a competitive citizenry could do much more with fewer resources by engaging students on their home campuses to think about the interdependence and interconnections of humanity and the environment without a colonial logic of objectification, appropriation and consumption of the Other. Few of the NA students I interviewed knew any Ghanaians or mentioned any interactions with international students on their home campuses. This finding supports Heron's (2007) argument that the racialized Other at home does not satisfy the need to go somewhere and encounter them abroad. Given the preceding chapters that highlight the colonial constitution of knowledge and relationality this logic entails, it is recommended that programs begin to think more critically about the need to go somewhere, particularly to regions in the Third world, to inculcate global citizenship.

There is obviously more at stake in these policy endeavours and this study only scratches the surface of a complex and pervasive neoliberal paradigm. Despite the post-colonial critiques that have been forged at study abroad, universities will continue to send and recruit students internationally because of the economic rationalities and possibilities. The policy makers who state it makes "*good business sense for universities to develop global engaged citizens, quite simply because Canadian business operates internationally*" and "*businesses and*

markets are based on relationships, and the opportunity to strengthen international relationships through study abroad can only help Canadian companies' connections around the world" (ICC, p. 7), are highlighting neoliberal rationalities that have little to do with global citizenship, but rather global capitalism that implicate citizens around the world. The relationships evoked in these policies are called forth to propagate the growth of business and capitalism, which has flourished under a colonial discourse and power relations that see the African other in a position of needing intervention by a superior Western self. The colonial logics of superiority and inferiority were firmly entrenched in minds and actions of the North American and Ghanaian students and administrators I observed and interviewed, prohibiting reciprocal and mutual engagement.

The formation of partnerships between higher and lower income countries conditioned by neoliberal and neocolonial logics have grave implications. While this study has highlighted a few of the inequities of the partnership between the Universities of Ghana and Alberta, more research is needed to ascertain the rationales and effects of these policies. There is an indication in some policies such as the Alberta International Education Strategy (AIES), which states: "individuals who are familiar with other languages and cultures may establish networks of contacts in other parts of the world and obtain a career advantage," (AIES, p. 5) indicating strategic economic networks facilitated by study abroad. Also, the discourse of a 'niche market' and how some countries are constituted as 'targets' have important implications for the functioning and maintenance of the knowledge economy and its relationship to higher education. It was indicated by a couple of administrators that Ghana's recent discovery of oil has captured North American's attention. However, none of the students I interviewed mentioned that this was in any way related to their reason for going to Ghana. Additional research is needed to truly understand how the university partnerships relate to the political economy, trade and facilitation of capital and cultural brokers to navigate this terrain.

In conclusion, given the reality that internationalization policies and study abroad programs will continue to persist despite the preceding critiques, it is imperative that programs focus more critical attention to the pre-departure orientation. Most of the NA students I interviewed conveyed several problematic ways they were oriented to know and be in relation to an Other. The rationale to orient students *to become aware of the new environment and themselves as Americans,* is problematic in conditioning subjectivity that pit self separate and different from other. Students suggested that information about transportation and infrastructure were deemed reasonable things to be orientated towards when coming to a new place, but interactions and relationships ought to be arrived at experientially and authentically. Looking more deeply at pre-departure orientation signals another avenue for further research in the constitution of power/knowledge and its effects. For instance, there was no indication from any students from the various programs I interviewed that a Ghanaian student or community member was included in pre-departure orientation. It would be interesting to see what effects this kind of policy or programming would have on student's experiences and knowledge related to global citizenship.

Policy recommendations

It is likely that study abroad will continue to flourish, given its connection to the knowledge economy and increasing need for "interculturally competent" workers. In light of the neocolonial and neoliberal power relations and implications of policies and practices associated with study abroad and global citizenship, there is a necessity to think critically and carefully about how to carry out these programs in more equitable and just ways. The following is a summation of recommendations for policy makers, educators and students involved with study abroad programs to help reimagine decolonial policies and practices pertaining to global citizenship.

Pre-departure programming

Critical reflection- Pre-departure education that engages students in reflective exercises about their intentions and the ethical dimensions of their program is

extremely important. It was indicated by all NA student interviewees that their pre-departure programming was inadequate. Though most students suggested they did not want to know too much about the context before going in order to curb preconceptions, regardless of student's breadth of knowledge, everyone has preconceived notions. Thus, students need to critically reflect on what their preconceptions are and where they come from. This reflection process could be reinforced through group discussions and/or personal journal exercises throughout study abroad programs to help students think through what they are experiencing in more meaningful ways.

