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Comparative and International Education Society of Canada/
La société canadienne d'éducation comparée et internationale

Canadian Society for the Study of Education/La société canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation

Peer Review Collection, 2013

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Editorial Introduction

This is the third annual CERN Collection to be compiled from educators and innovators in the field of citizenship education. The papers included in this Collection elucidate the fundamentally imperative role of education in the development and advancement of global citizenship education initiatives. Education as a discipline is habitually beheld as a formal endeavor, when in a perspicacious sense, and as the authors of this Collection clearly explore, education breaches contextual, historical, and formal boundaries. This collection of papers explores citizenship education as a versatile pedagogical tool accessible through global, institutional, online, and home-based approaches. The shifting and occasionally oppositional perspectives inherent in this Collection epitomize a significant representation of the ubiquitous nature of the role of education and thus the extraordinary importance of preparing our young to navigate the complex and equivocal world they encounter while forming an identity and inspiring dialogue and involvement along the way.

The first paper in this Collection addresses the epistemology of privilege and the re-negotiation of modernist ideals. Vanessa Andreotti categorically dissects the conceptualization of the 'Other' and the disparate dynamic between historical modes of knowledge that perpetuate discrimination and marginalization, and current patterns of engagement, that are often problematic in nature. She argues that traditional educational archetypes will not serve individuals in a world that is indeterminate and elusive, while discussing the important role of education in 'hospicing' the renegotiation of epistemic privilege. Educators are in a privileged and strategic position to initiate and support a departure from historical "ideological" ideals to create discourse aimed at preparing people to live collectively within a world plagued by plurality, complexity and uncertainty.

Catherine Broom further explores the strategic positioning of educators in nurturing democratic attitudes and values through collaborative based learning. As an effective and highly adaptable pedagogical tool, collaborative based learning emphasizes learning through engagement, exploration, reflection, and discourse. Broom's focus on discourse parallels de Oliveira's claims that in order to create change and analyze the nature of our own investments and beliefs, the "discursive production of knowledge and reality" must be consistently attended to (p. 5). Through collaborative based learning, the potential benefits to the student are arguably greater than the shortcomings, ultimately developing students' civic engagement skills, leadership capabilities, and global awareness. Broom offers recommendations for adapting this pedagogy in the classroom to different types of learners and draws upon theorists such as Dewey, to support the development of purposeful real-world democratic citizenship skills.

The exploration of alternative teaching and learning platforms can also prove beneficial to increasing student engagement. Sylvester explores the "democratic deficit" that exists due to the long-standing implementation of traditional models of citizenship education. As Andreotti and Broom suggest, these traditional models fail to foster group dialogue and thoughtful peer engagement, which are fundamental to a functioning democracy, implying the need for a shift to a more current platform that will engage youth in civic learning. Sylvester explores the "technological revolution" which emphasizes digital literacy skills and technology, specifically 'online discussion forums', as a pedagogical tool for encouraging dialogue. This is a relatively new area of exploration which in one sense challenges opportunities for face to face discourse, but in another sense, offers the possibility of interaction far beyond the scope of the classroom. A majority of participants valued access to this method of civic engagement suggesting a novel and unique opportunity to foster civic engagement skills among youth on a personal *and* global level.

In order to maintain students' involvement in global discourse, the aforementioned "democratic deficit" must be addressed beyond the classroom. Educating the "global citizen" begins with a continual awareness, as first described by Andreotti (2013), beyond one's own investments, beliefs, and experiences to, "address[ing] humanity in a genuinely universal way" (p. 179). David Monk (2013) investigates the need for increased global citizenship education through public engagement activities, investigating the role of 'Canadian Civil Society Organizations' (CCSO's) in the education of Canadians. Monk's finding suggest that international development in Canada, which major crown corporations are responsible for, falls on the shoulders of CCSO's due to programming that does not support global citizenship mandates. Additionally, Monk brings to our attention a considerable lack of education in Canada regarding issues and causes of global poverty, partly due to the lack of understanding of 'who' is responsible for addressing and creating awareness regarding these issues. Although the predominant opinion designates the government as responsible, there is a considerable lack of federal government resources and support, which further stifles the ability of CCSO's. There is a greater need for global awareness, which must start with enlightening citizens, preferably young people, about societal values, other cultures and religions, global realities, inequalities, social responsibility, underlying power structures, and one's relationship with the world. The role of global citizenship education must strive to break down barriers and bring the population together as a collective voice as the government becomes more and more absent.

The enlightenment of citizens, albeit judged predominantly as a government responsibility, is conceivable on a number of different levels. Thus far, the goals of global citizenship education have been deconstructed and reconstructed without a specific focus on the formation of Canadian identity through direct experience with other cultures within the home setting. Olenka Bilash presents findings regarding the motivations, dynamics, benefits, and challenges of hosting international students within the home as well as exploring the images that Canadians portray to international students. She synchronously sites the importance of reconceptualizing the concept of citizenship through "interdisciplinary international dialogue" and increased transparency of cultural values and goals. The effects of globalization are leading to a notable increase in individuals exploring homestay experiences, and although challenges are inherent in cultural exchanges, the benefit to the individual and family can be profound. Bilash posits engagement as a "reciprocal process of becoming" where a clear expanding of cultural knowledge and understanding takes place; this expansion carries the capacity to not only nurture a sense of Canadian culture and citizenship, but also to enhance national identity and create international dialogue necessary for engagement within the global community.

To conclude, this collection of papers comprehensively and critically explores the omnipresent nature of citizenship education within current ideologies and processes, stimulating discourse across varying contexts, age groups, and levels of engagement. The exciting and encouraging focus on developing discourse and democratic attitudes and values among youth will serve to positively perpetuate global citizenship education into the future.

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About the Authors

Olenka Bilash is professor of second language education in the Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta and North America representative to LINGUAPAX, a UNESCOcat-affiliates organization designed to advocate for all languages in the world and plurilingualism. Her research interests include: language planning and policy, identity formation and global citizenship awareness education.

Catherine Broom is an Assistant Professor at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan. She has more than 17 years of high school and university teaching experience in Canada and overseas. She has written on the history of modern schooling; Post Modern theories and methods; critical thinking; Social Studies history, methods, and philosophies; and local and global citizenship.

Nicole Fournier-Sylvester is an educator and researcher in the field of citizenship and peace education. Currently a doctoral student in the Education Department of Concordia University, Nicole has focused her research on teaching strategies that promote conflict resolution, civic attitudes and skills. She has written about the state of citizenship education in Quebec as well as the challenges that teachers face when teaching controversial issues in the classroom. She has been teaching in the Humanities Department at Champlain College Saint-Lambert in Quebec since 2006. Her course offerings include *Democracy & Cultural Diversity*, *Ethics in the Social Sciences* and *Education & Social Change*. Nicole's current research focus is on how online discussion forums can be used to develop the civic skills of youth by facilitating critical thinking skills, debate between diverse perspectives, and the participation of students who, for a variety of reasons, may be unable to speak up or interact in a traditional classroom context.

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Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti is Canada Research Chair in Race, Inequalities and Global Change at the University of British Columbia. Her research examines political economies of knowledge production, discusses the ethics of international development and of ideals of globalism and internationalization in education and in activism with an emphasis on representations of and relationships with historically marginalized communities. Her teaching scholarship engages with the use of social cartographies in curriculum and pedagogy and with the interface between political and existential approaches to questions of justice and conviviality. Dr. Andreotti is a research fellow at the University of Oulu, where she was chair of global education from 2010 to 2013. She is also a research fellow at the Centre for Global Citizenship Education at the University of Alberta.

Renegotiating Epistemic Privilege and Enchantments with Modernity: The Gain in the Loss of the Entitlement to Control and Define Everything

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Abstract

This paper addresses the challenges of theorizing the renegotiation of epistemic privilege in the discipline of education. The first part of the paper offers partial conceptual tools for analyses and articulations that intend to work through the difficulties of teaching and learning about inequalities and complicities, the type of learning that tends to be resisted by those over-socialised and highly invested in modernist ideals (which often represents the majority of students in teacher education programmes). The second part presents reflections on the translation of these insights into in-service and pre-service educational contexts, conceptualised as a re-negotiation of epistemic privilege.

Key words: modernism; epistemic privilege; inequality; education

The Enchantments of Modernity

Walter D. Mignolo (2000a; 2000b; 2011) argues that modernity is generally defined in relation to a bright shiny side associated with concepts such as seamless progress, industrialization, secularization, humanism, linear time, scientific reasoning and nation states, amongst others. These concepts, in turn, depend on subjectivities deeply invested in universal reason and history, teleological, dialectical, and anthropocentric thinking, and Cartesian selfhoods that see themselves as 'heading humanity'. Mignolo argues that modernity's 'shine' is articulated in ways that hide its shadow, its darker side, or the fact that for us to inhabit the shiny side we *systematically* and *necessarily* have had and still have to inflict violence on other people. This violence is articulated through what Mignolo calls coloniality (a concept borrowed from Quijano). Coloniality is conceptualized as a system that defines the organization and dissemination of epistemic, moral and aesthetic resources in ways that mirror and reproduce modernity's imperial project. In other words, coloniality ensures the forgetting of spaciality (expansionist control of lands), of epistemic racism (elimination and subjugation of difference) and of the geopolitics of knowledge production (epistemic violence) that is constitutive of modernity. Mignolo (2000b) argues that coloniality is both "the hidden face of modernity and the condition of its possibility" (p.772). Therefore, modernity's shadow is 'foreclosed'. Foreclosed means that the link between deep modern investments and their role in the systemic production of discrimination and inequalities inevitably has to be negated so that we can continue to believe that we are good altruistic people moving 'ahead' in linear time and history towards a homogeneous better future of rational consensual unanimity, regardless of our political affiliation or skin colour.

Therefore, for those enchanted with modernity (Mignolo, 2002) the connections between the shiny side of modernity and its unavoidable shadow of colonialism, imperialism, slavery, genocide, cultural repression, land theft, dispossession, destitution and its current forms of unfair trade, crippling debt, border controls, criminalisation of dissent, marginalisation, militarisation, environmental disaster and so on, seem implausible. Thus, learning about these connections becomes very difficult as it mitigates against one's investments in specific cherished conceptualizations of identity, knowledge and reality that are perceived to be natural and normal, and not contingent upon history, social positioning, culture, power and politics. Such cherished

conceptualizations and the foreclosures that are necessary for their existence create systemic modes of knowledge production and representations of the self in relation to Others (those not heading humanity due to inadequacies) that need to be constantly repeated in order to repress the difference, contingency, uncertainty and complexity that denaturalize these conceptualizations by exposing their social, historical and cultural roots. Historically, these modes of knowledge and representation of the superiority of the European self through stereotypes of inferior Others have been used to justify violence and subjugation. For example, the notion of manifest destiny (Horsman, 1981) mobilized the narrative of a chosen people with a divine responsibility for the creation of paradise in relation to a notion of Others working against God's will (which justified theft and genocide in the Americas) (see Deloria, 1969; Miller, 2006; Johnson, 2011). Similarly, Kipling's telling poem of 'The White Man's Burden' (1899) reflected a historical narrative that constructed one 'race' as more mature and closer to God and therefore authorized to enslave and exploit Others who were 'half child and half devil' (ibid; see also Brantlinger, 2007), the slogan of a 'civilising mission' (Fischer-Tiné and Mann 2004; Gandhi 2011) has enabled people who perceived themselves as 'heading humanity' to justify violent colonial processes as necessary for lifting Others out of darkness, tradition and ignorance through education and development interventions (Biccum, 2010). These three examples illustrate how concepts may have changed in history, but the basic mechanism remains the same: dominance is rationalised through both exceptionalism and benevolent responsibility which justifies and sustains the violence and exploitation that it denies and secures unequal divisions of wealth and labour firmly in place.

For those subconsciously invested in this mode of knowledge production, the disadvantage of the Other is rationalized as a deficit of knowledge, reason, work ethic, education, civilisation and trustworthiness. While the (universal) self has knowledge and technology, the (local) other has culture, tradition and beliefs. While the self is represented as superior, developed, civilized, future oriented, global knowledge producer and rights and AID dispenser, the Other is represented as inferior, underdeveloped, uncivilized, traditional, living in the past and dependent on aid, knowledge, rights and education handouts. The relationship between those who see themselves as heading humanity and those who are perceived to be dragging humanity often takes the form of disinterest (not wanting to be bothered by the Other) or an active desire to help or save the Other. The 'help imperative' that can be observed in charity campaigns, volunteering and travel schemes and development interventions is often characterized by seven problematic patterns of engagement and interventions based on simplistic analyses and solutions. One, interventions are characterized by hegemony, relying on assumptions that justify the superiority and domination of those in a position to help, often representing one group of people as being able to design and implement an ultimate solution for a problem attributed to the Other (e.g. poverty, ignorance, ineptitude). Two, they are ethnocentric, projecting one view (that of the helpers) as universally valuable and applicable and not encouraging implementers or supporters to analyze things from different perspectives. Three, they tend to be ahistorical, focusing on a present emergency and foreclosing historical legacies and systemic complicities. Four, they are depoliticized as they disregard their own political intentions, existing power inequalities and the ideological roots of analyses and proposals. Five, they are salvationist as they frame help as the burden of the fittest by presenting people in need as helpless victims of local violence and misfortunes and helpers as the chosen people capable of bringing redemption and alleviation of suffering. Six, they offer uncomplicated solutions that require 'easy' individual action rather than complex systemic change, often promoting 'make a difference to feel good' initiatives that overlook complexities, contingencies and limitations of analyses and proposed solutions. Finally, seven, they are paternalistic, seeking affirmation and confirmation of superiority through the provision of help by constructing the Other as someone who should be grateful for the help they are receiving. These patterns have been sequenced in a way that their first letters form the

acronym HEADS UP (Andreotti, 2012a). They are tentatively mapped against modern investments, desires and foreclosures are in Table 1.

Table 1

Difficult Knowledge, Difficult Learning

Deep investments in ...	Create desires for...	Which demand foreclosures of...	Which triggers systemic patterns of knowledge production of...
Seamless progress, teleological thinking	Engineering and control of processes and outcomes through knowledge	Inflicted violence, subjugation, oppression, exploitation, coercion	Hegemony
Universal reason	Rational consensual unanimity	Plurality, multiplicity, difference	Ethnocentrism
Allochronism, linear time	Moving forward without looking back	Complicity in historical and present harm (material, epistemic, discursive, symbolic, etc.)	Ahistoricism Depoliticization
Cartesian selfhood, seamless progress, dialectical thinking	Redemption, absolution	Complexity, contingency, uncertainty	Salvationism Uncomplicated solutions
Protestant work ethic, 'heading humanity'	Recognition of exceptionality, superiority and benevolence	Un-earned privilege, and naturalization of investments in justifications of privilege and authority	Paternalism

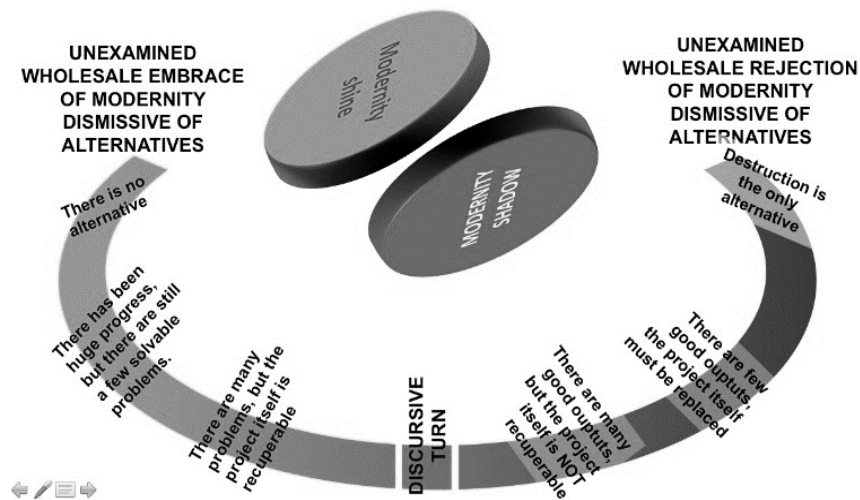
Responses to Modernity

The metaphor of modernity's shine and shadow inspired by Mignolo's work may help make visible an interesting dynamic of responses to modernity that can be seen at work in current debates in the social sciences and other disciplines today. This dynamic of rejection or embrace of modernity can be represented as a pendulum (see figure 1). On the limit of the pendulum's amplitude on the left hand side there are those who embrace modernity wholesale without any room for critiques or alternatives. On the limit of the pendulum's amplitude on the right hand side there are those who reject modernity wholesale without any room for critiques or alternatives. And in between there are

various different positions that embrace or reject different aspects of modernity. On the left hand side, where the focus is on modernity's shine, there are those who believe that modernity has problems to different degrees, but who defend that modernity, as a project, is still viable, it just needs to be fixed and completed. The degree of recognition of problems defines the types of solutions proposed (e.g. differences between Habermas and Nussbaum). On the right hand side, where the focus is on the renouncement of modernity's shadow, there are those who believe that modernity as a project is not viable or recuperable, but that many of its outputs are viable and defensible. The degree of rejection of the project or the outputs of modernity defines, again, proposed solutions (e.g. differences between Spivak and Mignolo's approaches). In the middle of the pendulum (not proposed as a point of balance in this picture, but a shifting point), the discursive turn represents where the internal critique of modernity (e.g. postmodernism, poststructuralism and strands of postcolonialism) starts to seriously question the viability of the project of modernity.

An interesting aspect of the interaction between these positions is that usually the scope of responses in the right or left amplitude of the pendulum is ignored, therefore, even when someone does not speak from the extremes, the other side will hear/interpret as if one does, and this happens on both sides. For example, someone who defends aspects of modernity will be interpreted as defending modernity wholesale and someone rejecting aspects of modernity will be interpreted as rejecting modernity wholesale. Another interesting aspect of this representation is that it shows that self-reflexivity tends to fade as positions get closer to the extremes, which makes both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives blind to the limits of their own analyses and solutions and which creates strong antagonistic positions that gloss over complexities and complicities and reproduce the modern desire (on the left and on the right) for homogeneous collectivities and homogeneous futures.

