University of Alberta

Using International Volunteer Experiences to Educate University Students for Global Citizenship

by

Shelane Rae Jorgenson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Education

in

Theoretical, Cultural and International Studies in Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Fall, 2009
Edmonton, Alberta

Examining Committee

Lynette Shultz, Educational Policy Studies

Ali A. Abdi, Educational Policy Studies

Ingrid Johnston, Secondary Education

Abstract

Several writers have described the aim of global citizenship education as developing in students a global ethic of social justice. Western post-secondary institutions have endeavored to educate students for global citizenship by traveling to and volunteering in developing countries. Such programs have the potential to perpetuate the epistemic violence of colonialism by ignoring the ways in which students appropriate the developing world as 'other' as use these experiences to solely benefit themselves. In order to address such issues and concerns, this qualitative study used post-colonial theory to analyze the experiences and reflections of six participants who participated in a Canadian university global citizenship program in Thailand. The study suggests that culture and perceived cultural differences have a major effect on how students understand their identity and agency as global citizens, bringing forth dimensions of ambivalence and cultural hybridity. In order for programs to develop a global ethic of social justice, however, students need to be informed and reflexive about the social-historical context of the country they are visiting as well as their positionality in relation to the people they engage with.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I thank my family for their endless love and support. Without weekend retreats to the farm and playing with the little ones, I would not have had the grounding to carry out this work.

I would like to acknowledge the tremendous support and guidance from my supervisor, Dr. Lynette Shultz, who has helped me to start out and continue on this journey. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Ali A. Abdi and Dr. Ingrid Johnston for making this all happen. A huge thank-you to the PAW group for making such an interesting subject for this study. I am very grateful for the participants of this study who shared their stories and reflections. Lastly, I would like to thank my friends, especially Danny & Marco, for always being there.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1:
INTRODUCTION
Origins of the Study

For the past year and a half, I have been a research assistant for the Global Citizenship Curriculum Development initiative at the University of Alberta. The initiative seeks to create undergraduate global citizenship curriculum with the input of students, faculty and administrators. As part of my role in the project, I became deeply immersed in the literature and discussions on global citizenship and global citizenship education. I did not consciously think about using this research for my own study until I began to interview students about their understanding of what constitutes global citizenship and global citizenship education. Interviews with one group in particular, Play Around the World (PAW), provoked several questions concerning the impacts of overseas, cross-cultural education programs on students' understanding and experience of global citizenship.

Some of my initial reactions to programs such as PAW, which take undergraduate students to developing countries to volunteer and work with underserved populations, were prompted by questions and issues embedded in post-colonial theory. Based on my own experiences teaching English overseas and the self-reflexivity and interrogation of my experience that elucidated my complicity in neo-colonial practices and processes, I began to wonder what kinds of insights these students had of their own experiences. Were they unknowingly perpetuating imperialistic patterns and processes of knowing and engagement?

Did their experiences through PAW ignite deep and meaningful understandings of what it means to be a citizen in today's increasingly globalized world?

Background

In the past thirty years, the world has undergone a transformation in its global connections and interactions. Unlike other forms of globalization in history, which include exchange of goods and movement of people, the recent decades have seen a major change in the intensity and extensity of these movements and relations (Held, 2002). In conjunction with this transformation, social, economic and political developments such as international conventions that give people common rights and entitlements have grown in number and variety. New terminology found in the literature such as global civil society, global ethic and global citizenship signify the development of a new global reality of transnational identities (Dower, 2000, p. 560). Consequently, ideas of citizenship are being renegotiated and redefined.

Globalization, Brodie (2004) argues, encompasses multiple processes that are multi-leveled and multi-directional. The dissolution of barriers such as time and space through technology, for example, has had a tremendous impact on nation states where national self-determination has been compromised by cosmopolitan ideals. Global interconnectedness, through globalization has resulted in what authors such as Lapyese (2003) see as social problems being redefined as global problems (p. 493). Local, national, and global boundaries have become increasingly obscured and porous, making responses to social problems more complex (Brodie, 2004). Writers have consequently suggested,

"the hybrid lifestyle of the true cosmopolitan is in fact the only appropriate response to the modern world in which we live" (Lukes, 2008, p. 114).

Although citizenship is primarily understood in terms of rights and obligations available to members of a state and the formal and informal relationships between individuals and the state (Held, 1999; Brodie, 2004), processes of globalization have stretched and modified these notions making them more "complex, uneven, and necessarily open to contestation and revision" (Brodie, 2004, p. 324). In response to this complexity, education has been called upon to prepare people for multiple and evolving forms of activity as citizens (Lapyese, 2003). For Canadian undergraduate students, who have had the opportunity to spend their summers living and volunteering abroad, their rights, responsibilities and allegiance to a polity have been extended to include concern for others outside their national borders. Through engaging in and negotiating a new culture and developing relationships with the Thai children and teachers, possibilities emerge for students to expand their framework and understanding of what it means to be a citizen in the 21st Century.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to analyze a program of global citizenship education with international, cross-cultural experiences by interviewing past participants. The responses of the students were interpreted through hermeneutic inquiry and analyzed through a post-colonial theoretical framework. This particular analysis was conducted to help illuminate and improve understanding of the tensions and implications of global citizenship education and ultimately

make suggestions for programs to better educate students to more fully understand their identity and capacities associated with global citizenship.

Problem

The major issue that this study addresses is in what ways global citizenship education perpetuates a colonial model of engaging with others. Drawing from the insights of post-colonial theorists such as Spivak (1988) and Bhabha (1994), Andreotti (2006) alludes to the danger of global citizenship education in reproducing the maladies of colonialism:

> in the period of colonisation, a local set of assumptions of reality and of European supremacy was violently imposed on other people as universal, from a post-colonial perspective it can be argued that Northern people may become 'global citizens' by projecting their local as everyone else's global, relating the epistemic violence of colonialism. (p. 5)

Several authors echo Antreotti's concern that education programs which take students overseas to developing countries to educate for global citizenship, can be used as a mask of imperialism. In order to address the potential of global citizenship education to replicate forms of imperialism and cultural supremacy, this study used the insights and questions of post-colonial theory to examine ways in which students' experiences and understandings of global citizenship perpetuate or challenge this issue.

Research Questions

The study's research questions emerged from my initial reaction to hearing about education programs that endeavour to educate Canadian students for global citizenship in a developing country. The questions were later refined by the spectrum of literature that I encountered throughout this study. I designed these questions to get at the root of the problem stated above:

1. What are the tensions and issues that underlie educating Canadian students for global citizenship in a developing country?
2. How does educating for global citizenship abroad perpetuate or interrupt a colonial model of engaging with others?
3. In what ways does global citizenship education abroad lead students to critically reflect on their position relative to the rest of the world?
4. Do cross-cultural programs of global citizenship education develop students' understanding and enactment of global citizenship to include ethical concerns for social justice?

Terminology

The following terms and concepts are used in specific ways in this study. A more in depth discussion of them can be found in Chapters 2 and 3.

Citizenship is used in this study broadly to denote the different conventions and processes that are utilized and engaged with by people to signify membership, identity and allegiance to a community. Given that people understand and experience citizenship differently, citizenship is taken up very loosely to explore the ways in which individuals make sense of it.

Global Citizenship is understood in relation to a number of concepts such as citizenship, globalization and cosmopolitanism. In this study, it is used to signify the processes of identity and agency that people engage with and within given the movement toward a more interdependent and interconnected world.

Globalization refers to processes that exceed, extend, and challenge traditional boundaries of national states and institutions (Brodie, 2004; Held, 2002). It is used in this study to denote the context and situation that all people are implicated in, whereby the movement of goods and people are increasingly moving and interacting across borders.

Imperialism and ***Colonialism*** are understood in this study according to Said's (1993) distinction between the two: '"Imperialism' means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism,' which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (p. 9). Although practices of direct colonialism are not as evident today as they were 200 years ago, imperialism has lingered on in cultural spheres. The presence of imperialism in current social, political, economic and cultural practices is characteristic of the term ***neo-colonialism***, literally meaning 'new colonialism'.

Post-colonialism is used in this study to signify the select theories and ideas that I have used to frame this study and help interpret participants' responses. Although post-colonialism often refers to the literal interpretation of 'after colonialism', the term is used in a more theoretical sense in this study to signify the ways in which discourse, identity and actions characteristic of European colonization from the 16th Century onward continue to perpetuate the subjugation of various groups of people around the world.

Social Justice alludes to the realization of a world where all members of a society have basic human rights and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of their society.

Limitations & Delimitations

Limitations

Extending from the limiting conditions or restrictive weaknesses of qualitative research design and methodology, this study comprises several

limitations (Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman, 1987). First and foremost, I was limited by time and space to investigate all the questions through various methods that would illuminate a more extensive response to the stated problem. A longitudinal study, for instance, would have illuminated the development of the participants' conception of global citizenship. A second limitation was the participant selection and sample size. This study was limited to six participants, four females and two males, who have a variety of experiences and ways of understanding their experiences. These students, therefore, may not be representative of the experiences of all PAW members. As well, PAW does not reflect the experiences of all other programs that send students overseas.

In conjunction with participant selection, this study's conclusions of and insights into students' experiences of global citizenship education are severely limited by interviewing only Canadian students. By looking at cross-cultural engagement from only one side of the interactions and interpretations, my analysis is extremely limited. Many of the questions explored in this study pertaining to culture and the implications of cross-cultural interactions and understanding would be better investigated and understood by interviewing the people with whom the PAW participants worked and interacted. However, based on my decision not to go to Thailand, this study is limited by my interpretations of the students' reflections of their experiences in PAW.

Lastly, hermeneutic inquiry, which I utilize in my interpretations and understanding of students' experiences, has a number of limitations that have an impact on the nature my study. One of the limitations of this approach is the

question of objectivity and validity that are brought forth in interpretation. My interpretation of the students' experiences is conditioned by a variety of things including my own familiarity with global citizenship, previous interviews with other PAW members for the Global Citizenship Curriculum Development project, and the critical aims of the research. My understanding of the students' experiences is consequently affected by these limitations.

Delimitations

In addition to these limitations, the study was delimited to a particular frame to interpret and understand students' experiences. 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). The post-colonial theoretical frame that I have chosen to use in this study has a major bearing on my analysis and understanding of global citizenship education. It provided me with a particular scope to ask and investigate particular questions about how global citizenship programs overseas challenge or perpetuate a colonial model of engaging with others. The few post-colonial theorists and theories that I have chosen to use in my analysis also delimit the theoretical perspectives that I used to interpret students' experiences and have consequently defined the boundaries of my analysis. These decisions, therefore, delimit my understanding of the subject in accordance to other theories and ways of knowing.

Significance of Study

Although writers have talked about the potential of global citizenship education with cross-cultural components to reproduce colonial and imperialistic trends, there is a lack of empirical evidence to refute or support these assertions. In this study, I endeavour to analyze the experiences and reflections of students who have participated in a global citizenship program overseas to determine if such programs in fact replicate the oppressive colonial mentality of using others, specifically the poor, for one's own purpose. As well, I will be looking for the spaces in which global citizenship education leads students to critically reflect on one's position relative to the rest of the world. Based on the literature, short international experiences do not necessitate critical reflection and consequently, students may see their position as one of a sign of superiority (Shultz, 2007). However, if programs are committed to the aims of developing an inquiring critical disposition and actions informed by social justice, possibilities open for global citizenship education to confront and challenge inequality.

CHAPTER 2:
GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCTATION - CONTESTED TERRAIN

Introduction

Global citizenship and global citizenship education are defined and understood in multiple ways. Unlike the concept of citizenship, which commonly refers to a specific national or regional identity and allegiance, the term global citizenship connotes a more diverse and abstract conception of what it means to be a citizen in today's increasingly globalized world. The abstraction of global citizenship, Noddings (2005) suggests, extends partly from the fact that there is no global government to which individuals can have allegiance and the duties of citizens in the world are contingent on national affairs. "Thus," Noddings notes, "we can't look to a familiar, technical definition of citizenship to help us in describing global citizens" (p. 2). Without a common definition and understanding of global citizenship, educators cannot be certain that they are in fact educating for global citizenship. In reviewing the literature, however, several themes emerge regarding what constitutes global citizenship and ways in which educators can effectively educate for global citizenship. The following themes are discussed: globalization, citizenship, cosmopolitanism, global ethics and human rights. Following this, I review different ways of learning that are utilized by educators to educate for global citizenship, including experiential, cross-cultural and transformational learning.

Aspects of Global Citizenship

Globalization

In recent decades, globalization has become a widely discussed and debated

term to describe interactions and processes that have taken place around the world. Although global networks are nothing new, the majority of writers describe current globalization as an expanding and intensifying process of global interactions (Brodie, 2004; Held, 1999). As Held (2002) suggests, "it involves a stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time" (p. 94). This shifting of space of human interactions, where patterns of activity have become increasingly interregional and international have had tremendous impacts on the interactions and decisions that local groups have on the wider world. Writers have characterized these processes of interaction as multilayered, multidimensional and multidirectional (Brodie, 2004; Held, 1999).

Brodie (2004) puts forth two important processes that explore contemporary globalization and its relation to citizenship: globality and globalism. The technological forces that break down barriers of time, space and nation such as the Internet and air travel characterize the process of globality. The idea of a citizen being confined to the nation state's boundaries is challenged through these processes, presenting the possibilities of inclusive "transnational public spaces" (p. 325) and people living between borders. Terminology found in the literature such as global civil society, global ethic, and global citizenship highlight the era of these transnational and between-border identities (Dower, 2000. p. 560). However, processes of globalism limit access and contribution from across the globe. Globalism comprises the dominant ideologies that reflect political positionings such as neoliberalism and imperialism. These ideologies promote a transnational worldview that encompasses particular philosophies of governance

and institutional structures (Brodie, 2004).

Of considerable concern to Brodie (2004) and other authors is the dominant neoliberal globalism that gives primacy to economic relations and the market over social and political rights as well as relationships. Present in much of the discourse on globalization is the notion of free-market economics, which is seen to solve the world's problems. Left out of this narrative, however, are the growing disparities between the rich and the poor and the "level of pain in developing countries" that has occurred from neoliberal policies set by international economic organizations (Stiglitz, 2003). An example of the inequality created and reproduced by neoliberal globalism is the disparity between capital and labour. While capital has the ability to travel freely across borders, labour simply cannot. As Massey (1999) notes:

> Capital can move around in search of the best opportunities to invest, and is marvelled at for its flexibility and responsiveness when it does so. But labour, people wishing to roam the world in search of work, are castigated as 'only' economic migrants. Barriers are thrown up against them and, between major areas of the world, they are held in place. (p. 37)

Globalization seen in this light, shows how uneven and inequitable the processes of globalization are to the developing world in the face of dominant economic ideologies. Those with economic and social capital in terms of money and skills are allowed to move freely, whereas those without are limited to spaces that are increasingly barricaded.

Paradoxically, processes of globalization have contributed to the manifestation as well as the response to global issues. Global warming, for instance, has been inflamed by processes of globality such as air travel, but has also elicited a global consciousness to confront it through global media. Of

importance to global citizenship is that issues of a global scale have initiated a shift in individuals to think about their actions and their effects beyond national borders. As O'Sullivan (1999) notes, "global warming … prevent[s] us from stepping back into nation-state postures that foster the movement of globalization" (p. 17). These shifts have ultimately prompted a rethinking of the extent and content of citizenship within and beyond the nation state (Brodie, 2004, p. 323).

Citizenship

Despite its multiple conceptions, the most commonly held understanding of citizenship in the literature is connected to the Westphalian model of state sovereignty in which rights and obligations are extended to members of a circumscribed state. Instituted in Europe in 1648, the Peace of Westphalia signified two dimensions of sovereignty: internal and external. The internal aspects included the right of the sovereign individual or group to exercise supreme command over a particular society within a circumscribed territory (Held, 2002, p. 3). The external dimension involved the idea that there is no final or absolute authority above and beyond the sovereign state; states are regarded as independent in all matters of internal politics and are free to determine their own fate within this framework (Held, 2002). Hence, the interests and power of the nation state still transcend those of individual citizens.

Sovereignty, as imagined in the Westphalian system, has become increasingly obscured by globalization that it can no longer account for the transnational processes and movements of people and goods that occur today. Consequently, it is difficult for political communities and civilizations to be

distinguished as discrete worlds, but rather, as Held (2002) suggests, "enmeshed and entrenched in complex structures of overlapping forces, relations and movements" (p. 97). The location where one resides has a major bearing on how citizenship is carried out and experienced within a defined territory. People living in the developing world(s) are more effectively confined to local spaces. This unevenness, intensified by processes of globalization, has had a strong bearing on citizenship. While those with capital and certain passports are able to navigate the world and reap the benefits and opportunities made possible by technology, the majority of humanity "have their rights, dignity, and personhood denied on a daily basis" (Brodie, 2004, p. 330; Massey, 1999). What appears at a global scale are complex, multi-tiered experiences of citizenship that are open to debate (Brodie, 2004).

Given the effects of globalization, citizenship can be conceived much more broadly by concerning processes of identity and participation. Isin and Wood (1999) argue that citizenship is not only about rights and responsibilities that individuals possess through membership of state, "but also as the practices through which individuals and groups formulate and claim new rights and struggle to expand or maintain existing rights" (p. 4). According to Heater (1990), citizenship goes hand in hand with identity and the power of the state. Through this perspective, people living within a circumscribed territory are offered a national identity through birth certificates and passports in exchange for allegiance and duties. These certificates, which signify identity as well as status, loyalty, rights and responsibilities, support the cohesiveness of a country and the

power to serve and protect its citizens.

The multi-dimensional aspects of globalization and its convergence with citizenship have led to different interpretations of what it means to be a global citizen. Shultz (2007) identifies three contrasting approaches to globalization, which have different implications for developing global citizenship. First is a neo-liberal approach that positions an individual in a privileged position to travel across national borders. Global citizenship in this conceptualization is inherently linked to global economic participation where the knowledge and skills developed from education for global citizenship increase transnational mobility and marketability (p. 252). Second is a radical approach to globalization, which examines global structures that create and perpetuate global inequality. Global citizens emerging from this perspective actively oppose global institutions and fight for the radicalization of the institutions (p. 252). The third approach to globalization is a tranformationalist perspective, which views globalization as a complex set of international, national and local relationships that have generated new kinds of inclusion and exclusion. In this perspective, the global citizen seeks to engage others based on the notions of a common humanity (p. 255).

These different conceptualizations of globalization have a tremendous impact on how people conceive of and experience citizenship. The relationships and processes of globalization reflect and challenge existing social contracts, binding citizens to each other. In light of some conceptualizations of global citizenship such as the neoliberal model, which delimit the rights of others, Abdi & Shultz (2008; 2007) suggest any understanding of global citizenship should

bring with it a concern with entitlements, exclusion, access, and equity.

Cosmopolitanism

One of the most frequently cited principles of global citizenship is that a person's allegiance, rights and responsibilities to the nation ought to be extended to all of humanity (Dower, 2003; Pike, 2008). Taking the principles of citizenship beyond state borders to encompass the world is characteristic of the ancient concept of cosmopolitanism, meaning literally, "citizen of the universe" (Dower, 2003, p. 5). Similar to global citizenship, cosmopolitanism is understood and conceptualized in various ways. Benhabib (2008) has classified three general conceptualizations. First, there is the notion that concern for humankind precedes the concern of ones' country. Secondly, cosmopolitanism connotes the idea that the nation cannot address all the hybridity, fluidity and fractures characteristic of citizenship. Lastly, it signifies "a normative philosophy for carrying the universalistic norms of discourse ethics beyond the confines of the nation-state" (p. 18). Whichever its conceptualization, cosmopolitanism implies taking concepts such as citizenship and ethics beyond a particularist, often national conception to a broader, global context.

Given the transformative effects of globalization, such as the escalating interdependence of nations and humanity, cosmopolitanism and conversations across boundaries are seen to be inevitable and essential (Appiah, 2006). As humans around the world 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). In addition

to different interests, diverse cultural norms and ethical guidelines are also at play in these interactions. The cosmopolitan, as illustrated by Appiah (2006), seeks to understand his or her own relationships and the inter-relationships among all the people on the planet by reflecting on their own location and complicity. Cosmopolitans, like global citizens, must be cognizant of the policies and ideologies that guide their actions and the implications of these actions. By transcending borders, cosmopolitans understand interconnectedness and how they are implicated in the lives and actions of others.

An aspect of cosmopolitanism that is frequently referenced is the obligations humans have towards strangers. In *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant (1795) presents the notion of hospitality and argues that it is not a question of philanthropy, but a cosmopolitan right. For Kant, it is not enough to frame the amicable treatment of strangers who are refugees, for example, as a sign of kindness. The notion of hospitality needs to be framed more inclusively as a right of all humans. This idea rests on the conception of cosmopolitanism as an ethical attitude, which takes precedence over political organization and authority.

There are concerns, however, about the viability of world government to ensure the rights and responsibilities. For instance, Kant suggested a world government would be a "soulless despotism" (Kant, 2005, p. 27). Although he believed that it was important and plausible for all humanity to strive towards a global ethic, which would transcend national boundaries, these boundaries were still important for allegiance. As an alternative to a world government, he envisioned a world federation of states, which would allow humans to have a

local allegiance and an ethical concern for all of humanity beyond national borders.

Global ethics

The ethical attitudes expressed by Kant, which envision cosmopolitan norms of human relations, pertain to the notion of a global ethic. Although different groups and individuals identify different lists of global ethics based on ones' own principles and beliefs, Dower (2003) suggests that there can be a common core of beliefs and values that exist as a "lowest common denominator" between all cultures and sub-cultures (p. 31). In trying to map out what a global ethic of global citizenship would entail, Dower suggests that there are 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).

The notion of universalism is a prominent factor in global concepts such as global citizenship and global ethics. Universalism, as a philosophical belief, is premised on the idea that that there is a fundamental human nature that defines and connects us as humans (Benhabib, 2002). Attaching to this moral meaning, universalism suggests that all humans are worthy of moral respect, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, culture or religion. Extending from this orientation are also legal ramifications. Since all human beings are born equals, they are entitled to certain basic rights. Universalist conceptions are, however, challenged by notions of relativism and subjectivism.

Through the rise of post-modernity, relativist orientations have gained popularity and prominence in perceptions and attitudes toward human nature. Unlike the universal idea of common truths and morals, relativism argues that such claims are relative to social, cultural, historical or personal circumstances. This relative notion rests on the belief that there are no universal standards by which to assess an ethical proposition's truth (Lukes, 2008). Thus, for moral relativists, there are no concrete rights or wrongs; it depends on the individual, their location (socially, culturally, historically) and the differing perspective that each location holds.

Connected to the idea of moral relativism is the notion of subjectivism. Unlike objectivists and realists who perceive the existence of an objective reality, subjectivists assert that the subjective experience is the fundamental measure and law for each individual, whereby the existence of an object depends on an individual's subjective awareness of it (Subjectivism, 2008). Subjectivists therefore understands ethics to be "a function of the individual whose ethic it is - based on a person's feelings, preferences, choices or whatever" (Dower, 2003, p. 30). Similar to notions of moral relativism, it suggests that the truth of moral claims is relative to the attitudes, preferences and experiences of individuals.

The notion of global ethics, which is based on the universalist assumption that everyone has a similar concept of what is good, stands in tension with relativist and subjectivist orientations. The concerns put forth by relativists in regards to global ethics, however, illustrate the complexity of universal values. In a discussion of what common core values are for various groups around the

world, Dower (2003) puts forth the idea that all major religions around the world have the following golden rule as a foundation: do unto others what you would have done to you (p. 31). Despite the commonality of the principle, Appiah (2006) suggests that the assertion of the Golden Rule as a universal, global ethic assumes that others place the same value on something that you do. To illustrate this point, Appiah evokes the situation of a doctor trying to decide whether or not to give a blood transfusion to a young Jehovah's Witness. While blood transfusions are against their beliefs, the Golden Rule suggests that the doctor should do it anyway because it is what he or she would want done unto him or herself.

What this example connotes, is the predicament people encounter in cross-cultural interactions and making judgments about others' practices, beliefs and desires. When dealing with values, which are complex and socially constructed, Appiah (2006) states that these are not something that one can rationally criticize and relativism is often used to discern differences. However, relativism implies that everyone is right based on where the person is located. Awareness of the travesties around the world, such as historical events like the Holocaust prevent people from fully adopting a cultural relativistic outlook because there is a sense that certain actions and beliefs are morally wrong.