Guest speakers- Another recommendation for pre-departure programming is to invite someone to speak with students who is either from or has spent more than a year in the context where the students are going to study. These local knowledges and perspectives will help students prepare for such things as climate, appropriate clothing, manners, and other practical items. But more importantly, it allows for the opportunity for students to ask questions and break down assumptions.

Language lessons- Many of the students I interviewed suggested that learning the local language was a very important element to their experience and understanding of global citizenship. A few respondents indicated that it would have been more beneficial to start language classes before arrival since many of the programs were too short to become fluent or conversational when they were actually there. Language classes and lists of common phrases and greetings prior to departure would help facilitate students getting out of their comfort zone and build more reciprocal relationships upon arrival.

On-site programming

International roommates- Each of the students I interviewed commented on the important role their roommate had in their learning experience. Though the International Programmes Office organized international roommate pairings, some programs contravened this by allowing their students to live together. In addition to my own observations, students I interviewed suggested that students

living together who were from the same country tended to stick together and remain in their comfort zones. It is thus recommended for programs to take part in international roommate pairing to help facilitate mutual and reciprocal learning.

Dorm mediation- Much of the learning about global citizenship occurred in the intimacy of the dorm room. The difficult knowledge and experiences that helped students to learn more deeply about self and other were precipitated through conversations and interactions in their shared space. Sometimes these encounters proved very difficult, such as conflicts pertaining to religious beliefs and lifestyle choices. In order to help students remain in the discomfort instead of fleeing to their comfort zone, training should be given to resident assistants to help them serve as mediators when conflicts arise. Allowing a safe and mediated space to deal with issues would help students work through some of the difficulties of living with someone from a different cultural background.

Food and festivities- Food brings people together. At the beginning of the semester, the International Programmes Office organized a wonderful gathering called a Welcome Durbar for all students residing in the International Student Hostel; many kinds of Ghanaian cuisine were served and dancing, singing and fun were enjoyed by all. Though dance, diet, dialect and dress are often epitomized as a distortion and appropriation of culture, they each serve an important role in their own right. Food not only brings people from all different places together in the same venue, it also gets people out of their comfort zone by trying new things. It also initiates conversation and learning about one another. A few students I interviewed indicated that cooking for their roommates and introducing them to new foods helped foster their bonds. It is recommended for programs to organize more formal and informal gatherings where people from different backgrounds can come together and become more acquainted.

Institutional policy

MOUs- Though Memorandums of Understanding (MOU) are crafted and signed between institutions, outlining the conditions of partnership between institutions;

they remain vague and ineffective policies for mutual benefit. A couple of recommendations to make them more effective is to a) be specific about the terminology and commitments made in the name of the partnerships; and b) revisit these documents annually to determine if the commitments are being met and any issues pertaining to the partnership.

Interlocutor- In order to ensure that the study abroad programs follow policies of the agreement, an interlocutor position ought to be established. This person could be selected by both institutions to act as a liaison among the university partners. The interlocutor could monitor and encourage mutuality and reciprocity while ensuring both the institutions and the students are treated equitably under the signed agreement. This position could be filled from the ranks of former study abroad or host students familiar with the country and the program.

Reciprocity- The reciprocal exchange of students remains a difficult issue to resolve. Although policies have been put into place to allow students to pay home tuition and study at a different institution, it is still very difficult for students from low-income countries to study abroad. The most pressing issue is the inequity of immigration policies that do not give many Visas to students from low-income countries. Although some students were admitted to NA institutions and had secured funding, they could not attend because of a denied Visa application. It is highly recommended that there is a forum for University administrators and immigration officials to deliberate on Visas for admitted students from low-income countries. Another issue pertaining to reciprocity is the differential in the cost of living between some countries. In order to live up to mutual benefit and reciprocity agreements, scholarships to supplement cost of living expenses need to be in place for international students studying abroad who are from low-income families.

Other

Global citizenship at home- Many of the insights and experiences students attributed to global citizenship could easily be attained at home. Although

travelling to a different country pushes most students out of their comfort zones, the same opportunities for interaction beyond borders exist on all campuses. Part of the problem identified was that international students at home do not satisfy people's desire to encounter difference 'over there'. International offices, however, could do more to create these opportunities by engaging and integrating international students more into the campuses. It is recommended that task-forces comprising past and present local and international students be created at universities to explore how ethical interactions between students can take place to develop global citizenship.

Definitions- There are as many definitions of global citizenship as there are people's conceptions of it. Consequently, there is a mounting desire to create a universal definition that everyone can point to or agree upon. Given the deeply ethical and personal questions that discourses of global citizenship create, I recommend that the concept remains an undefined, but rigorously negotiated term. This is not to say that remains an empty signifier, but rather a universally accessible arena to hold and negotiate different ways of knowing and being a citizen in and of the world.