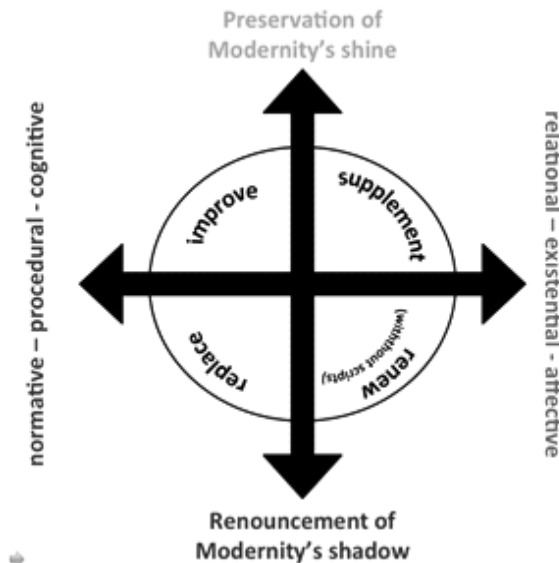
Figure 1: Pendulum of responses to modernity



In this sense, the same dynamic can be represented in education as a diagram of contemporary sites of discursive struggles (see figure 2). The first vertical line refers to a focus on modernity's shine or on modernity's shadow. The horizontal line refers to approaches that are driven by normative ideals or by ethical or relational ideals as ways of imagining and bringing about change. Thus, there are four quadrants also characterized by internal diversity. The first quadrant

refers to those who defend modernity as a project and want to improve or complete it through normative means (e.g. capabilities, neoliberal and neoconservative approaches). The second quadrant refers to those who defend modernity as a project and want to improve or complete it through inclusionary means (e.g. deliberative and inclusionary approaches). The third quadrant refers to those who think that modernity as a project is not viable and who are looking for normative alternatives to replace it (e.g. critical approaches that promote specific/teleological ideas of emancipation or liberation). And finally the fourth quadrant refers to those who are looking for renewal of possibilities – of alternatives to modernity through relationality and ethics, without pre-determined scripts (e.g. post-humanist, existential and nomadic approaches). If the future involves the interplay between those and other discourses vis-à-vis changing local and global forces and contexts, perhaps acknowledging different investments, desires and approaches may enable different (and difficult) conversations that may genuinely move debates forward.

Figure 2: Mapping sites of discursive struggle



In terms of temporality the work of Wheatley and Frieze (2011), which I encountered when engaging with the Occupy movement in Ireland in 2011, may offer interesting insights for education. The central concept in their book is that of ‘two loop system change’: that people walk into systems as they ascend (to peak) and they walk out when systems are in decline. However, systems peak differently in different contexts, so if we take modernity as a system, there are people walking in and out of modernity at the same time as it peaks in different temporalities in different contexts. Therefore, they suggest that those working with people who are walking into a system (which will eventually decline) have a hospicing job to do and those working with those who are experiencing the peak and the decline have different jobs in terms of illuminating options and exploring alternatives. My understanding of this concept in the context of the Occupy movement is that a new system cannot be forged in the hot ashes of the old. Therefore, alternatives to modernity that start to emerge as the system peaks (through economic crises, for example) will still be primarily informed by modernity itself (as disaffected rejections or attempts to salvage the system), so the point of experimenting with possibilities is not so much the construction of the new system, but of learning from the experimentation itself. In this sense, Occupy should not be primarily concerned with the obsessive construction of an ultimate alternative to capitalism (as symbolic of modernity), but with the pluralisation of experimentations destined to ‘fail’, but whose teaching might be absolutely

indispensable for a new system when this possibility becomes viable. Therefore, education, would have first and foremost a hospicing role for both those walking into the system and for those walking out. Hospicing could work at the level of the sign to create internal cognitive and affective mechanisms of interruption of the reproduction of social trauma and its effects through a disenchantment with desires for linear development, complete control, rationality and cohesion, and through an opening to the call of the Other and to working in uncertainty, complexity, plurality and vulnerability, so that in the subsequent experimenting with possibilities, we can be taught by our inescapable failures (for more on this idea see Hoofd, 2012).

Re-negotiating Epistemic Privilege in Education

Hospicing as a re-negotiation of epistemic privilege or as disenchantment of problematic modes of thought and patterns of engagement shaped by modernity can be conceptualized as an important role of education for those who have not yet walked out – those who are over-socialized and deeply invested in modernity's shine. Gayatri's Spivak's (2004) concept of education (to come) as “an uncoercive re-arrangement of desires” (p. 526) towards “an ethical relationship with the Other [i.e. the excluded other of Western humanism]” (p. 535) can be very helpful if education is meant to change and/or enlarge the limitations of modern imaginaries. These two ideas draw attention to the importance of hyper-self-reflexivity, self-implication, dissensus and discomfort in education intended to move those over-socialised in modernist ideals beyond denial, and feelings of entitlement, shame, guilt and deceit (see also Pitt and Britzman, 2003; Taylor, 2011). They emphasise the importance of theorizing learners, learning and teaching in ways that take account of power relations, of the complexity of the construction of the self and of alterity, and of the situatedness and the limits of our own constructions and theorizations. They also highlight the “arrogance of the consciousness of superiority lodged in the self” (Spivak, 2004, p. 534) that is constitutive of our very privilege as educators and academics aiming to change things and they make it impossible to conceive of a transformative, liberatory or emancipatory education without a constant scrutiny of the historicity, ideological and coercive nature of our own investments and desires in relation to ideas of transformation, emancipation and liberation.

Central to this kind of educational practice is a constant attention to the discursive production of knowledge and reality. In my work in teacher education, I have attempted (several times and in a variety of ways) to theorize and communicate how letting go of the investments and desires for failure-proof pre-determined scripts (e.g. perfect frameworks, failure-proof lesson plans and teleological modes of thinking about the future) can open up more responsive and exciting possibilities in education (Todd, 2009). I became interested in why prospective and beginning teachers reported being overwhelmed by complexity, plurality, uncertainty, contingency (and more so by) inequalities, as it destroyed the picture of the world and their identities in it they had painted for themselves, creating a lot of anxiety and insecurity. I wondered how schooling could create subjectivities that would easily be overwhelmed by complexity, and how I could support these teachers in creating the resilience, balance and strength to face the world inside and outside their classrooms, within and outside ourselves, in all its multiplicity, contingency and indeterminacy, beyond the idea that we can only access these worlds through knowledge and reason. However, this is not easy as it goes against many cherished ideals traditionally believed to be the very purpose of modern education, therefore strong resistance to this type of teaching is to be expected (see Taylor, 2011).

I have attempted to define this process as a re-scrambling of cognitive and affective assemblages from investments in absolute certainties (tied to one's enchantment with modernity) to

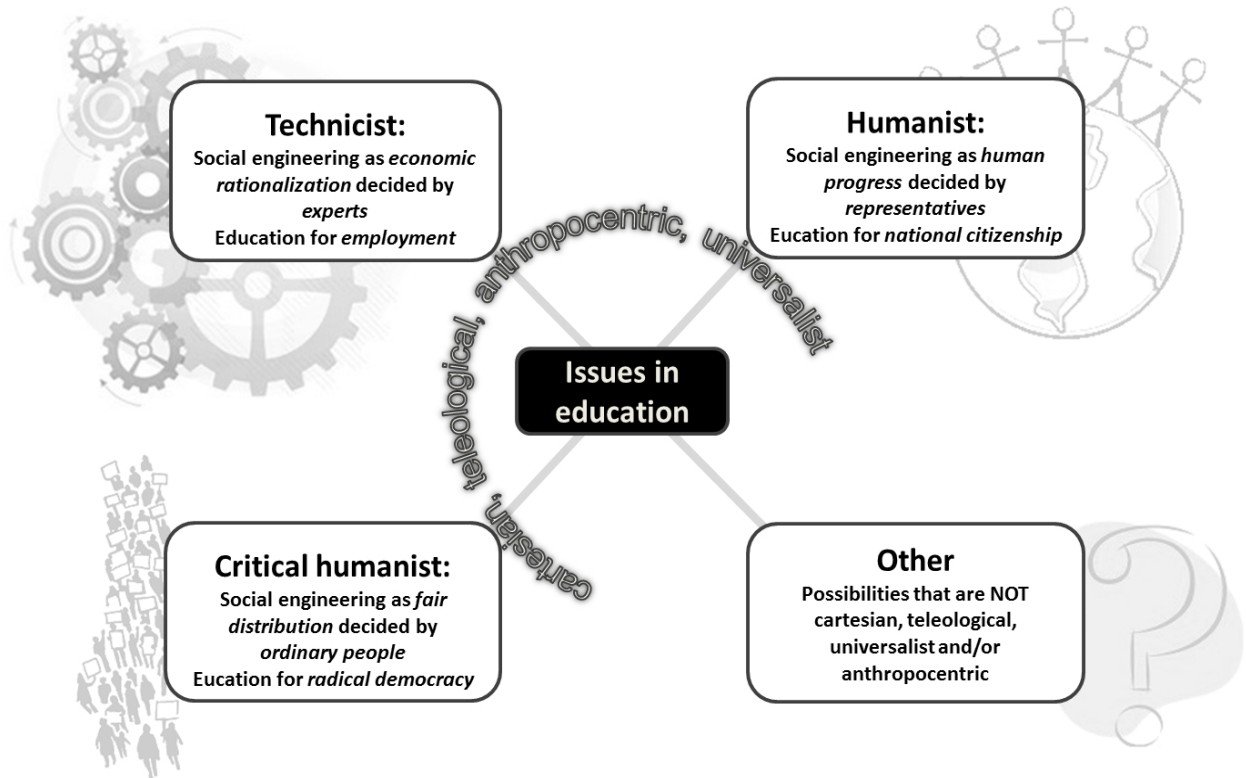
provisional and situated certainties in different ways (see Andreotti, 2010; 2011). This process can also be conceptualized as a re-negotiation of epistemic privilege. This negotiation starts with an examination of the ways in which modernity shapes aspirations for the certainties of a completely known, coherent and (scientifically/technologically) engineered metropolitan world, where people who use reason (as opposed to instinct) are able to agree on living a moral life. The combination of this notion of knowledge, the aspiration for progress, certainty, coherence, and for a homogeneous future, as well as, the belief in a self-transparent, self-conscious Cartesian subject creates the conditions for the experience of epistemic privilege as something natural and that one is individually entitled to. The process of learning to trace individual assumptions down to collective discourses/meta-narratives and to identify ‘aporias’ and contradictions is often first experienced as a loss (of individual perspectives, of grounds) and then as something liberating, but still grounded on the same modes of knowing, as an all-encompassing theory is still the desired goal. Once this desire is frustrated by an awareness of complexities, contingencies and incommensurabilities of difference, the experience of paralysis and nihilism, of having reached the limit of one’s mode of knowing and of experiencing one’s own privilege as a loss rather than an entitlement, prepares the ground for an enlargement of referents, which is a position where one is open to being taught by a plural and undefined world, of knowing differently, partially and provisionally, from a location other than that one has inherited. For that to happen knowledge needs to be also conceptualized as elusive, doubtful and equivocal, rather than objective, certain and unequivocal. Within this space, there is a constant productive suspicion towards one’s knowing and towards knowledge itself, as there is a recognition that one cannot get rid of modern aspirations and modes of thinking completely as they are constitutive to our being in the world with others in this specific historical time. On the other hand, one not only becomes (relatively) comfortable with the discomfort of having to re-negotiate meaning, power and identity in different contexts, but also learns to see these constructs as constructs: one’s security does not rely anymore on what one knows already, where one belongs, or a fixed notion of one’s identity, but on the feeling of (self) insufficiency and (Other) indispensability. It is through this logic that difference is seen as a “fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark” (Lorde, 1979, para 6). Lorde (1979) continues:

Only then does the necessity for interdependency become unthreatening. Only within that interdependency of different strengths, acknowledged and equal, can the power to seek new ways of being in the world generate, as well as the courage and sustenance to act *where there are no charters*. Within the interdependence of mutual differences lies that security which enables us to descend into the chaos of knowledge and return with true visions of our future, along with the concomitant power to effect those changes which can bring that future into being. Difference is that raw and powerful connection from which our personal power is forged. (para. 6–7)

In teacher education, I have explored different ways of introducing these ideas and prompting re-negotiations of epistemic privilege. One of the exercises that has proved useful in a few contexts has been the repeated illustration of how different discourses lead to different analyses and outcomes in relation to given problems. I often use a simple (and relatively simplistic) mapping exercise to introduce the issue in order to create a bridge to more complex modes of understanding. This exercise is based on a simple conceptual map that can offer glimpses of the multiple voices and trends in educational debates and their imaginaries for social change. This map suggests a heuristic (i.e. tentative) distinction between four different and inter-related *configurations of thinking* about the relationship between education, nation states and social relations: technicist, humanist, critical humanist and ‘other’ configurations of thinking (see Figure 3). Students are not encouraged to choose the best of these four configurations, but to understand the social, cultural and historical

origins and ethical, political and pedagogical implications of each perspective applied to the understanding of educational questions or dilemmas in a specific context. Three configurations of thinking (technicist, humanist and critical humanist) are concerned with social change conceptualized as ‘social engineering’. Each configuration of thinking offers different interpretations of the role of education and individuals in society, as well as engagements with other cultures.

Figure 3: Configurations of thinking



The technicist configuration of thinking frames *social engineering as economic rationalization decided by experts*. This configuration can be seen at work in educational reforms concerned with the creation of human capital for national economic growth in knowledge societies, especially in neo-liberal and neo-conservative discourses. Within this logic, education is often perceived as a way to maximise the performance of individuals in global markets driven by services and innovation, in order to improve their employability or entrepreneurial capacity with a view to contribute to their country’s competitiveness in global economies. Economic growth is associated with the acquisition and accumulation of universal knowledge (in contrast, for example, to the explanation that economic growth is based on hegemonic control of means of production) and poverty is defined as an individual or a country’s deficit of knowledge, competencies and skills to participate in the global economy. The rationale for education is presented as a business case, as an individual responsibility of lifelong learning and adaptation to ever-changing economic contexts. From this perspective, social responsibility involves the export of expertise from those heading the way in terms of economic development to those lagging behind. Engagements with other cultures are defined in relation to national interests, such as the protection of national labour markets, the expansion of consumer markets, and the perceived threat of unwanted immigration, creating a need for controlled and market oriented internationalization based on nationally defined objectives.

The (institutionally invested) liberal humanist configuration of thinking in this conceptual tool frames social engineering as *human progress decided by national representatives*. From this perspective, education serves as enculturation into a national culture defined by its political or intellectual representatives, as well as an international culture perceived as an encounter between nationally defined groups of individuals primarily concerned with a combination of individual, national and humanitarian interests. What human progress looks like is decided by national representatives in supranational governance institutions like the United Nations, through a process of international consensus on key universal aims to be delivered by nation states, generally focusing on human rights and substantial freedoms. From this perspective, education should disseminate the international consensus on universal human progress defined in terms of access to education, healthcare, democracy and economic development. In this sense, obstacles to human progress become the focus of government agreed targets (such as the Millennium Development Goals), campaigns (like Education for All), and other charitable and humanitarian interventions which generally define help as the moral responsibility of those who are ahead in terms of international development. Poverty is explained as a deficit in terms of human progress, thus education becomes a vehicle for poverty eradication through partnerships between donors/dispensers and receivers of aid, knowledge, education, resources (e.g. books, computers, etc.), technical assistance, human rights, or volunteer labour. From this perspective, education is a means to prepare world leaders to bring order and progress for all (generally through education itself). Engagements with difference are also defined in national or ethnic terms: global learners are encouraged to acquire knowledge about different cultures/nationalities, including different perspectives, in order to be able to work with diverse populations towards common/consensual goals (predefined by national or supranational governance institutions). Therefore, different perspectives and critical engagement are welcome within pre-defined frameworks (i.e. as long as there is acceptance of human rights, specific ideas of development, progress, governance, etc.).

The critical humanist configuration of thinking represented in the conceptual tool frames *social engineering as fair distribution done by ordinary people* (rather than experts or representatives). This perspective is based on a critique of both technicist and humanist configurations of thinking highlighting injustices and inequalities created or maintained by their ideals and means of implementation. In terms of state governance, this perspective emphasizes the complicity of initiatives based on economic or humanist ideals in the creation and maintenance of poverty and marginalization in order to sustain exponential compound economic growth and improvements in quality of life that benefit only small sections of the world population. A critical humanist perspective also condemns the primacy of economic growth imperatives in nation state agendas, as well as the erosion of autonomy and accountability of governments to their own populations due to lobbying and increasingly closer relationships with corporations. Some critical humanists attempt to expand the notion of consensual human progress to include the rights of those who have historically been marginalised working against patriarchy, sexism, class divisions, racism and hetero-normativity (e.g. approaches grounded on critical pedagogy). Others claim that the consensus on human progress, based on modern development, is manufactured by elites and imposed around the world as a form of imperialism that eliminates other conceptualizations and possibilities of progress and development (e.g. discursive approaches). Education, from this perspective, is concerned with the transformation of society and the creation of a new social order more inclusive of those who have been silenced or exploited by the current dominant system - it involves an emphasis on critical social analyses of unequal power relations, distributions of labour and wealth and the politics of representation and knowledge production. Education, therefore, is about the creation of a critical mass of people who could see and imagine beyond the limitations and oppression of the current system in order to bring a different reality into being. Engagement with difference involves listening

to and empowering those who have been marginalised and insisting on the need for spaces of dissent where other alternatives can emerge. The World Social Forum, the Occupy Wall Street Movement and the occupation of the Syntagma Square in Athens are examples of initiatives based on critical humanism in civil society. Several educational initiatives inspired by anti-colonial, feminist and anti-oppressive movements since the 60s also enact critical humanist ideals.

Through education in contemporary metropolitan and industrialised societies people are exposed to different degrees to the three configurations of thinking described so far. The common theme of social change as social engineering in the three configurations is also not a coincidence. The technician, humanist and critical humanist perspectives in our heuristic conceptual tool have common roots in modernity (i.e. in their ties the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, the Reformation, European colonialism and resistance to colonialism, and, particularly, European Enlightenment). They present different interpretations of key Enlightenment tenets and share specific ideals of being, thinking and relating: the Cartesian subject (self-conscious of himself and splitting minds from bodies), universal reasoning (based on the idea of only one possible rationality), teleological thinking (focusing on a foreseeable end goal), dialectical modes of engagement (based on hierarchical binaries and the elimination of difference), and anthropocentrism (privileging human beings). These basic tenets should not be seen as all good or all bad, but as historically situated, and potentially restrictive if universalised through social, political or educational projects, as they prevent the imagination of other possibilities. Since our education has constructed our ideas of what is good, ideal and normal, it is important to acknowledge our constitutive blindness to other forms of seeing, knowing and being in the world that do not fit what we can recognize through the frames of references we have become used to.