Cultural relativity is also complicated by notions of ethnocentrism, the evaluation of a culture based on the ideas and standards of one's own culture. Parenti (2006) notes that if a person questions the principles of cultural relativism, they are seen as being ethnocentric. Thus, the best way to avoid being perceived

as ethnocentric "is to refrain from making judgments about other cultures" (Parenti, 2006, p. 56). The question of how to reflect on, judge and understand difference cultures is consequently problematized. Appiah (2006) suggests that conversations between people that are completely grounded in relativist orientations are pointless: "relativism of that sort isn't a way to encourage conversation; it's just a reason to fall silent" (p. 31).

Although the tensions between universalist and relativist/subjectivist notions are prevalent, according to Benhabib (2002), these orientations are not mutually exclusive. As illustrated in the Appiah's depiction of the doctor and the Jehovah's Witness, universalist orientations prompt people to think relatively about what he or she would want based on the beliefs and values that the other person holds. People can consistently vacillate between orientations, especially in relation to culture and cultural differences. "As our knowledge of culture and of ourselves increases," states Benhabib, "so does out sense of relativity" (p. 34). Calling this the "hermeneutic truth of cultural relativism," Benhabib argues that the more that people understand about culture and humanity, the more they are willing to forgive (p. 34). This understanding is complex and implies that the subject continually interprets reality in accordance with existing epistemological, methodological and moral imperatives. Hence, as a person encounters something new, the social phenomena meets and negotiates with one's own framework and provokes a deeper and more complex understanding.

As evidenced in the literature, global ethics are not a straightforward way to deal with cultural differences when addressing global issues. Although global

problems such as climate change necessitate a role for global ethics to play when making decisions that affect the entire world, there is no precise list that has universal consensus that considers the cultural differences of every human on the planet. Theorists of global ethics therefore suggest that conversation and dialogue should be the first step towards negotiating universal values (Appiah, 2006; Benhabib, 2008; Dower, 2003). As Dower states: "perhaps the relevant global ethic is neither to be thought of as a pre-existing universal consensus, not something that is asserted by the individual thinking, but as something that is emerging in the world through negotiation, dialogue and consensus-building" (p. 10). Global citizens recognize that there are many values worth living by and one is unable live by them all (Appiah, 2006). Through dialogue and an understanding that one's knowledge is fallible and limited, there lies possibility for inclusive global ethics.

Human rights

Although cultures around the world are diverse and specific beliefs and practices can be seen as being relative to certain locations and cultures, people can sill recognize common human experiences and values in various societies across space and time. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), construed in 1948, articulates basic human rights and freedoms aimed to transcend cultural differences and relativity. The first of thirty articles, which states, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood," (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2008) signifies the

recognition of rights of all humanity beyond particularisms such as culture, ethnicity and location. Despite a long and multiple historical trajectories of human rights in various cultures, the UDHR marked the transformation of human rights into what Benhabib (2008) calls "generalizable norms" that should govern the behavior of sovereign states (p. 27). Atrocities committed by sovereign states, exemplified by the genocide of Jewish people committed during the Holocaust, can no longer go unchecked. Signed by all member states of the United Nations, the UDHR became the first international legal effort to limit the behavior of states in their relationships with their citizens.

The UDHR holds major importance for not only acts of intervention, but also the universalist and moral ideology behind it. Prior to becoming the basis of international human rights law, in its declaratory state, the UDHR held symbolic importance. As Dower (2003) states: "its force was effectively, a moral force encouraging states and others to observe its norms" (p. 60). The development of international human rights law has transformed this moral force into the force of law in cases regarding the impediment of human rights. The UDHR also indicates the evolution of a global civil society. Benhabib (2008) suggests that the UDHR exemplifies the move of international norms of justice comprised of treaty obligations and bilateral agreements among states to include cosmopolitan norms of global ethics, which trump the will of sovereign nations and govern all of humanity (p. 15-16). Such a movement demonstrates the existence of what Parenti (2006) calls "a transcultural consciousness regarding human values" (p. 58). This consciousness recognizes that there are values and conditions, which

transgress relative and local standards.

Despite the positive move to ensure that severe human rights abuses do not go unchecked, using human dignity as a foundation of social and legal actions is highly contested terrain and incorporates several paradoxical elements. As pointed out by Stammers (2005), the human rights trajectory is colored with exclusionary practices where certain minorities, such as indigenous and racialized people have been excluded from attaining rights at the same time as others. It has been only through bloody social movements that rights have become more inclusive (Stammers, 2005). Another issue concerning human rights, put forth by Shultz (2008) is that they are used to make claims on all actors regardless of custom or consent: "When human rights-based work is framed as efforts to universalize respect for human dignity, it provides an alternative way to link local, national, and global efforts but also takes human rights into areas formerly involving only state actors" (Shultz, 2008, p. 134). Moving human rights beyond the state provides much needed pressure on non-compliant actors to conform to universally accepted standards of human rights. However, when human rights are used as a political tool to justify the invasion of a country, it can also delimit or delegitimize local solutions to local problems (Kachur, 2008).

In the context of social justice and global citizenship, a human rights frame holds promise to provide an avenue for social change and active citizenship. For global citizens, human rights provide a universal, legal and institutional framework through which to assert the equal and moral status of all human beings. In some ways, it provides a tool that enables judgment towards

socially unjust and abusive practices. It provides global citizens the opportunity "to make this shift inclusive of those who are marginalized and excluded from the social, political and economic rewards of participating in society" (Shultz, 2008, p. 134). In standing up and acting towards the assurance of human rights for all people, human rights becomes a way in which global citizenship can be embodied and give people a sense of agency (Dower, 2003).

Education for Global Citizenship

Based on the broad scope of global citizenship, education to prepare students to become global citizens is similarly diverse. Extending from various ideologies and educational trends, global citizenship education has been framed by various forms and objectives of education. For example, global citizenship at the University of Alberta has been used to frame field experience for pre-service teachers in a summer placement in Ghana. It has also been used to describe the informal and non-formal learning experiences of students living in a student residence called 'International House'. Through these examples and many others highlighted in the literature, the complexity and variation of educating for global citizenship indicates that different education programs not only have implications for fostering particular kinds of global citizens, but also *how* students learn about global citizenship is as significant as what they learn (Tanner, 2007).

The role of the educator

Stemming from the differences between conceptions, practices and programs of global citizenship, Shultz (2007) cautions that global citizenship educators must be cognizant of the underlying assumptions and ideologies that

inform their practice so that their introduction and engagement with global citizenship is the one they intend to teach. For instance, "if citizens of the wealthiest nations learn that their role as global citizens is to compete in the global marketplace, then the structures of inequality that keep members of less wealthy countries marginalized will be perpetuated, if not strengthened" (Shultz, 2007, p. 257). Several authors echo this call for educators to be aware of the implications of educating students for global citizenship and to take responsibility for those implications. Pike (2000) asserts that "teachers, not textbooks, appear to be primary carriers of the global education culture," (p. 64) serving as a reminder that the practice of global citizenship is as important as its theoretical basis.

Taking into account the unevenness and multidirectional aspects of globalization, impacting people and places around the world in different ways, Lapayese (2003) invites practitioners of global citizenship education to critically engage in a fluid and variable model of curriculum. It is important for learners and educators to "examine discourse and power structures critically and creatively," Lapayese contends (p. 501). Allowing students the space to do this will open what she calls a "dynamic and evolving space" that can accommodate and adapt to various contexts without imposing a dominant framework (p. 501). By prompting students to think creatively and critically and allowing for a dynamic space to engage with global citizenship, educators can consciously prevent global citizenship education from perpetuating dominant and uncritical discourse.

Social justice and citizenship

The role of global citizens from a social justice perspective is to use one's knowledge and experience of social inequality and act on it. Despite its close relation to global education, global citizenship education has implications of rights and responsibilities, duties and entitlements that entail an "active role" (Davies, 2006, p. 6). Global education, which is defined by Osler and Vincent (2002) as strategies, policies and plans that prepare people to live together in an interdependent world, does not indicate the participation and action incited by global citizenship education. Thus, Davies suggests that educating for global citizenship aims to develop a person who is not only aware of his or her rights, but is able and eager to act upon their agency. This is captured in Griffiths' (1998) depiction of a global citizen when he says a global citizen has "an autonomous and inquiring critical disposition and actions tempered by an ethical concern for social justice and the dignity of humankind" (p. 40).

Based on one's notion of citizenship, the conceptualization of global citizenship varies greatly and consequently determines how global citizenship education is framed and delivered. For instance, if conceptions of citizenship are narrowly focused on national citizenship, Tanner (2007) suggests that education will likely focus on education that emphasizes political history in order for students to become politically literate. On the other hand, if citizenship is conceived more broadly, education will emphasize the need "to nurture active citizens with a commitment to certain value positions and the ability to act as autonomous, critically reflective individuals who participate in political debate

and campaign actively for change where they deem it appropriate" (p. 151). Since citizenship is entrenched in the concept of global citizenship education, Davies (2006) maintains that a focus on human rights and responsibilities that moves beyond awareness to action must be fostered.

Abdi (2006; 2008), Abdi & Shultz (2008) illustrate ways in which global citizenship education can become neutralized. In the same vein that colonial powers de-citizenized whole populations through colonial education, in which indigenous knowledge was denounced and replaced by colonial languages and culture, education today has the same power to inculcate the economic and political interests of the dominant class (Abdi, 2008). Currently, neoliberal agendas, which aim to increase privatization and competition, are embedded in education policies around the world. These policies, which primarily benefit the elite, may undermine citizenship education to the extent that it has become not what people have a right to, but what the system prescribes within the realm of the world system (Abdi & Shultz, 2008). Therefore, any project of global citizenship education must include a commitment to creating engaged civic and institutional platforms that are inclusive and incorporate both structural and historical-cultural analysis (Abdi & Shultz, 2008).

Lastly, one of the important themes in the literature on global citizenship and global citizenship education are boundaries, the prominent, yet imaginary lines that circumscribe location, citizenship and identity. Boundaries are extremely contradictory, as evidenced earlier by the prevention and allowance of free movement of people and capital, especially as they pertain to citizenship. As

Held (2002) suggests, people ought to have multiple citizenships to have a voice, rights and responsibilities in the communities that impact one's life. National allegiance, demarcated by national boundaries, however, delimits the agency for individuals to realize this. An important way educators have attempted to get students to negotiate between and through boundaries is to reinforce local and global connections. Pike (2000) asserts that in order to realize the full potential of global citizenship, students must have an understanding of the link between local action and global change.

Global Citizenship Education Models

In order for students to understand the complexity of global citizenship education, it is believed that students must be engaged, active and implicated in their learning. In the literature, three prominent models of global citizenship education emerged: experiential learning, cross-cultural learning and transformative learning. An important theme to note from these models of educating for global citizenship is that they all allude to the importance of fostering reflection and action components. These elements are indicative of the praxis involved in global citizenship education. Articulated by Freire (1968), praxis involves the synthesis of theory and practice in which each informs the other. The following types of learning, although not mutually exclusive since each model informs and involves different aspects of one another, illustrate how students can be educated about and implicated in theory and practice of global citizenship.

Experiential learning

Complex global issues such as those surrounding human rights and climate change that are incorporated in global citizenship education, translate into difficult learning experiences for students who have not been directly impacted or consciously aware of these issues. Hence, some educators believe that understanding the complexity of global citizenship is best achieved through student-directed experiential learning (Pike, 2008). Experiential learning, in the forms of community service learning and cross-cultural education experiences are featured consistently in the literature as way to develop an understanding and engagement with global citizenship. 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). Whether a group of students goes abroad or volunteers at a local organization, experiential learning is "a powerful tool for illustrating the potential of individual and collaborative action and for active and life-long participation in the democratic process" (Pike, 2008, p. 233).

Theories on experiential learning are diverse, ranging from constructivist paradigms to psychoanalytic. For the purpose of this literature review, Dewey's (1938) notion of experiential learning as discussed in *Experience and Education* will be used. Dewey makes several observations about the connections between experience and learning, for example, he claims that genuine education comes from experience, but not all experiences are educative (Dewey, 1938, p. 13). Some experiences actually mis-educate students by distorting growth and restrict

possibilities of further experiences. In order for learning to happen through experience, he argues that experience must exhibit continuity and interaction.

The first principle of continuity suggests that experiences for experiential learning are not isolated events. It means "every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after" (Dewey, 1938, p. 27). Learners connect their present experience with past experiences and think about future implications. The second principle, interaction, suggests that learning always happens in tangent with the environment that the learner is situated: "An experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment" (p. 41). Thus, learning is a process of interaction between experiences and environment, and must not be seen as a set of outcomes.

Building on the work of Dewey, Kolb (1984) postulates four different kinds of abilities that foster experiential learning:

1) Concrete experiences: an openness and willingness to involve oneself in new experiences;
2) Reflective observation: observational and reflective skills to view new experiences through various perspectives;
3) Abstract conceptualization: analytic abilities for integrative ideas to be extracted from observations; and
4) Active experimentation: decision making and problem-solving skills so that these new ideas can be used in actual practice. (Kolb, 1984, cited in Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner, 2007, p. 164)

These abilities imply that in order for students to make meaning from their concrete experiences, they must be open, reflective and active. Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner (2007) state that in order to develop these abilities, experiential learning ought to incorporate a reflective practice. This helps learners

to make judgements based on experiences that are related to complex issues.

Cross-cultural education

In order to teach the knowledge, skills and attitudes that educators have associated with global citizenship, many writers have suggested educating students in a culture different from their own. Cross-cultural education allows students to be exposed to different ways of thinking and being in the world. It fosters students' abilities to think through multiple perspectives and build relationships with people from a different culture. Relationships, Mündel (2004) argues, are an extremely important component of cross-cultural learning and global citizenship education. In his study on international youth exchanges, Mündel states that through the relationships that students built with the host institutions and other group members, students became aware of their positionality and how systemic patterns of inequity are reproduced. These learning outcomes promoted an increased "active citizenship" and an "opportunity to participate praxically in their learning and their experience" (p. 200).

In an autobiographical examination of what makes people global citizens, Sheppard (2004) discusses how her cross-cultural education experiences impacted her understanding and self-concept of global citizenship. The knowledge, skills and attitudes (KSAs) that she learned and developed during these experiences have had a significant impact on how she understands and identifies as a global citizen. But having these KSAs does not necessarily mean one is a global citizen, as Sheppard (2004) notes: "international education does provide universities with the opportunity to build global citizens, but becoming a global citizen involves a

choice on the part of students" (p. 38). For Sheppard, cross-cultural educational experiences in an international setting put her on a "path" to global citizenship, but in order to develop global citizenship fully, she needed to "derive meaning from the experience to be able to apply it to [her life]" (p. 39).

The ethical implications of going overseas for cross-cultural education experiences are highly debated in the literature. According to Zemach-Bersin (2007), such programs are exclusionary and incite an element of imperialism in their enactment. Writers and educators such as Davies (2006) suggest that experiential and cross-cultural learning at the local level is as important as international learning experiences in developing global citizenship. Adding to this debate, however, are empirical studies that demonstrate how overseas programs enhance KSAs such as intercultural communication skills (Williams, 2005), which are deemed by some educators to be an important element of developing global citizens. What is evident from various sources is that cross-cultural experiences and skills do not necessitate the fact that one is a global citizen, but depends on how the KSAs translate into practice (Appiah, 2006; Dower, 2003; Sheppard, 2004). In many cases, praxis that involves values and attitudes geared towards justice are missing from these learning experiences.

Transformative learning

Transformative learning is about change and transformation in the way that individuals see themselves and the world in which they live. Various theorists have conceptualized transformative learning in different ways, ranging from individualistic to sociocultural perspectives. All theories of transformative are

based, however, on constructivist epistemologies whereby knowledge is constructed by the learner (Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner, 2007). Through process of reflection and dialoguing about the learner's experience, the learner continually reconstructs his or her own knowledge and perspectives. Mezirow, one of the most widely cited transformative learning theorists, states the definition of transformative learning as:

> the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of mind, mind sets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action. (Mezirow & Associates, 2000, p. 7-8)

Mezirow's transformative learning theory comprises four main components of the transformative learning process, most of which are used in other conceptualizations of transformative learning: experience, critical reflection, reflexive discourse and action.

To briefly summarize Mezirow's theory, the transformative learning process begins with the learner's experience, which provides individuals with a frame of reference and perspective. The learner then proceeds to critically self-examine the assumptions and beliefs that have formed how the experience is interpreted (Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner, 2007). Critical reflection or self-reflection is defined by Cranton & Carusetta (2006) as "being aware and critical of our subjective perceptions of knowledge" (p. 13). Learners undergoing transformation become aware of their broadening perspective, and how that perspective is subjective and based on past and current context as well as future aims. Students' understanding, which is generated through reflection and dialoguing with others to assess and justify their beliefs, propel some individuals to take action. Whether

the action is making a decision or changing particular actions and perspectives, the final stage of this model of transformative learning consists of learners putting their new perspective into action.

Although Mezirow's stage theory has gained a lot of popularity in its utilitarian conceptualization of the various phases and changes that individual learners go through, other ideas of transformative learning, which come from a sociocultural perspective, can better explain transformation that takes in a much broader context. Freire's concept of conscientization provides insight to how people become increasingly aware of oppressive forces in their lives and how to overcome and act toward abating oppression. Through various levels of conscientization, critical consciousness being the most sophisticated stage, individuals progress to a more in-depth understanding of the forces that shape their lives and become more active in transforming it into a more just reality. Using similar concepts of critical reflection and dialogue, Freire (2005) suggests that people can transform their perspectives through praxis, reflection and dialogue.

Perhaps the most useful concept of transformative learning in regards to global citizenship education is O'Sullivan's (1999) planetary view of transformative learning. This type of learning recognizes the interconnectedness between humans and all living and non-living entities on and within the planet. There are several components of O'Sullivan's (2002, p. 7-8) theory, which include, but are not limited to:

1) Locating oneself in a much larger and inclusive cosmological context (away from the limited context of the global Market economy).

2) Adopting a definition of development that "links the creative evolutionary processes of the universe, the planet, the earth community, the human community, and the personal world" (p. 8).
3) Understanding of quality of life must include the need for community and diversity and spirituality.

These aspects of transformative learning can be embedded in a variety of educational practices. For instance, Tisdell (2003) suggests that cross-cultural education can be transformative for learners if they are authentic and open to experiences and their educators are culturally and spiritually grounded.

Summary

Given that global citizenship is contested in nature and consists of various dimensions such as citizenship, globalization, global ethics and human rights, reflection is an important component in grasping the concept. Pike (2008) and Dower (2003) call this reflection our "consciousness of global reality" (Pike, 2008, p. 226). People living in the developed world in either developed or developing countries are often sheltered from the poverty that is the majority of the world's reality. As Homer-Dixon (2003) suggests, "never before have we been so connected together on this planet and never before have we been so far apart in our realities" (cited in Pike 2008, p. 227). Global ideas such as a harmonious global village and an equitable global economy are counterproductive to understandings of global citizenship. Often the rhetoric of these global entities leaves out the history of colonialism and the destructiveness of imperial enterprise. Pike (2008) believes that the "legend" of the globalized world needs to be reconstructed through global citizenship education to be "more inclusive and more visionary, to allow a majority of the world's people to find themselves

represented within it" (p. 226). The next chapter will illustrate how global citizenship can be conceptualized through post-colonial theory and how certain theories can problematize programs of global citizenship education.

CHAPTER 3:
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The themes and questions embedded in a post-colonial framework are critical for looking at underling issues of global citizenship education. Although post-colonial theory can be conceptualized and utilized in various ways, I will be using it in this study to frame my analysis of students' experiences in a particular way and surface issues, limitations and possibilities of global citizenship education. My framework is comprised of the insights of four prominent theorists, Edward Said (1993; 1979), Homi Bhabha (1994), Gayatri Spivak (1988) and Seyla Benhabib (2002). Although Benhabib is not considered a 'post-colonial theorist', her insights into culture and cosmopolitanism are integral to understanding the experiences and reflections of the study's participants.

While post-colonial theory is most commonly used in literary studies to analyze relationships between colonizers and the colonized, post-colonial theories can also be used to expose ways in which colonial ideology, discourse and actions have been perpetuated and continue to surface in various social contexts. The following conception of post-colonialism from McLeod (2003) illustrates the necessity and utility of post-colonial theory in current and diverse research:

> Post-colonialism recognises both historical continuity and change. On the one hand, it acknowledges that the material realities and modes of representation common to colonialism are still very much with us today, even if the political map of the world has changed through decolonisation. But on the other hand, it asserts the promise, the possibility and the continuing necessity of change, while also recognizing that important challenges and changes have already been achieved. (p. 33)

It is through the notion of uncovering how injustice and inequalities of the past are perpetuated or challenged through current discourse and education practices

that my research questions are explored. The post-colonial theories that I have selected to use provide an important lens to see ways in which overseas global citizenship education programs need to be extended or modified in order to be more socially just.

This chapter introduces various dimensions of post-colonial theory including historical and theoretical components. A short discussion around modernization theory, which stands in opposition to post-colonial theory, is undertaken into order to distinguish the objectives and importance of post-colonial theory. The legacies of colonialism in forms of neo-colonialism and imperialism will also be introduced as a way to understand continuing colonial discourse and practices. Lastly, selected ideas and theories of the four theorists, Said, Bhabha, Spivak and Benhabib are presented. These ideas and theories comprise the framework through which I will be examining the data from my interviews in order to help me make sense of some of the issues, limitations and possibilities of overseas global citizenship education.

Post-colonial Landscape

Based on a constructivist epistemology, it is assumed that individuals construct reality and their knowledge and consequently have their own subjective views of themselves and their surroundings. Inevitably, each individual's views are imbued with prejudice and dominant ideologies. The ways in which people talk and write about their views, more often than not, perpetuate embedded prejudice and ideology. Post-colonial theory emerged out of the hermeneutic tradition of interpreting texts written by people from colonial powers about the

people and culture of the colonies. Using the work of literary critics and philosophers such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, post-colonial theorists began to write about how the prejudice embedded in the texts written by the colonial powers have contributed to and been perpetuated in the discourse and understanding of people and culture in the colonies or 'peripheries'.

Despite post-colonial theory's roots in hermeneutics and literary theory, the ideas set forth by writers such as Said (1978), provide a complex and critical lens to analyze relationships between nations, cultures, people and ideas. According to Andreotti (2006), post-colonial theory can be seen as a series of debates and/or ideas that problematizes representation of the developing world and addresses issues such as identity, power, and development that have arisen out of periods of colonialism and have been perpetuated through social institutions and practices. The loaded concept of colonialism has many definitions depending on the context. Loomba (2005) describes colonialism as the "conquest and control of other people's lands and goods" that has recurred throughout history (p. 8). One of the defining features of this control is that despite the direction of materials and human beings, the profits always return to the home country (p. 9). Although the context of this study does not literally take place in a post-colonial society, per se, the interactions, representations and ways of knowing associated with colonial history have been perpetuated through various educational practices in North America and beyond through discourse, ideology and hegemony.

Through the concept of Orientalism, Said (1979) illustrates how inequitable relations are constructed and perpetuated through ideology, discourse and

hegemony. In the text *Orientalism*, Said (1979) explains how ways of seeing and thinking about a place such as the Orient contributed to the practice of colonialism and continued imperialism: "in short, Orientalism is 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" have perpetuated Western domination over the developing world (p. 3). According to Said and other post-colonial theorists, dominant colonial discourse and ideology have been embedded in social practices and institutions such as education and are continually reproduced.

Central to the production of Orientalism is the concept of discourse. In the Foucauldian sense, discourse involves the deeper ideas that are behind the ideas we take for granted as well as the structures that enable particular thoughts to emerge (Foucault, 1972). Knowledge and thoughts that individuals have of the world are derived from discourse, rather than direct observation of it. One of the most important dimensions of discourse is its connection to power. According to Foucault (1981), Truth, power and knowledge operate in mutually generative ways and cannot be viewed independently: "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile" (p. 51). Each society has its own politics and regime(s) of truth and people consequently "attach special effects of power to 'the truth'" (Foucault, 1980, p. 131). Therefore, those who have power have control over what is known, who knows it and the way in which it is known (Ascroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). The discourse of Orientalism, the way of knowing the Orient without actually

observing it, is directly connected to the Western maintenance of power and control over the Orient (Said, 1989).

The power embedded in discourse has a major influence on what ideologies are established and promoted. Ideology can be understood as an exposition of "partial truths" (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 13), which comprises a set of ideas upheld by a society's dominant class. According to Foucault (2000), the partiality of truth is indicative of a subject's relation to truth, which is "clouded, obscured, violated by conditions of existence, social relations, or the political forms imposed on the subject of knowledge" (p. 15). Once ideologies are embedded and disseminated in social intuitions, such as schools, they provide society with dominant views to understand the world. Powerful ideologies, such as imperialism and racism, which contributed to the practice and legitimization of colonialism, are used as instruments of social control (Parenti, 2006, p. 12). Controlling society beyond economic and political coercion through the use of ideology relates to the concept of hegemony.