Conclusion

Ambiguity is uncomfortable. We want to know *what is*, *why and how it is* by constructing definitions that define our subjectivity and the world around us. However, life is neither neat nor universally ordered; instead, it often offers contradiction, ambiguity and ambivalence when sorting through tensions between the universal and particular, known and unknown. Negotiating our presuppositions of different ways of knowing and being is an uncomfortable experience; yet, it is in these spaces that stereotypes can be dismantled and conceptions of self and other humanized.

While presenting this research at various venues, I am continually asked, "so what is global citizenship," or what does it mean to me? Though I never intended to come up with a conception or practice of global citizenship that could

be evoked or applied, the people I observed and theorists I engaged have given many insights pertaining to the constructions and (im)possibilities of global citizenship and ways to educate for it. Perhaps the most meaningful insight is the ethic of discomfort. In spite of the difficulties that learning and living in a different context can incite, it is these discomforts that can engender negotiation of the liminal and open spaces for newness to arise. Sticking to what is known, which I observed students most commonly doing in their cliques, reinstated the divides between self and other. However, when students stepped into the unknown and remained there, colonizing logics and constructs were ruptured and students were prompted to think and relate to the world and its inhabitants differently. A de-colonizing global citizenship that emerges from these interstitial spaces is possible through an ethic of discomfort, whereby channels of ambiguity are supported and encouraged. Instead of telling students 'what it is like over there', as educators and policy makers, we could better support learning by helping turn the focus inward to our presuppositions of reality. The evidence of racialized, culturalized and sexist discourses that (un)consciously shape our understanding of the world and our place within it require us to decolonize our internal worlds before decolonization can take place in the external world.

Constructions of citizenship are still marred by divisions, borders and dichotomies that separate humanity. However, when relationships are formed beyond borders, we begin to see ourselves as interdependent and inseparable. Responsibility and love for others transcend perceived differences. The student respondents conveyed that their deeper learning and understanding of global citizenship occurred when confronting complex knowledge and power/knowledge dynamics that created dissonance and space within their worldviews. This was not simply an accommodation of differences into one's worldview, but a rupture in one's understanding of self in a relationship. Unlike dialectal engagement, this did not always connote a synthesis, but rather a multiplicity in the ways that people negotiated and became 'otherwise'.

The ways we are made subjects require a rethinking of global citizen

subjectivities. Cultivating mindfulness and critical reflexivity on the ways we are led to think about who we are or ought to be, can help resist neoliberal governmentality that conditions these subjectivities into colonial and capitalist formations. As Buddhist teacher Pema Chodron (2013) states: "We might think that knowing ourselves is a very ego-centered thing, but by beginning to look clearly and honestly at ourselves, we begin to dissolve the walls that separate us from others" (no page). The journey of awakening to this truth about our inseparability as a human species and our natural environments happens "at the place where we can't get comfortable" (Ibid). Opening to discomfort and staying within discomfort wherever we may be or whomever we may be with was indicated in this study as an important ethic to foster for being and knowing 'otherwise'. The retreat to comforts or stereotypes to understand what we do not 'know' only serves to intensify our separateness and discontent.

These important lessons can be arrived at through the practice of letting go. As indicated by one of my Ghanaian participants, the process of letting go of entitlements and preconceived notions of the other will open space for new ways of knowing and being: "*let go of what you have learned in your own country and open up to new ways of doing things."* Her call is for a different form of relationality between host and visitor that does not reinscribe the separation and stereotypes endemic to colonial discourse and practices. By going out of one's comfort zone and holding space to continually negotiate difference as 'newness', another world, another citizenship is possible.

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Appendix A: Sample Letter of Initial Contact

Global Citizenship in Canadian and Ghanaian Higher Education

Dear Prospective Study Participant,

I would like to invite you to participate in my PhD research entitled, *Global Citizenship in Canadian and Ghanaian Higher Education: For what? For whom?* This study aims to understand the discourse of global citizenship and internationalization in two locations, the University of Alberta and University of Ghana and illuminate some of the rationalities for and effects of sending Canadian students to Ghana. This letter will introduce you to the study and outline your role if you choose to participate.

Global citizenship in higher education is a growing yet contested area of research, policy and practice. This trend has corresponded to a rise of programs that send university students abroad to work, study and volunteer in communities in the global South. One of the central problems this research aims to address is the gap between the rhetoric of global citizenship and the realities of Canadian undergraduate student experiences in Ghana. There are many layers to understanding this problem, including policies and practices associated with internationalization and institutional partnerships as well as questions pertaining to the philosophical locations, constructions and intersections of global citizenship in two contexts. To address these questions, I will use case studies to examine three programs at the University of Alberta, which annually take groups of undergraduate students to Ghana.