Therefore, the fourth configuration of thinking is introduced as a question mark in the form of an absence – a sanctioned ignorance - that is very difficult to address without looking first at our schooled selves, our ways of being, speaking, listening, knowing, relating and seeing. If we have been over-exposed to and over-socialized in specific European Enlightenment ideals, and if we need to amplify our constellations of meaning, this starts with an acknowledgement of our own inadequacy to even recognize other possibilities – our epistemic blindness (see Souza Santos, 2007; Andreotti, 2011; Andreotti and Souza, 2011). This blindness prevents us from listening to possibilities that, for example, are not framed by Cartesian, teleological, universal, dialectical or anthropocentric reasoning, the essential categories we have learned and used to define reality if we were educated through Western-style schooling. Therefore, in order to learn to listen to, learn from and/or work with other peoples and knowledges, we would first need to learn to unlearn and to work without the guarantees promised by the ideals of social engineering. In this sense the education of those who have been previously schooled should aim to support unlearning, learning to learn and learning to work without guarantees (Souza and Andreotti, 2009).

The attempt to understand and address educational challenges, such as curriculum reform in a specific country, or whether a school is needed in a specific community, through these four configurations of thinking may point to many of the difficulties and dilemmas in educational conversations past, present and future. The exercise of comparing and contrasting these different perspectives also illustrates that, if education has the potential to bring people together to address questions of justice and inequality and to open different possibilities for collective futures, equipping people to live with the complexity, plurality and uncertainty of the world seems to be an important first step in that direction.

(In) Conclusion

The re-negotiation of epistemic privilege in education requires that education is conceptualized as the work of preparing myself and those I work with to enlarge possibilities for thinking and living together in a finite planet that sustains complex, plural, uncertain, and inter-dependent societies which currently have increasing levels of inequality and injustice. In order to do that, it is necessary to create accessible messages that can communicate the urgency for something different, offer an entry-point to the complexity of the issues involved and address the anxieties that this could create. It also requires a shift from naïve hope or dismissive scepticism towards an attitude of sceptical optimism or hopeful scepticism towards the future in order to stretch the legacy of frameworks we have inherited, including the need:

- to understand and learn from repeated historical patterns of mistakes, in order to open the possibilities for new mistakes to be made
- more complex social analyses acknowledging that if we understand the problems and the reasons behind them in simplistic ways, we may do more harm than good
- to recognize how we are implicated or complicit in the problems we are trying to address
- to learn to enlarge our referents for reality and knowledge, acknowledging the insufficiency and indispensability of different knowledge systems, moving beyond 'either ors' towards 'both and mores'
- to remember that the paralysis and guilt we may feel when we start to engage with the complexity of issues of inequality are just temporary as they may come from our own education/socialization in protected environments, which create the desire for things to be simple, easy, happy, ordered and under control.

It is important to emphasize that these messages require that we have the courage, strength, confidence and humility to rise to the challenges and difficulties of current times; they command that we educate ourselves to become comfortable with the discomfort of the uncertainties of living the plurality of existence; and they call us to become inspired and excited by the new possibilities opened by unchartered spaces, processes and encounters that do not offer any pre-determined scripts or guarantees. How do we teach for that? And how do we prepare ourselves to teach for that given that we have been over-socialised in forms of education that go exactly in the opposite direction of finding personal comfort and security in certainties, conformity, deference to institutional authorities, and unexamined ideas of progress? For me, this also changes the questions we should explore together, for example:

- How can we resist hegemony(ies) without transforming our own resistance into a new hegemony?
- How can we challenge ethnocentrism without falling into absolute relativism?
- How can we oppose ahistoricism without using history to simply reverse hierarchies?
- How can we address depoliticization without high jacking political agendas for self-serving ends?
- How can we counter salvationism without crushing generosity and altruism?
- How can we defy the demand for uncomplicated solutions without producing paralysis and hopelessness?
- How can we contest paternalism without closing important opportunities for redistribution?
(Andreotti, 2012b)

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The Challenges and Benefits of Collaborative-based Learning Practice for Citizenship Education

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Abstract

This paper is divided into three sections. In part one it draws on theorists such as Dewey to discuss the rationale for Collaborative Based Learning (CBL), its significance in developing attitudes and values towards citizenship and how it fosters democratic sentiment and behaviours. In part two it uses data from a study with student teachers to describe problems that arise when this pedagogy is used in classrooms. The paper concludes with general teaching recommendations that address the shortcomings described in part two and maximize the benefits of CBL for the development of good citizens, a key goal of public education.

Key words: collaborative-based learning; citizenship education; public education

A number of educational theorists have argued for the benefits of group or Collaborative Based Learning (CBL), particularly in relation to citizenship education. For example, Dewey (1916) theorized the concept of “socialized learning,” the idea that learning occurred through dialogue, discussion, and engagement with other people while engaged in purposeful explorations, or inquiry projects. He viewed knowledge to be “living,” or created, in these situations and believed that the result of such an educational program would be education *in* and *for* democracy. Other theorists, to be introduced below, have continued to develop Dewey’s concepts related to democratic education over the twentieth century, consistently describing CBL as an effective pedagogy for nurturing valuable democratic sentiments and actions. When implementing this pedagogy in practice, however, teachers often run into a number of issues.

This paper describes some of the main issues that arise (identified from research and literature studies) and provides recommendations for addressing these issues. The paper begins by reviewing what CBL is through a discussion of some of its key theorists.

The paper adds to a small but emerging body of literature exploring the limitations and challenges of translating appealing theories of education into practice, particularly those related to group-based learning (such as Ash & D’Auria, 2013; Wang & Burton, 2010). The author recognises the strengths of the theoretical frame and explores solutions to addressing some of its shortcomings that emerge in practice. The paper contributes to the literature by

- adding new insights to our awareness of theoretical shortcomings/limitations;
- connecting theory and practice; and
- providing recommendations that aim to maximize the applicability of theoretical frames focused on student-centered and group-based learning to both theory and practice

Defining the Pedagogy

Collaborative Based Learning (CBL) is understood by the author to be a group-oriented class organization in which learning occurs through dialogue, discussion, and engagement with peers. It embraces real-world, student-based and purposeful explorations, or inquiry projects, and understands knowledge to be “living,” as it is created through student engagement in tasks with their peers, with guidance from their teachers. The social component is vital as the pedagogy assumes that it is through discussion with others that students are able to process, integrate, or “make sense

of” new information. Students hear multiple perspectives from their peers and are thus provided with opportunities to build new ideas and understanding (Chiriac, 2011; Francisco, 2012). At the same time, students are encouraged to engage in self-reflection on their own ideas and experiences and to grow from these.

Significance of the pedagogy.

Seven key benefits of collaborative-based learning include:

1. Innovative teaching and learning.

CBL can lead to innovations that improve teaching practice and thus student learning and engagement. Students directly benefit, as teachers are able to bring a rich collection of teaching strategies to their classrooms and expand their students’ global awareness and knowledge. These strategies can engage students in their learning and are often more varied, thus also addressing students’ multiple learning needs. Classroom learning environments can be consequently enhanced (Lillard, 2007).

2. Leadership.

Collaborative-Based Learning provides opportunities for students to develop their leadership skills and abilities (Drago-Severson, Cuban, & Daloz, 2009). Students are no longer passive recipients of the teacher’s facts (Freire, 2000). Instead, students are given opportunities to become their own teachers as they engage in explorations and discussions, which can deepen their understanding of the content studied and provide for the development of critical thinking skills. As students identify tasks, conduct research, and engage in discussions with their group members, they are given opportunities to develop individual accountability and responsibility and can slowly come to direct their own learning (Baxter Magolda, 2012).

3. Education in and for democracy

CBL promotes democratic sentiment by having students learn how to listen to the voices of their classmates and resolve conflicting points of view. These are both key skills in a democracy. It is an active pedagogy, in other words, which mirrors behaviours that nurture democratic actions. As Aristotle said, “It is well said, then, that it is by doing just acts that the just man (sic) is produced, and by doing temperate acts the temperate man; without doing these no one would have even a prospect of becoming good” (Nicomachean Ethics). CBL provides opportunities for students to come to both recognize and appreciate the multiple learning styles and personalities of their classmates. It also provides effective ways for varied learners to participate in the classroom (Arvaja, 2008; Chu, 2009; Haury, 1993; Lake, 2012).

4. Emotional engagement

CBL can promote greater emotional engagement for many students as they are actively involved in working with information and with others, and they can choose a topic that is personally relevant to them. Enjoyment of learning and peer and student interactions can also increase in the classroom (Smith et al., 2007).

5. Multiple skills development and better academic achievement

CBL provides opportunities for the development of a number of skills including reading, writing, researching, critical thinking, planning, delegating, designing, mediating, communicating, problem solving, creativity, self-management, and conflict-resolution (Arvaja, 2008; Chu, 2009; Lake, 2012). Further, second language learners are able to develop their communication skills (Haury, 1993), and the academic achievement and higher-order thinking skills of students can improve (Smith et al., 2007). These skills, including collaborative work, are often used in the community and so students are given opportunities to develop real-world skills and abilities. Students also mirror the work of experts and practitioners who work with others to develop new knowledge (Oner, 2008).

6. Developing empathy

Students are provided with opportunities to develop empathy through exposure to the multiple points of view of their classmates, the development of conflict-resolution skills, and the exploration of multiple perspectives (Arvaja, 2008; Chu, 2009; Lake, 2012).

7. Empowered learners

In the traditional, teacher-centred classroom, the teacher controls learning and students become recipients or consumers of this knowledge. Freire (2000) argued that this traditionalist teaching style promoted passivity and disengagement. In contrast, in CBL classrooms, students can come to control and direct their own learning as they acquire new knowledge to answer a question, solve a problem, or explore an issue. This approach transfers responsibility for learning to students and so is empowering to them (Oner, 2008).

The next section discusses theorists whose work supports and elaborates on CBL.

Theoretical Frame

The theoretical frame draws on the works of Dewey, Freire, Cone and Harris, Noddings and Saltmarsh and constructivists.

(i) Dewey

Dewey aimed to create a “progressive” democracy, “the presage of a more equitable and enlightened social order,” (Dewey, 1916, p. 319) through education. For Dewey, “education is a social process” (p. 99): society and the environment shape students through real experiences, and students learn through active social engagement. Creating a continually improving society requires that students are taught more than information that only replicates their existing society. Rather, life is a process of constant “growth,” and students have to be educated so as to maintain their plasticity—their capacity to constantly develop and evolve, to ensure a continually improving democratic society. Democracy, that is, requires an educated populace that actively participates in constantly improving its community.

According to Dewey, education is to be composed of experiences that are relevant, interesting, connected to real life and purposeful. These experiences give students “knowledge of

some fundamental principles by understanding them in their familiar practical workings--the important thing is that the fact be grasped in its social connections--its functions in life" (2007, Section 21). Dewey provided the example of making and flying a kite, which taught students about materials and physics, among other subjects. Students should be actively doing in order to learn, not ineffectively memorizing facts through recitation. Real experiences led to problems that the students worked to solve through thought, the use of support materials such as facts in textbooks, and by working with other people. Subjects should be inter-twined with real life and each other, and should promote social inquiry, student reflection, and dialogue:

To "learn from experience" is to make a backward and forward connection between what we do to things and what we enjoy or suffer from things in consequence. Under such conditions, doing becomes a trying; an experiment with the world to find out what it is like; the undergoing becomes instruction--discovery of the connection of things. (Dewey, 2007, section 11)

As knowledge is created in these situations, it is living, and open to future refinement. The teacher's role is that of a guide or mentor, nurturing the conditions that foster student experiences and leading students through reflections that make "experience intelligent" (Rocheleau, 2004). CBL is an "experience," according to Dewey's conception.

(ii) Freire, Cone and Harris

Cone and Harris (1996) add to Dewey's thought with a framework for community-based, experiential work that focuses on transforming participants' thoughts and fostering personal growth through experience combined with reflection. The model integrates intra- and inter-personal components. The authors argue for a personalized education in which each participant is valued as a unique product of his/her own social environment and personality.

First, students are given theories, tools, and knowledge that prepare them for their experience in the community. Through discussions, participants explore their intentions and expectations and how their prior experiences may influence their views of the experience. Consideration is given to how perceptions shape understanding and how understanding shapes perceptions, and how conceptual categories (developed through social practice or theory) structure sense-making (Cone & Harris, 1996).

During the real-world, experiential activity, authentic challenges can lead to cognitive dissonance, and thus to learning--to reconceptualization--through reflection. Reflection is understood in the Freirean (2000) sense of *conscientizacão*, awareness that connects to action and is nurtured through problematizing dialogue. The model does not proceed in a simple, linear fashion, but is recursive. The model aims to deepen participants' conceptual and applied learning and knowledge, as knowledge is understood as the point where theory and experience meet.

(iii) Noddings and Saltmarsh

Noddings and Saltmarsh expand on the ideas of Dewey, Freire, and Cone and Harris by integrating the heart: experiential learning that occurs in caring relationships is educative of mind and heart. They write,

Education that impels students toward the formation of values is experiential by nature. It must be centered on relationships and connections in practice. As Noddings explains, 'moral decisions are,

after all, made in situations; they are qualitatively different from the solution of geometry problems.’
(Saltmarsh, 1984, p. 96)

Well-structured experiences can provide “apprenticeships for caring,” experiences that enhance a “sense of relatedness, of renewed commitment to receptivity” (Saltmarsh, p. 190) between students and their communities. The process includes exploring, clarifying, realizing, doing, and internalizing through a genuine experience, and it aims to change individuals’ thoughts and actions (Saltmarsh, 1984).

(iv) Constructivism

This theory of learning underlies and supports CBL. The brain is understood to be, figuratively, webbed in nature, with each nodule a concept that is interconnected to others. Students learn through concept formation and clarification (Bruner, 1987; Vygotsky, 2004). A concept is a general category to which a number of facts, images, and generalizations are connected, much like a spider web. The theory argues that students relate new material to what they know. Experiences can lead to a reshuffling of concepts in the student’s brain, if the new content does not fit comfortably with the student’s existing concepts and he/she reflects on the material (Dewey’s concept of experience made intelligent). Ways of teaching concepts include the interactive discovery approach (presenting problems and questions for students to work with) and inductive and deductive thinking activities (Bruner, 1987).

Summary

In short, these theorists argue that authentic Deweyan experiences embedded in a caring and collaborative environment, which includes reflective discussions, are an effective method for nurturing student learning. CBL provides students with opportunities to engage in group-focused, inquiry and experience-based learning. It can develop their knowledge, confidence, and sense of empowerment, efficacy, and democratic skills. These can directly benefit society: By developing students’ citizenship skills, CBL provides opportunities for nurturing citizens who work to foster a continually growing democracy. The teacher’s role is that of a guide and mentor.

Drawing on these theorists, many scholars (such as Kagan et al., 2000; Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Morton & Myers, 1998; Orr, 2004) have elaborated on the benefits and methods of collaborative learning. However, as we shall see, problems emerge when CBL is implemented in practice. This paper will now describe a number of shortcomings associated with CBL and provide recommendations for how these challenges can best be addressed in order to maximize the potential benefits of the pedagogy. These recommendations aim to strengthen the connections between theory and practice.

Research Methodology

The shortcomings discussed here arise from two research studies. The first involved interviews, conducted in the summer of 2013, with 28 secondary school student teachers about their group work experiences in an inquiry, collaborative-based, cross-disciplinary course. The course combined four educational subjects (Foundations, Philosophy, and Psychology of Education, and Literacy and Inclusion) into an intensive, case-based course that began the students’ secondary teacher education program in 2012. All students were invited to participate in the study, and all those who consented to the study were interviewed. The interviews were conducted after Ethics

approval and after the students had completed their Bachelor of Education program. Interviews were recorded using field notes and were anonymous as students were identified only by code. Answers were analysed and grouped into themes using a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1992; Strauss, 1987). The second data set involved one of the course instructor's self-study into her own teaching practices within the same course.

Problems in Practice and Recommendations

Nine problems related to the manner in which students responded to CBL, such as by disengaging, or in the manner through which some students engaged with their peers, such as attempting to control their peers, emerged when the pedagogy was used in practice. Each situation is described next, along with recommendations to address each issue.

(i) The unmotivated student

When implementing CBL learning in the classroom, teachers may encounter students who allow their group members to do the work and don't participate with sufficient effort in the collaboration (Chu, 2009). Interviewed students felt resentful of classmates who "took advantage" of their classmates' work and didn't understand or embrace their group "roles and responsibilities" (student interview, 2013). Some students mentioned this as the largest tension in their group. The lack of effort of some students was visible to the instructor through group tensions and the lack of engagement that was apparent in some students' participation in group presentations. Students were affected enough by their unmotivated classmates to come and talk directly with the professor about their concerns.

Recommendations

Reasons for lack of engagement ranged from lack of school engagement (particularly not seeing the relevance of the project or not being certain of teaching as a career) to issues at home. Possible solutions to manage this, developed from the instructor's reflective practice, included having multiple evaluations with categories for individual and group work, using group- and self-assessments, and testing students' learning by developing summative assessments that incorporated what was studied in the group. The group as a whole also gained from discussions on the meaning of group-based learning and its benefits and ways of allocating necessary group tasks, such as collaborative designs that required group members to take turns as "activity" leaders (Riel, nd). Students also mentioned that professors should not assume that students know how to collaborate. Discussions on what collaboration is, why it matters, and the importance of professional conduct in a professional program were "worthwhile" (student interview, 2013). In class discussions, metaphors and links to democratic life and processes were used by the instructor with the aim of helping students conceptualize, develop, value, and use cooperative processes and procedures. Further, the instructor met with the individual students involved and worked to identify the reasons behind these students' lack of effort and tried to address these, including helping the students to see the value of group-based collaboration for the development of a number of teaching skills such as people-management skills.