Antonio Gramsci (1947), who theorized the notion of hegemony, suggested that powerful systems such as capitalism maintained control ideologically through a hegemonic culture in which the values of the ruling class became the common sense values of all. By giving consent to the values of the ruling class, the non-ruling classes participate in their own domination. Hegemony is important to colonial discourse in the way it gives concepts such as Orientalism "durability" (Said, 1979, p. 7), and strength to continue in the West. Although pervasive ideologies such as racism have been refuted and are not generally accepted

politically and socially, once ideology has become hegemonic and is manifest in the consensual ideas of most members of society, it endures. Similar to Orientalism, economic ideologies such as modernization theory and neoliberalism have become hegemonic and a conventional way for people to understand the world.

Modernization Theory and Centre-Periphery Representations

In order to better understand the context of post-colonial theory, it is important to revisit modernization theory, the beliefs from which post-colonial theory is a response. Modernization theory developed in the United States in the 1960s as a way to understand and represent progress and development. Through the work of Rostow (1960), modernization theory depicted the world through divisions of centres of modern progress and peripheries of traditional backwardness (Peet & Hartwick, 1999). The centre, represented by nations such as the United States, was characterized by progress, industry, universalism and being open to new experiences. The periphery, on the other hand, represented by regions in the global south, was considered backward, non-industrial, particularistic and non-receptive to new ideas (Peet & Hartwick, 1999). This representation and conceptualization of the world positioned countries such as the United States in the centre to serve as models of development for peripheral countries to emulate. Underlying this picture was the belief that peripheral countries are caught in a perpetual state of traditionalism and should merely copy the actions and innovations of the centre in order to develop towards a better future (Peet & Hartwick, 1999).

In addition to being an academic, political and economic theory, modernization theory also became an ideological exposition of cultural attitudes. Emanating from modernization theorists' representation of the world, understanding one's self was construed through negative representations of the 'other' (Peet & Hartwick, 1999). For example, modernization theory inferred that the developing world, characterized by traditional societies, had limited production functions because of primitive technology and spiritual attitudes (Rostow, 1960). The United States, on the other hand, had extensive productivity because it had moved away from these factors towards Christianity and more sophisticated technology. Through the use of such dichotomies, the complexities of development, including the history of colonialism of the peripheries that led to the economic advancement of countries of the centre, are consequently ignored.

The logic of modernization theory has been perpetuated in several ways including the discourse on globalization. As indicated previously, the popular conception of globalization as a freeing and opening of borders is extremely contradictory. The story of globalization that invokes a teleological trajectory of faster communications and exchanges and increased prosperity can be framed by what Massey (1999) calls a "hegemonic story," which relates only very specific forms of global interactions (p. 39). Globalization is seen as an inevitable course of progress in a similar fashion to modernization theory's version of development and progress. Massey draws this connection using ideas of temporal and special patterns:

> Once again, spatial differences are convened under the sign of temporal sequence. Mali and Chad are not 'yet' drawn into the global community of

> instantaneous communication? Don't worry; they soon will be. Soon they will, in this regard, be like us. (p. 34)

Despite the opening of borders through processes of globality, the ideological components of globalism (Brodie, 2004) such as neoliberalism, privilege the few global elite at the expense of the poor. The manner in which the economic and social gap widens between the rich and poor populations is concealed by ideologies of modernization and globalization that are cloaked in the rhetoric indicated above by Massey.

The 'isms': Imperialism, Neoliberalism and Neo-colonialism

Although direct colonialism has ended, relatively speaking,[1] imperialism has persisted as a way to establish or maintain an empire. In broad terms, imperialism can be understood as "a project of world domination, as a subjection of people and countries across the world to the interests and dominant power of an imperial state" (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005, p. 7). Several nations throughout history have undertaken imperialist projects ranging from the expansive Ottoman Empire from the 13th-20th centuries to the British imperialist activities in the 18th and 19th centuries. Although imperialism can take many forms, the economic goals of each project are similar: supremacy of the market, penetration of competitors' markets while protecting the home market (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005). The most dominant imperial power of the world today is the United States, whose imperialist program is made possible by economic, ideological, political and military power. According to Petras & Veltmeyer (2005), this project aims to establish American hegemony over the entire world through neoliberalism.

[1] There are still modern nations such as Palestine that can be considered colonized.

Larner (2000) explicates three dimensions of neoliberalism that comprise dominant discourse: ideology, policy, and govermentality. The most commonly cited form of neoliberalism is ideology, which underpins current economic trends. Neoliberal ideology stems from classical liberalism, which is based upon the belief that the market will control the flow of goods and services. Neoliberal ideology takes economic policy one-step further than classical liberalism by advocating for the privatization of public institutions. In the 1980s, this ideology formed the policy agendas of the United States and Britain, serving to highlight the individual, promote freedom of choice, secure the market, advocate laissez-faire and pose minimal government intervention in these affairs (Larner, 2000). Since neoliberalism has taken effect, the role of the government has been to create space for consumption and stay out of the workings of the market. Think tanks and corporate decision-makers, who are backed by International Financial Institutions, have endorsed and popularized neoliberal policy and governmentality and in turn have thrived off of free market enterprise (Larner, 2000). Consequently, more and more nations are conforming to the standards set by neoliberal policy and governementality.

Neoliberal imperialism, as suggested by Petras and Veltmeyer (2005), is a current project undertaken by dominant imperial powers such as the United States, which comprises the ideology, discourse and hegemony of both neoliberalism and imperialism. The economic policies emanating from neoliberal imperialism are directed selectively to some countries for specific time periods and products. As a result of this selectiveness, only a few countries with strategic

importance are chosen as trading partners or recipients of aid from the centre. Consequently, the overwhelming 'underdevelopment' of many nations is represented as a result of being caught in a legacy of poverty and dependency and people are seen as victims of their past (Said, 1989). Yet, these neoliberal imperialist projects are supported by a legacy of paternalistic rhetoric such as 'it is in their best interests' and work is being done 'in the name of good'.

Although economic policies are one of the most common forms of imperialism, Said (1993) suggests that the processes and/or policies of imperialism linger prominently through cultural spheres as well in political, ideological, educational and social practices (p. 9). This is also conceptualized as neo-colonialism, which refers to the ways in which colonialism and imperialism perpetuate through economic and cultural dependence. While the concept is used loosely to describe patterns and effects of neoliberal imperialism, dependency theory, world systems theory, etc., it is also connected to globalization and global hegemony through cultural spheres, educational and social practices. Embedded in this conception of neo-colonialism is that colonialism ought to be seen as something more than the formal occupation and control of land and the people who live there (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998).

An alternative story of globalization told through post-colonial theory exposes it as an agent of neo-colonialism. Numerous ventures of globalization are devastating to the everyday lives of indigenous peoples (O'Sullivan, 1999). The building of dams on indigenous land by multi-national corporations, for instance, has forced several indigenous groups to flee their land and livelihoods. The

concept of neo-colonialism interrupts the hegemonic story of modernization theory and neoliberal ideology, which would argue that these projects are in the best interests of the nation and development. As Hall (1996) suggests, the post-colonial re-narrativization "displaces the 'story' of capitalist modernity from its European centring to its dispersed global 'peripheries'; from peaceful evolution to imposed violence" (p. 250). To a certain extent, neo-colonialism fulfils the need for a "radical rethinking" of knowledge and identities "authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination" (Prakash, 1994, p. 1475).

Theory

Given this background and how I am conceptualizing post-colonial theory and global citizenship in this study, this section will describe the key theories and ideas that I will be using to interpret and analyze the data. The theories presented here are put forth by Said (1979, 1993), Bhabha (1994), Spivak (1989) and Benhabib (2002) in seminal post-colonial theoretical texts, but have considerable philosophical and theoretical genealogies that extend from Kant to Foucault, which will not be expounded. The ideas of these theorists also overlap and build upon each other; hence they will be presented according to themes. It is these themes that comprise the theoretical framework, which will guide my examination of global citizenship and the experiences of students who have participated in a global citizenship education program.

Knowledge/Power: discourse, representation, positionality and hegemony

One of the crucial questions put forth by post-colonial theorists is 'whose knowledge counts'? By exploring this question through post-colonial theory, one

is pushed to rethink the knowledge and identities that have been fashioned by colonial discourse. Throughout *Orientalism,* Said (1979) interrogates several accounts of imperial powers representing the knowledge and existence of their colonial subjects. In his analysis, he states that a prominent theme that dominates colonial discourse is that of power and knowledge:

> Once again, knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialect of information control. (p. 36)

In center-peripheral relations, the powerful, central countries acquire and generate knowledge about other peripheral countries and cultures to maintain control over them. During the 18th and 19th centuries, colonial powers such as England and France spent a lot of time producing knowledge about the regions that they controlled. Western knowledge about these areas constituted a regime of truth in which alternative ways of knowing and local knowledges were subjugated and delegitimized (Smith, 2006).

The authority of Western knowledge continues today in colonial discourses, especially where language and power intersect (McLeod, 2000). English as the dominant, 'global' language is imbued with power and hegemony. When a monolingual English speaking Westerner enters a country in which English is not an official language, knowledge about others is based on the Westerner's construction of it, often because the 'other' is unable to speak for him or herself in their mother tongue. The wide use of English inevitably gives power and authority to such constructions. "Authority," Said (1979) argues, "means for 'us' to deny autonomy to 'it'-the Oriental country-since we know it and it exists,

in a sense, as we know it" (p. 32). However, in order for someone to deeply understand a culture, one must know the language. According to author Ngugi 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). Without an understanding or competency of the language spoken in a particular culture, visitors will not understand the culture and by relying on English as the mode of communication with the native, understanding becomes framed by Western discourse.

The power embedded in knowledge is perpetuated through representation, most commonly binaries. This form of representation engenders a duality between two very different signs or objects where the meaning of one sign or object is understood through its opposite (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). For Said (1979), binaries were part of the colonizers' political project to continue to subjugate the colonized: it "promoted the different between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them")" (p. 43). Such forms of representation have been perpetuated for centuries in order to maintain power of the known over the unknown.

To reinstate the difference between 'us' and 'them', dichotomies, which are the splitting of a whole into two non-overlapping parts, have also been used. Through modernization theory, binaries and dichotomies became popularized and legitimized in everyday discourse. As a result, Kapoor (2004) states that many of our encounters today with others in foreign countries are "coded or framed in terms of an us/them dichotomy in which 'we' aid/develop/civilize/empower

'them'" (p. 629). The most powerful part of this system of representation is its infusion into language. As people learn a language, they begin to believe that binaries and dichotomies such as North and South, rich and poor, developed and underdeveloped are somehow inherent manifestations.

Emerging from the complex web of language, signs and representation, is an issue of complicity. Even in instances where people genuinely want to help those less fortunate, the use of representations, especially binaries and dichotomies are complicit with maintaining power and control over the other. Spivak (1988) suggests that wanting to get to know the other better in order to help provokes several acts of representation, but such altruistic claims are infused with power. Cloaked in the language and positionality (in terms of a binary relationship) of the West, representations of the other often ignore the voice of the other. Spivak captures this predicament in her portrayal of the Western intervention and representation of the Indian tradition of widow sacrifice where 'white men' save 'brown women' from 'brown men' (p. 297): "between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of the woman disappears...There is no space from which the sexed subaltern can speak" (p. 306-7). Each representation serves to legitimize the other, but all the while local capacity and the widow's own voice is ignored.

Encountering, negotiating and understanding culture and identity: liminality and hybridity

Another issue associated with binaries and dichotomies is the way in which they constrict the space between opposed categories. Binary logic supports interpreting and understanding reality as essentialized categories where something

or someone is either this or that; never between categories. According to post-colonial theory, culture is too fluid and dynamic to ever be conceptualized in binaries. To speak of cultures as unified wholes, Benhabib (2002) argues, is a view from the outside where the observer seeks to "comprehend and to control, to classify and to represent the culture to the other(s)" (p. 102). Culture, however, is a moving target and constantly evades essentialized categories (Benhabib, 2002; Bhabha, 2007). In order to prevent oversimplifications of culture, Benhabib reminds people to ask themselves when talking about culture, "Whose culture? Which culture? When? Where? And as practiced by whom?" (Benhabib, 2002, p. 103).

The negotiation of these questions and essentialized categories of culture is characteristic of liminality. Envisioned as a stairwell, Bhabha (2007) describes liminality as an interstitial space that is in-between the designations of identity, which "becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white" (p. 5). In this space, the differences between people and culture represented and perpetuated through dichotomies are problematized and "the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated" (p. 2). Resulting from this process of renegotiation is a hybrid, transgressive identity that obscures dominant classifications. According to Bhabha, these liminal spaces carry the meaning of culture.

Hybridity is a concept used by Bhabha (2007) to argue that identity and culture are complex entities and can never be pure for they are continually in

contact with another. Cultural hybridity, Bhabha contends, "entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (p. 5), and transcends rigid and fictitious binaries of representing people and place. The liminal space is therefore the site of hybridization where cultural meaning is signified and articulated. The process of articulating difference is neither static nor simple. According to Bhabha, it is an ongoing and complex process of negotiating differences and hybridities that have emerged over time and space (p. 3). Bhabha believes that these differences should never be essentialized or fixed, but rather differences that emerge in moments of historical transformation (Bhabha, 2007).

Like culture, identity is a moving target that does not fit inside essential categories. The idea that identity can never exist by itself or without opposites (Said, 1993), however, complicates this notion. The Greeks, for instance, required "barbarians" to conceptualize their own cultural and national identity (Said, 1993, p. 52). Despite this conception of binaries, according to Bhabha (1991), Benhabib (2002) and Taylor (1991), identity is an ongoing and fluid process, which can never be fixed. Even if people never leave the place they were born into, identity must not be essentialized according to particular ethnicities or nationalities because these constructs are in themselves hybrid. These aspects of one's identity are too complex, hybrid and ever-changing to compartmentalize into particular categories.

The signification and articulation of cultural differences, Bhabha argues, are imagined constructions of cultural and national identity. Bhabha (2007) discusses how narratives of a nation that rely on horizontal history and

homogenous cultural entities are dangerous constructions. By simplifying various elements of cultures of a nation, the complexity and ever-changing manifestations of culture and where people live is ignored. "It is from this instability of cultural signification," Bhabha (2007) asserts, "that the national culture comes to be articulated as a dialectic of various temporalities - modern, colonial, postcolonial, 'native' – that cannot be a knowledge that is stabilized in its enunciation" (p. 218-219). Signifying cultural differences implies that culture is knowable. Bhabha argues that this is impossible because moments of enunciation are characterized by shifting and turbulent elements of culture that can never be concretized.

Ambivalence

The processes and space of liminality where culture and identity are negotiated and signified are extremely ambivalent. The concept of ambivalence, which commonly refers to fluctuation between wanting one thing and its opposite, was adopted by Bhabha from psychoanalysis to shed light on colonial discourse and the relationships between people in different power relations, such as 'colonizer and colonized'. Common colonial discourse presents colonizer and colonized as diametrically opposed. The fixity of these dichotomies institutionalized by racism and modernization theory represents culture and people in paradoxical ways. Bhabha suggests that such relations are imbued with conflicting notions like complicity and resistance that cause people to be ambivalent (Bhabha, 2007). It is this feeling of ambivalence that initiates processes of negotiation and reflection that help people to overcome and transgress essentialized and exoticized notions of culture and cultural differences.

However, it can also lead people to do the opposite and reinstate essentialized notions of culture and identity.

The existence and role of stereotypes of an exotic 'other' are connected to ambivalence. According to Bhabha (2007), stereotypes are "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated," indicating that certain beliefs do not need proof since it "can never really, in discourse, be proved" (p. 95). By repeating unfounded beliefs, ambivalence gives the colonial stereotype its power. It ensures its repeatability and longevity, its ability to differentiate as well as marginalize. The stereotype consequently gives access to an "identity" that is conflicted by notions of pleasure and displeasure, knowledge or recognition of difference and disavowal of it (p. 107).

A major issue surrounding ambivalent signification of cultural differences is the use of differences to legitimize cultural superiority and authority. Bhabha (2007) suggests that such instances are full of ambivalence, stating that "attempts to dominate in the name of cultural supremacy" is "produced only in the moment of differentiation" (p. 51). As indicated in the colonial context, cultural superiority of the Imperial powers could never really be proven by science, but through the enunciation of referential truths that colonial subjects are inferior beings to the Enlightened and Christianized Europeans, cultural differences were fixed and used in methods of subjectification and domination.

Cultural supremacy and cultural imperialism

The imperial projects that maintain empire are extremely heterogeneous. Through literature, where Said, Bhabha and Spivak are all situated academically, imperialism is constantly being reproduced through Western representations of the other. While most of the examples that these authors use are literary, they all illustrate how imperialism is perpetuated through a cultural sphere as well as social practices. Spivak (1985), for instance, introduces the concept of 'worlding' in her analysis of three Western women's texts to illustrate how the centre produces the periphery as a sign that is used by the centre to control it:

> To consider the Third World as distant cultures, exploited but with rich intact literary heritages waiting to be recovered, interpreted, and curricularized in English translation fosters the emergence of 'the Third World' as a signifier that allows us to forget that 'worlding,' even as it expands the empire of the literary discipline. (p. 243)

Through 'worlding', imperialist projects are disguised so as to naturalize and legitimate Western dominance. This obfuscation in literature has a profound effect on colonial discourse in which Westerners are led to overlook the interrelationships between the West, imperialism, globalization and conditions of former colonies and their colonizers.

Through social practices and institutions such as education, imperialistic ideology is inculcated. Said (1993) discusses this phenomenon at great lengths in *Culture and Imperialism*, providing several examples such as the books that teachers choose to teach their students, which serve imperial projects both intentionally and unintentionally. Through programs of global citizenship education, which take Western students overseas to a foreign country, the possibilities of cultural supremacy and imperialism are apparent, depending on the

intention, preparation and execution of the program. The positionality of the student and the culture and dominant ideologies that the student are inculcated with, are crucial aspects of cross-cultural interactions. In imperialistic relationships, Said (1979) argues that Westerners are positioned as being superior in various ways to the other, always granting him or her the "relative upper hand" (p. 7). The way in which relationships between the Westerner and other develop and how individuals within this relationship negotiate their positionality has implications for how imperialism is reproduced or challenged.

In spite of the possibility for some profound learning experiences to be realized through cross-cultural global citizenship education, there also lies the potential to perpetuate notions of cultural supremacy. In her essay, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, Spivak (1988) discusses representation of the Third World by the West and alludes to the processes of cultural imperialism that play out in these interactions. She states that much of today's "third-world-ism" of the West is a "benevolent first-world appropriation of the Third World as 'other'" (p. 289). This perspective views academics and students traveling abroad to encounter the Third World for the purposes and agendas of the student and institution that he or she comes from, and not the 'Third World' on its own terms. More specifically, echoing Andreotti's (2006) claims, Zemach-Bersin (2007) suggests that through global citizenship education abroad programs, global citizens reflect actions of a colonizer by going abroad, taking knowledge and experience from the location and bringing it back to benefit themselves: "The 'globe' is something to be consumed, a commodity that the privileged American student has the

unchallenged and unquestioned right to obtain as an entitled citizen of the world" (Zemach-Bersin, 2007, p. 26). Behind benevolent appropriation and hidden agendas is the failure to critically reflect on one's complicity and position relative to the rest of the world.

A final issue presented in interactions and relationships between students from developed and developing countries is the problematic notion of helping. Spivak (2003) suggests that students in the West are often "encouraged to think that he or she lives in the capital of the world. The student is encouraged to think that he or she is there to help the rest of the world" (p. 622). One of the major problems exemplified in these interactions is that local capacities of the host communities are ignored. The Western student is positioned as the "saviour of marginality," (Spivak, 1993, p. 61). In order to combat this reproduction of inequality, Spivak (1988) argues that students must acknowledge their complicity in their actions. Andreotti (2006) states that in order for global citizenship education to be effective, students from the developed world need to implicate themselves and recognize that "they too are part of the problem in regards to global inequality and uneven interdependence" (p. 5). If these issues are not addressed in overseas global citizenship education programs, there is potential for the reinforcement of "Western ethnocentrism and triumphalism" (Kapoor, 2004, p. 630).

Post-colonial Imaginings of Global Citizenship

Based on the post-colonial theories presented, it is evident that notions of identity, culture and citizenship are too complex to essentialize into boundaries or

boxes that provide for simplistic conceptualizations and understandings. Questions need to be asked concerning how constructions of citizenship in any sense of space (local to global) can address post-colonial issues and how can post-colonial theory be used to constitute what Torres (2006) calls a "comprehensive, dynamic and complex notion of citizenship" (p. 542). Bhabha (1994), Said (1993), Heater (2004) and others argue that there is an ontological flaw in nation-centred views of citizenship: "a question of belonging to a race, a gender, a class, a generation becomes a kind of 'second nature', a primordial identification, an inheritance of tradition, a naturalization of the problems of citizenship" (Bhabha, 1994, p. xvii). Said (1993) suggests that despite our inheritance of this style of citizenship, we must be concerned with citizenship and citizens beyond borders or conceptions of what is 'ours'.

The phenomenon of belonging to a nation or a group is confounded by practices of 'othering' and exclusion. Practices of inclusion and exclusion, portrayed in immigration laws and security, continually form and sustain boundaries and national identities. However, as evidenced from Bhabha and Said's discussions on colonialism and cultural hybridity, "all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic" (Said, 1993, p. xxv). It is through processes of ideology and hegemony, which perpetuate groupings of individuals in terms of hierarchies and subdivisions according to similarities and differences, that the naturalization of dichotomizing and excluding people in terms of constructed and false identities are reinstated. Consequently, defensive

nationalism is woven into education, where children are encouraged to uncritically venerate the uniqueness of their identity and tradition (Said, 1993, p. xxvi).

To address these issues, Bhabha (1994) introduces the concept vernacular cosmopolitanism. Popular conceptions of cosmopolitanism, which include notions of a global village and concentric cosmopolitanism, often fail to address and represent issues of exclusion. According to Bhabha, cosmopolitanism conceptualized in terms of radiating concentric circles and imagined communities such as global villages fail to take into consideration the diversity within these spheres. He argues that these ideas are complicit with neoliberal forms of governance and market forces of competition since they are founded on ideas of progress that represents the world in polar spheres of centre and periphery (p. xiv). Vernacular cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, portrays a different world where global progress is measured from the perspective of perceived minorities. This idea includes those people who are often excluded because of their peripheral status and structures such as immigration policies that deny them political participation. By problematizing existing conceptions of citizenship, both local and global in scope and education practises that uncritically venerate these notions, a more inclusive and socially just conceptualization and practice of global citizenship can be imagined and worked towards. Post-colonial theory provides one important way to question and reconfigure notions of global citizenship that allow for every person on the globe to see themselves included.

Summary

In looking though a post-colonial theoretical framework at global citizenship education programs that send North American students to developing countries, discourse, ideology and inequitable relationships that are rooted in colonial ways of knowing can be elucidated and problematized. Post-colonial theory also provides an important lens to see the ways in which educational programs need to be extended or modified in order to be more aligned with social justice. Examining the experiences and reflections of students who have participated in global citizenship education programs through post-colonial theory presents the possibility of seeing ways in which these programs have instigated changes in students toward their becoming more cognizant of their location and the prospects and possibilities of change that still need to be made.

CHAPTER 4:
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to critically analyze a program of global citizenship education with international, cross-cultural experiences to help illuminate and improve understanding of the tensions and implications of global citizenship education. In order to surface some of these tensions and issues, this study used people's experiences of a global citizenship education program that includes cross-cultural experiences in Thailand and the researchers' interpretation of these experiences. Post-colonial theory was used to frame my interpretation of the student's experiences. This first section of this chapter presents the philosophical and theoretical framework that this research is rooted in. From this foundation, I present the methodological framework and rationale that I used to guide the research.

Ontological and Epistemological Perspectives

In accordance with constructivist ontology, this study is based on the belief that reality is constructed and interpreted by each individual. The interpretations of the participants and the researcher in this study are marked by recursivity and reflexivity (Sarantakos, 2005) that impedes any possibility of holding an objective reality. Truth and meaning of the participants' experiences are co-created by individual's interactions with the world and the ideological contexts that they are immersed in. The researcher's access to the participants' reality is thus an impression of a "reconstructed reality" (p. 38) that is based on

one's interpretation of social phenomena and subjective experience as well as the ideologies that inform these interpretations.