The objectives of this study will be to:

1. Gain insight and understanding into how policies and practices associated with global citizenship education operate between host and sending institutions.

2. Explore some of the conditions that make it possible or impossible to construct policies and practices of global citizenship education that are de-colonial, inclusive and equitable.

Your involvement in this study includes the following:

- Spend about 1 hour in an interview at a time that is convenient for you;
- Review the interview transcripts that will be sent after the interview and suggest any changes that might make my comments more clear and extend the understanding of the research topic; and
- Allow me to follow-up with you should some questions emerge.

All of the information collected in this study is confidential. The only individual who will see the data will be the researcher. The interview will be recorded. The purpose of the audio recording is to collect an accurate account of the interview. You may opt-out of being recorded and will have no adverse effects for you.

The answers to the interview questions will be kept strictly confidential. The only person who will have access to the data is the researcher named below. Prior to the analysis of the data, anything that will easily identify you will be blocked out. The information will be coded and locked in a cabinet in the research office for about ten years after the study is completed and then subsequently destroyed. Written reports will not identify you; pseudonyms will be used to disguise the identities of all respondents. The study will inform current and future programs of global citizenship education. Where possible, the study will be written up in the form of research papers to be submitted to academic journals, non-academic publications and presentations. Upon completion, I will send a summary of the research findings to you. You will also have access to all raw data collected about you any time you wish.

You will be free to raise questions or concerns with me throughout the study, and may withdraw your participation. If you decide to participate, I will send you a more detailed information letter and we will arrange a time and place to meet together around campus that is convenient for you. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may choose not to answer any particular question. In case you decide not to participate or not to answer particular questions, rest assured that there will be no adverse consequences for you. Upon request all data connected to your participation will be immediately destroyed until December 31st, 2012 at which time your information will be part of a final draft of my dissertation. I will send you a draft well before that time for your approval. If you feel that your identity is apparent, we can revise to better conceal your identity.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Thank you for your consideration. Please contact me at shelane@ualberta.ca or my supervisors, Lynette Shultz at lshultz@ualberta.ca or Ali A. Abdi at aabdi@ualberta.ca with any concerns you may have.

Sincerely,

Shelane Jorgenson
PhD Candidate
Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta

Lynette Shultz
Associate Professor,
Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta

Ali A. Abdi
Professor
Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta
University of Alberta

Appendix B: Sample Consent Form

Global Citizenship in Canadian and Ghanaian Higher Education

I (please print your name) _____,
agree to participate in this study that examines the discourse, policy and practice of global citizenship in higher education. I agree:

- To be interviewed for about 1 hour about my experience in this area.
- To allow the researcher to follow-up with me should some questions emerge.
- To review the interview transcripts that will be sent after the interview and suggest any changes that might make my comments more clear and extend the understanding of the research topic.

I understand that:

1. I can withdraw from the study until December 31st, 2012 for any reason without prejudice or penalty. Any collected data will be withdrawn at that time and not included in the study. I can withdraw by contacting the researcher, Shelane Jorgenson at shelane@ualberta.ca or 780-720-3185.
2. All results from the study will be reported anonymously.
3. Results from the study will be presented to the professional and academic communities in papers and presentations.
4. The interview will be audio recorded. I can opt out of being recorded if I feel uncomfortable with this without prejudice or penalty.
5. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Signature _____

Date: _____

Appendix C: Sample Interview Script

1. **Conceptions and understandings of citizenship and global citizenship**
    a. I am interested in constructions of global citizenship and how programs that send North American students to Ghana inform and produce such notions. First of all, what does citizenship mean to you?
        i. What experiences have shaped this notion?
        ii. Which educational experiences have influenced your ideas most strongly?
        iii. What kinds of relationships have been important in shaping your notions of citizenship?
    b. What does global citizenship mean to you?
        i. How does this compare with your notion of citizenship?
        ii. What experiences, relationships and education have been instrumental in informing your ideas about global citizenship?
    c. In North America, there is a trend to educate students for global citizenship by sending them to places such as Ghana. What are your thoughts about this? What do you see are some of the positive and negative aspects of this practice?
    d. What does or would global citizenship education look like in Ghana?

2. **Partnership and Exchange**
    a. How would you describe your interactions with foreign students who come to the University of Ghana?
    b. What do you think about such programs?
    c. Internationalization involves incorporating an international dimension to institutions of higher education. What are your thoughts about internationalization at the University of Ghana?

3. **Implications for the future policy and practice**
    a. In what ways do you think this educational program has impacted your life and others involved with the program?
    b. If you were to change anything about the program, what would it be?