(ii) The controlling student

The controlling student attempts to control the concepts and activities of other group members with a dominating voice or perspective. He or she shuts down varied points of view and pushes people to do work “his or her way.” “Difficult experiences” with students with “strong personalities” (student interview, 2013) was the second most common complaint voiced by the student teachers, and it fostered resentment or disengagement.

Recommendations

Ways of managing this included discussing guidelines for group participation, and reviewing the concept of distributed leadership. The instructor also structured regular discussions for students and integrated group- and self-assessments to allow students to consider how others saw their group participation and to reflect on their own behaviours. One student mentioned peer assessments were very helpful to identify “classmates who didn’t engage, or took it as a joke, or didn’t put in what they should have done” (student interview, 2013). The instructor also met with students individually to discuss how their peers viewed them and facilitated a discussion in which the class collaboratively developed assessment criteria. Criteria can specify that all group members should take part in leading one group task. Group development of criteria can help students “buy in” to CBL work.

(iii) The varied “statuses” ascribed to group members

In some groups, students were differentially valued. Those students who were less valued (due to factors such as social or cultural capital or having different perspectives) could be left out or ignored during group deliberative processes. As one student mentioned, she was disappointed by “a lack of respect to others” which she saw some students manifest to other students, and she had “difficult experiences with strong personalities” (student interview, 2013). Affected students often had their ideas and suggestions ignored. This was a painful and frustrating process for these student teachers and one that they did not easily forget. It could lead to disengagement and “did affect some people’s ability to share” in group and class discussions and activities (student interview, 2013).

Recommendations

For this situation, the instructor used discussions about the value of all voices to democratic processes and deliberations (and to classroom practice)--how all perspectives and skills enrich our society. As well, the instructor helped students identify and then use structured group roles, which valued multiple intelligences. She facilitated discussions with students about how learning to work with a variety of people is a valuable skill in the twenty-first century. Students mentioned that they valued the ability to talk to, and get advice and support from the course instructors when particular group members’ participation in the group wasn’t valued by all group members.

(iv) When collaboration does not promote synergy

A common belief is that thinking in groups is better than thinking individually, as different individuals bring varied perspectives. However, this may not always be the case. Groups may finish with a poor-quality product due to a number of factors such as lack of (or domineering) leadership in the group, getting off task, or failure to engage deeply in the task (Kirschner et al, 2010). For one student teacher, “group dynamics” was the only issue she identified in the program (student interview, 2013). For another, it was hard to get all students to participate--to share their ideas and to get involved--in the group fully.

Recommendations

Ways of managing lack of synergy include ensuring the project has a research/inquiry component so that students have the opportunity to collect a broader array of perspectives, including questions and project time markers, having each group member be responsible for one research component, and meeting with groups regularly to ensure that their projects are progressing well. Teachers can also take time to place students into groups themselves in order to ensure that all groups have varied learners.

(v) Limited skills development

CBL can develop a number of skills. However, this may not be the case if the group project requires the use of a limited number of skills. Further, students may arrange themselves in the group so that they only contribute skills they already have to the group. For example, a group may have the “art” student always design the project’s artistic elements. The instructor noticed that this often happened among the student teachers. It was easy to fall into a pattern of using one’s strengths and previous knowledge or skills, particularly when limited time and heavy workloads were realities.

Recommendations

Ways of managing this pattern, also developed through the practice of the instructor, included making students aware of the various skills developed in group work and encouraging them to try new tasks and skills. For example, the requirement may be set that all students have to “lead” one group task and that this task has to be in a new skill area. The teacher can also ensure that the assessment component includes new skill development. Students should receive the rubric in advance. The task itself should be designed to ensure multiple skill development.

(vi) Dysfunctional groups

CBL aims to develop students’ abilities to respect multiple points of view and work with a variety of learners. However, this may not occur if groups fail to work well or productively together due to personality clashes or off-task behaviours. Strong personalities can clash in groups, leading groups to collapse under the weight of individual recriminations. Alternatively, group members may refuse to collaborate with particular group members or to engage with the group. Cruel words and actions can destroy the desire to work with others. They caused genuine emotional hurt in some of the interviewed student teachers and were events that were not easily forgotten. Some student teachers described this as occurring in their groups, and negotiating the tensions was “emotional” and led to “exhaustion” (student interview, 2013). Other student teachers mentioned that their groups worked well together as the students had compatible personalities and got on well, although they heard about the problems in other groups. The main issue appears to be largely related to personality and particularly incompatible, strong, or different personality types.

Recommendations

The researcher found that ways of managing this included: selecting group members in advance to ensure that students are able to work together productively (although this can also

dampen the effectiveness of the learning), having groups and individuals regularly reflect on how the group is working, setting out the expectations and benefits of learning to work with varied people, and teaching students conflict-resolution skills. The latter is particularly important and is most valuable when it is encased in a discussion of the need to learn how to work with varied personalities in life, and the association between good leadership and conflict-resolution (or people-management) skills. One student mentioned she felt an “inner conflict” about the value and applicability of group work to teaching and conversations about its value and purpose were very helpful, as she was used to working alone (student interview, 2013). Another student teacher mentioned that she was used to the “competitive model” in her undergraduate studies (student interview, 2013). Teachers should not assume that students know how and why to collaborate together and solve group conflicts. They could have students role play simulated conflict-resolution scenarios to develop their awareness of these skills, or they could use inside/outside (or fishbowl) circles to have students record, analyse, and then discuss how they see groups interacting. Teachers could also fill out rubrics on the groups as they interact and then share this feedback with the students, recognizing the importance of making experience “intelligent” (Rocheleau, 2004). In setting out group work expectations, teachers should give students time to address both the social and the procedural components of group work (Tuckman cited in Center for Faculty Excellence, 2006). Teachers can also teach students CBL procedural models when students are just beginning CBL work, such as the steps of forming, storming, norming, performing, and adjourning (Tuckman cited in Center for Faculty Excellence, 2006), the final component of which includes a celebration of learning. For the interviewed student teachers, experiencing group tensions was difficult to deal with at first. However, overcoming group work issues became a significant learning experience for them, which they remembered positively: “although there was grumbling we learned when to listen, we were able to work through it” (student interview, 2013). Another student mentioned:

Later on, it got easier to work with different people, but it was hard at first. It was especially hard for me as I am more reserved and didn’t always want to share. Our group had much conflict but it did get resolved and now all get on well. It benefited all in the long term... [tensions were] difficult to get through but it made me more adaptable and accepting of different ideas. (Student interview, 2013)

Promoting and valuing “community,” having “private conversations” with particular students, and incorporating activities to get students to know each other in order to get “comfortable with each other” helped the students work together better: “Tensions do need to be dealt with, sometimes externally. Part of it was helped by facilitating community...recognizing we are a community and taking care of each other” (student interview, 2013).

(vii) Disengagement in Peer Presentations

Often, CBL involves groups in sharing their findings or conclusions with the class. It can happen, however, that peers don’t listen to the presentations of some of their peers, or that they show a lack of respect for some groups. Student teachers had trouble “to get some students to speak” (student interview, 2013). This may be related to the class’s social hierarchy and to the varying popularity or social capital of students.

Recommendations

While this was not a big issue among these student teachers, ways of minimizing this disengagement included marking students' group projects before they were presented to ensure that they were well done. Providing formative project feedback throughout the project, as well, through regular meetings with groups provided opportunities for regular guidance. Teachers could also provide a task for peers to complete as they listen to their peers and mark this task. For example, teachers could have students fill out a worksheet or a table on key facts learned. This worked well with the student teachers who were required to complete marked, reflective assignments after their peers' group presentations.

(viii) Power and control

Teachers may feel afraid to use CBL in their classrooms as they fear losing control of their classrooms (Deters, 2005). They may feel that students will get off task and do what they want to do. Teachers may also be concerned that they will not have time to cover all the curriculum. Students themselves may fear the process and get off task, as they are unsure of what they are to do (Smith et al, 2007). As a result, teachers may feel disappointed with CBL and resort to structured, teacher-centered practices. The author herself felt this fear as a novice teacher. But, over time, she came to recognize that giving up her control empowered and engaged students in their learning.

Recommendations

By implementing CBL slowly (step-by-step) and guiding students to recognize the value (as well as develop the skills) of CBL, students are given the possibility of becoming responsible for their own learning. Positive, caring, and enabling environments with guided development of group work skills provide opportunities for teachers to maintain classroom control at the same time as they give students greater control over their own learning. This is more likely to result in engagement in learning, more learning, and good classroom control in the long term. For this instructor, the key was to gradually give students more independence in carrying out their projects, to monitor students and give groups feedback regularly, and to set out the purposes and objectives of the approach. For example, a teacher may begin with an inquiry project in which the roles, procedures, research questions, and expectations are outlined in detail. Gradually, these can be reduced as students are given more control in organizing the details and components of their projects. The interviewed student teachers had positive views of the value of this student-focused learning: "I found it hard to work together...it taught me about conflict resolution, and how I relate to people... You don't have to agree but it is important to be respectful of others...we had to be self sufficient... had to learn how to negotiate tensions" (student interview, 2013).

(ix) Values imposition?

One concern voiced about some CBL lessons, particularly those that have students explore issues, is that teachers may impose their values on students. By the manner in which teachers structure the activity, the questions they ask, the readings they assign, and the way they manage class discussions, teachers can end up pushing their values and, perhaps, even their agendas on their students. This claim, however, can be made any time that teachers are in their classrooms, and for any activity, not only for CBL lessons. In other words, teacher bias is inherent in the very act of teaching (Counts, 1932).

Recommendations

Values imposition can be tackled by teachers’ acknowledgement of their biases, which they can then work to address by ensuring that they present materials from varied perspectives and that they review their own questions and readings carefully. The researcher was open about her own reflective processes and modelled critical self-reflection as a value itself. It was also embedded as one of the key values of the course and assessed in all assignments. The student teachers appreciated this modelling, although they did not always value the reflective process themselves in the beginning. Many of the student teachers mentioned that they came to value self reflection on practice later in their programs, particularly after their practica: “Reflection...at first uncomfortable, getting in touch with uncomfortable parts of myself, but it is important” (student interview, 2013), and “In the beginning, I was intimidated at the thought of having to reflect so much and think about what I was doing and why. I appreciated it but it was difficult” (student interview, 2013).

In this paper, so far, we have reviewed the theories underpinning CBL, and its benefits as well as its shortcomings as they emerged from one study with student teachers. This information is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Benefits and Shortcomings of CBL

Benefits	Shortcomings
Innovative Teaching and Learning	Unmotivated students
Student Leadership	Controlling students
Education in and for democracy	Varied “status” ascribed to group members
Emotional Engagement	Lack of synergy
Multiple skills development	Limited skill development
Better academic achievement	Dysfunctional groups
Empowered learners	Peer Presentations Disengagement
	Power and control
	Values imposition

The final section of this paper will present some examples of CBL projects and some general teaching recommendations for using CBL in classrooms.

General Teaching Recommendations

Teachers’ philosophies of education vary across a broad spectrum (Broom, 2012). Nevertheless, all teachers can bring CBL lessons into their classrooms, as CBL is a broad pedagogical approach within which a number of teaching methods and techniques can be found. For example, Barkley (2005) outlines a number of strategies including discussion-based methods such as Think Pair Share, reciprocal teaching methods such as Test-Taking Teams, problem-solving

methods such as case studies or inquiry projects, methods using visual organizers such as brainstorming Team Matrixes, and writing-based methods such as Dialogue Journals. Kagan (1989) suggests activities such as jigsaws, round robins, corners, Think-Pair-Share, Socratic seminars, and three-step interviews. Marzano and Heflebower (2012) suggest a parallel thinking activity in which students explore various perspectives on an issue through role playing.

Table 2 presents a number of CBL lesson ideas under varying teaching philosophies (Broom, 2012). Thus, for example, teachers with more classical views of education can use Socratic methods, debates, and inductive projects. More Essentialist (or inquiry based) teachers can use fairs, Web Quests, or interviews. Progressivist (or student-focused, experiential) educators can use simulations or problem-solving scenarios, and Reconstructionist (or critical theorist) teachers can use issues explorations, journals, and critical-thinking activities.

Table 2.

Sample CBL Methods under Various Philosophies of Education

Perennialism/Classicism	Essentialism/New	Progressivism	Reconstructionism
Social Studies			
Plato, Oakeshott	Bruner	Dewey	Freire/Foucault
Socratic Method	Inquiry	Project method	Issues-exploration
Q and A	Research	Cooperative work	Action
Debates	Independent work	Peer based learning	Self reflection
Guided Discussion	Depth learning	Problem solving	Moral discussions
Inductive and Deductive work	Scientific Method	Relevant issues	Art
	Historical Fairs	Activities based	Personal
	Web Quests	Field trips	Biographies
	Interviews	Simulations	Curriculum from
	Methods from	Games	the ground up
	different disciplines	Drama	Picture/primary
	(e.g., Archaeological dig)		document analysis
	Simulating academic practices		Journals
			Portfolios
			Stories
			Critical Thinking

Sample Projects

A number of engaging CBL projects have been developed, some of which are discipline-based, and others of which are cross-disciplinary. For example, Duran, Yaussy, and Yaussy (2011) describe “race to the future,” a science project in which students have to work together to solve a number of clues about science content. Problem-based challenges have students work together to research and then solve an issue or problem, such as identifying an illness or determining how much material to buy for an order in a business or math class. Byford (2013) has developed a CBL project for social studies that engages students in exploring the Cold War through a case study exploration of the former East Germany. Students imagine they are West German spies collecting and analysing documents used by the East German government to maintain control of its population.

Conclusion

CBL is a rich pedagogy with a number of strengths. One of its most important strengths is that it fosters the development of democratic sentiments and procedures in students (Dewey, 1916). However, as with all pedagogies that are connected to attractive theories, it has shortcomings that emerge in practice. By recognizing and proactively addressing the challenges related to collaborative, group-based learning strategies, such as student disengagement or weak group collaboration, the strengths of this pedagogy can be harnessed in order to aid in the development of active and participatory citizens who have the necessary knowledge, attitudes and skills to nurture a continually developing democracy. Theory and practice can thus be intricately woven together: practice becomes theory in action.

Teachers shouldn't give up on the pedagogy and return to teacher-directed lecturing if they face some initial challenges using CBL, for addressing the shortcomings that emerge in CBL in practice, is in effect, excellent citizenship education pedagogy. Students come to understand their own shortcomings and overcome them. The process of enacting CBL learning, in other words, is entirely consistent with the realities of nurturing democratic citizens.

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From the Chat Room To the Voting Booth: The Potential of Using Online Discussion Forums to Develop Civic Skills

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Abstract

Research on citizenship education reveals that open discussions of political and social issues are critical to fostering the civic commitments of youth. Despite this evidence, teachers often report avoiding discussions because they feel ill-equipped to help students understand and work through conflicting viewpoints. As young peoples' dependence on digital media for information and communication increases, online discussion forums may provide new venues for citizenship education. This study explores the potential of online discussion forums by having two classes of college students participate in and reflect on these forums. The results suggest that the integration of online forums into the civics classroom may help otherwise reluctant students join discussions, aid in the development of critical thinking skills and allow for the sharing of a multiplicity of perspectives.

Key words: citizenship education; digital media; online discussion forums, critical thinking skills

There is no shortage of literature on the disengagement of youth from the Canadian and American political systems (Chareka & Sears, 2006; Flanagan, Syversten, & Stout, 2007; Galston, 2004). Reports of low voter turnout and declining confidence in government, especially among young people, have led to many debates regarding how to address this "democratic deficit". In the field of education in particular, there has been a growing concern about the seeming failure of traditional models of citizenship education to help draw youth into political structures (Bennett, Wells, & Rank, 2009; MacKinnon, M.P., Pitre, S. & Watling, J., 2007).

Despite the literature on the disengagement of youth from the political system, current research suggests that although this may be true when it comes to traditional political involvement, many young people engage with social and political issues through social media (Bennett, 2008). By providing venues for political expression and mobilization, scholars have argued that online communities and networks would allow for new possibilities for civic learning and engagement (Bennet, 2008; Bennett, Wells, & Rank, 2009; Delli Carpini, 2000; Middaugh & Kahne, 2009). The purpose of the following study is to explore the potential of using online discussion forums as a tool for the development of the deliberative skills of students.

Literature Review

Discussion and civic engagement

In response to the seeming apathy of youth towards the political system, recent studies in the United States have attempted to determine the characteristics of school curricula and learning environments that correlate with civic outcomes (Civic Mission of Schools, 2003; Feldman, Pasek, Romer, & Jamieson, 2008; McDevitt & Kioussis, 2007). These studies, as well as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's 2001 Civic Education Study, concluded that there is a strong correlation between classes that have open discussions of current events and students' civic commitments (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). These discussions have been shown to be positively correlated with students' civic knowledge, support for

democratic values, feelings of efficacy and intentions to vote (Feldman, Pasek, Romer, & Jamieson, 2008; McDevitt & Kioussis, 2007; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001).

Although high school and college curricula across Canada and the United States advocate developing thoughtful and engaged citizens, examples of students engaging in social and political debates in the classroom are rare (Hess, 2009; MacKinnon, M.P., Pitre, S. & Watling, J., 2007). Research suggests that teachers often avoid these types of discussions because they do not feel that they have the knowledge or skills to work through complex social and political issues. Many teachers report that they have had no training in this area and that they feel ill-equipped to deal with the unpredictability of student reactions. Additional teacher concerns include fear of repercussions from administration or accusations from parents that they are trying to push a personal agenda (Civic Mission of Schools, 2003; Galston, 2004; Oulton, Day, Dillon, & Grace, 2004).

Students also refrain from participating in class discussions due to shyness, feeling ill-prepared, having insufficient time to think about their positions and large classroom sizes. In many classrooms, students have reported being afraid to look “stupid” or ignorant in front of their peers and avoid saying anything that could draw attention to them or elicit criticism (Hess, 2001; Lusk & Weinberg, 1994). Classroom discussions can be further limited by the fact that some students feel more comfortable speaking publicly than others and these students may monopolize discussions (Dutt-Doner & Powers, 2000).