The questions and theories that guide this research combine elements of critical and interpretivist paradigms. The purpose of critical theory is to understand and critique power within society (Locke, Silverman, & Spirduso, 2004) by uncovering "the interests at work in particular situations and to interrogate the legitimacy of those interests" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p. 28). In doing so, it helps to enhance understanding of "the sources of inequity and the social processes that sustain it by examining and improving understanding of social mechanisms" (p. 161). One of the broader aims of critical educational research is to bring about a more just society by interrogating illegitimate forms and practices of power in educational programs and processes. Within this framework, questions about the relationship between school and society are examined and interrogated such as: How do educational programs perpetuate or reduce inequality? This study examines education in a similar fashion by using a theoretical framework that includes questions of power and reproduction of inequality and offers insight into transforming inequitable social actions.

Unlike the critical theory's intention to interrogate embedded interest and power, some of the questions in this study aim to explore and understand these elements and how students interpret their experience. Interpretivism, as a framework, "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67) as well as how the intersubjective world is constituted (Schwandt, 2000). According to Schwandt (2000), the aim of

interpretivism is "to grasp how we come to interpret our own and others' action as meaningful and to 'reconstruct the genesis of the objective meaning of action in the intersubjective communication of individuals in the social life-world'" (p. 192). In exploring the tensions and issues that underlie global citizenship education, for example, I had to rely on the participants' opinions and perceptions of their experience though intersubjective communication and relationships. Although post-colonial theory framed my analysis of the participants' responses, I relied on the interpretation of the participants' subjective meaning and construction of reality. Thus, my interpretation is based on hermeneutic knowledge and the theories that frame the lens of analysis.

Selection of Methodology

Since this study aims to understand the intersubjective meaning of participants' actions rather than observing their actions, this study used qualitative research methodology to carry out the research (Sarantakos, 2005). According to Filstead (1979), "the qualitative paradigm perceives social life as the shared creativity of individuals. It is this sharedness which produces a reality perceived to be objective, extant, and knowable to all participants in social interaction" (p. 34). Most of the research undertaken in the area of global citizenship education has been conducted within the qualitative research paradigm. In various empirical studies such as those carried out by Grudsinski-Hall (2007), Ganzen (2007), Golestani (2006) and Appiah-Padi (1999), each of the researchers used qualitative methodologies such as in-depth interviews and focus groups in order to attain a more "holistic picture of global citizenship" (Grudsinski-Hall, 2007, p. 60), and

best describe the "momentum" (Ganzen, 2007, p. 49) of this emerging topic of research.

In line with previous and current research on global citizenship, I used qualitative research methods and strategies to gain insight into experiences of global citizenship education by a group of individuals. By attempting to uncover the tensions and issues that underlie educating for global citizenship, ways in which programs perpetuate or interrupt a colonial model of engaging with others and develop student's understanding and enactment of global citizenship to include reflection on his or her location and ethical concerns for social justice through qualitative inquiry, I was required to interpret the students' intersubjective understanding of their experiences. Through various qualitative methods, I collected and used the reflections of participants to interpret and construct from these responses information and insights to help answer my research questions.

Hermeneutic inquiry

In order to interpret the experiences of the students, I utilized hermeneutic inquiry. Hermeneutics investigates the process of interpretation through language (Gallagher, 1992) and helps the researcher to understand and interpret not only the text, but also the creator of the text (Sarantakos, 2005). In order to conduct hermeneutic inquiry, the researcher must engage in a complex process of extracting and bridging various sources of information. As Gallagher (1992) explains, "understanding a text involves building a complex series of bridges

between reader and text, text and author, present and past, one society or social circumstance and another" (p. 5). It is these bridges that shape interpretation.

Extending from the work of Heidegger (1962) and Gadamer (1975), the concept of interpretation, according to Gallagher (1992) includes three important characteristics:

1. Interpretation is existentially comprehensive and applies to every human activity;
2. Interpretation and meaning are always constrained by a point of view, practical interests and human limits;
3. Interpretation is something that we are already involved in and cannot entirely control. (p. 45)

Hermeneutic inquiry assumes that all social actors are already engaged in the processes of interpretation. However, the nature of interpretation is that it is so contextual that there is no consummate interpretation. Hermeneutic inquiry also assumes that people can creatively interpret the world around them, even though these interpretations are imperfect and ambiguous.

Based on the contextuality and imperfection of interpretation, hermeneutic inquiry is limited by questions of objectivity and validity. Interpretation of the students' experiences is conditioned by a variety of things including my own familiarity with the global citizenship, previous interviews with other PAW participants, and the aims of the research and practical interests (Gadamer, 1975). These biases are, however, intrinsic to any kind of interpretation. According to Gadamer (1975), the task of hermeneutical practice is to "base interpretation on the productive prejudices and eliminate the non-productive ones" (Gallagher, 1992, p. 12). The intention of this study is not to produce an objectively valid interpretation of students' experience, but rather an interpretation that is informed

by a theoretical perspective. It is the theories that constitute by productive prejudice and that which will afford me insight into a series of questions that have shaped my research.

Hermeneutic spiral

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the students' experiences, I will utilize a hermeneutic spiral process. A hermeneutic spiral comprises practices such as reflexivity and using various sources of information to interpret and make sense of the data. This process is based on the idea that understanding is circular (Gallagher, p. 58), where the meaning of the part is understood within the context of the whole and the whole must be understood through an understanding of the parts. As Geertz (1979) notes, it is "a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structures in such a way as to bring both into view simultaneously" (cited in Schwandt, 2000, p. 193). Therefore understanding requires the researcher to move from parts to the whole to the parts in a circular way, continuously adding meaning to the social phenomena being investigated.

Adding to the complexity of understanding is that before we understand something, we already have a preconception of it. As Heidegger (1962) notes: "an interpretation is never a presuppostitionless apprehending of something presented to us" (p. 150). Throughout this study, I have continually encountered and negotiated assumptions that I have had of PAW, global citizenship and global citizenship education, and have added meaning and insight to data based on the post-colonial theories I have chosen. This insight, however, will never be

absolute and will always be open to debate because the circle of understanding never comes to a closure based on the finitude of human existence. Since there is no ultimate truth, understanding social phenomena involves a fluid process of revision that is temporal, circular, finite and incomplete (Gadamer, 1975).

Play Around the World (PAW)

Participant group selection and profile

The selection of PAW as my participant group emerged in conjunction with my research questions. Based on my involvement with the Global Citizenship Curriculum Development (GCCD) initiative since 2007, I have been deeply engaged in the area of research of global citizenship and global citizenship education. PAW was chosen as one of three global citizenship education programs for data collection purposes for the GCCD initiative. Having the task to interview PAW participants of the 2008 academic year for the project, I became very familiar and interested in the program. Within the parameters of the initiative, I built relationships with PAW's Program Coordinator and some of the PAW participants that I interviewed. Through the research that I was conducting with the GCCD initiative, conversations with the program coordinator and my supervisor, many questions about the nature of global citizenship education and overseas programs emerged. Based on the relationships and familiarity with the group, PAW surfaced as an accessible, applicable and interesting group to use as a participant group for this research.

Situated in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta, PAW is an educational program designed to provide a

global citizenship education and cross-cultural experience in the area of physical activity and play to senior undergraduate students (Play Around the World, 2009). Successful applicants are selected in November and are expected to attend weekly meetings throughout the Winter semester (January-April) in addition to various fund-raising and team building exercises. The program culminates in a three-month placement from May until August in Thailand where students assist in not-for-profit organizations and projects to provide opportunities for play and recreation to underserved populations.

Since 2005, the program has offered students placements in one of two locations: Chiang Mai (northern Thailand) and Pattaya (central Thailand). During the first few weeks in Thailand, previous PAW members identified as PAW Leaders, guide the students through an orientation of the cities and projects that they will be working with throughout the three months. Past projects have included working in orphanages, programs for children living on the street, hill-tribe centres, schools for children with disabilities, centres for seniors and people with HIV/AIDS. In terms of a formal curriculum, the program offers students training on needs assessment, planning and delivery of activities in play, recreation, sport and dance during the Winter semester prior to departure. While in Thailand, students are required to keep a journal and write reflection papers and when they return to Canada, they must do a presentation of a major project of their choice. Lastly, students are expected to give back to the program during the following year by assisting with the program to improve the "quality of the

experience for both U of A students and the Thai populations and organizations they work with" (Play Around the World, 2009).

Participant selection

Having already interviewed several PAW members of the 2008 cohort for the GCCD initiative, participants selected to participate in this study were chosen from the 2005, 2006 and 2007 cohorts. Permission was requested and obtained by PAW's Program Coordinator to provide names and contact information of past participants of the program. Based on a conversation with the Program Coordinator about the whereabouts and accessibility of the students, a non-probabilistic, purposive sampling procedure was used. Purposive sampling is sampling technique that researchers use to purposely choose their subjects (Sarantakos, 2005). It is most useful for a sample selection where the researcher has knowledge of the population and can fit this into the purpose of the study (Babbie, 1989). The criteria that was be used to select participants was:

1) They were a PAW participant in 2005, 2006 or 2007
2) They have various educational backgrounds and work experience.
3) Representation from both male and female participants.
4) They are able to discuss and articulate their ideas and thoughts about their experiences.
5) They are able and willing to participate in the study.
6) Equal representation of participants placed in Pattaya and Chang Mai

Given the exploratory nature of this study, a total of six participants were selected as the optimal number of participants for this study. Patton (1990) states that "validity, meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the causes selected and the observational/analytic capabilities of the researcher than the sample size" (p. 39). Unlike studies that aim to achieve inductive generalizations and need large

numbers to do so, this study, which undertook more intense and in-depth methods of data collection, used a relatively small sample size to achieve its objectives.

Research Strategy

Based upon the research problem and objectives, the following research approach was conducted in order to effectively address the questions raised in this research.

Data collection method

Individual semi-structured interviews were chosen as the principal method of data collection for this study. Marshall and Rossman (1995) suggest if the purpose of a research study is to uncover and interpret participants' perspectives and subjective experiences, which this study attempts to do, interviews are a suitable data collection method. The qualitative interview also enables respondents to articulate their experiences through their own ways of understanding the social phenomena (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Based on the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemological realms of this study and the limitation that I could not observe the participants' experiences, interviews were the most appropriate data collection method. The format of semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask a set of predetermined questions to ensure that all participants cover similar topics as well as additional and probing questions that emerged to explore emerging ideas and facilitate communication. According to Sarantakos (2005), semi-structured interviews allow participants and researcher to engage freely in discussion without any external limitations and allow for flexibility in which any new question that may arise can be explored (p. 270).

Lincoln & Guba (1985) stress the importance of the planning and conduct of interviews. In order to plan for the interview, I constructed an interview protocol (See Appendix B), which consisted of 25 questions organized around 5 themes prior to conducting interviews with participants. The protocol was first submitted to my supervisor for input on content and construction and this feedback was used to revise the questions. To address the preparation for the conduct of the interview, I piloted the questions to two people with knowledge in global citizenship education. These practice interviews helped to ensure the appropriateness and flow of the questions. The protocol was submitted along with the study for ethical approval. Feedback from both the pilots and ethical examiner were included in the final set of interview questions.

Selecting participants and interviewing process

After ethical approval was granted from the University of Alberta, I sat down with the Program Coordinator to select ten potential participants that fit with the criteria. The assistance of the Coordinator was enlisted based on her knowledge of each of the PAW participants. Using the criteria of participant selection, the Coordinator and I made a list of 10 potential participants with rankings to send invitations to participate. After this meeting, I sent invitations via email to each of the ten individuals to participate, providing an information letter (See Appendix A) explaining the nature and objectives of the study as well as conditions of their participation. Within two weeks of the first invitation, one follow-up letter was sent to potential participants who had not responded. Since the number of responses and consent to participate did not equal the desired

number of six participants, I requested two more names and contact information from the Program Coordinator which conformed to the selection criteria and the same protocol was administered. Consent to participate was granted from these individuals, which concluded the participant selection process.

A follow-up email was sent to each of the participants requesting a time and location for the interview to take place, which was convenient for them. Since all of the participants were living in or near Edmonton and were familiar with the U of A campus, all of the interviews took place in my office at a date and time that was convenient for them. At the beginning of the interviews, I made a bit of small talk in order to introduce myself and the research. I asked them a few questions such as how their school or job was going. In respect of their time commitment of 1-1.5 hours, I proceeded quickly to give them the information sheet that they received via email. I read to the participant the ethical standards and asked for their signed consent prior to conducting the interview and starting the recorder.

The duration of the interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 75 minutes. Some of the participants were much more articulate and expressive than others, consequently affecting the length of the interviews. Each participant was interviewed only once, with the exception of one individual who said that he did not want to rush his answers and requested to continue the interview the following week. After all of my questions were asked, I asked each participant if there was anything that he or she would like to add, clarify or discuss further. Once the interview ended, I stopped the recorder. I concluded the interviews by reminding

the respondents that I would be transcribing the interviews and emailing it to them for their revision. Following the interviews, I transcribed each of the interviews verbatim and sent them to the participants for verification and revision. No one asked for changes to the transcripts. During the interviews, I also wrote down key points and ideas that emerged in my research journal.

Data Analysis

In using a postcolonial theoretical model, where issues of power and representation are being examined, there is a need for using a flexible model of analysis that will allow for constant interaction with the data. I therefore used an iterative qualitative data analysis model, which allowed me to begin examining the data as soon as I began collecting it. Iterative analysis is premised on the belief that analyzing data is "not a discrete phase near the end of a research plan," and must begin early as Wellington (2000) suggests (p. 134). Preliminary analysis of the data began after the first interview, where I noted ideas, concepts and perceptions in my notebook that emerged from the interviews. In subsequent interviews, themes noting the similarities and differences between the participants were also noted.

After each of the interviews was completed, I transcribed them verbatim and sent them to the participants for member checks. After a two-week period that I offered them to submit any changes, I collated and organized the data for more in-depth analysis. The in-depth analysis initiated the significant steps of the hermeneutic spiral, in which the texts were read, reread, and grouped thematically according to my conceptual framework. In the initial reading through all the

transcripts together, I took several notes in my research journal. I used these notes in conjunction with my conceptual framework and interview notes to develop central themes and codes to further organize, interpret and analyze the data. I initially identified three broad themes in the data, which were both derived from my conceptual framework and the data and assigned each a colour. These colour codes became a kind of "code book" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 274), which helped to conceptualize and interpret the data. I read through each of the transcripts looking for the identified themes and highlighted them with a marker them accordingly. While I continued to read through the transcripts, several subthemes were identified and coded as well. Once all the transcripts were colour coded, I used the copy and paste function of my word processor and collated all of the same coloured data together into separate documents. These six thematic documents, which had no direct signifiers identifying the participants, were then separately read and analyzed.

Study Trustworthiness

Critics of qualitative research express concern about issues of objectivity, reliability and validity of qualitative studies. Sarantakos (2005) suggests that although qualitative research does not employ the same methods as quantitative research to evaluate whether the study is objective, consistent and precise, it does in fact consider reliability and validity to be very important. Objectivity, on the other hand, is fundamentally rejected by qualitative researchers based on the idea that all research is value bound and making one's own subjectivity explicit to participants and readers is important (Locke, Silverman & Spirduso, 2004).

In order to address these concerns and assess the rigor of qualitative research, criterion of trustworthiness is imperative. The criteria developed by Lincoln & Guba (1989) proposes that qualitative research can in fact be trustworthy if evaluated through the following four lenses: credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability.

Credibility

In order to establish confidence in the truth of the findings, credibility of the findings and interpretation of the data must be tested. According to Lincoln & Guba, (1989), 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 used methods of peer debriefing and member checks. The process of debriefing is "engaging, with a disinterested peer, in extended and extensive discussions of one's findings, conclusions, tentative analysis" (p. 237). During the data analysis and interpretation process, I continually had conversations with disinterested peers and my supervisor in which I talked about some of my insights into the data. The nature of this kind of testing was to discuss, ask questions and seek feedback to ensure that I was not thinking too abstractly or outside the scope of this study. These discussions helped me to stay on track by validating and invalidating some of the ideas that I was working with and through.

Member checks, which are deemed by Lincoln & Guba (1989) as the single most important method for establishing credibility, are a "process of testing hypotheses, data, preliminary categories, and interpretations with member of the

stakeholding groups from whom the original constructions were collected" (p. 238-9). After all the interviews were transcribed, the transcripts were sent to each participant to review and comment. This process of member checking allowed for the respondents to correct errors of interpretation, offer additional information and confirm individual data items (p. 239). The process of triangulation, which involves comparing and crosschecking information by different means such as observation, and at different times, was not carried out in this study. However, through peer-debriefing and member checks, verification of my ideas and the accuracy of the participants' responses were attained and thus, a measure of credibility.

Transferability

The findings of this study are an interpretation of the time, place and broader context of the research. As stated by Lincoln & Guba (1989), "transferability is always relative and depends entirely on the degree to which salient conditions overlap or match" (p. 241). Therefore, generalizations about the findings of this research cannot be transferred to all cohorts of PAW or programs of global citizenship education. The selection of participants from three different cohorts aims to provide a broader spectrum from which to transfer findings and make generalizations about the program. However, the small sample size used cannot guarantee this transferability. In order to allow for some degree of transferability of the findings, detailed, or "thick" (Lincoln & Guba, 1989, p. 241) descriptions are made, where possible and applicable, about the context and

interpretations of the data collected. This allows readers and other researchers to make judgements about the data in relation to other contexts.

Dependability and confirmability

Similar to the criterion of reliability in quantitative studies, dependability is a process concerned with the stability of the data over time (Lincoln & Guba, 1989, p. 242). Confirmability is concerned with the issue of fabrication, ensuring that the data and research findings are rooted in the contexts and participants' experiences and not that of the researchers imagination (p. 243). Using an interpretive framework and a qualitative methodology, there are inevitably concerns about the dependability and confirmability of the data and my interpretations. In order to address the issues of stability and accuracy of data and my interpretations, I have endeavoured 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 to ensure reflexivity was writing regularly in my personal research journal. In my entries, I recorded methodological decisions and some of the reasons for them as well as personal reflections of the literature I reviewed and interviews I conducted. These entries helped map out what and how I was thinking about the research throughout the process.

Ethical Considerations

This study was overseen and approved by the University of Alberta's regulations for ethical procedures in research involving human subjects. As previously indicated, I contacted the participants via email to invite them to

participate, which included a description about the nature and conduct of the study. Attached to this invitation was a consent form (Appendix C), which outlined their rights of participation. The following measures were undertaken to address the ethical concerns in this study:

1. I informed and reminded each participant about the purpose of the study, the degree of commitment required, the specific activities that they would be involved in, how the data will be used and protected and how their anonymity would be secured. When they agreed to the stipulations, I obtained signed consent from each of the participants before conducting the interview.
2. The participants were informed and reminded that participation was voluntary and they had the right to opt out of the study at any time until the data had been collated (two weeks after the interview transcript was sent to them). If they wished to opt out before that date, their data would be destroyed and that this would remain confidential.
3. The only people that knew the names of the potential participants were the program co-ordinator and myself. Anonymity was kept by not identifying the six final participants to anyone. Letters were used instead of names in the transcripts and the findings section does not use any signifier except for sex.
4. Data was kept secure on a password-protected computer and printed transcripts were kept in a file cabinet. Participants were informed that the data would be kept in a locked cabinet for five years and then subsequently destroyed.

Summary

In order to analyze global citizenship education and illuminate the tensions and implications of global citizenship, I have devised the methodology indicated above. The development of this methodology evolved with the various stages of the research. Utilizing a qualitative methodology allowed for this flexibility and iterative interaction and engagement with the data. This fluidity, however, presented problems when I was trying to define exactly how I was engaging and interpreting the data. Hermeneutics explained how I was processing the information of this study. Having already encountered and interviewed members

of PAW for a separate study as well as using a post-colonial theoretical framework, my interpretations of the data were a comprised of series of bridges linking various sources of information. This process was confusing at times and required me to be extremely reflexive and cognizant of sources of information and how they were influencing my interpretation. By utilizing this methodology in terms of the theoretical and philosophical paradigms used and methods such as participant selection interviews and data analysis, I was afforded rich data to be immersed in and interpret. In spite of this flexibility and subjective nature of interpretivist paradigms, I was able to attend to the rigor of this study by utilizing Lincoln & Guba's criterion of trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 5:
FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the immensely rich data from the interviews in accordance to the themes that emerged in this study. Extending from my conceptual framework that incorporates post-colonial theory and literature on global citizenship and global citizenship education, I developed the following three major themes throughout my analysis: knowing the other, relationships, and identity. These themes, comprised of several subthemes, were extremely helpful in illuminating dimensions and issues embedded in global citizenship and educating for global citizenship overseas. Each participant offered different insights to the complexity and dimensions of global citizenship. One of the most interesting insights that the participants' comments collectively reflected was the impact that encountering, negotiating, understanding and relating to difference, especially cultural differences, had on students' understanding, identity and enactment of global citizenship.

Knowing the Other

Learning about different ways of knowing and doing things is integral to global citizenship education. When students are taken out of their everyday surroundings and put into a different environment, they are exposed to several opportunities to learn about and be active in leaning about global citizenship education. These learning experiences, according to the responses of the participants, were most intense when engaging with what students perceived of as the "other". This trend indicates that understanding the other helps students to

understand oneself as a global citizen and what he or she can do with this understanding.

Pre-conceptions and initial perceptions

Most of the participants interviewed had little previous traveling experience and none of them had been to Thailand before. Consequently, the participants' pre-departure expectations of Thailand were drastically different from their perceptions when they got there. Prior to departure, most participants thought Thailand was an impoverished, traditional, "Third World" country, a setting that was outside of their immediate experience. As one participant reflected:

> *I thought that when I was going to Thailand, I was going to a globally south and underdeveloped country. We were expecting things to look a certain way, perhaps how they have been portrayed in the media.*

After they arrived in Thailand, each of the participants stated that their perceptions had changed. Some initial perceptions of Thailand were that is was fast, loud, busy and Westernized with grocery stores and shopping malls and neon lights. These perceptions were far from their initial frame of reference of Thailand as an underdeveloped country. As a result, many were shocked by the similarities between Thailand and Canada.

> *They are a developed country. You could choose to eat Thai food, or you could go downstairs and get your bagel or scrambled eggs. It is definitely a place that you can get anything from. I like that for my first time away. Apart from the population that we worked with, I found it very Western. It was kind of culture shock in that way. I thought there was going to be more oppression everywhere. I was going to help some kids and what is in your head before you actually show up is so much different. It wasn't as bad as I thought.*
>
> *That was probably the most shocking, was that I didn't have to be as traditional as I thought.*

Understanding the differences and similarities in culture transpired frequently in the students' commentary about their experiences in Thailand. A few participants utilized history and social theory to explain and offer insight into the social phenomena that they encountered. For instance, one participant commented on how indigenous peoples in both Canada and Thailand were negatively influenced by histories of colonialism and forces of globalization:

> *The nomadic and farming cultures are not compatible with globalization and it is similar to colonization in that aspect. There is a familiar history of what happened in Canada as to what is happing in Thailand right now. There are differences also. There are peoples, but there are differences between tribes such as languages and culture. I think the commonality is the colonial history and the effect of globalization in changing culture and language and things like that.*

In addition to acknowledging the cultural differences in the two countries' indigenous groups, the participant recognized that there were deeper forces that impacted certain groups of people in both contexts.

Not everyone, however, understood differences and similarities in this way. The majority of participants understood variations between Thailand and Canada vis-à-vis their observations of culture and cultural differences as a product of culture. For instance, as one participant was describing the Thai people, he commented "*they work hard, when they do work. There is a different culture style of work.*" Without a prior historical or sociological framework, many of the participants were unable to interpret and fully understand the social phenomena they described.

Difference and uncertainty

Evident from participants' descriptions of Thailand is an ambiguity toward cultural difference. Despite perceptions of similarities that participants

encountered when they arrived, most participants offered statements of culture that helped them to differentiate self from other and Canada from Thailand:

> *It was a huge learning curve and we were always fearful that we would make a mistake. We never wanted to disrespect anyone so we were worried. I think that the Thai people understood that we were Western and that these weren't really all the same values that we would hold.*

Embedded in participants' reflections on Thai culture were claims to difference, separating self from other.

When participants were asked specifically about what cultural differences they encountered when they were in Thailand, there was an extremely diverse response where participants commented on a range of things from language and politics to social issues such as gender segregation and prostitution. Common to most responses was the need to explain these differences. For instance, one of the participants that suggested prostitution as a major cultural difference stated the following:

> *It's kind of accepted. It's not accepted to do it really, but it is accepted to become [a prostitute]. The reason I say that is because it is such a big part of tourism in Thailand and it generates a lot of revenue. The problem with that is that a lot of the girls from the villages surrounding hear about a girl's experiences such as one girl meeting a rich white European man and her whole family becoming rich because of it. And it doesn't take a lot of money to live there. They survive off of dollars a day. Then along comes this rich white man who gives them all this money and they build a new house in the village and the rest of the villagers see how well they are doing and then send their daughters off to Pattaya to hook up with the white men. But it doesn't always happen and then they end up prostituting themselves out in hopes of meeting and getting married to a rich white European man. So, there is a large influx of women on the street looking for it.*

Characteristic of this response and a few others like it is the lack of structural and analytic understanding of social inequality demonstrated in acts of prostitution. Without this knowledge, participants relied on stereotypes to explain and

narrativize what they saw. The narratives that participants constructed and used to make sense of culture and their experiences included the use of Canada and Thailand to compare and contrast what they encountered. Even though several questions did not ask participants to talk about differences and similarities between Thailand and Canada, they were compelled to use this juxtaposition to convey their experiences and understanding of Thai culture:

> *Culture wise, there are parallels between our culture and theirs. There is a different poverty line. But, where we are up here with how much money we need, they are down here with how much they need. There is more poverty at the lower levels. And you can measure the poverty at the lower levels by what they drive. If they have a car, then they are wealthy. If they have a scooter, they are more middle-class. And if they don't have anything, they are poor and there are a lot of poor people there.*

Although there is no proof that all rich people drive cars and those without are considered poor, such simplistic conceptions of socioeconomic status were used to generalize and understand the cultural difference that they encountered.

Experiential knowledge

Each of the participants expressed that they lacked knowledge about Thailand before they departed. What little they knew was gained from media such as newspapers and television and through the stories from past participants, a couple of guest speakers and the Program Coordinator. The following statements represent the kinds of information that the participants had of Thailand before they left:

> *I didn't know much about it other than what I read. I knew a little bit about Buddhist culture and we learned a little bit about traditional food and temperature, climate and landscape. We knew a little bit about the cities that we were going to- one was more Westernized and the other was more cultural. We knew about the parliamentary government system and the monarchy. But, we didn't know a lot.*

> *I didn't really know anything. In the sessions, we pretended we knew a little more. We learned to count, a little bit of Thai greetings... We also talked about the social climate a bit. We also had brief talks about the belief systems.*

A lack of knowledge and understanding of Thailand before departure is clearly illustrated by these statements. This suggests that although the participants were well versed in physical education, play, and teamwork, they were not as well prepared to deal with and understand the cultural context that they were to live and volunteer in for three months. The participants' initial perceptions of Thailand were consequently informed by Western representations of Thailand that signified Thailand as an exotic other.

Based on this lack of knowledge, it is not surprising that the participants' perceptions of Thailand shifted considerably when they arrived. Nearly all of the participants' knowledge about Thailand took place when the participants arrived and experienced living there. This learning process is connected to ideas of experiential learning, where students are led to learn from their experiences and the environment that they are in. When asked about how they learned about and understood the things that they were talking about, nearly all participants stated that it was through experience and that this was a partially a conscious decision made by the participants:

> *I am kind of anti-Lonely Planet because I really wanted to experience Thailand for myself, and not from the perspective of an author that says this is where you need eat, see and travel to. I wanted to be able to do those things on my own. I was hoping that I would meet Thai people who would say, this is where you should eat, this is where you need to travel and take their word over some author.*
>
> *I only really learned about it though, when I got there... But, for myself personally, and I feel like this is something I regret, I didn't learn a whole lot about Thailand until I was there.*

Generally, the participants wanted to experience Thailand for themselves and gain their understanding through personal experience. Books and testimonies of others who already had this experience were seen as a hindrance to this kind of learning in the way that the bias of these informants would skew their perception and thus, their experience. Seen from the second quote above, when reflected upon, this strategy was not always helpful and some participants wished that they knew more about Thailand before they departed. The participants suggested that the majority of learning transpired through experiencing Thai culture and working with Thai people in the various programs. Each participant, however, encountered culture differently and seemed to have different ways of understanding and negotiating this new knowledge.

A common way of understanding and making meaning from their experiences was through the use of Canada as a reference point in which to compare and contrast particular things. For instance, when I asked the participant who discussed the red lights district how he had come to understand and learn about prostitution, the participant stated that "*I made conclusions when I compared things myself... for a lot of things, such as the poverty line, I think I just compare things to back home.*" Another way the participants understood and negotiated knowledge is though feeling and emotion. For those who talked about this, it was difficult for them to articulate:

> *My knowledge was an emotional thing. It was connected to my understanding of how people lived in other countries. I don't think it is something that you can totally understand without seeing it. I read the things that occurred there, and I had an idea of what it looks like, but I didn't know what it meant. So, my knowledge is the cold hard facts of*

people can be like this and this is how the world is looked at from different angles.

To see a mother dropping off her children, I could just feel what was going on there. I could feel the separation and that despair. These are the challenges of the changing world. I saw it again in the School of the Deaf.

Some knowledge that the participants had come to know through their experience in Thailand was extremely difficult for them. Witnessing social injustice such as prostitution and the effects that the sex industry was having on the children had an emotional impact on the participants. In some instances, it was depressing for the students to encounter and learn about prostitution. As one participant reflected: "*I learned a lot about the history of Thailand and why there is prostitution in Thailand and how it all came to be. It was really hard to learn about and was sad.*"

Understanding the 'other' and cultural differences in Canada

When asked about how their understanding of people from different cultures in Canada had been affected by their experiences in Thailand, each participant gave very different responses. In trying to disentangle what they learned from their experiences, some participants found it difficult to transfer their knowledge and understanding from one context to another. A couple of participants commented briefly on how their experiences in Thailand helped them become more open and understanding of where people are coming from and have incorporated such changes in their lives and work. For instance, one participant who is now teaching notes that the class she teaches is culturally diverse and she must be sensitive to their needs. When talking about Christmas traditions, for example, she says that she makes sure to include traditions from different cultures and religions. The majority of responses to cultural difference, however, were

fraught with uncertainty in trying to take what they had learned and experienced in Thailand and apply it to Canada:

> *It's weird because going to a country where your dollar is so much better and you can afford more than they can afford. Whereas here, even the Native Americans and other suppressed people like immigrants can afford the basic things here. I felt a little guilty sometimes affording to do certain things when others can't.*

This participant's understanding of difference was premised on comparisons between the two countries' levels of poverty. The different levels of poverty were seen to be relative and confined to the borders of each nation: "*Maybe our mid-class families here would be a high-class family in Thailand.*" Without implicating himself in the determinants and conditions of poverty, there is a reliance on relativistic notions of culture. Understanding of the complexity of poverty was missed and the "weirdness" of going to a country where one's dollar is worth more than another's ensued.

Negotiating culture, differences and similarities were dealt with in various ways. While the participant above relied on relativistic ways of knowing and expressing his understanding of the differences and similarities between Thailand and Canada, another participant's response elicited a personal reflection on the universality of human nature and lessons that he learned through his journey.

> *I think that I started thinking about people more and what we really need to survive. I noticed more and more, for whatever reason, we take so much more than what we need to survive and have a meaningful life. I think we forget that there are a lot of things that we can do around us. All of these things that we think that we are aspiring to, don't always have the effect that we think they are going to have.*
>
> *You can have any job in the world, but you are still just a person. I guess that goes the same way that give the most insignificant person in Thailand the biggest job in the world… they are still the same person. So why should anyone, like a king, be any different than that? Sure, they may do*

> *great things, but it doesn't make them more important. Everyone around you is just another soul.*

As a result of working and living in Thailand for three months, the participants undoubtedly built upon and improved several facets of knowledge, skills and attitudes that they were able to utilize and benefit from in Canada. For all participants, the knowledge and skills that they gained from their experiences were easily adapted into Canadian society and the school and working environments that they returned to:

> *I think that my experience can transcend working with people from other cultures. Not because people have the same cultural values, but because my understanding that there are differences between cultures has been really enhanced. It is interesting living in Canada where there are so many variances in culture.*

Changes in attitudes, however, were less easy to transfer and assimilate. When the participants returned to Canada, a few participants stated that they felt frustrated in Canadian society. The same participant continued by stating:

> *I find myself getting really frustrated with Canadians...It is frustrating knowing the perception that the people that I live in the same country with have. In Thailand, we met all these phenomenally brilliant people that worked in the centres and make change and places on such a limited budget- providing education opportunities and find ways to provide health care for these kids. These are brilliant, clever and smart people. It is an excellent reminder that regardless of communication barriers, there are people just as smart in every culture. It just frustrates me that people have such a limited understanding of the world and see the western world as the be all and end all.*

The diversity and complexity of these responses can be understood in relation to universalist and relativist ways of thinking about and understanding culture and humanity. While the respondent who referred to the ability to afford things relied on essentialized and relative concepts of poverty and the impoverished to understand cultural difference, other respondents were more oriented towards the

idea of universality of humanity. But even as ideas of universality and humanness provided participants to transcend some boundaries, there is still ambiguity about where culture fits in to this.

Relationships

An important aspect of global citizenship pertains to the ways people treat others as fellow and equal beings, rather than means to an end. The relationships that the participants formed during their journey in Thailand were crucial components of their experience and development of global citizenship. These relationships can be broadly classified into four overlapping dimensions: A) relating to the other; B) relating to other PAW participants, friends and family from home; C) understanding oneself through relating to others; and D) relating to community. It is through these various relationships that participants were able to gain knowledge, insight and understanding of the other, friends and family as well as themselves and their place and role in relation to a larger local and global community.

Relating to the other

The most widely discussed aspect of relationships was the relationships that the participants developed with the Thais. Arriving in Thailand without proficiency in the Thai language, the participants initially faced tremendous communication barriers. As time progressed, the participants were able to overcome these barriers with more universal ways of communicating. Another complication that the participants encountered in their relationships was being positioned as a Western expert. By negotiating and working through these

obstacles, participants recognized the need to foster reciprocal and meaningful relationships with the Thai people they worked with.

Language and communication barriers.

When the participants arrived in Thailand, many expressed frustration in the barriers and challenges presented by language. Limited to basic knowledge such as numbers and greetings, the participants were initially unable to communicate with non-English speaking Thais, constraining initial relationships with the Thais. As one participant stated: "*it was difficult at the beginning because they were trying to figure out what we were doing and so were we,*" illustrating the initial confusion and frustration that they experienced. This barrier, however, was partially overcome over time. One way that the language difficulty was allayed was through the kindness and patience of the Thais with whom they worked. Another participant suggested *"they were willing to bear with us through the language barriers. I learned to have patience with communication barriers*."

By in large, participants were able to transcend language barriers and develop what they perceived as meaningful relationships with the Thais they worked with. In some cases, it was communication barriers that initiated more creative and meaningful ways of communicating with others. For instance, in some organizations that the participants worked at such as the School for the Blind, the participants had to communicate and relate to the children in a different way than they were prepared to. Upon reflection on that experience, one participant stated that she remembers having the feeling that although the children

could not see her, they could feel her and know her. For most participants, play emerged as a universal way to communicate to the children. As one participant noted about the collective experience of her group: "*Facilitating play with limited access to language was difficult, but it was neat to learn that language wasn't necessarily needed to play. Play is itself a language, we found*."

Through the experiences of communicating with the Thais that they worked and engaged with on a daily basis, important learning experiences transpired. One participant reflected that she learned the importance and unimportance of language:

> *I learned that at times it is really necessary, but at the same time, there is a lot that can be communicated and learned without common language. That was huge for me, knowing that I can learn from people that I don't speak the same language necessarily. It is also not that hard to learn enough language to be respectful.*

Respect was also a common theme among respondents when discussing language. Most participants felt that learning Thai was a form of respect and thus inspired them to learn the language.

The courtesy and respect that the Thais extended to the participants is characteristic of hospitality. The graciousness and kindness of the Thais reception of PAW was commented on and appreciated by all participants. Some participants found that the hospitality that they received was characteristic of all relationships that the Thais had with Westerners, but not all Westerners were deserving of this treatment. One participant thought that there are negative consequences of this hospitality: "*I think because they are so gracious and non-confrontational, Western tourists can act inappropriately and not be called on it. I worry that some of the things that they value are lost or are disrespected.*" Throughout the

interviews, however, there was no indication that any of the participants were not worthy of the treatment of the Thais. For most participants, being immersed in the culture for an extended period of time, working with the local populations and knowing a bit of the language warranted the kind of reception that the Thais gave them. The following reflection on language illustrates how one participant thought about being respectful and thus appreciated for knowing a bit of the language:

> *That's another thing about Thailand, there are three prices in Thailand. There is the white price, which is expensive, the Thai price where they would get cheaper deals and then there is a white price for people who can speak Thai and can get cheaper prices than other white people. One time when I was in Bangkok, there was a guy buying a watch and I didn't know how much it was, then the Thai person said the price, like 2,400 Baht. When the white person left, I said in Thai that I would give her 1,200 Baht for it and she was like ok. I think they just really appreciate the effort that you put in to learn a bit of the language.*

This response presumes that hospitality and reception of foreigners is uneven and understood in different ways. It also suggests that learning a language can foster inequitable relationships whereby language acquisition becomes a way to navigate and consume culture more readily.

Positionality.

In addition to the hospitality that the participants described, the issue of positionality, or what Said (1979) calls "positional superiority" (p. 7) also emerged. Positionality refers to the positions of power that characterize certain relationships. All participants commented that the Thais perceived them as authority figures. As a result of being positioned an authority or superior, many felt that they were being privileged. The participants were not prepared for this treatment and consequently dealt with their positionality in different ways. For

many of the participants, their perceived authority was very uncomfortable and difficult to deal with:

> *The Thai people looked at us more as teachers and experts in the matter. We had all taken a lot of classes and had a lot of experiences, but it was so hard. It was difficult when you were treated almost like a celebrity in a way. You were always given an air-conditioned room, lunch was always served while all of the other teachers had to serve themselves... It was a really hard thing to deal with because you didn't want to refuse things that you were offered because you didn't want to feel ungrateful or disrespectful, but it was often too much. It was too gracious to the point where I was thinking, can you afford this? It was difficult, it was hard. I really thought that they perceived us as being from Canada and knowing so much. It was really hard and I didn't agree with it.*

> *You are kind of put on a pedestal for being this fabulous white person. You get priority at the hospital and things like that. It is almost like they sort of worship you. You are considered very high there. So, I did feel fussed over for no reason... It was nice, but in a way, I felt that wasn't necessary and didn't need it. They were just as important as us, and we thought they were neat and cool and things like that too.*

Since many participants were unprepared to deal with the way that they were perceived and treated by the Thais, they were uncertain how to respond. When asked how they dealt with their privilege and how it affected their relationships, the participants suggested that they did not really know what to do or say to make the Thais understand that they were students and did not warrant preferential treatment. Fear of appearing ungrateful and undeserving prevented some participants from saying anything and consequently tried to be as gracious as possible. One participant stated that she tried to suggest that they were there to learn from them. The following statements reflect some of the different responses when asked how they dealt with the privilege and superiority they perceived:

> *We gave them thank-you things. We tried and we would go out with them for dinner and when they offered or invited us to something, we would try and go to it. It was important to accept their invitations and things like that. We probably could have done that better.*

> *We would be at some school with teachers who had their Masters in Special Ed and were going, "we want to learn from you." We were like, no we are practicing students and we want to learn from you. That was really hard to get past. It was difficult because we were like, this is not what we are here for. We want to learn from you.*

The power relations embedded in the relationships between the participants and the Thais are extremely complex. It is evident that a few participants tried to negotiate this complexity and figure out a way to respond to their preferential treatment. Although there is evidence of a desire to change the inequitable relationships that they experienced, there was little indication that the participants actually did something to reorient their positionality or change the preferential way that they were treated.

Reciprocity.

Upon reflection of the relationships that the participants made with the Thais, most of the participants alluded to the importance of fostering reciprocal relationships. Many talked about how they wanted to learn from the Thais as well as offer and pass on some things that they could share. Some participants said that they went to Thailand with the idea of wanting to have reciprocal relationships, while others mentioned that it was either a learning experience they had once they were in Thailand or reflected upon when they arrived back in Canada. Some of the responses that talked about reciprocal relations are as follows:

> *My major concern is that we don't go to other countries and culture and use them as an experience. We need to appreciate and acknowledge the reciprocity in that we can learn from them and they can learn from us.*
>
> *In thinking about things like neo-colonialism and the western influences, considering that my interactions with Thai children were reciprocal or not. I was certainly really reflective of my interactions and the ways that I acted in Thailand and questioning if I was more of an oppressive figure or was receptive of their instruction.*

> *I think that the trouble was that we learned about cultural sensitivity and to try to foster a reciprocal relationship where we were learning about games and ways of thinking about play as we were offering up. But, the teachers that we worked with perceived us as an authority and as an expert in play and play work. They were excited to learn our games and activities without being looked at critically.*

All participants were generally concerned with fostering reciprocal relationships. One of the reasons given in these statements was the importance of not appropriating others for the benefit of oneself. Reciprocal relationships were important for the participants to think about and try to foster, but were difficult to develop. However, as seen in the third comment, some of the participants believed that they did all that they could do to foster reciprocal relationships, and it was the fault of the Thais for not seeing them as equals.

Apparent in all the interviews was the feeling that the participants felt they had taken from their experiences in Thailand far more than they had given. When asked about some of the important things that they learned from the Thai people, the lists were extensive. However, when asked about the important things that they passed on to the Thais, they were silent and seemingly coy. Some of responses referred to some of the games and bits of English that they taught the children while others talked about being a good role model in the children's lives. Characteristic of these responses was an inference and reflection that the experience was more about them as Canadian students than going to help the Thai children. As one participant noted, "*that's a tough question because I always think about how much I learned from them instead of what they learned from me*."

In realizing the lack of reciprocity in their relationships, a couple of participants recalled the humanity and love that was shared in their relationships

to illustrate what they had passed onto the Thais: "*I think the most important thing that I could do for them was just to love them.*" For another participant, the image of a young Thai girl who she shared a special connection with transpired, reminding her of the love and compassion she had shared reciprocally with the Thai children. When asked how she felt about leaving these children and connections she had made over the three months, she replied again with the notion of a shared and eternal humanity that exists and lives on through her experiences and memories: "*I like to live in that experience and joy and all those lessons that they taught me. I went there to learn from them. It was these children that had the lessons for us*." Upon reflection, she offered the insight that through understanding life as a "*place of eternity, a circle where there is no end and things are re-created and reborn*," she would see them again.

PAW and personal relationships

The bonds that participants developed in their own groups provided a major learning experience for the students and helped them to endure the difficult experiences that they had in Thailand. For some participants, the team, comprised of four individuals and a team leader, who was a PAW participant in the in the previous year, provided a support group. This support aided individuals in debriefing and reflecting on the experiences that they were going through. Without the support and direction of a teacher or a parent, the group of students collectively supported each other to persevere through difficult times. The following quotes emerged in response to different questions throughout the interviews:

> *I felt lonely at times. I didn't have someone who could understand the way I was feeling. I did appreciate one of my co-workers who went the extra mile to try to understand… It was more than enough for her to say, I can't exactly understand what you feel, but I am here for you and I can try my best to understand from where I come from.*
>
> *I think I was really fortunate with my team. I think that is what this experience is about as well. I was lucky that my team was amazing because we live with them 24/7. We were able to meet, sit down and have discussions or debriefs about some of the things that bothered us. We'd pick away at it and ask each other questions. Even if we didn't come up with an answer, we would explore and attempt to explore it. I think that is why I am able to get where I am now.*
>
> *I felt prepared because of the group I went with worked really well together and we really bonded. Getting to know these people before made me feel prepared to live with them in Thailand for three months. Having our leader was nice and it helped me to feel safe.*

The collectivity of the group helped to balance the individual struggles endured by the participants. For some participants who got along really well with the other members of their group, PAW became a very collective and shared experience at times and many of the reflections included references to other PAW members and activities.

For a couple of other participants, who did not get along as well with their groups, their experiences were much more of a personal and individualized journey. These participants mentioned that they each spent a lot of time by themselves thinking and reflecting. The journaling exercise, which was a mandatory part of the program, played an important role in their experience: "*The journaling allowed me to express what was going on and to acknowledge that I was going through a personal experience. Even if I wasn't understood, I could turn to this journal and try and work through it on my own.*" In circumstances that the participants were not able to work through their experiences with other

participants, reflective exercises such as journaling provided them with way to express and make sense of their experiences.

Re-integrating into personal relationships at home.

Another dimension of relationships that emerged in the data pertains to the impacts of PAW on the participants' relationships at home. Having spent a minimum of three months away from home working in settings and with populations that were different from what they were used to, their return to Canada brought some unexpected changes and realizations. In the months that followed their return, most of the participants indicated that many of their relationships with friends and family changed. Some of the responses to the changes in their relationships suggest that there were many changes in themselves that had transpired during their time in Thailand that made it difficult to reintegrate into their roles and relationships that they left. As the participants became cognizant of the changes that had taken place, there was a desire to reorient relationships to fit with this new 'self'. The following response details some of the changes and responses to these changes in relationships experienced by the participants:

> *The biggest change and challenge was the relationships with my friends. I came home from Thailand, and it was certainly reverse culture shock. I was expected to fit into a place that I left when I went to Thailand. Not that my morals and values had changed, but I think that I had been affected by my experience and I wasn't able to relate to some of the friends that I had before I left.*

Some of the participants commented that many of their friends expected them to return as the same person with the same attitudes and desires. Their friends wanted to hear stories about the parties and beaches. These ideas fit into

their friends' frame of reference of what Thailand is like. Without similar experiences to refer to, it was difficult for participants to convey to their friends that their experience was much greater than spending time on the beaches or partying in Thailand. Some of the friends of the participant above wanted her to go out and party as she did prior to leaving for Thailand and talk about the parties in Thailand. Her response to this was that this was not the experience for her and this realization made her reflect on her experiences and re-evaluate her friendships and former self:

> *The children and what I learned about from the Thai people and my experiences working with them was what I was excited about and wanting to share. It really made me re-evaluate who I was friends with and why I was friends with them. I lost friends as a result of coming home and having those reflections, but I gained new friends and retained some friends that accepted me for who I was and the changes that I made in my life.*

The period of re-integration into previous roles and friendships engendered reflection about what the participants valued in their life and friendships. For one participant, this period of time was needed to re-evaluate his relationship with women. Making a pact with himself that he would not date anyone for about six months, he used this time to embrace his new perspective and not feel like he was attached to what other people needed or wanted him to be:

> *I needed that time to clear my head without feeling like I was tied to anything. And it was also that the feeling of being tied made me feel guilty sometimes because I knew that I wasn't supposed to be with some of the people that I was with. Then, I needed the time to think about the things that I wanted and what I needed to build my life on. There were certain people that I cut out. I didn't feel like they were healthy for me…I could just be the things that I thought that I should be, which was really good. Once I had that set, I didn't have a problem getting into any sorts of relationships.*

In these reflections, the participants realized that relationships needed to be meaningful. Most of participants shared their reflections of wanting to foster meaningful and deep relationships with the people in their lives. Throughout the interviews, these participants expressed an appreciation for their relationships that were meaningful to them, especially their families. As one participant reflected: "*I came home with a greater appreciation for my parents and to be grateful for my mom and how she raised us and what she went through to survive and raise us. Just the simple fact that I have parents.*" The three months in Thailand seemed to compel participants to value and express gratitude for their relationships and prioritize the relationships that were most meaningful to them.