Technology and digital literacy

Kellner (2004), an important theorist of critical media literacy, argues that the “technological revolution” necessitates a commitment on the part of schools to integrate technology in creative and productive ways as teachers “rethink their basic tenets” (p. 9). Educators need to address the challenges of democratic societies and cultivate multiple literacies that reflect technological advancements and increasingly multicultural demographics. Information and communication technologies in particular, Kellner (2004) asserts, should be used to develop the tools and the skills to promote a democratic and egalitarian society.

With political and civic groups often turning to social networking sites to reach youth, digital literacy skills - defined as the ability to critically navigate, evaluate and create information using digital technologies - need to be considered essential for developing an engaged citizenry (Van Hamel, 2011). The use of the internet for expressing and sharing opinions and concerns has been shown to impact young people’s civic interest and commitments to engagement (Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2012). In response to this finding, the Media Education Network suggests that educators need to integrate online environments into their civic education programs. The Network insists that undeveloped digital literacy skills will limit students’ access to participation in civic life, therefore, digital literacy should be considered a fundamental civic skill in new and evolving approaches to civic education (Van Hamel, 2011). Bachen, Raphael, Lynn, McKee and Philippi (2008) agree that young citizens who are not comfortable learning and taking part in computer mediated civic dialogue will be at a disadvantage and potentially excluded from civic discourses.

The challenges that teachers and students face when engaging in controversial discussions in the classroom coupled with the need for digital literacy suggests that citizenship education programs should consider integrating an online discussion component. Since the 1990s, hundreds of websites have been developed with the goal of engaging youth in political discussions and debates (Bachen, Raphael, Lynn, McKee & Philippi, 2008). As yet, there is little research that speaks to the implications of these online discussion forums on schools-based civic education or the civic engagement of youth (Bachen et al., 2008; Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2012; MacKinnon, Pitre, & Watling, 2007; Thomas, Fournier-Sylvester, & Venkatesh).

Theoretical Framework

The following study is premised on the conviction that the ability of citizens to engage in deliberation is foundational to any functioning democracy. Proponents of a deliberative approach to citizenship education argue that in order to effectively prepare youth for their roles as citizens, the education system must move away from teaching students about democracy and instead foster dialogue, a core principle of democracy. In a classroom, deliberative skills include thinking critically about social and political issues, understanding and analyzing these issues from different perspectives and working towards a necessary resolution (Fearon, 1998). Philosophers, educational and political theorists including Amy Gutmann (1999) and Jurgen Habermas (1994) have long advocated for the central role of dialogue in democratic education. In a deliberative classroom, students are exposed to multiple viewpoints and put into practice the critical thinking and negotiation skills necessary for a robust and inclusive democracy. Internet-democracy scholars point to the fact that public discourse has extended to online environments (Dahlberg, 2001). As such, discussions surrounding civic education and engagement must acknowledge and address new and evolving forms of deliberation.

To foster deliberative skills, civic education must put authentic debate and critical engagement at the core of its curriculum. Characterized as a “thick” conception of education, this approach is in contrast to the current dominant model of citizenship education that “emphasizes individual character and behaviour, obscuring the need for collective and public sector initiatives,” (Carr, 2010, p.36). Paul Carr (2010) states that this “thin” conception of citizenship education limits visions of citizenship to voting in elections and learning about political parties and governmental structures. Within such a framework, assessment requires students to identify as opposed to critically assess social issues and foreign policy. Carr (2010) suggests that such an approach addresses diversity in an “essentialized way” and “suffocates dynamic and complex interplay between groups and power structures,” (p.19).

Critics warn that a deliberative model of democratic education is potentially exclusionary, as participation and authority are limited to those citizens who adhere to accepted forms of communication and social norms (Dahlberg, 2007). Citizens whose modes of expression do not align with the predetermined rules of communication may be excluded on the basis that their discussion is deemed irrational or non-democratic. Despite these concerns, Gimmler (2001) defends the deliberative democracy model for its largely procedural version of the political process (as opposed to value-laden) making it appropriate for pluralist societies. She suggests that “there is no plausible alternative model to rational and un-coerced discourse as the normative basis of democracy,” (Gimmler, 2001, p.23).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to explore the potential of using online discussion forums, such as *NewsActivist*, as a tool for the facilitation of dialogue and deliberation skills. To meet this goal students were asked to compare classroom discussions with online discussions of current social and political issues while considering the particular characteristics of online discussion forums.

Method

Setting

To gain a clear understanding of the potential of online discussion forums as a pedagogical tool for fostering dialogue, two classes of college students whom I teach spent four months using *NewsActivist* (www.NewsActivist.com). The course, *Education & Social Change*, aims to have students select and reflect critically on social and political issues related to the education system. I designed an assignment that required students to: a) post their views on a social issue of their choice related to education (i.e. bullying, cutbacks, access to bilingual education) and b) respond to other students' posts (Appendix A). To keep the study focused on the students' experiences and perceptions of the online discussion tool *NewsActivist*, I did not intervene or directly comment on the posts of the students.

The *NewsActivist* site was developed in 2009 by college teacher Gabriel Flacks at Champlain College Saint-Lambert in Quebec, Canada. This Web 2.0-based online forum was created to provide students with opportunities to write about and discuss contemporary issues. The site was designed to foster collaboration and deliberation between teachers and students from different campuses. Since coming online in 2011, teachers from across Eastern North America have used the site to complement Humanities, Ethics, Sociology, Business and language classes. In the site, summaries of articles and discussion threads are organized according to themes which have emerged based on students' interests. There are currently twenty one categories including natural disasters, education, employment and spirituality (www.NewsActivist.com).

The *NewsActivist* site was selected for several reasons. The first is that the site's goals are directly aligned with the goals of this research. Specifically, the site is designed to:

1. Encourage reading, writing and debating about current events
2. Improve critical thinking and deliberation skills by having students receive, give and respond to feedback
3. Develop writing skills as students experience writing as open for response, review, revision, and improvement
4. Develop media-literacy skills by exploring a variety of sources that discuss contemporary issues, from mainstream media to academic journals to blogs, depending on class curriculum.
5. Motivate civic engagement by having students learn about and respond to current events
6. Develop open-mindedness and tolerance by facilitating discussions between students from different classes and countries
7. Gain insight into the perspectives, ideas and civic engagement of peers, fostering off-line engagement.
8. Provide a space for students who, for a variety of reasons, might not feel comfortable engaging in discussions in a traditional classroom setting. (www.NewsActivist.com)

NewsActivist also has important characteristics that differentiate it from other online discussion forums that are openly accessible on the internet. Teachers must approve access for students and, even if the student chooses to be represented by a name that is unrecognizable to their classmates, know the identity of every participant. Teachers also have direct access to all postings and responses and can monitor and remove them if needed (www.NewsActivist.com). Finally, given that I had experience working with the site and that the founder is my colleague I knew that should I have any concerns or difficulties, they would be addressed promptly.

Data Collection

As the study was exploratory and student perceptions and reactions could not be anticipated, questionnaires were constructed with open-ended questions (Bailey, 1994). Questionnaires were administered to the two participating classes at the end of the semester, during class time and took approximately twenty minutes to complete (Appendix B).

Participation was restricted to students who were aged eighteen or over. Students were informed verbally as well as in their consent forms that they could opt out of participating and/or discontinue their participation at any time. My contact information was on the consent forms. The questionnaires were confidential and identified by a code known only to the student. In order to ensure that students were clear that there would be no repercussions for opting out of participating in this research and that their involvement would have no bearing on their grade or relationship to me, I had a colleague distribute and collect the questionnaires while I was out of the classroom. All data were collected in accordance with the ethical standards of the Concordia University Department of Education Ethics Committee.

Data Analysis

An inductive approach to content analysis was taken for both the questionnaires and the discussion threads. The primary purpose of an inductive approach is to allow findings to emerge from the data, without the “restraints imposed by structured methodologies,” (Thomas, 2006, p.238) and is considered appropriate when research or theory on a phenomenon is limited. Content analysis is generally used with a study design that aims to describe a phenomenon by summarizing and reporting the contents of data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007).

Thirty-four questionnaires were distributed to the students aged eighteen and over. All questionnaires were completed in their entirety and retained for analysis. Students’ answers ranged from one to six sentences per question and focused on their reactions to the online discussion forum rather than the content of their posts. In order to verify the accuracy of the findings, triangulation was attempted by collecting the discussion threads from the *NewsActivist* site and determining whether they corroborated the themes that emerged from students’ questionnaires (Creswell, 2012).

To identify patterns and themes, the results were open coded into a preliminary set of conceptual categories. As set out by the guidelines provided by Thomas (2006), coding consistency checks were established through an independent coder who was a PhD student with no knowledge of the student body or the research project. The second coder was given the research objective as well as the questionnaires and discussion threads. Without seeing the initial categories, the second coder identified emerging themes, which were then compared with the first set. The two sets of themes were very consistent and the coders worked together to combine the themes into one set (Thomas, 2006).

The results suggest that, for these students, the most significant characteristics of online discussions involve the following: the application of critical thinking skills, the inclusivity and diversity of viewpoints and the challenges surrounding the use of technology. The quotes from questionnaires (Q) and discussion threads (DT) that have been selected to represent these themes are those that were deemed by both coders to be most representative, based on frequency of occurrence, of student comments overall. The numbers assigned to the following comments do not necessarily coincide given that the researchers did not know the identities of the questionnaire respondents.

Results & Discussion

Application of Critical Thinking Skills

The use of independent and critical thinking skills by the students was demonstrated through the reflection that went into choosing a topic, selecting a credible source, developing arguments and posting responses. Many students appreciated the level of autonomy they had in selecting the topics. The most popular education related topics, based on the number of responses they received, were financing, bullying, drop-out rates, homophobia and religion. One student explained her choice of article by writing on her post,

I chose this article because I found it interesting and did not know much on the topic before I chose it. I like to learn about different things and then analyze them from the author's point of view and then my own. Personally, it broadens my vision of the education system and the way I see things in general. (DT 12)

Students also reported taking the process more seriously because their writing would be made public. As stated by one student, "Getting to choose my own topic and commenting on other people made me feel like a journalist and that my opinion mattered" (Q2).

Students also acknowledged the need to be careful in the selection and use of credible sources when creating or critiquing positions. According to another student, "I took more time thinking about what I was writing because I knew people could check my facts...I don't usually worry about that" (Q27). These comments are consistent with Johnson's (2001) claim that when students participate in discussions in the written form they become accountable for how they present and justify their positions. One user demonstrated her critical thinking skills when commenting on the source itself as opposed to the content of the news summary stating, "Since your source is from 2005, I wonder if this is still an issue in the education system" (DT17).

Many students reported feeling more comfortable sharing their views online because discussions centered around the quality of arguments as opposed to the individual who was taking the position. These results echo Jenkins and Thorburn's (2003) assertion that when students do not see each other they are likely to focus on the issue itself as opposed to the author of the argument. This is an important distinction in the development of critical thinking skills.

This research was conducted in the wake of a massive student strike against tuition hikes in Quebec. In most settings, including the classroom, this debate was heated. Online, however, students seemed more comfortable considering and sharing different perspectives when addressing some of the more complex issues surrounding the question. One comment from a thread on the student strikes stated,

If students want a positive response to their cause they need to do it within respectful terms. I also believe that just because these students respond strongly about a certain issue does not give them the right to use force or yell and rant at bystanders. (DT33)

Another participant pointed to some of the broader questions needing to be addressed,

I think the quality of education should be improved if they [the government] want to raise fees. I would really like to hear what other methods other than violence we could use that would actually work in dealing with this issue. (DT8)

A third participant went on to question the role of the police and media in how the strikes unfolded and were represented,

I agree with your point that violence shouldn't be used in trying to get a point but I think the media tried to paint the protestors often with the same brush. I had attended to a few of the protests personally because of my sympathy for the students but also to see firsthand what it was like. I can attest that the police were incredibly provocative and incited violence...The fact that the media did a very unprofessional and bias job in reporting the news during the protest also provided fuel to the fire. (DT7)

These types of comments suggest that online forums have the potential to diffuse controversial issues and focus on the complexity surrounding the issue.

Brookfield and Preskill (2005) contend that online forums allow a reflective space that is necessary for the development of independent and critical thought:

In face-to-face discussions the phenomenon of groupthink, of everyone moving toward the consensual mean, is a constant danger. Few want to risk being the odd person out by expressing a contrary view. In cyberspace, however, the pressure to move quickly toward a shared point of view under the eyes of the teacher is felt much less strongly. (p. 232)

These results suggest that online discussion forums have unique characteristics that aid in the transfer of higher order thinking skills.

Inclusivity and Diversity of Viewpoints

Twelve out of thirty-four students reported participating exclusively in the online discussions as opposed to classroom discussions and debates. The most common reason given for favoring online over participation in class discussions was having the time to think before taking a position on an issue. Some said they were too self-conscious, anxious or shy to speak publicly. Many self-identified second language learners admitted that they refrained from in-class discussions and preferred the online option because they could read and edit responses before posting them, "English is my 2nd language so I liked being able to take my time and come up with an answer" (Q2). These results substantiate Johnson's (2001) assertion that online forums reach students who may not otherwise participate in classroom discussions.

From my perspective as both the teacher and researcher, these findings were the most surprising and rewarding. Without realizing it I came into this research assuming that students who participated well in the classroom would do so online as well. I had assumed that students who were generally silent during classroom discussions were either uninterested in the specific issues or the class overall. However, in many cases I was impressed by my typically quiet students and their level of engagement online with the course material and issues that were being discussed. My experience confirmed that once students participated online they became more comfortable speaking up in class.

In addition to reading from students online that did not speak up in the classroom, students reported that one of the best features of online dialogue was interacting with students from outside of the college. This unique feature of online discussion forums allows for a wide range of perspectives that students might not otherwise have access to, "I liked seeing all the different ways that people thought about stuff...it helped me understand issues in new ways" (Q14). By transcending geographical boundaries and time zones, internet discussion forums can also expose

students to a diversity of people and viewpoints that they may not have access to in a traditional classroom setting (Johnson, 2001; Johnson, Zhang, Bichard, & Seltzer, 2011; Middaugh & Kahne, 2009). This type of intercultural dialogue has been demonstrated to be a significant predictor for students' civic engagement (Bowman, 2010).

Challenges Surrounding the Use and Accessibility of Technology

Despite the fact that most students were quick to identify some of the benefits of online discussions, a majority of students stated a preference for classroom discussions because they are more “exciting,” have more “emotion” and are more “immediate.” Approximately half of the students felt that online discussions were “slow” and “tedious” and demanded more work and preparation than a classroom discussion.

One of the unexpected discoveries that I made in this research was related to my own assumptions regarding the technological proficiency and comfort of my students. My experience has been that they conduct most, if not all, their research online and participate actively in social networks. As such, I assumed that they would be comfortable with the integration of an online discussion forum into the classroom. Student reactions to *NewsActivist* challenged my assumption that these seventeen to eighteen year olds are “digital natives” and navigate online environments with ease. A majority of them reported some sort of “technical difficulty” usually related to remembering their password, forgetting what to do and often giving up if something did not work after one try. Several students also reported that accessibility to a computer and the internet was an issue. I concluded from this insight that teachers should not (as I did) underestimate the time and effort that goes into familiarizing students with this type of pedagogical tool, nor should I assume their accessibility.

Conclusion

This small-scale exploratory study is not meant to make generalizable conclusions, rather, it explores the possibilities that this medium affords and can direct future research in this area. Given the central and proven importance of developing the skills for dialogue and deliberation in citizenship education, a tool that can facilitate these discussions is significant. Although this research does not suggest that online discussions should replace classroom discussions and debates, it does substantiate the claims of social media theorists and points to some of its advantages. Specifically, this study suggests that the integration of online forums into the civics classroom may help otherwise reluctant students to join discussions, aid in the development of critical thinking skills and provide a wide range of perspectives by including voices from outside the classroom. As suggested by Bowman (2010), the expansion of the citizenship education in classrooms to include students from other countries is an important component for future developments in this area.

Although many scholars acknowledge the potential of online forums, they warn against inadequately addressing the necessity for pedagogy and digital literacy skills (Barab & Squire, 2004). Future research should be directed towards curriculum development and testing the impact of participating in these forums on civic skills and commitments. Another issue that needs to be explored is how students experience power in these forums, whether it be through the online presence of the teacher or fellow students. Finally, as confirmed by this study, development in this area necessitates identifying the training and resources needed to minimize the “digital divide” and increase digital literacy skills.

Appendices

Appendix A: NewsActivist Assignment

Description:

Throughout the semester you will engage in discussions through an on-line forum called NewsActivist. Through the use of this site you will be able to present, reflect on and defend your positions on issues related to education. You will also be asked to respond and engage with the ideas of other student users of the site. These students will include your classmates, other Champlain students as well as students from colleges across Quebec and in the United States.

Part 1: News Summary

Your first task will be to choose and summarize a news article that takes a position on an educational issue. This article can come from a print newspaper or you can find one on-line through the Champlain College Library website (look in Articles- Canadian Newstand), canoe.ca or through google.ca. If you are uncertain if the article is from a reputable newspaper, please e-mail me the link for verification.

Try to think of a title that will catch people's attention. Your post should briefly summarize the article and include the conclusion (position of the author) as well as the premises (reasons/ proof). You should also include why you chose the issue/ why it is important. The summary need not exceed 250 words. You should conclude with a question about the issue.

Marking Grid:

COMPLETENESS

- central idea or author's position is identified (*conclusion*)
 - relevant supporting ideas are included (*premises/reasons*)
 - minor details are omitted
 - identifies the part of the world article is referring to/ provides context
- /5

TITLE & CONCLUSION

- Title and conclusion should be phrased as a question that invites readers of your post to think about and respond to the educational issue you have summarized.
- /2

OBJECTIVITY & CLARITY

- does not express your personal opinion about the topic
 - makes reference to the author of the news article
 - precise use of language (paraphrase)
 - correct sentence structure, grammar & spelling
 - does not plagiarize the author's language (using no more than three words in a row from the original)
- /2

DOCUMENTATION

- news article is correctly referenced, using MLA format, at the top of the summary
- /1

Part 2: RESPONSE

The second part of your task is to make a substantial and useful comment on two recent blog posts. These comments should include the following:

- A positive reason explaining why you are commenting on the post (title, topic, writing style, etc.)
- An explanation of how your perspective affects your interpretation of the story. This can include your personal, familial, or local (city/state/province) contexts, beliefs and values or you can describe your experiences with the issue.