Understanding self in relation(ship) to others

The third dimension of relationships that transpired was the understanding of oneself in relation and relationship to others. This trend is indicative of the common ways in ways in which people understand themselves and their identity through relation to something or something perceived as different or 'other'. Although no questions were asked specifically about how the participants understood themselves in relation to others, in reflective moments and discussing relationships with other people, insight can be gained into how their experiences instigated a deeper understanding of themselves. As the following participant's reflections of herself and her relationships illustrate, the experiences and relationships in Thailand ignited tremendous changes, reflection and understanding of oneself:

> *When I came back, my priorities changed significantly and I am in a better place because of that. I put my health and centeredness first because if I*

> *am not centred or healthy, I can't reach out and participate in my family, my community or my nation building. It helped me to re-evaluate that and put things into perspective.*
> *Because things are so fluid, it is important to always re-adjust within myself and my family and my husband and then out from there. To always stay connected. They always have priority now because it was always school before them. When I feel balanced in that aspect, my family, I feel then I can contribute to my school and I will have a support system and then I will have the energy for my school and career.*

In very insightful reflections such as these, a few participants found that they had to be centred before they could give to others. Contrasting their current attitudes and actions to those they had before they went to Thailand, the participants were able to reflect on their experiences and relationships and see what they wanted for themselves in the future. For some participants, their own well-being and needs became crucial components of their relationships with others. The recognition of what relationships meant in the larger picture also helped to re-orient and shift priorities for a couple participants as indicated in this participant's reflection:

> *I was living more for myself than I was for others, maybe. My time before would be spent more partying with friends and exploring possibilities and random adventures... when I came back I was still doing things with my friends, but I realized what that meant in the grander scheme of things. I was more concentrated on focusing on those people.*

By reflecting and focusing on one's own needs, not wants, these participants were able to give more to their relationships and engender more meaningful interactions.

Relationships with community: Local and global

The participants interviewed had various degrees of connection to community. They varied from occasional volunteering in a community to seeing one's identity as integral to particular communities. One individual, who identified strongly with a specific community, stated that her reason for

participating in PAW was to learn how to create sustainable programs of play in her community: "*I believe that everything that I do needs to be serving my family and community.*" A couple of the participants, who are now teachers, also see themselves as building community through imparting knowledge and broadening students' horizons in their classrooms:

> *I think it is about taking things in your community and trying to make them better as well. I think that is an important element. When I go in to schools and teach, I want to teach them about other cultures, disadvantaged cultures and people and underprivileged children. I think by educating them at my community will help them to broaden their horizons and help other people.*

Embedded in this statement of community development, is the need to foster local and global connections. By imparting knowledge and experiences that the participant acquired in Thailand to the local students, global experiences and insights were brought to the local community. In terms of these local and global connections, the participants' connections to community play a significant role in understanding and embodying global citizenship. For instance, the following participant's identity as a global citizen is shaped through the relationship with community:

> *I also don't think that I need to travel to some more places around the world to be global citizen, but I need to learn about things that are going around the world and the ways that they connect to my local community, my local government and my own household and even the things that I am doing with my own life.*

The local and global connections rooted in relationships to community were important components of participants' conceptions of global citizenship. For a couple of participants, the interconnection between local and global experiences transcended boundaries. Consequently, they were able to see themselves individually and part of a local community in relation to much wider

and interconnected global communities. Most importantly, by reflecting and comprehending the impacts that his or her actions are having on other people and the environment, these participants were able to see how their own lives and actions are implicated in the lives of others. Most importantly through relationship building, whether physically or spiritually, some of the participants saw how they were implicated in the social injustices that existed and understood that they had a role in rectifying the injustices that humanity faces:

> *If you go to some of these places, see these people and make those human connections, you aren't thinking so much about it being, 'this is taking away from me.' You see it more as this is part of a community, my community that needs help. This is where I am living and my experience. You see it as more important, tangible and you see them as people rather than resources. You see something deeper. I think that people do have a connection to each other and I don't think that can be disputed too much… When you make relationships with these people, it makes a big difference*

The insight and depth of these responses relate to the profound understanding of identity and agency of global citizenship that some participants have developed through PAW. Community, which participants alluded to in their responses, manifested as a source of solidarity to support and act towards fostering global citizenship individually and collectively.

Identity

Relationships played an important role in how the participants conceptualized identity. Whether it was through relationships with the Thai people, PAW members, or past and present friendships, the learning experiences and reflections resulting from these relationships significantly impacted the participants' notion and understanding of their identity. Each participant's conception of identity, however, varied significantly. Their diverse responses are

a testament to the complex ways that identity is constructed and understood. One of the central questions that was explored in this study was if and in what ways people identify as a global citizen. Questions were asked of participants as to how they understood global citizenship; in what ways they identified or did not identify as a global citizen; and how experiences through PAW impacted their identity as a global citizen. The following themes emerged from discussions and reflections by the participants on identity, both as a global citizen and an individual.

Global citizenship identity

When asked in what ways participants identified or did not identity as a global citizen, a common response was that global citizenship was an identity that they aspired towards and worked hard to achieve. This understanding centres on global citizenship as a prescribed identity. Participants who thought along these lines seemed to have their own individualized schema of what being a global citizen entailed and worked towards fulfilling those aspects.

> *I tried really hard. I think a little bit of it is personality because I am willing to learn from others and things like that. I think from experience, in the 6-month prep and when we were in Thailand, I tried really hard to be a global citizen.*
>
> *While I identify as someone trying to achieve global citizenship, I don't know if I would necessarily call myself a global citizen. I also don't think that I need to travel to some more places around the world to be global citizen, but I need to learn about things that are going around the world and the ways that they connect to my local community, my local government and my own household and even the things that I am doing with my own life. I need to continue to read the paper and be aware of issues and continue to take classes and spend time with people that are more clever than me and continue to learn. Although I am not sure if I will ever identify as a global citizen, I am working toward it.*

Present in these accounts again is an ambiguity about what global citizenship means and whether or not participants ascribe to an identity of 'global citizen'. The prevalence of uncertainty was even stronger in statements by participants who grappled with their own identity as a Canadian citizen. When asked if and in what ways they identify as a global citizen, two participants questioned whether or not they identify as a Canadian citizen. In efforts to navigate through national citizenship to global citizenship, the responses of these participants were ambivalent:

> *I would think that global citizenship is... I have difficulty understanding it because right when I said that I think about if I identify as a Canadian, but I never did identify strongly as a Canadian. There are so many contradictions there for myself to identify with a country that hasn't apologised for its past injustices... Global citizenship to me is contradictory. It goes back to "What is it that I am imposing on other cultures?" from my experience of having other cultures being imposed on me. It is really looking at what is under global citizenship. I think that there is a kind of positive and negative thing going on with globalization right now.*

> *I barely feel like a citizen in Canada sometimes. I don't have the opportunity to do things on a larger scale so much. Although I've talked grandly about global citizenship and our responsibilities that we have to everyone else, I don't feel that there are many things in my daily life that I do to affect that. I also don't really have a big problem with that because if I help to influence my sphere and the people around me, then maybe they will help people around them and it can spread out. In that sense, I guess I am a global citizen, but I don't feel like I am having a direct influence on anyone globally.*

In spite of the struggle to conceptualize global citizenship and identify with it, the participants raised some interesting questions about the nature of citizenship. By placing themselves at the intersections of local, national and global citizenship, the complexity and ambiguity of identity and global citizenship emerged.

While the elusive nature of global citizenship may have given some participants a sense of apathy, for others, it gave them a sense of agency. By

identifying as a global citizen, a few participants felt that that they could change things and make a difference. One participant mentioned that she identities with the values of being a global citizen. Some of the values mentioned were reading the newspaper and being up on current events, taking into consideration different view points and making an informed decision, and being a conscious consumer. Having an identity as a global citizen has made her realize the impacts of her actions on a broader scale and the capacity she has to make a difference: "*Being mindful of what is going on and trying to help make changes by talking to those around you. Being an activist for what you believe in. Calling people on littering. These are all part of it because you are affecting the world that you live in.*" These are all aspects of herself that she recognizes as being part of her identity as a global citizen. Upon further reflection, she states that it was her experiences in and ongoing commitments with PAW that have been most influential in shaping this identity.

PAW's impact on global citizenship identity

During the conclusion of each interview, I asked how the experiences of PAW affected or shaped their identity as a global citizen. After they had spent some time throughout the interview thinking about and reflecting on their experiences, some very interesting responses emerged. The two participants, who had struggled with Canadian identity, shed light on the complexity and intricacies of citizenship and identity that incorporated their experiences and identity issues in Thailand and Canada. One participant who is of mixed ethnicities stated that struggling to identify as a Canadian has helped her to realize and solidify her own

personal identity. Through processes of negotiation and seeking the advice of an elder, she has come to understand identity as an ever-evolving process that takes elements from the past into the present and the future. Nation building for her is integral to the processes of identity as she continues to negotiate who she is amidst a realm of complexity and transformation. For the second participant who noticeably struggled with identifying as a Canadian and global citizen, PAW offered the opportunity to think and reflect on his identity:

> *I think it just gave me the opportunity to think that I could go outside of the realm that I am in. I have always been someone to stay within the area that I am in. I haven't traveled a lot and I didn't really feel like I could do a lot in another country. I mean, I've got my connections here and thought that I could do more here. But, I learned that I don't necessarily need those connections, but rather the will to do what others might not... It was the whole thing, the whole meaning of it that has helped me to think that I can make a difference and be a global citizen.*

By placing themselves on the intersections of citizenship and identity, a rich understanding surfaced. Despite their initial uncertainty concerning citizenship and identity, by reflecting on and through their experiences in PAW, they were able to articulate their understanding of and identity with global citizenship more clearly. As well, they were able to interrogate and work through some of the tensions that underlie notions of citizenship and identity.

The participants that had a more prescribed understanding of global citizenship described particular things such as volunteering, which contributed to their identity. For these individuals, their identity as a global citizenship was largely defined by their experiences in PAW:

> *I think I have always been the kind of person to volunteer and help when I can, but even more now, being from a large organized group. Other volunteering jobs like selling raffle tickets and stuff, you don't really need to know much about the organization. With PAW, we were so involved*

> *and we knew so much and were in charge of organizing and running the play days we put on and the dinners. There is so much you can do and everyone can have a main part and role to play.*
>
> *The majority of my global citizenship has been me going to Thailand and being part of it. If I didn't do this, I wouldn't appreciate or learn about global citizenship. There is a difference between going away as a tourist and a global citizen. Now, when I travel, I see that I need to go as a global citizen more than as a tourist.*

Without the interrogation and negotiation seen in the responses of the previous two participants, the complexity underpinning notions of identity and global citizenship did not emerge. By relying on prescribed identities that indicate certain knowledge, skills and attitudes that comprise global citizenship, these participants expressed more straightforward and easily discerned notions of identity and global citizenship.

Identity struggle

As the participants negotiated differences between Thailand and Canada, their own identity and roles in Thailand, they encountered a struggle in understanding some of the changes and experiences they were going through. One participant, who is of mixed ethnicities, described several instances of struggle in areas of her identity, history and memory. One particular experience of visiting a boarding school in Chang Rai brought upon tremendous emotion in terms of her family's history. Seeing and understanding the Chang Rai school as a continuation of the kind of horrifying experiences endured in her family's history, her experience brought forth intersections of the past and present and moments of struggle:

> *I really tried to keep an open mind and I was really struggling to see the good in what they were trying to do, but it was too hard for me. All I could see was that children were taken from their families, the hearts of their villages, and being placed.*

The intersections and struggles that this participant endured initiated a process of renegotiation of her identity. This negotiation initiated profound understanding of her identity, which obscured dominant classifications. When she got home, however, she said that it was much more difficult for her to come to terms with where she fit in: "*I think it was culture shock, but there was so much more going on and it was harder for me to come home. It was hard for me to know what I had seen and felt. To come home and try to understand this culture again knowing that experience.*"

Other participants similarly experienced this struggle in understanding their identity and the difference that they felt upon their return. Some participants communicated that they felt different as a result of this experience, but were unable to articulate what exactly was different. The differences were part of their experiences in Thailand and it was consequently difficult for them to disentangle what parts of the experiences initiated change:

> *It was interesting because it was almost like a snip from a movie where you go into this dream sequence where you go and do all of these things and come back a totally different person. I didn't feel like I was a totally different person, but I felt different. I still cared about the same things and people were my number one concern, but there were just so many other things that I wanted to say and no one to say it to because I knew that they didn't understand because they didn't have this experience*

For this participant, the inability to articulate and express to others what was going on and what he experienced was partially a result of the intersubjectivity of his experience. During his three months in Thailand, the participant stated that he was not able to connect or express what he was feeling and experiencing to the others in his group. Since his friends and family in Canada did not have the same experiences that he had, he could not articulate the changes and shifts that he was

going through to anyone. The inability to express himself is confounded with problems of communicating experience. The feelings and emotions, which were intertwined with his experience, were difficult for him to communicate both in speech and writing:

> *In any given story, there is a richness and feeling that comes with it that I haven't been able to communicate. I tell stories the way I would tell any story, but there is a certain aspect that they won't feel because they didn't see it…I have written some things, but the truth is that when I go back over those writings, the writings don't say what I needed to say. It doesn't say what I was thinking, even though when I was writing, I felt like that was getting all of those pieces out. As I am writing it, I felt that I was communicating the way that I needed it to. It was something in my system that I needed to get out. But if I were to give it to someone else to read or re-read it myself, it doesn't seem like it has the emotion that it once did.*

The uncertainty expressed in many of the participants' reflection on their role in Thailand also instigated a struggle and negotiation of identity and their purpose for being in Thailand. While the participants mainly identified as university students who were part of an educational program, their positionality in Thailand subverted this identity. As one participant recalls, they were working at some schools with teachers who had graduate degrees in education, yet these teachers would still give the participants the upper hand when it came to playing with the children. When reflecting on the purpose and role of the PAW participants in Thailand and the relationships with the Thai teachers, she questioned if she was just another fleeting person in the children's lives and if she interacted with the teachers in a way that were reciprocal and meaningful. These questions were reflected upon by several of the participants and are indicative of processes of self-reflexivity that are characteristic of (re)negotiating identity.

Self-reflexivity emerged in the participants' experiences as an individual and personal act of questioning, interrogating and sometimes implicating oneself and one's actions in Thailand. When describing personal struggles of identity and/or agency, a series of questions decorated participants' responses. For instance, when I asked what was the most important thing that the participant passed onto the Thai children that they worked with, many participants wavered and became self-reflexive. One participant, who stated that it was important just to love them and make them feel special, said:

> *I was only there for three months. Is that a fair thing to do to a child- connect with a child and love them and remind them that they are special to you and then abandon them, in a sense? It is hard to be able to communicate that to them, that you are from Canada and you are only here for three months and they you are going to leave them. Does that child perceive that it is their own fault? Is our program faulty in that we are only there for three months, just enough time to connect with them and for those children to be able to trust you and then we leave?*

The identity of a student volunteer going to Thailand to help underserved populations is significantly disrupted and interrogated. Extending from this participant's self-reflexivity, her identity and agency are re-negotiated between external and personal perceptions of her experiences. The questions she asked of herself and the program expose tremendous challenges and issues that individuals and programs face when taking part in cross-cultural, experiential education. Although this process of self-reflexivity may disrupt pre-conceived notions of identity and agency, it also helped individuals to work through these issues and (re)discover meaning and intention behind notions of identity and agency:

> *So, at first I struggled with the question, should I connect with these children on an intimate level because I am leaving them- and is that appropriate? And then I thought, to heck with it, I need to pick these kids*

up and love them and share with them that I think they are special, if that is all that I can give them.

The struggle and difficulty expressed in all of these responses pertaining to identity, positionality and purpose, illustrate the complexity of these experiences, which are neither static nor simple. The participants who articulated such experiences and reflections are clearly still grappling with them. Who they are in their own minds intersects with history, problems of language and also how they were perceived versus their own perceptions. The reflection of one participant exemplifies this convolution of identity: "*I remember getting treated like a tourist and always getting bugged to buy this and that. People would speak to us in English and we'd be like, no, we speak some Thai… It was a wake up call. I was like, I'm not Thai, I'm a white person*." Indicated here are the complex interactions between culture and identity that will be expounded in the next chapter.

Summary

The variety of experiences and understandings of these experiences captured in the interviews connotes the multiple ways that reality is interpreted and constructed. My own interpretation of these experiences, which is guided by post-colonial theory and my own experience of travelling and working overseas, is also constructed in a particular way. By examining the discourse in the participants' responses, interesting insights into global citizenship can be gleaned. One of the most pronounced insights that the participants' comments collectively reflected was the impact that encountering, negotiating, understanding and relating to cultural differences had on students' understanding, identity and

enactment of global citizenship. Based on their previous experiences of encountering cultural differences and openness and willingness to negotiate these differences seemed to affect how deeply and personally each student understood their location, identity and role as a global citizen. The next chapter presents my interpretation of the data, which is premised on my conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 6:
DISCUSSION

Introduction

Throughout the interviews, it became increasingly apparent that global citizenship was understood and practiced by participants in various ways, but can be broadly classified into two streams: identity (learning about oneself, one's location, positionality and purpose) and agency (what I can and should do or not do given my capacity to act). The students' learning about identity and agency were largely premised on experiences of encountering, negotiating, relating to and understanding difference in culture. These processes were in turn, influenced by the tensions embedded in global citizenship such as the different orientations (relativist and universalist) toward culture and values. Through the lens of post-colonial theory, these tensions illuminate several issues such as neo-colonialism, cultural supremacy and hegemony that exist around global ethics and practices of global citizenship. The reflections of the participants in the previous chapter indicate the different ways students challenged or perpetuated these issues. Ultimately, the data showed that it was through ways of knowing and relationships that the participants were able to work through their ambivalence and differences that culture presented them with and better understand themselves, their location, roles, responsibilities and capacities as a global citizen.

Ambivalence

One of the most distinct aspects of global citizenship in both the literature and data is ambivalence: the state and predicament of thinking, wanting and existing as one thing as well as its opposite. The contradictions of globalization,

which connotes both the freeing and maintenance of borders, and homogenization and diversification of cultures, are indicative of the opposing forces that constitute social phenomena and our perceptions and understandings of them. Global citizenship as a concept or identity involves similar contradictions. Some students, for instance, aspire to be global citizens in a broad cosmopolitan sense, but also hold the idea that local citizenship is also important and where they ought to focus their attention. This ambivalence translates into students wanting to travel the world and help others in need, but are conflicted by the reality that there are people at home who also need help.

Ambivalence manifested in the interviews and participants' experiences in several ways, especially when they encountered difference. 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)

When explaining the differences they encountered upon their arrival in Thailand and return to Canada, the participants were ambivalent. Some immediate differences such as the prevalence of prostitution and poverty were commented on by all participants, but were talked about in different ways. This variance seemed to reflect different factors such as the readiness and ability to negotiate, reflect and embody difference and change, which impacted how the students were able to deal with difference and ambivalence.

One of ways that the students grappled with difference and ambivalence, which can be seen in a negative light, is the use of broad sweeping generalizations and stereotypes to represent culture and signify 'otherness'. The manner in which students represented culture and utilized stereotypes demanded an articulation of difference. For instance, as one participant was describing the Thais and Thai culture, he stated: "*you'll see these Thai prostitutes and they are really nice, but they all want something from you and you know it. So, it's sort of like a fake nice*." The generalization and stereotype seen in this statement is indicative of the enunciative process, which produces a split between the participant and the other (Bhabha, 2007). Instead of understanding and implicating himself and his location in these encounters, by signifying the other as 'fake' and wanting something from you, the processes of Orientalism which connote the ways of seeing and thinking about a place perpetuate imperialism and Western domination, are reinscribed and reinstated.

Ambivalence also reveals the boundaries of discourse (Bhabha, 2007), prompting individuals to reinstate the borders and stereotypes that define discourse, as seen in the example above, and also transgress them. One of the positive influences of ambivalence is the way it instigates individuals to reflect and negotiate complexity embedded in conceptions of identity and citizenship and allows for a deeper and/or newer understanding. This negotiation is 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 the

participants who went through this process felt very frustrated and lost at times, it led them to important awareness and understanding of the fluid and complex nature of identity and global citizenship.

Contributing to participants' ambivalence was the influence of binary understanding embedded in centre-peripheral orientations. In some of their initial reflections, Canada was understood as being part of the centre that is highly developed, progressive and Western. Juxtaposing Thailand and Canada in these early reflections led them to think that Thailand was a peripheral, "underdeveloped" and "backward" country. The shock that the participants experienced as they perceived more similarities than differences between Thailand and Canada challenged them to examine and reflect on their initial perceptions and biases, which were shaped by a centre-peripheral orientation. However, once the participants had been in Thailand for a longer period and had some time to reflect on the differences and similarities between the two countries, a few participants were able to transcend binaries and understand variations in culture, politics, education, health care and social issues in more meaningful ways. Other participants, who consistently relied on relativist interpretations of culture, reinstated the borders that defined centre from the periphery and otherness.

Cultural Relativism/Universalism

Connected to participants' ambivalence in negotiating identity, cultural difference and agency is the tension between relativist and universalist orientations toward culture and values. According to global ethics and

cosmopolitan conceptions of global citizenship, there are universal values and human rights that transcend culture and which every human ought to ascribe to and be protected by. However, relativist orientations see moral values and beliefs as being relative to cultures or societies and may therefore vary from culture to culture. As the students encountered and negotiated cultural difference, their orientation toward culture and values wavered between relativism and universalism. This is a predicament that Benhabib (2002) refers to as "moral ambivalence," (p. 186) where perceptions and opinions of culture are imbued with contradictions. While some participants were oriented very strongly toward relativism and others to universalism, there were a few participants that believed in universal values and humanness, but were challenged by the relativist nature that culture and cultural differences presented. This illustrates Benhabib's (2002) point that relativist and universalist orientations are not mutually exclusive. As people become more knowledgeable about culture and relationships between self and other, a sense of relativity through multiple perspectives also increases.

Relativism

The participants' perceptions and understanding of culture were predominantly through relativistic orientations. Much debate surrounding moral and cultural relativism emerged out of the work of anthropologists researching in different cultures. To understand culture, they argued, one must live and be immersed in the culture. The three-month placement in Thailand as part of the PAW program provided students the opportunity to live and immerse themselves in a different country and culture. A common perspective is illustrated by the

following statement by one of the participants: *"I also learned from the Thai culture that there are just different ways of doing things and those ways are different, but just as good as the ways that I am used to doing things*."

By encountering and functioning in a society that performs certain practices in a different manner, the students transitioned quickly from one way of doing things to another. Despite some (culture) 'shock' associated with this change, the participants understood that these new ways of doing things were not wrong, but simply different and relative to the culture that they were in. In accordance to ideas of relativism, this shock became lessened as difference became understood as being part of the Thai culture (Lukes, 2008). Seeing different customs and behaviour as relative to the people and culture of Thailand, which make sense for the Thai people, participants were able to understand that the 'rightness' of these behaviours and customs follows from the people living in that culture, not the outsider's perspective. Consequently, the participants became more open and tolerant of difference. They were able view social phenomena from multi-perspectives and by extension, became less set in the rightness of their own beliefs and social practices. Most participants noted that adaptability and flexibility were some of the most important skills and attitudes that resulted from their experience. The participants who have been able to transfer these skills and attitudes to different situations in their work and education, see this as a positive outcome and learning experience of the program.

Although important learning experiences transpired through relativist orientations, the contradictions seen in participants' explanations and judgments

of the differences they took note of, expose an issue underlying relativism. In explaining perceived differences in culture, a couple of participants utilized relativistic and culturalistic explanations that conceptualized difference as being relative to the culture and norms of Thailand. As seen in some of the participants' comments, cultural difference such as prostitution were seen as a product of the culture. Culture explained through culture, is what Parenti (2006) calls a "self-generated causality" (p. 22) and "tautology" (p. 25) and is fraught with contradictions. Judgment and explanations of culture that are premised on relativist orientations are often simplistic and obfuscate the complexity that is embedded in cultural differences. Without historical or structural knowledge about the differences that exist, some the students relied on such ways of knowing and representing the other. Although these participants endeavored to be neutral and non-ethnocentric, by claiming culture as the reason for cultural differences, the origins and social constructs of certain beliefs and practices were consequently ignored.

When dealing with and making statements about cultural differences, which are complex and socially and historically constructed, relativism can also be seen as escaping criticism of being a cultural imperialist and ethnocentric. The easiest way to avoid this perception is to abstain from making judgments about other cultures (Parenti, 2006). One of the issues with such relativistic orientations is that 'everyone is right' based on where the person is located. Despite human rights that are universally recognized, relativistic orientations delegitimize the obligation and agency to ensure these rights. Thus, when participants encountered

inequitable practices, such as prostitution and gender inequity, they employed relativism, which resulted in silence and neutrality of inequality.

Universalism

A universalist response to relativity and resulting neutrality would ask how can all cultural practices and beliefs be beyond critical judgment? Are there not beliefs and practices that are wrong or bad? Premised on the philosophical belief that there is a fundamental human nature that defines and connects us as humans, universalism, asserts that there are certain basic rights that each individual is entitled to (Benhabib, 2002). These rights are universal and ought to transcend differences in gender, religion, economic status, race, ethnicity and culture. However, it is often cultural differences and relativistic notions that certain practices cannot be seen out of their cultural context or judged according to external or universal notions, in which inequality is perpetuated. Perceiving social issues that are laden with inequality such as poverty and prostitution, as broad implications of culture instead of the structural and social agents that create and sustain such situations, reproduces inequality. In such situations, universalist orientations inquire about aspects of humanity that transcend cultural differences: what rights are people in these situations entitled to and what ought to be done so that these rights are ensured?

One of the main dilemmas associated with universalism and more specifically, cosmopolitanism, is discerning whose standards are being used to frame interactions and conceptions of universality. For instance, most participants suggested respect as something to universally uphold in their relationships with

the Thai people. The question, which then emerges, is whose idea of respect is being used to guide action? More explicitly, this issue emerged in the participants' understanding and articulations of global citizenship. In their negotiations of what global citizenship meant for them, some participants articulated their own universal conception: "*Whether something is right or wrong, it is something that you need to maintain as your perspective and not something that you can impose on someone else. Everyone has the right to believe what they want to believe, as long as it doesn't hurt anyone else.*" Integral to this participant's understanding is the idea that different ways of doing things are acceptable to the point of harm or injury. Although this understanding is similar to theories and conceptions of global ethics, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship, it falls short of rooting right and wrong in objective and universally recognized ideas of harm. Different people will undoubtedly have differing conceptions of harm, thus making universalist notions more complex and difficult to inscribe without being hegemonic.

Despite this ambiguity, universalism manifested in the participants' experience and understanding of identity and citizenship in very interesting and creative ways. One example was the use and understanding of play as a universal form of communication. When encountering linguistic differences that prevented communication and expression, universalistic notions of play transpired, which transcended cultural differences. Despite earlier conceptions that there may be different notions and conceptions of play in Thailand, the participants realized or reaffirmed their belief that all children play, regardless of location, culture and

socio-economic status. The idea of play as a "universal language" and something that was universally performed was a tremendous learning experience for some of the students. It gave them a sense of agency as a global citizen and a learning experience that they could continue to use in their future education and careers.

Ethnocentrism and Cultural Imperialism

A concern that has been expressed in regards to global citizenship is that its universalist orientation is hegemonic and borders on the lines of ethnocentrism and cultural imperialism. An extreme example that is often made to support this case is human rights discourse and interventions, where the rhetoric of human rights has been used to justify the military invasions of countries such as Kosovo (Dower, 2003; Kachur, 2008; Stammers, 2005). While examples of military backed humanitarian interventions like Kosovo are few and out of the context of global citizenship education programs, the imposition of 'universal' beliefs and values embedded in human rights discourse are a common occurrence. The widespread imperialistic and ethnocentric dimensions of human rights come from the common inference that the experiences, values and beliefs of a dominant culture are held to be true of all humanity (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998, p. 235). Spivak (2003) and Andreotti (2006) extend this critique by suggesting that global citizenship rhetoric is often used to promote one's local as everyone else's global, taking particularist notions of what is good to be universally appropriate.

Stemming from cosmopolitanism and global ethics, the idea of promoting what is good everywhere in the world can be seen by the recipients of this promotion as being an imposition on locally held values. As Said (1993) points

out, when people from the center travel to the periphery in efforts to help, there is a predictable disclaimer: “we are exceptional, not imperial, not about to repeat the mistakes of earlier powers” (Said, 1994, p. xxiii). Spivak echoes this comment by insisting in her work that most foreign affairs are benevolent first-world appropriations of the Third World as “other”. Instead of encountering the developing world on its own terms, the centre uses the periphery for its own purposes and agendas.

The notion of imposition was strongly interrogated by participants in this study. As illustrated in an earlier quote stating that the rightness or wrongness of something cannot be imposed on someone else, some of the participants thought carefully about not imposing their ideas on to others and to foster reciprocal relationships with the Thais. Based on the responses of the participants and my own interpretation, the participants’ experiences in and attitudes toward Thailand reflect both a reproduction of and challenge to cultural imperialism. The reproduction of cultural imperialism stems largely from the student’s institutional and educational position. According to Spivak (2003), representations of the Third World are tied to institutional positioning and are directed by a confluence of institutional interests and pressures. Since the participants were in Thailand as students having to meet certain objectives, ideas of ‘helping’ were tied to their educational and institutional interests. For instance, although some participants expressed that they would have liked to work more at certain places, the program constrained opportunities to engage with the populations they worked with in more meaningful ways for a longer period of time. The educational institution’s

constraints of time and objectives in turn effected the participants' relationships and what they could do while in Thailand.

The relationships that the participants built with the Thai people also assisted in challenging and transcending imperialistic tendencies. Most participants were taken aback by the generosity and hospitality that the teachers and program workers extended to them while they volunteered. Although some participants swallowed this generosity without thinking, others acknowledged that despite the privilege that they were given, they wanted to foster reciprocal relations with the Thais. In a sense, these participants acknowledged their complicity of being a privileged Canadian student and wanted to ensure that they made the Thai teachers feel that they wanted to learn from them by listening to important knowledge that they had to offer.

Whether or not the relationships were inequitable or the Thais perceived that the students were imposing their Western beliefs is difficult to determine, since I did not observe their interactions or interview the Thais that they worked with. Colonial discourse and the way the participants talk about and represented the Thais offers a window into understanding the ways the students recognize their own position and relationship to the 'other'. Relativistic thinking prompted students to step outside their own perspectives and notions of right and wrong and understand social phenomena from multiple perspectives. However, as Bhabha (2007) notes: "The difference of other cultures is other than the excess of signification or the trajectory of desire. These are theoretical strategies that are necessary to combat ethnocentrism but they cannot, of themselves,

unreconstructed, represent that otherness" (p. 100). Through these experiences and representation of the different and the exotic, there is a need for imperialistic complicity to be addressed and interrogated.

Even though relativism may lead to universalistic notions of humanity, as seen in several comments by the participants, without implicating oneself and addressing complicity, there is potential to reproduce inequality and the harm that participants alluded to. Claiming a neutral space in either orientation by stating that we are all the same or different covers up and perpetuates present inequities. Global citizenship needs to be rooted in something in order to make sense of one's identity and agency. The ideas of play and inclusion surfaced as a stake for some participants to understand and make claims to global citizenship. In the literature, human rights provide people with a similar position from which to understand and engage with difference and make moral judgements. Regardless of the claims to global citizenship, self-reflection and reflexivity are important components of this process to interrogate and recognize the complicity in all actions and interactions. If this is not undertaken, inequality may unintentionally be reproduced despite good intentions.

Culture and Global Citizenship Education

Culture and cultural differences played a crucial role in terms of learning about and developing global citizenship. For most of the participants, going to Thailand was their first experience overseas and being immersed in a different culture. Although Canada is multicultural, it was apparent in participants' responses that they had never been forced to encounter and negotiate cultural

differences in Canada for an extended period of time. Even within these encounters, with a university education, these students clearly had the cultural capital (English language proficiency, socioeconomic status and post-secondary education) to navigate through and step away from cultural differences and always have what Said (1979) calls the "relative upper hand" in these interactions (p. 7). Having to negotiate cultural differences in Thailand, without the cultural capital that they were endowed with in Canada, prompted several learning experiences for participants to learn about themselves and others.

Cultural heterogeneity and hybridity

Whether individuals are more oriented towards relativist or universalist understanding of culture, it is extremely important that they account for the heterogeneity of culture. In both orientations, participants had a tendency to homogenize Thai culture as a coherent whole and perceive that all members of society saw certain cultural practices as acceptable. However, as Benhabib (2002) and Bhabha (2007) suggest, the view of culture as coherent, seamless wholes negates the complexity of culture and the shifts and changes that are continuously taking place.

In the context of globalization, which all participants were cognizant of, culture bears its hybrid nature. All participants picked up on some of the Western influences seen in Thailand, whether it was food, language or shopping malls. Most participants, however, were unable to extrapolate from these similarities the hybrid and fluid qualities of culture. Commenting extensively on the 'four D's of culture': dress, dialect, dance (or play in this case) and diet, it was apparent that

most participants understood culture as concrete, knowable and consumable things. Talking about these proponents of culture enabled participants to differentiate Thailand from Canada, but also allude to some of the similarities, which were understood as by-products of globalization. The majority of participants ignored the forces underneath the similarities between cultures, such as imperialism, neoliberalism and hegemony.

In response to this understanding of culture, Benhabib (2002), Bhabha (1994) and Said (1993) contend that culture must be seen as hybrid. As Benhabib (2002) states, cultures as well as societies are "polyvocal, multilayered, decentered, and fractured systems of action and signification" (p. 25). Failing to account for this disjuncture from the understanding of culture as the 'Four D's' not only reinstates binaries between us and them, but also covers up the forces of hegemony and neo-colonialism that have significant bearing on culture. Learning the Thai language introduced a dimension of cultural hybridity to their identity. Once they had been there for several weeks and began to speak some of the language, some of the participants began to think that they ought to be seen differently from the other white tourists. In some instances, participants began to entertain cultural difference without an assumed hierarchy and transcended rigid binaries of representing people. Unconsciously, cultural hybridity influenced notions of their own identity. According to the participants, they were no longer white foreigners, but global citizens who had penetrated and transcended cultural differences.

The reflections of the participants illuminate identity as a powerful yet relational concept that is formed in relation to difference. "No identity," states Said (1993), "can ever exist by itself and without and array of opposites, negatives, oppositions" (p. 52). It is never fixed, but rather an unstable effect of relations that define differences (Isin & Wood, 1999). Each participant utilized cultural differences as a means to understand oneself, location and citizenship as being distinct from the other. Such articulations of cultural differences, Bhabha (2007) argues, are imagined constructions of cultural and national identity because culture cannot be simplified or concretized. However, as Said (1993) notes, culture involves "refining and elevating" elements (p. xiii). Through the association of particular characteristics of culture to a nation state and by extension, the citizens, culture becomes a source of identity. By identifying with a culture, one identifies with particular characteristics, which ultimately "differentiates 'us' from 'them'" (p. xiii).

Cultural hegemony and neo-colonialism

Cultural interactions that take place on non-native English speaking territory, which are framed and conducted through English, have considerable implications for cultural hegemony and neo-colonialism. Without understanding of the language(s) of a particular culture, visitors will not understand the culture and by relying on English as the mode of communication with the native, understanding becomes framed by powerful and hegemonic Western discourse. In both their interactions with the Thais and conversations with me, the English language framed the participants' discourse. Repeating the wisdom of wa

Thiong'o (1986) "language carries culture, and culture carries… the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world," (p. 16) it is clear that language carries more than just words. It contains, among other things, aspects of culture, values and epistemology. The transcripts of the interviews with the PAW participants affirm this idea. Through the use of English to converse and articulate their experiences and opinions, discourse was rooted and filtered through a Canadian, Western tradition, thus, contributing to the dominant construction of the other through the values and culture embedded in the English language.

The majority of Canadians are not encouraged to learn more than one language other than English, partly because of the dominance and prevalence of English around the world made possible by colonialism, imperialism and globalization. Participants in this study did not initially have knowledge about the Thai language and consequently relied on the Thais to speak English in order to communicate. By way of relying on the Thai people to initially conform and speak English in order to communicate, the program contributes to hegemony and neo-colonialism, whereby people are influenced to consent to the dominant culture. Once the participants were in Thailand for some time, a few mentioned that it was important for them to learn the language in order to be respectful and become more immersed in the culture. In learning the language, the participants challenged hegemony and thus, imperial relationships.

The influence of Western hegemony is extremely strong where power and language intersect. It is clear through both post-colonial literature and the insights

from the PAW participants that culture is neither homogenous, passive nor external. Said (1994) states that it is partially because of empire that all cultures are involved with one another and are hybrid and heterogeneous (p. xxv). Through hegemony, however, culture is constructed and conceived of in particular ways that do not reflect a broader sense of culture. "Our culture" is more often than not the "selective transmission of elite-dominated values" (Parenti, 2006, p. 16). Thus, Said's (1989) question of whose culture are we talking about when we talk about 'our culture' or 'their culture' is paramount: "Who speaks? For what? For whom?" (p. 212).

In broad expositions of culture, like those seen in some of the participants' comments, difference and division are glossed over. According to Spivak (1988), many people fail to recognize the heterogeneity in locations such as the subaltern and tend towards generalization, simplification and romanticization. Consequently, those people or aspects of culture that are hybrid and located on intersections of culture are grouped into essentialized categories of culture and identity. This can be seen in the participants understanding of their own identity and positionality in Thailand. After they had been in Thailand for a while and had learned a bit of language, some of the participants began to identify with the Thai culture more than the other white tourists that they encountered. However, in one participant's reflection on this situation, "*I'm not Thai, I'm a white person*," she negated the cultural hybridity at play and relied on essentialized categories of identity.

What this example also demonstrates are the ways in which the participants' discourse surrounding cultural difference becomes a form of social power. Beyond the practices of culture, the discourse becomes a way to refine and elevate nationness to identify oneself and ultimately differentiate 'us' from 'them' (Said, 1994). Culture as a form of social power is connected to the idea of cultural capital, which refers to the forms of knowledge, skills, education, and other advantages that a person has, which in turn give them a higher status in society (Bourdieu, 1986). Being native English speaking, university educated Canadians, each participant was endowed with the cultural capital to not only navigate through cultural differences and be the beneficiaries of these encounters with difference in Canada, but in many instances in Thailand. Although participants did not have the cultural capital to navigate as smoothly in Thailand as they do in Canada, the cultural capital they do have still enabled them move freely and have relative "positional superiority" (Said, 1979, p. 7) in most of their encounters and relationships.

Illuminating Global Citizenship Education

PAW offered several important learning experiences for students to engage deeply with complex notions of globalization, citizenship, ethics and global citizenship. The meaning that the students derived from these experiences was multifarious. While some students who relied on relativistic ways of knowing understood their experiences as being culturally relative, other students took their analysis deeper to detect and examine some of the forces that underpinned their experiences and perceptions of the social phenomena they encountered. The

various responses and reflections from students have several implications for educating students for global citizenship overseas. The following themes will be discussed: experiential education, transformational learning, openness and social justice.

Experiential (mis)education and transformational learning

A key theme in the literature on experiential and transformational learning as well as the participants' reflections was that experience triggers learning and change in students. Learning can be conceptualized as an addition to prior knowledge or a fundamental change in perspective (Merriam, Cafarella, Baumgartner, 2007). Students, however, perceived that their learning experiences were both a development and transformation of their thinking. According to Merriam, Cafarella, Baumgartner (2007), when an experience cannot accommodate into a prior mental/life structure, the transformative learning experience begins. The experiences that students could not make sense of at first, like the different cultural practices and beliefs, were a 'shock' for most students. Based on the students' reflections, this shock was experienced and negotiated differently, but by and large, it instigated a transformational learning process where students were challenged to adapt and accommodate difference.

Reflective practices were extremely important in students' transformational journey. Whether it was journaling, talking to friends or reflecting back on their experiences during the interview, the participants began to think more deeply about their experiences and derive meaning from them. Cranton & Carusetta (2006) suggest that using reflective journals, in which

students reflect on various experiences, fosters critical reflection that is crucial for transformative learning. The exercise of journaling was a mandatory part of the program, and played an important and powerful role in allowing for a personal and transformative experience. For some participants, critical reflection instigated an acknowledgement of their complicity and implications of their actions and interactions. Interestingly, the two participants who went deeply into an interrogation of their identity and agency, each mentioned that they each had a more solitary journey in Thailand than other members in their group. Unable to fit in with the groups that they were assigned, they spent a lot of time by themselves, thinking, reflecting and writing in their assigned journals. For one of these participants, journaling allowed her to express what was going on and work through it even if she could not understand or make sense of it at the time.

One of the pitfalls of experiential learning is the problem of experience being mis-educative. Without a prior foundation of knowledge about the history and language of Thailand, the students relied heavily on their personal experience and others' interpretations to form their perspective. Lacking knowledge of the Thai language, students had to primarily rely on interpretations and translations that they could not verify for themselves. Although learning about foreign cultures through textbooks can also be problematic, the students seemed to put more authority into experience as a way to make sense of their surroundings and experiences.

Openness

Since students did not have any substantial knowledge of Thailand and relied on experience to inform their learning, it was important for all participants to be open. Being open to new experiences and things that are 'different' was seen as a character trait that was essential to their experience in both the preparation and time spent in Thailand. Even though the participants did not know much about the country or culture of Thailand, they seemed to believe that if they were open and accepting of what they encountered, they could learn about the culture when they got to Thailand. As one participant stated while discussing the culture shock that she experienced after her arrival in Thailand: "*I wasn't too worried because I was open to new things*."

For some participants, this openness was also tied to tolerance, acceptance and being non-judgmental towards people and things that are different. In order to foster openness and tolerance, education is believed to have a role in providing students the tools and skills to think critically and be accepting and tolerant to different social practices and ways of thinking. Even though participants mentioned that they were already open and tolerant and it was these attributes that prepared them for their experience, they all mentioned that they became even more open and tolerant as a result of PAW. Beyond this development for some participants, however, is a new sense of willingness and agency to put themselves in similar situations in the future to continue their learning process and foster their acceptance or tolerance and openness to difference.

Openness, however, is always obscured by the dominant ideologies and

discourses. In order to be open and receptive to negotiating difference, one must be cognizant of the frameworks at play, which significantly impact how individuals interpret reality and construct meaning. These include dominant ideologies such as neoliberalism, which have had considerable impacts on policies of social institutions, making them more geared toward marketization and the benefit of the global elite. Therefore, perspectives expressed in one participant's comment that "*it was important to be open to whatever was going to happen and allow it to happen*" have the propensity to claim neutrality that perpetuates the social reproduction of inequality.

Social justice

Concerns with entitlements, inclusion/exclusion, access and equity that Abdi & Shultz (2007; 2008) suggest ought to underpin understanding and experiences of citizenship, were held by most of the participants. Reflecting back on their experiences, the participants took issue with some of the injustices that they encountered such as gender segregation in the schools and exclusion of children with disabilities in mainstream schools. When describing these injustices, however, some participants, despite their negative feelings towards these situations, lapsed into relativistic orientations and culturalist explanations. Explaining injustice as the product of tradition and culture, the participants seemed to escape the appearance of being paternalistic and ethnocentric. Especially in participants' statements concerning poverty and prostitution, there is a lack of understanding about the context and social pressures that create and perpetuate injustice. As well, there is no indication in the participants' responses

of understanding injustice in the context of human rights.

According to Abdi (2008), education can and should provide people with inclusive social development in which people are empowered through the skills that they learn and are instilled with the inalienable rights that he or she has vis-à-vis conventions of human rights and international law. With this type of global citizenship education, Abdi suggests that people are given "moral ground to demand accountability and wider social inclusion in the management of their lives and their resources" (p. 74). Remaining neutral on issues of human rights such as prostitution and poverty, implies the lack of knowledge or agency of students to make moral judgments based on human rights and take action to fight for social justice.

Linking human rights and global citizenship suggests that justice entails the equitable redistribution within society, engaging in processes of reciprocal recognition, and the extension of inclusive processes of engagement (Abdi & Shultz, 2007; 2008). Although students did not take action or stake moral ground to defend the rights of all people, participants did in fact make strides toward social justice through their engagements and relationships with other people. All participants were cognizant of issues of reciprocity and inclusion in their volunteer work with the Thai organizations. Realizing that this experience was not about going to Thailand to help the less fortunate, each participant alluded to the fact that they learned from and were in many ways helped more by the Thais that they worked with.

Chapter 7:
REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This final chapter suggests implications for theory and practice of global citizenship education and raises more questions emerging out of this research. In using a post-colonial theoretical framework, where questions of identity, relationships and discourse are examined to elucidate ways that inequity is perpetuated or challenged, I was able to extrapolate from the students' reflections some of the issues embedded in a program of global citizenship education. I begin this chapter by presenting some of my final conclusions that contribute to the theory and practice of global citizenship education. Based on these conclusions, I make some recommendations for PAW and other education programs that endeavour to educate students for global citizenship. I conclude, finally, with some ideas and questions for further research and reflections on the research process.

Conclusions and Implications for Global Citizenship Education

By taking students to Thailand for three months to volunteer and play with underserved populations, PAW provides vast opportunities to interrogate, negotiate and develop an understanding of and exercise global citizenship. In terms of encounters with difference that they were not fully prepared to comprehend or deal with, participants were largely ambivalent. How students worked through their ambivalence has tremendous implications for the theory and practice of global citizenship education, especially as it pertains to identity and agency. Through negotiating and relating to difference, whether it was Thai

people, cultural beliefs or practices, the spectrum of student's experiences and reflections provides considerable insight into the theory and practice of global citizenship. These insights point to directions and possibilities of better preparing and educating students for global citizenship overseas in developing countries.

Identity

The interactions and interdependence of culture and identity indicated in participants' reflections have significant bearing on global citizenship and global citizenship education. The theorists utilized in this study argue that culture and identity are too fluid and hybrid to institutionalize in conventions of national citizenship. This issue is confounded, however, by the need for individuals to have identity. According to O'Sullivan (1999), one of the most striking deficits in societies today is the lack of identity. Without a sense of belonging or strong connection or understanding of identity, individuals feel fragmented and isolated (O'Sullivan, 1999, p. 124). Undoubtedly, PAW led all participants to a better understanding of themselves as both students and citizens. Being immersed in the unknown, they each found ways to find themselves again; but a little bit different from when they left. However, as evidenced by a couple of participants' difficulties in trying to make sense of their identity as a Canadian citizen, there is need for a more dynamic and inclusive notion of citizenship for students to be able to find themselves represented within it.

Despite the contrasting notions of what global citizenship is and how individuals identify as a global citizen, it provides an alternative way for people to conceptualize and understand who they are and what they can do given the

expanded spheres of influence vis-à-vis globalization. Cultural and national constructions that constrict people's ability to identify and belong are problematic and lead to practices of exclusion. Global citizenship provides a space for individuals whose identity is not in a culturally or nationally defined box, but in a liminal place of in-betweeness and hybridity, to conceptualize and exercise citizenship in more meaningful ways. For a couple of the participants, global citizenship transgressed binary conceptions of identity and allowed for an understanding of citizenship that they could see themselves in, and their roles and responsibilities to combat injustice beyond borders.

Agency

Upon reflection of their learning experiences through PAW, many of the participants began to see their role and responsibility of creating spaces for people to play beyond borders. Throughout their experience, they began to understand that everyone has the capacity to play and it is their role to make spaces of play that are inclusive of gender, ability, socioeconomic status, etc. In effect, play and inclusion became a stake to understand and make claims to their identity and agency of global citizenship. While the indefinable and contradictory issues embedded in global citizenship may have confused some participants, through reflection, this ambivalence translated for most participants into agency. Reflection also played in important role in discerning and clarifying for participants the avenues for agency. As one participant noted: "*It has helped me to think about the things that I value and what I want to stick to*."

The impacts of PAW experiences on the participants are diverse and ongoing. As the participants enter new classes, jobs or relationships, the learning experiences gained in Thailand have provided them with confidence to take a stand and lead in their endeavours. As one participant noted, "*I understand that I might not see the lesson now, but I may see it tomorrow or 5 years down the road. It helps me to have a bit more faith and confidence.*" All participants echoed this development of confidence, especially in reference to new endeavours. The experiences of navigating through the unknown in Thailand and having to adapt and change have given the participants a confidence to act when circumstances are unknown and to be flexible, reflexive and creative when encountering barriers.

In spite of the several changes and transformations that participants have made, agency has been affected by the sustainability of these changes. One of the questions and predicaments that the students faced when they returned from Thailand was what to do with this experience and how to integrate the changes they have gone through in Thailand into their lives in Canada. Although there is intention to remain engaged and committed to issues of social justice that they encountered in Thailand, most participants mentioned that they are not as engaged as they would like to be and some individuals feel that they have reverted back to their old patterns of behaviour as times goes by. This predicament signals the need for education to not only provide students with experience of social issues, but also inform them of the social-historical dimensions that underpin social inequality as well as highlighting ways that they are implicated in its reproduction.

Relationships

Extending from notions and constructions of identity and agency is the importance of relationships. The following statement from O'Sullivan (1999) bespeaks the importance of relationships in fostering global citizenship: "The universe attests to the idea that everything exists and can be understood only in the context of relationships. Nothing exists in isolation" (p. 72). One of the most interesting themes that emerged from the data was the relationships that the participants developed. Whether it was through relationships with the Thais that they worked with or other PAW members, the relationships that participants developed enabled them to work through their ambivalence and difficulties that living and working in a different culture presented them with. However, it was mostly through the other, the hospitable Thai teachers, Thai children or the kind lady working at the 7-11 that the participants negotiated identity and difference and began to better understand themselves, their location, roles and responsibilities as a global citizen.