MARKING GRID

Reason for posting

- A positive reason explaining why you are commenting on the post (title, topic, writing style, etc.) /1

Position and reflection

- An explanation of how your perspective affects your interpretation of the story. This can include your personal, familial, or local (city/state/province) contexts, beliefs and values or you can describe your experiences with the issue. /3

Feedback on strength of argument presented

- Anything that you need clarification on, a question that you have about the issue or suggestion to strengthen the position. /2

Appendix B: Questionnaire

1. How was your experience using *NewsActivist* to discuss social issues and collaborate on your essay? If you did not use the site, explain why.
2. Did you use a recognizable name? Why or why not?
3. What, if any, were some of the benefits of using the site for discussion purposes?
4. What, if any, were some of the challenges of using the site?
5. How would you describe the differences between discussions and debates online versus in the classroom? Do you have a preference?
6. Do you think that educators should use this type of site to promote discussion or collaboration between students? Why or why not?

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Global Citizenship Education in Canada: Whose Role?

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Abstract

Much of the poverty in the world can easily be attributed to the ongoing exploitation of the vulnerable by the powerful through unfair lending policies, unfair trading policies and unequal abuse of the environment both in the global South and North. In 2012, Publish What You Pay (PWYP), a global network of civil society organizations, identified Canada as having one of the worst reputations for exploitative trading policies, especially when it comes to mining companies who have little transparency and few regulations holding them accountable. This qualitative study investigates the role of Canadian Civil Society Organizations (CCSOs) in educating Canadians through public engagement activities to become better global citizens. It clarifies Canada's role and international commitments to international development, and calls for more global citizenship education. The findings show that the major crown corporations, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), responsible for international development in Canada, have mandates for global citizenship education but do not have adequate programs, and consequently the role and responsibility fall on the shoulders of CCSOs. The study reveals some of the difficulties and successes the CCSOs encounter and makes some suggestions for future studies.

Key words: public engagement; global citizenship education; international development

Much of the poverty in the world can easily be attributed to the ongoing exploitation of the vulnerable by the powerful through unfair lending policies, unfair trading policies and unequal abuse of the environment both in the global South and North. Civil Society Organizations such as *Mining Watch*, *The Transnational Institute*, and *GRAIN* trace power relations and document atrocities and exploitation of peoples all over the world through land grabbing, mining, sweatshops, and control of agriculture and the environment. In 2012, Publish What You Pay (PWYP), a global network of civil society organizations, identified Canada as having one of the worst reputations for exploitative trading policies, especially when it comes to mining companies who have little transparency and few regulations holding them accountable. Martha Nussbaum (2010) suggested that as members of a globalized world we have a responsibility to recognize the impact that our lifestyles, including consumption patterns, have on people in other parts of the world, especially the impoverished. This qualitative study investigates the role of Canadian Civil Society Organizations (CCSOs) in educating Canadians through public engagement activities to become better global citizens. It clarifies Canada's role and international commitments to international development, and calls for more global citizenship education. The findings show that the major crown corporations, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), responsible for international development in Canada, have mandates for global citizenship education but do not have adequate programs, and consequently the role and responsibility fall on the shoulders of CCSOs. The study reveals some of the difficulties and successes the CCSOs encounter and makes some suggestions for future studies.

Problem Statement

In September of 2000, Canada signed the United Nations eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to: End poverty and hunger, combat HIV/AIDS, achieve universal education,

achieve gender equality, achieve child health, achieve maternal health, achieve environmental sustainability, and increase global partnership (UN, n.d.). In a May 2013 report for the North South Institute (NSI), Aniket Bhushan identified that Canada ranks 14th of 26 Development Assistance Committee (DAC) members. The report reveals that Canada provides just 0.32% of its Gross National Income (GNI) as Official Development AID (ODA). Bhushan clarified that this places us well below the 0.7% target set by OECD countries. Furthermore, the 2013 merger of CIDA into the Department of Foreign Affairs Trade and Development (DFATD) clearly illustrates how closely tied aid has become to enterprise (Leblanc, 2013), and is a poor showing for a country with a supposedly “caring” reputation. There is a clear disjuncture between rhetoric and action.

The obstacle facing us, according to Vaclav Havel (1998), is our inability to look past our limited experiences and beliefs in order to “*address humanity in a genuinely universal way*” (p. 179). How can we learn about the reality of foreign policy and the impacts of our consumption? How can we begin to look past our limited experiences? For Nussbaum (2010), this is the role of global citizenship education. Unfortunately, there is a considerable lack of education in Canada about issues of global poverty, and Canadians seem to have very little understanding of the underlying causes. A 2012 poll conducted by the Inter-council Network identified that 48% of Canadians are concerned that there is not enough awareness in Canada about global poverty. It also suggested that most Canadians feel that it is the responsibility of the government to address issues of global poverty and generate greater awareness in Canada about these issues. The Inter-council Network poll results found that: “More than half of Canadians (52%) feel the federal government is most responsible for addressing global poverty, and nearly three-quarters (72%) believe they should be supporting public awareness about global poverty issues” (p. 4).

Given the desire for greater awareness about global poverty in Canada, the high demand for increased education, and Canada’s poor record in international development, some questions naturally arise. How is such education carried out in Canada? Who is primarily responsible for this education? Do Canadian Civil Society Organizations (CCSOs) view it as their role? Does the federal government have a program in place to increase citizen awareness about issues of global poverty? What does this program look like?

Research Questions

This study attempts to address the questions stated above, by examining global citizenship education in the public sphere through the lens of the major Canadian crown corporations involved in International development and CCSOs. My research questions are: (i) How do “*Canadian Partnerships*,” a program of both the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) who are crown corporations responsible for international development in Canada, view their role and the role of CCSOs in public engagement for global citizenship education? (ii) Do CCSOs view global citizenship education as part of their role and if so, are they actively engaged in citizenship education?

Sub-questions to be probed are: How important is public education for CCSOs? To what extent do they engage the public? If they do so, what are some of the strategies and methods they use for this engagement? What are some of the difficulties they experience? Do they have success stories to share?

This study identifies a serious lack of federal government support for public awareness through education about international development in Canada. The study also finds that the CCSOs play an important role in engaging the public and reveals some successful strategies that can be applied by other CCSOs.

International Development Education in Canada

For the purposes of this paper, I refer to education in the public sphere, or public education as non-formal or informal education, that is education that takes place outside of schooling institutions. The commonly used phrase among CCSOs is public engagement or PE. Canadian international development policy analyst Michael Stephens (2009) defined public engagement:

Public engagement refers to a set of processes and experiences, which enable people to move from basic awareness of international development priorities and sustainable human development, through an understanding of the causes and effects of global issues, to personal involvement and informed action. It encourages their full participation in the worldwide fight against poverty and adds a global dimension to their understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, helping Canadians become global citizens. (p. 36)

The lack of education about development issues is often cited as a major reason for the discrepancy of ODA between the promised target and actual commitment by Canada.

McDonnell (2003) pointed out that the countries that have met the 0.07% target spend more on public engagement and have higher approval of government policy. Canadian expert on international development Ian Smillie (2003) referred to a 2002 *Environics* poll conducted for CIDA to demonstrate that when aware of development spending, Canadians generally deem it to be too low.

The 2007 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) peer review report (OECD, 2007) indicated that the Canadian public is willing to support increased aid but lacks understanding on the scope of Canadian ODA policy. It recommended specifically that Canada address the issue of education in the public sphere, and the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) has also counselled Canada in its 2009 *Africa Matters* report to devote at least 5% of CIDA's program resources for education in the public sphere in Canada.

Smillie (1998a, b) advanced that CIDA does not have a policy of public engagement, and therefore the responsibility of public education has fallen on the shoulders of the Canadian Civil Society Organizations (CCSOs). According to Stephens (2009), "Engaging the Canadian public as global citizens is a cornerstone of the programming of many Canadian civil society organizations (CSOs), as they seek to change the conditions that perpetuate global poverty, injustice and environmental destruction" (p. 3).

This is problematic because the ability of CCSOs to perform this role has been reduced by the current government's aid policy. A 2012 report for CCIC written by Brian Tomlinson identified that new CIDA policy is detrimental and restrictive to the public engagement practice of CCSOs because it has moved from responsive programming by organizations to a competitive bidding process where CCSOs bid on CIDA projects rather than CIDA funding projects developed by CCSOs. CIDA has been heavily criticized for reducing funding to CCSOs who speak out against CIDA policy. As Reilly-King (2011) wrote in a report as a consultant for CCIC:

In recent years, the space available to civil society to discuss and debate government policy and positions has shrunk considerably. A number of organizations who have critiqued the government's positions, including Alternatives, Climate Action Network (CAN), CCIC, and KAIROS – Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives, as well as countless women's groups, have seen long-standing core and project-related government funding drastically cut or cancelled. (p. 4)

To summarize, Canada is recognized as having a poor international development record both by CCSOs in Canada and by international standards. The literature in this section has revealed

that Canadians are generally not aware of Canada's role in international development, and that the lack of engagement about issues of international development in Canada is a significant factor in Canada's comparatively poor performance among OECD member countries.

In the next section, I will examine the academic literature about global citizenship education to further illustrate the importance of education about global poverty and development issues. Five principles or components for global citizenship education emerged from the literature review. These are presented at the end of this section.

Educating the Global Citizen

Havel (1998) suggested that the individual needs to become enlightened about living based on morals and ethics. He examined the global citizen as an individual with responsibility to the global community from a political standpoint and posited that individuals need to develop awareness about values such as trust and responsibility that are important for society. He explained that transformation from within is necessary for individuals to reassess their relationship with the world around them and begin living a moral life (p. 71). Havel (1997) asserted that after this transformation has occurred individuals can recognize "that there are values that transcend our immediate interest, that we are not accountable solely to our party, our voters, our lobbies, or our state but in fact to the entire human race..." (p. 8). For Havel an important component of the good citizen involves taking action. Likewise, Hitt (1998) advanced that citizens need not only view themselves as part of a world community, but also take action and make positive contributions to this community.

Nussbaum (2010) posited that there is a greater need for critical education about global awareness. She argued that awareness about the realities of the world such as colonialism, foreign investment and transnational corporations would necessarily induce thought about moral responsibility to uphold human rights (p. 82, 83). In her theory of cosmopolitanism Nussbaum (1997) postulated that citizens need to see themselves above all, "as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern" (p. 10). Nussbaum suggested that global citizenship education should include exposure to other cultures and religions and should begin from a young age. Nussbaum further stressed the importance of awareness not only about other cultures, but also about the factors that lead to the present circumstance of inequality (p. 10).

Wright (2003) claimed that there are a number of different ways to define citizenship education. He recognizes that not all definitions involve a global aspect but explained that citizenship education is generally treated as a normative principle intertwined with critical thinking and social justice. Prior (1999) identified four components of citizenship education: social justice, action/participatory, civic understanding, and legalistic/obligatory. Similarly, Schugurensky (2006) proposed that citizenship education should include status, identity, civic virtues, and agency. He noted that citizenship education should promote critical thinking about marginalized people and power structures in society (p. 77). He suggested that compassion for social justice and human rights is important but cautioned that it cannot end there, stating that the good citizen accepts personal responsibility for creating social well-being. He highlighted that the citizen's allegiance is to "humanity and does not recognize borders" (p. 77). He reinforced that citizenship education should lead to action and argued for citizenship education to strengthen individual and collective confidence in people's capacity to influence change (p. 78).

Development educators reiterate the importance of critical global education. McClosky (2009) highlighted the importance of critical development education, claiming that public awareness should play a central role. Likewise, Murray (2006) urged that greater awareness and global social responsibility must be included in development education. McDonnell (2003) proposed that societal

concerns such as justice and human rights should be used to educate people about development. Andreotti (2006) also advanced that development education should include critical education about underlying power structures in relation to global social justice issues.

Having examined the literature of global citizenship education, I created a framework of these five principles in order to understand global citizenship education in relation to international development:

- Inclusive: including all of humanity
- Generating awareness about the circumstances of others
- Engaging in critical thinking about the causes of global poverty
- Facilitating critical self-reflection about moral responsibility (to all humanity)
- Inspiring confidence to take action

Study Design and Methods

This paper is based on qualitative research. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) explained that qualitative research aims to understand the participants' point of view. My aim is to clarify how some particular development institutions view their role as educators for global citizenship, how effective they consider themselves to be in this role, and to identify some of the strategies and challenges involved.

Yin (1994) suggested that case studies generate understanding about a particular issue or group. This fits my research objectives of studying the particular case of the "*Partnership Programs*" of both CIDA and IDRC. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) emphasized the importance of using multiple sources of data to triangulate information and ensure validity. I used a four-pronged approach: I examined data from two crown corporations (IDRC and CIDA), I interviewed an umbrella CCSO organization (CCIC)¹, I interviewed two CCSOs who receive funding from CIDA (CUSO and CARE), and I interviewed one CCSO who does not receive funding from CIDA (the McLeod Group).

Data Collection Process

Prior to the interviews I examined the primary and secondary sources available on the CIDA and IDRC websites including mandates and mission statements as well as a number of documents concerning public education related to international development issues. I also studied in detail the respective websites of the CCSOs included in my research. The interviews were based on semi-structured questions and oriented towards how the organization viewed its role in education for development. The general questions used were:

- How do they view their role as public educators?
- How important is this role for them?
- To what extent and how do they engage the public to achieve their goal?
- What are some of the difficulties they experience in this role?
- What are their methods and strategies?
- Do they have any success stories?
 - If not, why not?
 - If yes, do they have lessons to share?

¹ A complete list of CCSOs who are members of CCIC is available on the CCIC website (CCIC, 2012).

These questions generated the data I was looking for, and beyond some probing about specific issues related to each organization, I did not stray from them. In analyzing the questionnaire responses as well as the narratives based on interviews I kept in mind the framework of five constituents of global citizenship education gleaned from the literature review:

- Inclusive: including all of humanity
- Generating awareness about the circumstances of others
- Engaging in critical thinking about the causes of global poverty
- Facilitating critical self reflection about moral responsibility (to all humanity)
- Inspiring confidence to take action

Ethics

Prior to the interviews, all participants signed a consent form agreeing to participate. It explained the intent and scope of the research, and clarified that they could withdraw at any time. Interviews were conducted individually and in person. They took place at a time and location chosen by the participants, in their language of choice (Christine, from CUSO, opted to conduct the interview in French). I recorded the interviews using a digital recorder and transcribed (and translated where necessary) them myself. Transcripts of the interviews were verified and confirmed by participants prior to their use.

Voice

The participants, when given the option, chose to speak on the record and be identified by name. This could have presented some difficulty in terms of the data obtained, given that CUSO and CARE are dependent on funding from CIDA, and it is possible that they would have been less inclined to speak critically of CIDA policy, especially in the environment of real or anticipated budget cuts. However, the use of voice created a closer relationship with the participants leading to richer data. Furthermore, interviewing Smillie from CUSO and Jack from CCIC who were not dependent on funding helped triangulate data.

There is a large body of literature on the pros and cons of using voice and direct quotations (Jackson & Mazzei, 2009). The most serious reservations concern power relationships between the researcher and the participants. In this case, the participants were experts on the research topic; therefore, they had an advantage over the researcher. On the other hand, the researcher had other sources for checking and evaluating the information received from the representatives of the CCSOs who participated in the interviews.

Findings

This study has clarified several key points relating to education for global citizenship:

- CIDA and IDRC do have adequate global education programs.
- CCSOs identify with the role of public engagement and consider it to be an important part of their mandate. This role aligns with the five components of global citizenship identified in the literature.
- CCSOS would like to do more, but they are unable to do so because of budgetary constraints.
- The current political environment hampers PE activities.

- There is a need for greater PE in Canada on issues of global poverty and Canada's role in international development.

CIDA and IDRC

The role of educating the public currently falls squarely on the shoulders of CCSOs. CIDA's *Global Citizens'* program "Seeks to promote global citizenship through work in three areas: Public awareness, education and knowledge and youth participation" (CIDA, 2012). However email correspondence with CIDA in February of 2012 indicated that the Global Class Room Initiative, the only initiative in the *Education and Knowledge* section of the *Global Citizens'* program, has been discontinued. The 2013 merger of CIDA with the department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development has not changed the *Global Citizens'* website, but it does not bode well in terms of critical education about international development. IDRC's *Partnership Program* remains intact, but the focus is on research overseas, with less of a mandate for education here in Canada (IDRC, 2012).