Relationships are complex and are underpinned by imbalances of power. Most of the participants acknowledged this imbalance, especially in regards to their relationships with the Thai teachers, but many did not know how to deal with it because they did not fully understand the nature of the power imbalance. Understanding interdependence, as illustrated in the participants' responses, engenders an important understanding of hybridity and global citizenship. This understanding, however, needs to include recognition and attention to issues of power. Extending from the relationships that the participants developed, there

was an acknowledgment for the need foster reciprocity and mutual exchange. This recognition, however, needs to be expanded upon by addressing the impacts and power relations of cross-cultural exchange on both sides.

Hybridity

Despite the damage spurned by globalization and continued colonial and imperial trends, there are elements of citizenship and globalization that are hopeful. One indication from the experiences of the PAW participants is the networks and partnerships between countries that allows for the conversations between people without a common language. The interactions between the Canadian students and the Thais provided new ways of engagement and helped the participants to realize the humanness and sameness of others beyond boundaries. This universalist understanding of global citizenship was also complemented by polycentricism, understanding social phenomena from multiple perspectives, through relativist orientations of the participants. Hybridity emerged as a significant way in which students were able to negotiate the complexity embedded in notions of global citizenship and understand their identity and agency in meaningful ways that were in between dominant constructions and categories.

Recommendations

Resulting from some of my conclusions and learning from this study, I offer the following recommendations to PAW and other education programs that endeavour to educate students for global citizenship in developing countries. These recommendations refer primarily to the educational preparation of students

before they set out on their cross-cultural, experiential and transformational journey. Although there was a spectrum of experiences and insights that participants took from PAW and realizing that not every individual wants the same experience, this study, based on my own orientation toward global citizenship, looks at students' reflections through a social justice lens. Some participants, indeed, developed an understanding of global citizenship that was rooted in social justice, which has led to a deeper understanding of social inequality and actions toward preventing it. The responses of some other participants, however, indicate a need for further education to elicit the deeper and more socially just understanding of global citizenship. Most of my recommendations build on the insights of post-colonial theory and the meaningful experiences and understanding offered by the participants.

The first recommendation relates to some of my conclusions about identity as a global citizen and the need for hybrid understanding of, and orientation to, culture. Based on the tremendous ambivalence and ambiguity associated with identifying as a global citizen, it is important for students to place themselves at the intersections as opposed to the narratives and conceptions of citizenship that are unquestionably passed down through societies. As seen through the arguments of Bhabha, Said, Benhabib and others throughout this study, dichotomies between us/them, centre/periphery that are used to construct identity must be deconstructed and understood in more meaningful ways that include hybridity and interconnectedness. In the context of increasing and intensifying effects of globalization, the promotion of identity, which values hybridity, not

purity (Davies, 2003) is extremely important. To achieve this, educators need not instruct students to understand their identity as being hybrid, but engage them in reflective exercises to question what Bhabha (2007) calls imagined constructs of identity.

The second recommendation coincides with hybridity and Benhabib's (2002) call for complex cultural dialogue and understanding. Global citizenship is neither a neutral nor simple concept. It entails all the complexities associated with globalization and citizenship and involves staking claims for action amidst the complexity and ambiguity. Engaging moral judgment on cultural practices and beliefs is part of this. As a result of globalization and programs such as PAW that have increased cross-cultural communication and exchange, people have become increasingly implicated and complicit in the lives of others. Relativistic orientations that prevent people from recognizing the implications of their actions and complicity in social inequality are problematic. By claiming neutrality in order to be non-ethnocentric eludes the complexity that is embedded in cultural differences and the complicity people have in the inequity that underpins many social practices.

In order to make sense of complexity, implicate themselves in and challenge social inequality, students need to be both informed and reflexive. With background knowledge on globalization, citizenship, human rights as well as historical and social information about the host country, students would be better able to make sense of social phenomena that they encounter and not be as susceptible to the mis-education that experiential learning can bring about.

Reflective practices are also critical for students to work through the complexity and difficulty of their experiences and understand their identity and agency as global citizens. Journal assignments provided some participants with the space and capacity to do this, but not all. By allowing for both structured and unstructured reflective practices, more students could be impacted by their experiences. A suggestion for structured reflective assignment would be for students to write short reflective essays to predetermined questions while they are in Thailand. Unstructured reflective practices could include activities such as group debriefs or meditation. What these formal and informal education requirements could provide for students is a deeper intellectual and personal understanding of their experiences and a praxis-oriented engagement and activism.

In summary of the implications and recommendations of this study, it is important in the face of globalization and the reproduction of inequality to orient global citizenship education toward social justice. People are continually faced with the ambivalence of wanting to work towards social justice, yet not wanting to give up their power, which is often reinforced by the agents that reproduce inequality such as schools. In order to transcend this ambivalence, education programs and the students in these programs need to orient relationships as reciprocal and interdependent. Centre-periphery relations and orientations need to be acknowledged, delegitimized and replaced by reciprocity to guide people's actions and interactions with others. By sending Canadian students to countries like Thailand, the centre continues to penetrate the peripheries without reciprocal

opportunities for Thai students to travel to Canada and play with underserved Canadian children. Although interactions between the Canadian students and the Thais provided new ways of engagement and realizing the humanness and sameness of others beyond boundaries, the program ought to extend this engagement to include discourse on social justice and human rights and opportunities for mutual exchange and travel to achieve global citizenship education premised on social justice.

Emerging Questions and Further Study

Based on the constraints of methodology and my conceptual framework, only certain questions could be included and explored in this study, even though the more I explored, more questions emerged. Post-colonial theory provided me with a lens to analyze and interpret the experiences of students in PAW, but it is only one of many ways to examine global citizenship education and its impacts. The few theories of the even fewer theorists that I included in my study also restricted me from addressing the multiple questions and directions that this research could have taken. The following are some of my additional burning questions and directions for further research that were not included in this study.

The question that emerged most urgently from this study was how these programs effect the host institutions, people and communities. Nearly all of the studies I encountered through my literature review on global citizenship education abroad examine the experiences of the Western students and teachers, instead of the people they engage with abroad. My study undoubtedly perpetuated this trend and made me feel uneasy about the imperialistic implications of this research. For

instance, global citizenship is only explored through the experiences and insights of the Canadian students, thus perpetuating a Western-dominated view of what it means to be a global citizen. Certainly interviewing the Thai people from the organization that PAW participants worked with would enrich this study and allow for a more comprehensive analysis of global citizenship and some of the themes such as reciprocity that emerged. It would also further understanding about the effectiveness of global citizenship education and how to better educate students participating in these programs.

In relation to the transformative and ongoing effects of global citizenship education, another avenue for research would be to conduct a longitudinal study to see how changes and transformations occur over time. Despite trying to include representation from different cohorts, it was too difficult with such a limited sample size to deduce any insight into longitudinal variations. It would also be interesting to conduct pre and post interviews with participants to see if and what changes the students make. A final methodological change, which would open up this research, would be to look at students' journals. This would enable the researcher to better analyze discourse and trace the changes and transformations the students go through.

Lastly, a policy analysis of the internationalization strategies, which underpin many programs of overseas education programs, is imperative. Amidst the literature on global citizenship is the over-abundance of studies and literature on internationalization and international education. Evident in the literature is the tendency to conflate the two concepts, although the concepts have different aims.

Internationalization policies, which emphasize the development of competitive and competent university graduates, intensifies the privilege of an educated elite rather than redressing inequities both at home and abroad. The objectives of internationalization strategies, which emphasize study abroad and student exchanges, are incongruent with the ethics and values that underpin global citizenship education. Further study into the policies, including internationalization policies, which inform and finance global citizenship education programs overseas would help to elucidate and rectify further issues of global citizenship education.

Final Thoughts

> 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. (Bhabha, 2007, p. xxv)

Through imagining the 'country' as story or theory, my own journey and divides in this study can be illuminated. Being immersed in the stories of my participants and the ideas of Bhabha, Said, Spivak and Benhabib, I became divided from my own stories and ideas. While my own experiences and knowledge certainly affected my interpretation of both the literature and experiences of the participants, I was also compelled to abandon myself in using the theories and stories of strangers to examine global citizenship education. As Sullivan (1999) notes, however, nothing exists in isolation, but in the context of relationships. I believe my understanding of global citizenship has emerged in relationship with all of the authors of this study, including the participants and cited authors. Although my understanding of global citizenship continues to grow with my experience, I recognize the need for a shared understanding, premised on social

justice, human dignity and the wellbeing of all. Together, I hope that our insights and experiences can help educators to better and more effectively educate students for global citizenship.

REFERENCES

Abdi, A. A. (2006). Culture of Education, Social Development, and Globalization: Historical and Current analysis of Africa. In A. Abdi, K. Puplampu & G.Dei (Eds.), *African education and globalization: critical perspectives* (pp. 13-30). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Abdi. A. A. (2008). De-subjecting Subject Populations: Historico-actual problems and educational possibilities. In A. Abdi & L. Shultz (Eds.), *Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship* (pp. 65-80). Albany: SUNY Press.

Abdi, A. A., Shultz, L. (2007). Educating for social justice and global citizenship: Helping students make local – global links on justice issues. *Education for Social Justice: From the Margins to the Mainstream.* Background papers. Canadian Teachers' Federation. Ottawa, CAN.

Abdi, A. A., Shultz, L. (2008). Educating for human rights and global citizenship: An introduction. In A. Abdi & L. Shultz (Eds.), *Educating for human rights and global citizenship* (pp.1-10). Albany, NY*:* Suny Press.

Andreotti, V. (2006). The Contributions of Postcolonial Theory to Development Education. *DEA Thinkpieces*. Retrieved November 10, 2008 from, www.dea.org.uk/thinkpieces.

Appiah, K. A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Appiah-Padi, S. K. (1999). *Study abroad and global citizenship: Sub-Saharan African students at the University of Alberta*. Ph.D., dissertaion, University of Alberta. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT NQ46800).

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. & Tiffin, H. (1998). *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies.* New York: Routledge.

Babbie, E. R. (1989). *The Practice of Social Research.* Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Benhabib, S. (2008). *Another cosmopolitanism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Benhabib, S. (2002). *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994/2007). *Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.

Brodie, J. (2004). Introduction: Globalization and Citizenship Beyond the National State.*Citizenship Studies*, 8(4), 323-332.

Cohen, L, Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research Methods in Education* (5th ed.). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Cranton, P. & Carusetta, E. (2006). Developing Authenticity as a Transformative Process. *Journal of Transformative Education 2*(4), 276-293.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Davies, L. (2006). Global citizenship: abstraction or framework for action? *Educational Review*, *58*(1), 5-25.

Davies, L. (2003). *Conflict and Education: Complexity and Chaos*. London: Routledge.

Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and Education.* New York: Macmillan.

Dower, N. (2000). The Idea of Global Citizenship - A Sympathetic Assessment. *Global Society*, *14*(4), 553-567.

Dower, N. (2003). *An Introduction to Global Citizenship*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Filstead, W. J. (1979). Qualitative methods - a needed perspective in evaluation research. In T.D. Cook & C. S. Rechardt (Eds.), *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Evaluation Research* (pp. 33-48). London: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1972). Orders of discourse: Inaugural lecture delivered at the College de France. *Social Science Information 10*(2), 7-30.

Foucault, M. (1981). The Order of Discourse. In R. Young (Ed.), *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (pp. 48-78). London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (2000). *Power*. J. Faubion (Ed.). (Vol. 3). New York: The New Press.

Freire, P. (1968/2005). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* (30th Anniversary ed.). New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.

Gadamer, H. G. (1975). *Truth and Method*. New York: Crossroad.

Gallagher, S. (1992). *Hermeneutics and Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ganzen, Olga. (2007). *Educating global citizens: The internationalization of Park University, Kansas City, Missouri*. Ph.D. dissertation, Union Institute and University, United States. Retrieved July 28, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT 3248194).

Geertz, C. (1979). From the native's point of view: On the nature of anthropological understanding. In P. Rabinow & W. M. Sullivan (Eds.), *Interpretive social science: A reader* (pp. 225-241). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Golestani, C. (2006). *Teaching for social justice and global citizenship.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, United States - California. Retrieved July 15, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT 3244044).

Gramsci, A. (2005). *Prison Notebooks*. (J.A. Buttigieg, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press. (Original work published in 1947).

Grudzinski-Hall, M. N. (2007). How do college and university undergraduate level global citizenship programs advance the development and experiences of global competencies? Ph.D. dissertation, Drexel University, United States - Pennsylvania. Retrieved July 14, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT 3261868).

Griffith, R. (1998*). Educational citizenship and independent learning*. London: J. Kingsley Publishers.

Hall, S. (1996). When was the 'post-colonial'? Thinking at the limit. In I. Chambers & L. Curtis (Eds.), *The Post-Colonial Question* (pp. 242-260). London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1997). The spectacle of the 'Other'. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 225-290). London: Sage.

Heater, D. (2004). *World Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Thinking And Its Opponents*. New York: Continuum.

Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time*. New York: Harper & Row.

Held, D. (2002). Law of States, Law of Peoples: Three models of sovereignty.

Legal Theory (8), 1-44.

Held, D. (1999). The transformation of political community: rethinking democracy in the context of globalization. In I. Shapiro & C. Hacker-Cordon (Eds.), *Democracy's Edges* (pp. 84-111). Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

Isin, E & Wood, P. (1999). *Citizenship and Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

Kachur, J. (2008). Human Rights Imperialism: Third Way Education as the New Cultural Imperialism. In A. Abdi & L. Shultz (Eds.). *Educating for human rights and global citizenship* (pp. 177-192). Albany, NY*:* Suny Press.

Kant, I. (2005). *Perpetual Peace*. (M. Campbell, Trans.). New York: Cosimo Inc. (Original work published in 1795).

Kapoor, I. (2004). Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'. *Third World Quarterly, 25*(4). 627-647.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs.

Lapayese, Y. (2003). Toward a Critical Global Citizenship Education. *Comparative Education Review, 47*(4). 493-501.

Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy 63*(Autumn). 5-25.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985/1989). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Locke, L., Silverman, S. & Spirduso, W. (2004). *Reading and Understanding Research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Loomba, A. (2005). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Lukes, S. (2008). *Moral Relativism*. New York: Picador.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1995). *Designing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Massey, D. (1999). Imagining Globalization: Power-Geometries of Time-Space. In A. Brah, M.J. Hickman & M. Ghaill (Eds.), *Global Futures: Migration, Environment and Globalization* (pp. 27-44). London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

McLeod, J. (2000). *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Merriam, S., Caffarella, R. & Baumgartner, L. (2007). *Learning in Adulthood: A Comprehensive Guide* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, J., & Associates, (2000). *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress.* New York: John Wiley.

Mündel, K. (2004). Developing Active Citizenship through International Youth Exchanges. In K. Mündel & D. Schugurensky (Eds.), *Lifelong Citizenship Learning, Participatory Democracy and Social Change* (pp. 189-201). OISE/University of Toronto: Transformative Learning Centre.

Noddings, N. (2005). *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness*. New York: Teacher's College Press.

O'Sullivan, E. (1999). *Transformative Learning: Education Vision for the 21st Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

O'Sullivan, E. (2002). The project and vision of transformative education: Integral transformative learning. In E. O'Sullivan, A. Morrell, & M. A. O'Conner (Eds.), *Expanding the boundaries of transformative learning: Essays on theory and praxis* (pp. 1-12). New York: Palgrave.

Osler, A. & Vincent, K. (2002). *Citizenship and the Challenge of Global Education*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Parekh, B. (2003). Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship. *Review of International Studies, 32*(1), p. 3-17.

Parenti, M. (2006). *The Culture Struggle*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Pike, G. (2000). Global Education and National Identity: In Pursuit of Meaning. *Theory into Practice, 29*(2), 64-73.

Pike, G. (2008). Reconstructing the Legend: Educating for Global Citizenship. A. Abdi & L. Shultz (Eds.), *Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship* (pp. 223- 238). New York: Suny Press.

Peet, R. & Hatwock, E. (1999). *Theories of Development.* New York: Guilford Press.

Petras, J. & Veltmeyer, H. (2005). *Empire With Imperialism*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Play Around the World (2009). *Play Around the World*. Retrieved January 7, 2009, from, http://www.physedandrec.ualberta.ca/play.cfm#bac

Prakash, G. (2000). Subaltern Studies as postcolonial criticism. In C. Hall (Ed.), *Cultures of Empire: A Reader* (pp. 123-153). London: Taylor & Francis.

Rostow, W.W. (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A non-communist manifesto.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Data management and analysis methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 259-309). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Said, E. (1989). Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors. *Critical Inquiry*, *15*(Winter), 205-225.

Said, E. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research* (3rd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sheppard, K. (2004). Global Citizenship: The Human Face of International Education. *International Education*, *34*(1), 34-40.

Shultz, L. (2007). Educating for global Citizenship: Conflicting Agendas and Understandings. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, *53*(3), 248-258.

Shultz, L. (2008). Human Rights Education and Contemporary Child Slavery: Creating Child-Friendly Villages When States, Communities, and Families Fail to Protect. In A. Abdi & L. Shultz (Eds.), *Educating for human rights and global citizenship* (pp. 129-142). Albany, NY: Suny Press.

Schwandt, T.A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism. In N.K Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 189-214). Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Spivak, G. (1985). Three Women's texts and a critique of imperialism. *Critical Inquiry 12*(1), 243-261.

Spivak, G. (1993). *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. Routledge: New York.

Spivak, G. (2003). A conversation with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: politics and the imagination, interview by Jenny Sharpe. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *28*(2), 609-624.

Stammers, N. (1999). Social movements and the social construction of human rights. *Human Rights Quarterly (21)*, 980-1008.

Stammers, N. (2005). The emergence of human rights in the North: Towards historical re-evaluation. In Naila Kabeer (Ed), *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions* (pp. 50-67). New Delhi: Zubaan.

Stiglitz, J. E. (2003). *Globalization and its Discontents.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Subjectivism. (2008, May 10). In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved May 13, 2008, from, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Subjectivism&oldid=289030318

Tanner, J. (2007). Global Citizenship. In D. Hicks & C. Holden (Eds.), *Teaching the Global Dimension: Key Principles and Practice* (pp. 150-160). New York: Routledge.

Taylor, C. (1991). *Ethics of Authenticity.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, E. W. (2000). Analyzing research on transformative learning theory. In J. Mezirow & Associates (Eds.), *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in process* (pp. 285-328). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Tisdell, E. J. (2003). *Exploring spirituality and culture in adult and higher education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Torres, C. (2006). Democracy, Education, and Multiculturalism: Dilemmas of Citizenship in a Global World. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J. Dillabough & A.H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization, and social change* (pp. 536-556). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (2008, May 8). In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved May 23, 2008, from, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Universal_Declaration_of_Human_Rights&oldid=288690022.

wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). *Decolonizing the Mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: James Currey Ltd.

Wellington, J. (2000). *Educational research: Contemporary issues and practical approaches.* London: Continuum.

Williams, T. (2005). Exploring the Impact of Study Abroad on Students' Intercultural Communication Skills: Adaptability and Sensitivity. *Journal of Studies inInternational Education, 9*(4), 365-371.

Zemach-Bersin, T. (2007). Global Citizenship and Study Abroad: It's All About U.S. *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices*, *1*(2), 16-28.

APPENDIX A: Letter of Initial Contact

Global Citizenship Education: Exploring the impacts of educating post-secondary students for global citizenship through cross-cultural education overseas.

Dear Prospective Study Participant,
I have received your contact information from Jane Vallentyne and would like to invite you to participate in a study entitled: Global Citizenship Education: Exploring the impacts of educating post-secondary students for global citizenship overseas. This study, which constitutes my Master's thesis in Educational Policy Studies, focuses on the impacts of global citizenship education overseas. I have chosen Play Around the World as the subject of this study. This letter will introduce you to the study and outline your role if you choose to participate.
Global citizenship education is a growing field of research and practice in Western post-secondary institutions. The concept of global citizenship is contested, however, and a broad range of learning objectives from global competency to social justice have been identified in various programs. In spite of the differences in conceptualizations and objectives of global citizenship, many educators have attempted to educate for global citizenship by engaging students in cross-cultural experiences overseas in a developing country. In using a post-colonial theory, where centre-periphery relationships are analyzed and problematized, several questions are raised about the impacts of cross-cultural experiences. In order to identify and understand these impacts, student's experiences of a cross-cultural program that aims to educate for global citizenship will be collected and analyzed through a post-colonial framework in this study.
The objectives of this study will be to:
1. Investigate the ways in which post-secondary global citizenship education programs with cross-cultural components impact the lives of students.
2. Explore some of the possibilities and limitations that post-secondary global citizenship programs with cross-cultural experiences have on developing student's critical consciousness and commitment to social justice.
Your involvement in this study includes the following:

- Spend about 1 to 1.5 hours in an interview at a time that is convenient for you;
- Review the interview notes 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 interview.

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 five 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 have access to all raw data collected about you.

You will be free to raise questions or concerns with me throughout the study, and may withdraw at any time if you choose. I will contact you to conduct the interview, at which point you can let me know if you agree to proceed. Your participation is completely voluntary. While I would appreciate your answer to as many questions as possible, you may choose, of course, 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

If you decide to participate, we will arrange a time and place to meet together around campus that is convenient for you. During the interview, you will be asked to describe your experiences and express your reflections regarding:

1. Understanding of self and global citizenship
2. Understanding of the Thai context
3. Changes in perception and understanding of self and other
4. Implications of global citizenship education and Play Around the World

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions that will be raised in the interview; the important thing is for you to share your experiences and opinions.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEA REB at (780) 492-3751.
Thank you for your consideration. Please contact me at 780-720-3185 or my supervisor, Lynette Shultz at lshultz@ualberta.ca with any concerns you may have.

Sincerely,
Shelane Jorgenson
MEd Candidate
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta

Lynette Shultz
Assistant Professor
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta

APPENDIX B: Interview Questions

Demographics

1. How old are you?
2. Where are you from?
3. Where did you attend high school and college/university?
4. In what year did you participate in Play Around the World (PAW)?
5. What is your current employment/education status?

Understanding of self and global citizenship

1. What was your purpose or reason for participating in PAW?
2. What knowledge, skills and attitudes do you think prepared you for your PAW experience in Thailand?
3. What is your understanding of global citizenship?
4. In what ways do you identify or not identify as a global citizen?

Understanding of the Thai context

1. In what area of Thailand were you located for PAW?

    - Can you describe a bit about the location you were in?

2. What did you know about Thailand before you left Canada?
    - What informed this understanding?

3. Who were the kids you worked with in Thailand?

    - To which social strata did they belong?

    - Did they have the same access to healthcare and education as other kids their age in Canada? Why do you think that is?

4. What do you think is the most important thing that you passed on or taught the Thai children you worked with?
    - What was the most important thing you learned from the Thai children you worked with?

5. What are some of the cultural differences that you encountered during your time in Thailand?
    - How were you able to negotiate cultural differences?

Changes in perception and understanding of self and other

1. In what ways did your participation in PAW change or reinforce your understanding of Thailand and the children you worked with?
2. Has this experience affected your understanding of people from different cultures in Canada and other places? If so, in what ways?

3. What is a social issue that you feel strongly about?
    - Did your experiences in PAW give you a different understanding of this issue? If so, in what ways?

4. Since your experience in PAW, do you feel more motivated to act towards doing something about this issue? If so, in what ways?

Implications of Global Citizenship Education and PAW

1. What do you think are the most significant lessons you learned from your experience in PAW?
2. Has your experience in PAW affected your education path or career path? If so, in what ways? Why do you think that is?
3. Has your experience in PAW affected your relationships with your family, peers, communities? If so, in what ways? Why do you think that is?
4. Has this experience shaped your identity as a global citizen? If so, in what ways? Why do you think that is?
5. What kinds of knowledge, skills and attitudes do you think you have developed most in your experience in PAW?
    - How have these KSAs helped and/or hampered your education/career path?

6. In your experience, do you think you can learn about and/or develop global citizenship the same way in a classroom? Why or why not?
7. Would you recommend international experiences to other undergraduate students? Why or why not?

APPENDIX C: Participant Consent Form

Global Citizenship Education: Exploring the impacts of educating post-secondary students for global citizenship through cross-cultural education overseas.

I (please print your name) _____, agree to participate in this study that will examine the impacts of global citizenship education overseas. I agree:

- To be interviewed for about 1 to 1.5 hours about my experience in this area
- Allow the researcher to follow-up with me should some questions emerge.
- To review the interview notes 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 at any time and 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.
5. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEA REB at (780) 492-3751.

Signature _____

Date: _____