CCSOs role

Conversely, it is clear that CCSOs assume the role of global citizenship education in the public sphere. Jack of CCIC confirmed:

I would say that it's extremely important to be able to communicate with the public and engage the public on issues of international cooperation and international development and to sort of help to, not just present but also to engage in discussion and action on important issues related to poverty and human rights around the world. (Personal communication, May 5, 2012)

CCSO ideas behind global citizen education align well with the principles established in the literature. The working definition of public engagement and global citizen by Stephens (2009), for CCIC, demonstrates this:

Public engagement refers to a set of processes and experiences, which enable people to move from basic awareness of international development priorities and sustainable human development, through an understanding of the causes and effects of global issues, to personal involvement and informed action. It encourages their full participation in the worldwide fight against poverty and adds a global dimension to their understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, helping Canadians become global citizens. The concept of global citizenship embodies a set of principles, values and behaviours through which sustainable and democratic development can be realized the world over. It implies the participation of individuals in public life, deliberating and acting for the common good, with regard for both local and global consequences. The concept of global citizenship is in many ways a natural evolution of what it means to be Canadian in a complex and rapidly changing global environment. (p. 36)

Similarly, Christine from CUSO discussed what it meant to educate the public about international development:

For us it's international issues and sensitizing those who are interested to what is going on elsewhere and to help them make connections to their own reality. To see that the world is not divided, ... that there's only one world, just with different realities. But also similarities. And there are links for example between the way we consume in Quebec and Canada and the way industries function in developing countries. It could be workers in developing countries that are underpaid,

or have poor work conditions while we benefit from their products. So there is a connection with consumption here and production overseas. With policies as well. To see if it's a foreign policy that developed countries might have, and the possible repercussions in the countries where there is conflict or that are in difficulty or have human rights abuses for example. So again, it's to show that there are different realities. (Personal communication, April 15, 2012)

Success stories such as the *International Women's Day* campaign related by Marie-Eve at CARE demonstrate that CCSOs do have an impact:

... that's where we do most of our public engagement, people have been going online, we have "What's your measurement campaign," we had some participants, we don't have the full report yet because it was only in March but year after year we see an increase of traffic on our website, and people are looking at our report and talking about it more, so I think that we are starting to see success. (Personal communication, April 13, 2012)

Budget

It is clear that CCSOs do not have the required resources to engage a broader sector of society, influence government policy, or develop meaningful changes. All participants reflected that they would like to increase their public engagement activities but were severely restricted by a lack of funding and resources. Jack of CCIC addresses this point effectively:

The other way I could interpret that question of "How important is it?" would be how many resources are being put to it. In the sector as a whole we are seeing reduced support for public engagement. And that could be partly as a result of; well it's directly as a result of the current government and their interest in sort of curbing dissent, and curbing any sort of dissenting voices and not having that debate. The government does not want to engage in a debate they want to do things as they see fit and follow their path. So there's been less support through CIDA for public engagement. (Personal communication, May 5, 2012)

Increased PE

The findings point to a need for a significant increase in public engagement activities. While CCSOs are doing their best to educate the public, it is clear that a much larger scale enterprise is needed. Smillie from the McLeod Group contended that for meaningful change to take place in Canada, a concerted effort to engage the public really needs to be lead by CIDA, explaining that we know how to do it:

If you want to get a message across about breast cancer or HIV AIDS or whatever, you've got to have education programs, and it's not putting a message out once a year, there has to be constant messaging and it has to go out strategically at different places at different times. Sometimes you are going to have to advertise during the hockey game, sometimes you are going to have to do things in school, I mean we know something about how to educate the public, we know that it has to be reinforced, all the time if it's important, with this message there is nothing. I mean what is CIDA's budget for public engagement, is it 250 thousand dollars? (Personal communication, April 21, 2012)

Government Restrictions

Unfortunately, the current conservative government severely restricts any criticism of its foreign policy creating a catch 22 situation, whereby PE becomes more urgent for greater citizen

engagement, but this very engagement is being reined in more than ever. All participants felt their message was restricted by government pressure. CCIC was a case in point having lost almost all of its funding in 2010. Smillie voiced it particularly well:

What about how we prevent countries from pulling themselves up from their own bootstraps because we have farm subsidies that actually undercut their own ability to produce agriculture. What about that? We are giving with one hand and taking away with the other, how does this work? But when you get into that kind of analysis, that type of social justice, that kind of advocacy and lobbying you get too far into it. We are now in a regime, if CIDA hears too much of it they will cut you [your funding] off, they will cut off all of your work not just that little bit, they will cut it all off. (Personal communication, April 21, 2012)

It is therefore not surprising that Canadian citizens do not have a good grasp of international development issues, despite several reports (Cass, 2006; the Inter-Council Network, 2012; Smillie, 2003), that revealed high support for international aid in Canada.

While the current government has demonstrated it is not interested in listening to the majority of Canadians, it does have to respond to public pressure and public opinion to some extent. As citizens we cannot stand idly by and just criticize the government, we need to proactively take measures to be heard. CCSOs have led a solid initiative in this area and one can only hope that their efforts can increase visibility of these important issues in the future. At a time when the government has withdrawn itself from caring, it becomes that much more important for individual citizens to step up and assume the responsibility.

Conclusion and Future Study

International development expert Vivienne Taylor (2010) declared that, “All of us who have the power to make a difference in the lives of the poorest women and peoples in our countries are complicit in their continued marginalization and oppression” (p. 251). This study revealed that there is very little knowledge or care in Canada about the fundamental causes of poverty, nor of Canada’s role. Prominent feminist, ecologist and philosopher Vandana Shiva (1992), argued that the affluent have created a protective barrier between their lifestyles and those of the people and the environment that they exploit, so that the damage caused has become largely invisible to them. In order to begin advocating for principles of social justice it is essential that these barriers are broken down. The literature revealed that this was the role of global citizenship education. Lacking government initiative, we need to redouble our efforts to engage and educate people on Canadian foreign policy, our role in international development, and the underlying structures we have embedded in our society that reproduce and maintain inequality. Grassroots and activist organizations are not dependent on government funding and could prove to be rich spaces of engagement, especially in these times where populations are voicing discord in the *Arab Spring*, *Idle No More*, and *Occupy movements*. They certainly merit future examination as places of critical education for global citizenship and social justice.

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Homestay Experiences: Exploring the Influence of being a Homestay Host on Canadian Identity

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Abstract

In this mixed method study, we present findings about what motivates families to host international students, the benefits and challenges, and how contact with a foreign student influences the Homestay Family's Canadian identity. The paper closes with an interpretation of the findings through the citizenship lenses of Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Canadian Citizenship and Immigration (2007) and identifies questions that merit further exploration.

Key words: International students; foreign students; Canadian identity; citizenship

One of the effects of globalization has been the continued desire of families in non-English speaking countries to give their children the added advantage and social capital of studying in an English-speaking country (Cho, 2002; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Han et al., 2002; Hong, 1994; Jang, 2001; Jun, 2003; Jung, 2000; Kang, 2008; Lee, 2005; Ly, 2008; Yun, 2006). International students on short- and long-term exchanges come to Canada to learn English and develop intercultural awareness. The greatest benefit has accrued to those exchange students in homestay situations where students are hosted by English speaking families (Bower, 1973; Kauffmann, 1983; Nash, 1976; Pitts, 2009; Pollmann, 2009; Rivers and College, 1998; Ronson, 1998; Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004; Stitsworth, 1988). Challenges of intercultural communication have also been identified (Cho & Bilash, 2010), as have the needs for the development of standards of service – heat, food, phone – and equitable access to information for agencies, families, and guests (Crealock, Derwing, & Bilbison, 1999; Walker, 2001; Richardson, 2003; Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004; Cho & Bilash, 2010). From the perspective of international students, there seems to be a fine line between offering shelter for financial gain and providing a family milieu for opportunities to communicate in English (Fryer & Lukasevich, 2000; Walker, 2001; Richardson, 2003).

While studies have documented experiences and perspectives of homestay students (HS), the effect on Canadian families of having internationals in their homes has not been explored. With more than 90,000 students coming to study in Canada every year and even more coming to Canada to learn English or French (<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/study/index.asp>), many rely on homestay families (HF) for accommodation and contact. What influence does the homestay hosting experience have on Canadian identity? What image of Canada do the HFs think they present and represent? In this paper, we present findings about what motivates families to host international students, what are the benefits and challenges, and how contact with a foreign student influences the HFs' imaginings of Canadian identity and citizenship.²

Scholars consider the concept of citizenship to be largely misunderstood (Sears & Hughes, 2006) and in need of being redefined (Gaudelli, 2009) and reconceptualised through an interdisciplinary, international dialogue (Richardson, Blades, Kumano & Karaki, 2003). Taylor, Smith & Gollop (2008) posit that the meaning of citizenship can only be uncovered through a transparency

² Elsewhere we describe how families prepare to receive a student, how the family becomes comfortable with this new dynamic, how the process of setting rules and expectations unfolds, what level of integration with the family occurs and how it is facilitated on a day to day basis, and what leave taking means at that moment and for the future.

of values and goals within a specific cultural context. This study seeks to make transparent some values and goals of HF hosts and to interpret them through the citizenship lenses of Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007) as interpreted by Gulliver (2011; 2012).

Methodology and Demographics

After completing appropriate ethical protocols, several organizations were approached to recruit participants for the study. Two organizations, one in Alberta and one in Manitoba, responded and sent an email to their memberships. About 50 inquiries were received, about 60 per cent of all who were sent an invitation letter, considered very high for survey research. Participants were invited to submit an online survey and, optionally, to take part in a face to face interview. The authors, experienced HF hosts and organizers of HF programs, shared field notes and engaged in rich dialogues to corroborate multiple data sources and shed light on a theme or a perspective (Creswell, 1998). Such “reflectivity is a core characteristic of qualitative research” (Creswell, 2009, p. 192) and acted to triangulate the two key steps of the research process. With these multiple sources and the commonalities in responses, the data was considered saturated.

In the first step of the data collection process, participants were invited to complete an online survey using Survey Monkey.³ Using an online survey is an effective way of gathering initial details about the participants, requires minimal time and offers a cost savings advantage (Wright, 2005). The online survey was completed by 32 participants of whom 50 per cent did not indicate their gender, thus no gender comparison was possible. Among the 16 who did indicate gender were two men and 14 women. All were over the age of 18.

In the second phase of data collection, interested online participants took part in face-to-face interviews and provided more detail about the same 32 survey questions. Each interview was conducted by one of the authors at a location of the participant's choosing, often in the homestay family's home. With more members of each family choosing to be interviewed, a total of ten people from three families participated. The three families all live in small towns in rural southern Manitoba. The towns range in population from about 700 to 1500, a huge difference for exchange students who come from much more densely populated areas. The nearest city offering typical urban amenities is about 1.5 hours drive away. The size and geographic isolation of rural small towns impact many aspects of family and community life, travel, as well as the variety and nature of activities available. Two of the families had children of the same age group as the HS, and their children had had the experience of being a HS in reciprocal exchanges with Quebec and France. A third couple had hosted international exchange students for over twenty years, ever since their youngest child was five. Their children had since moved away from the family home, but the couple continued to host. All families had hosted at least five different foreign guests. Responses to demographic questions were obtained by a representative adult of each family. Each of the family members was then asked all remaining questions.

The data collected from the interview conversations were transcribed, then the transcriptions sent to each participant to verify the accuracy of their comments (member check). Miles & Huberman (1994) describe member checks as a strategy for the researcher to share the research subject's view of the credibility of the findings and interpretations. Researchers “engage in validation strategies, often using multiple strategies, which include confirming or triangulating data from several sources [and] having our studies reviewed by the participants” (Creswell, 2007, p. 45).

³ <https://www.surveymonkey.com/>

Thematic coding was used to identify themes in the participants' responses. Thematic coding was favourable in this situation because the data was easily organized into categories according to the survey questions. Data validity was enhanced through the multimethod strategies, participant accounts, mechanically recorded data, member checking and participant review (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2009).

Results of this study are limited by those who responded. Only two organizations agreed to let us circulate our surveys and call for interview participants. With more participants, those from other provinces or more from urban centres, reported findings could be quite different. Further, we did not inquire directly about what participants thought being a Canadian citizen meant for themselves, nor, explicitly, to their departing HS.

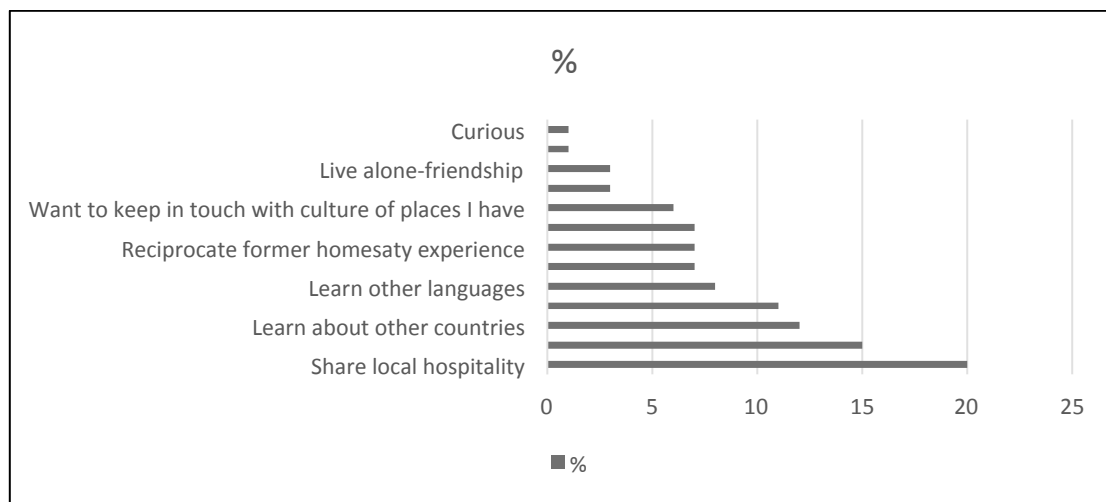
Findings

This study set out to learn about the homestay experience from the hosts' points of view and explore any benefits and challenges accrued, including how their identities as Canadians and notions of citizenship might have been shaped by the HF experience. Results are presented within these themes and begin with the question of why people choose to become HF hosts. Participants' voices are coded as follows: I for interview and M or F for male or female; Q for questionnaire response; each participant had a unique number.

What Motivates Families to Host International Students?

Though members of HFs had much in common, responses of each individual member varied and were nuanced. The earliest stage of a hosting experience begins with a family's motivation to participate, and response to a recruitment effort, often by an agency with connections in both the sending and receiving countries. Cho and Bilash (2010) learned that although some people do homestays with the idea, at least at the outset, that they will provide some supplementary income, perhaps for a special project such as painting the house or renovating a room, that motivation typically fades as the HS integrates with the family. Similarly, as a teen member of a HF stated, "A lot of people would ask why [we were hosting], suggesting that we were doing it for ourselves but we are really doing it as a way to see another culture, to help someone out, someone who wanted to see my country and learn English, things I can help with, and to have a friend, a contact, in another part of the world" (IM4). In all families the primary motivation for hosting a foreign student evolved into showcasing our "Canadian" way of life (Cho and Bilash, 2010). For members of two of the three interviewed families, hosting was a way of developing "social and cultural capital" abroad, a way of learning about the world as an alternative to travel. One family saw the homestay as responding to a need: living in a Caucasian and Aboriginal community, the HF father saw a way of giving his children multiracial exposure which would leave them with a desire to travel internationally in the future, and a trusted home base to call upon (IM2). For another, in addition to expanding their personal horizons, the years of homestays also helped the couple maintain a sustained "link to Japan" (IF3; Q16) where their children had worked when they were young adults. See Figure 1.

Figure 1: Why become a Homestay Host



Benefits

Host families reported many benefits to having a foreign guest, both those anticipated and those experienced. Most notable were learning about other cultures and one's self in the process. "I realize that a lot of things we take for granted here are new and exciting for other cultures" (IF2). In the online survey, half of the respondents reported that the experience definitely increased their cultural awareness (see Figure 2). Comments are categorized as differences in gender roles, state decision-making and daily practices. About women, participants wrote on the surveys:

Women still occupy traditional roles in many Asian countries. They get an education but still have to do all of the work in the home. And it seems that it is more difficult to advance in their careers because of this. (Q24)

How different are the roles of husbands and kids. For example my husband likes to cook and in that way was very different from their culture because usually the woman does all the cooking while working full time. (Q18)

Differences in women might be that in Asian cultures in particular, women seem to go to ridiculous extremes in looking good for men, to the extent that they deny themselves comfort. Also, we realize how the Canadian standard of living is higher, but also much more expensive than where many of the students come from. (Q11)

As another cultural awareness, HF also noted the comparable freedom and choices of Canadians and were proud of "the openness of Canadians and our values" (IF1):

The young woman that I hosted had many more restrictions than North American women. For example, she conveyed that the state made decisions about which school she was able to attend and, based on her examination results, which career was suitable for her. The limitations in choices seemed restrictive and oppressive. (Q12)

"We have an abundance of food and housing. Our democracy allows for many freedoms" (Q27).

HF also considered Canada’s multiculturalism to be an expression of freedom. Several HF boasted of the opportunities to share Canada’s multicultural identities. In addition to attending heritage festivals and powwows, HF cooked a variety of foods and sometimes took HS to assorted restaurants.

I am of Chinese descent and I want to show Canadian hospitality as a Chinese Canadian. I learned from Yuko, my last Japanese guest, that she thought of Canada as a predominantly white/Caucasian society. I was happy to share with her the diversity of the Canadian culture. (Q23)

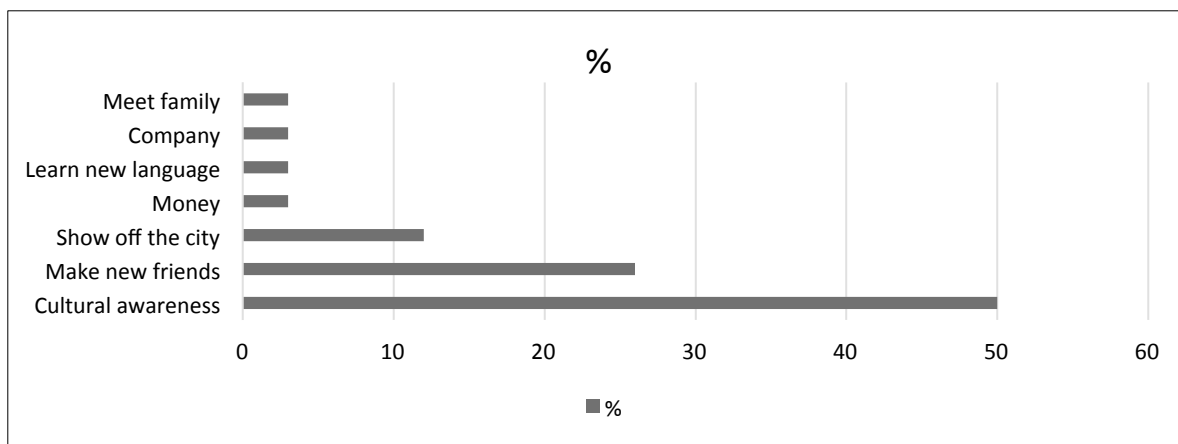
I enjoyed their company and enjoyed showing them our multicultural aspect of Canada. We are quite Ukrainian and both my children are involved in dance and stuff and I wanted to show them all these aspects. (Q19)

Finally, some HF mentioned “little differences” (Q11) that made them “think that there isn’t just one way of doing things. For example, the Asians shower at night instead of in the morning and use only a 4" x 3" towel for taking a bath or shower” (IF1).

A second category of reported benefit was at the personal and familial level. Some HF members felt personal psychological benefit from having a HS. They became aware of interacting more with family and friends, went out into the community more and overall felt that having a HS in the home “guaranteed a feeling of personal acceptance and approval, ‘being liked’ ” (Q17). Another HF stated: “Watching the faces and listening to the voiced expressions when students enjoyed what you brought forward” (IF1) brought pleasant joys to daily life. Others noted that, “the HS brought out more curiosity in [their] children” (IM1). One HF mother stated that her teenage son “became both more communicative and more social” (IF1) during the time that the HS were in their home.

Over a quarter of the participants felt that their homestay guest became a new friend and an eighth particularly valued the company of the guest. With children growing up and leaving home, having a HS gives some couples “a change of pace once in awhile in life; it keeps life interesting” (Q28). Family and friends also benefit from HF: “My extended family also enjoys meeting the students who come, so we always try to have at least one family gathering while students are with us, so the students get a good experience, too, I think” (Q29). Several participants enjoyed showing off their cities, introducing their guest to family and friends, learning a bit of a new language, and the financial perk. “It’s also fun to share our home with others, and I love being a tour guide” (Q21).

Figure 2: Benefits



In a study investigating citizenship education in Japan and Canada, Richardson, Blades, Kumano & Karaki (2003) reported that high school students in both countries shared three similarities in their projection of the state of the world. In their “global imaginary,” global citizenship takes precedence over national citizenship; global issues can only be resolved by working with others on an international scale; and international dialogue is needed in order to learn how to become actively engaged in the world community. HFs also seemed to share aspects of this global imaginary. Interviewed family members reflected deeply and with pause during the interviews as they described how they felt that they and their family members benefitted from having a homestay student living with them. The results of international dialogue at the dinner table in HF homes seemed to enhance national identity, the feeling of contributing to world peace and some realities about Canadian values and practices. “[The benefits are a] cultural exchange, considering others’ needs, learning to be non-judgmental, knowing I am contributing to world peace.” (Q21)

My husband has not been able to experience some of the cultures that I have experienced in my life so far. It gives him a better understanding of diverse cultures and people; he hasn't traveled a lot. (IF2)

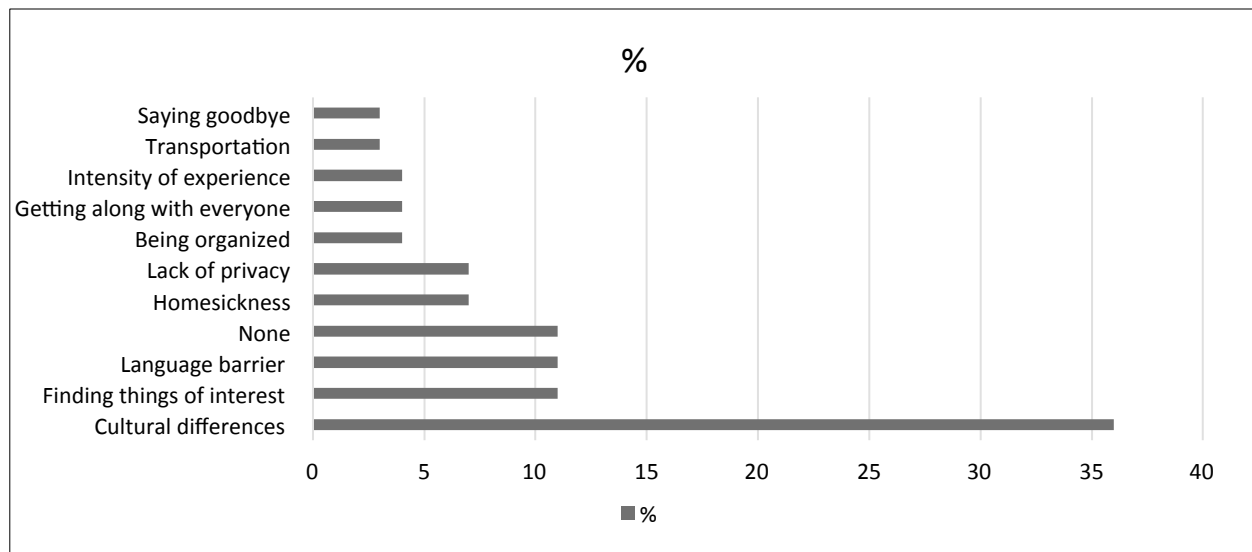
Challenges

Despite the reported benefits of hosting a HS, interviewed families also reported a host of often unanticipated challenges. According to the online data, the cultural differences were seen as a challenge to over one third of the respondents (see Figure 3). Akin to the Cho and Bilash study (2010), for the HF this strain is often related to food: “Some people are very set on having certain foods everyday. Eventually I just gave in to letting them cook, but it was sometimes hard to share ‘my’ kitchen” (IF1).

Occasionally HFs experienced a language barrier or difficulties finding something of interest to do or say. Communicating in English was cited as the most frequent challenge: “Communication to speak English with weak skilled English speakers when sometimes you were tired and wanted to veg out, and not feel obliged to carry on a conversation” (Q13). “As a HF, you are teaching ESL all day” (IF2).

A few HFs reported that coping with the homesickness of the foreign guest was emotionally challenging as was the unanticipated lack of privacy. “We treasure our privacy. Having a stranger in the house 24/7 was a challenge for us” (Q28).

Figure 3: Challenges



Beliefs about being Canadian

Lengthy conversations about a host of topics with HS saw HF re-imagining both Canadians and citizens of other countries. Figure 4 reveals the beliefs about being Canadian as reflected in the online survey. After participating in a homestay with adult or adolescent HS, participants described Canadians as being “open minded” (Q27), “kind” (Q21), living in a “great country” (Q14) of “hard workers” (Q 28) – “most of us got to where we are through our own steam” (Q 29; IF2). “We have every right to be proud”(Q28; IF2; IF3). “When you learn about the oppression in other countries you feel really lucky to be here” (Q27). They renewed their beliefs in the value of multiculturalism: “We all basically live together in Canada” (Q12). “We are more open and accepting than many other cultures” (Q21; Q29).

In a self-study about identity in his classroom, Morgan (2004) formed relationships with the students by sharing details of his personal life, such as his domestic roles at home including responsibilities with his children. Morgan claims that as he “learned new things about [his] students, [he] was compelled to learn new things about [himself] through their responses” (p.183). HF and HS seem to have engaged in a similar ongoing reciprocal process of ‘becoming’. For example, through hours of discussions with an adult HS, one HF member wrote: “We talk and openly express our feelings and attitudes - often without forethought. Oriental cultures are very reserved and do not show their reactions. We tend to offend, then talk and try to settle it out. Others think before speaking” (IM2). Another added, “I didn’t realize that Canadians are so arrogant - especially when we are in our own environment” (Q15; IF2; IM1). Some HFs also felt that, “we are very juvenile in the way we live in the moment rather than within a historical context” (Q27).

After learning more about other countries through their HS, some HF members began to see Canadians as “close-minded” (Q15), “sloppy” (with refuse) (Q12), “intolerant” (Q27), and with “laws that are too lax” (Q14; IM2). “Too much government support can spoil people and the country” (Q20; IM1).

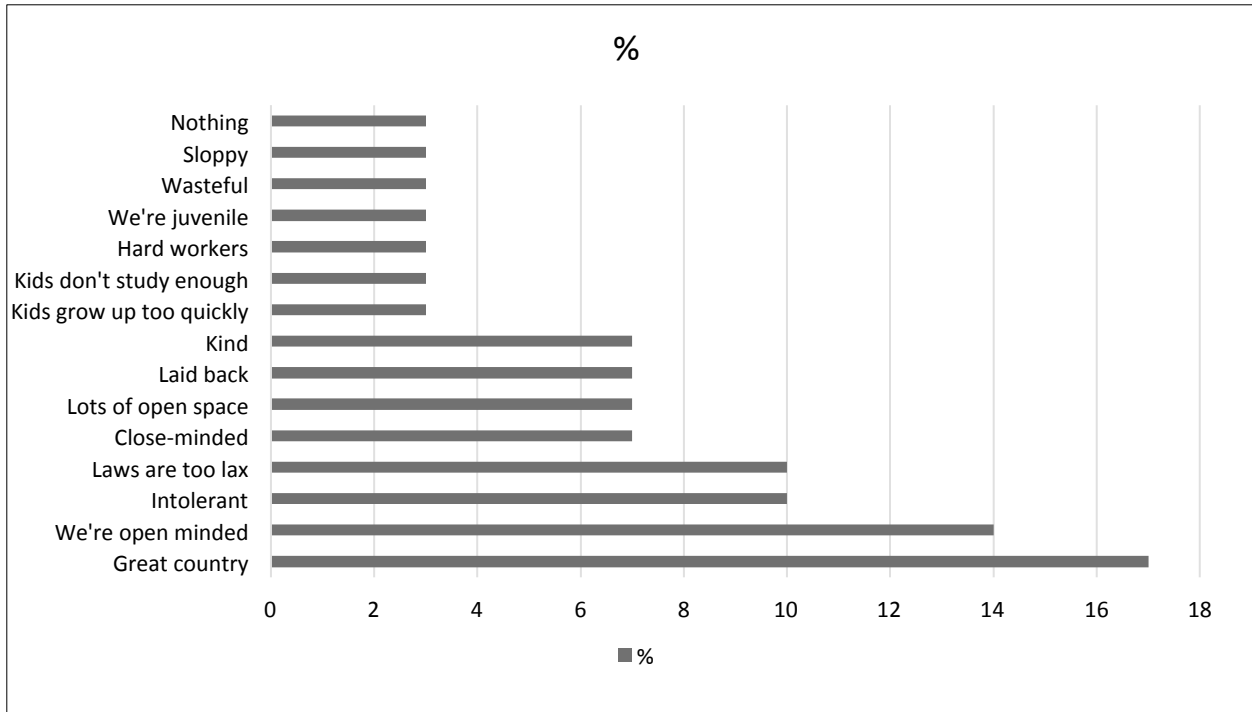
They also noted silencing and marginalization or racism in Canadian practices. For many HF members, the most poignant moments of having a HS seemed to be around the attitudes toward foreigners of some of their friends and the public at large. “I was surprised that some people are afraid of having foreigners in their homes” (IM3). After observing responses to their HS in public and talking to others (teachers, their children) they further concluded that Canadians “are somewhat racist, we are only superficially welcoming” (IF3). “It’s like, we are kind and generous when it suits us” (IM5). From a citizenship perspective, such negotiation of meaning for some participants is a positive byproduct of the HF experience.

Further, after watching how hard HS work at their studies, many HF began to question Canadian students as “not studying hard enough” (Q18) and “growing up too quickly” (Q18; Q22). “In some countries students are at school 12-14 hours a day. They don’t have time to watch movies like our kids do. They seem more innocent in many ways” (Q25). One HS was surprised how common it was for a Canadian high school student to also have a paid job, for self-support (IM1). Thus, the homestay experience brings issues of culture into the home. The presence of an “other” serves to aggravate contradictions, thus moving marginalized discourses closer to the centre of thought and discussion.

Participants also described the image of Canada and Canadians they wanted their HS to leave with. Their polyvocal reflections included: “In Canada honesty matters” (Q 16); “it’s worth learning to speak English better and being able to communicate with more people” (Q27); “that we are kind, friendly, casual” (Q28); “open, hospitable, that different cultures and religions are accepted” (Q11); “that all people can live together if we get beyond the prejudices. That our countries share a lot in common” (Q27); “to love and respect their own family, culture and country”

(Q18); “that in Canada everyone has a chance for an education” (Q15); and “that we have a common yearning for peace and fraternity” (Q21). “I wanted my HS to learn that open spaces are not scary and that risk is good and is creative” (Q8). Although the online survey did not offer depth for analysis, it does present a range of perspectives from individuals in HF who had likely never met, except perhaps at a farewell thank you dinner.

Figure 4: Beliefs about Canada and Canadians



Interpretive Lenses

Qualitative researchers often use a lens to interpret their findings (Cresswell, 2007). “The choice of lens has clear implications for both focus (what to study) and stance (who defines what is important and does the research)” (Schall et al., p.3). Just as a filter works to enhance, to give nuance, so the interpretive lens served to provide the authors with a means by which to understand how HF were affected in their imagining of what it is to be Canadian. We used two citizenship lenses to interpret the research findings: Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007) as interpreted by Gulliver (2011).

Interpretive lens: Citizenship.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) ask, “*what kind of citizen do we need to support an effective democratic society?*” They posit three non-mutually exclusive visions of citizenship: the *personally responsible citizen*, the *participatory citizen*, and the *justice-oriented citizen* (p. 2). The *personally responsible citizen* contributes time, money or both to charitable causes such as volunteering, donating to a food or clothing drive or helping those who are less fortunate. This vision of good citizenship focuses on the individual’s honesty, integrity, self-discipline and hard work.

Throughout the data we saw glimpses of personally responsible citizenship, particularly in the

interviews:

“[I learned] that I go out of my way to do more than I do with regular friends and neighbors. I like to be liked and this is a situation that guarantees this.” (Q17)

“I like sharing my home (food, hospitality, conversation) for certain periods of time... and when the longer programs (usually one month) are finished - my husband and I are happy with that length of time.” (Q28)

A *participatory citizen* is actively involved in “...civic affairs and the social life of the community at local, state, and national levels” (p. 2). Instead of mere participation in a food drive, a participatory citizen would organize one. “In the tradition of De Tocqueville, proponents of participatory citizenship argue that civic participation transcends particular community problems or opportunities. It also develops relationships, common understandings, trust, and collective commitments” (p. 3). As one HF mother stated: “we went places, did things and talked about things that either we always did or more for the benefit of the HS” (IF1).

Although activities varied, of course, by family, included were hiking, biking, camping or time at the lake cabin, boating, kayaking, fishing, downhill and water skiing, trips to the mountains and the capital cities with Parliament and Legislative architectural tours included, home cooking and music lessons, choir, tour of an underground mine, participation in an Aboriginal PowWow and charity fundraising – all considered to be integral to Canadian culture.

HF also revealed the role of taking initiative and responding to community or program need embedded in this notion of citizenship:

[One of our students] was very naïve when she came here. She thought she'd be here with seven foot men and a dirt cellar. They had no concept. We spoke to the program director about it, which is why they now have the luncheon to get to know them before we bring them home. (IF1)

Another HF member responded to a community need:

Then someone else called and we said we wouldn't take any more homestay students but they said they'd be most grateful if we would. So we had him and he stayed with us for a year. (IF3)

Two of the families interviewed had to haul in water or drill wells, both expensive undertakings that made them very conscious of environmental and conservation issues, especially with respect to water use. “We have to teach the [HS] boys about having shorter showers” (IM1).

A *justice-oriented citizen* is drawn to causes of injustice and the importance of pursuing social justice goals. To do so requires a careful examination of the social, political and economic aspects of a situation. This vision of citizenship values collective work connected to life and community issues, and engages people in a critical analysis of social issues and injustices. Individuals aligned with this vision are more likely to engage in social movements and systemic change rather than promote charity or volunteerism. As one teenage participant in this study revealed: “we really want [to be a HF] as a way to see another culture, to help someone out, someone who wanted to see my country and learn English, things I can help with” (IM4).

If “imagining or grasping the reality of other people is one of the hardest things for human beings to accomplish” (Hansen, 2008, p. 302), then the HF experience may contribute to facilitating this:

I have learned that when we are the hosts - we become ethno-centric. I found the same when we stayed with others in their country. It is a circumstance to show off your country and culture and because the student has come to our space it implies that they want to learn and this puts the host

on a pedestal. It is very easy to feel powerful and this puts the host at risk of being arrogant and pushy and intolerant and insensitive. Having seen this, I hope I am more aware of this tendency and act responsibly. (IF1)

“We didn't see them as "Taiwanese", as different; after a while, they were just two other individuals sharing our home and differences faded” (IF2).

In trying to ‘fit’ the data into the Westheimer and Kahne model, the latter’s frailties became apparent. The place of collective everyday life in forming respectful community values seemed to be understated. While helping the less fortunate and starting new things were valued in the model, the efforts of everyday people to sustain what comprises the fabric of society was taken for granted. For example, keeping strong institutions such as school, family and church, highly valued by many HF, seem less valued than working for public or global causes. The Westheimer and Kahne model does not mention giving children healthy lifestyles through sports, theatre, and music, let alone the time and effort they require. HF felt that the special events and celebrations that were the traditions of Canadian families (birthdays, anniversaries, Christmas, Hannukah, travel to be with family) formed and reflected core values and wanted to share them with HSs. “When we travel to see our grown up children for Christmas, they know that the “HS will be part of Christmas gift giving, and will need a sleeping space” (IM3). The Westheimer and Kahne model highly values the citizen working for an organized or recognized social cause; we take the view that integrating HS in everyday or local “grass roots” cultural activities also contributes in meaningful ways to the global goal of peace and international understanding.

A second lens through which to interpret the findings from this study comes from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007) via a study by Gulliver (2011). Gulliver’s research compared nine key representations of Canada and Canadian identity as represented in two citizenship study guides developed for and published by the federal government.

If nations are not merely *imagining* communities but *already imagined* communities, then within these communities some imaginations are more privileged than others (Stanley, 2006). Established tropes that are inoffensive to, or that articulate, dominant interests become legitimised while alternative and contradictory imaginings of nation and community become subsumed or delegitimised. Thus, descriptions of “the Canadian way of life” achieve consensus for imaginings that support current relations. They also limit alternative imaginings of Canada by reaffirming an imagination that has been widely diffused through novels and maps (Anderson, 2006), newspapers (Billig, 1995), road signs (Jones & Merriman, 2009), and language textbooks (Gulliver, 2009). These study guides for new Canadians present particular imaginings of Canadians and of Canada as an already imagined community, which should be critically reexamined in citizenship classrooms (Gulliver, 2011, p. 19).

Using a concordance software, he identified nine common representations in the two documents. He expressed concern that they presented a fixed notion of Canadian citizenship without any space for new Canadians: “These study guides represent “Canadians” through bare assertions without offering supporting evidence or through attributions to Canadians without any quoted speech that would give a voice to these Canadians” (Gulliver, 2011, p. 26). Our data challenges even the accuracy of the government’s assertions.

The fluid nature of identity and the shifts from being to becoming to being and becoming are difficult to verbalize. Some HF participants disclosed changes in their perspectives; others appeared strong in their stability; still others did not provide enough information for commentary. But, drawing on the nine themes cited by Gulliver (2011), some of the HF data does challenge the current government’s ideology on citizenship. As each of these themes is briefly described, so will be their connection to the HF data in this study.

(1) *Canadians are diverse and value diversity.* Although Canada is often referred to as a land of immigrants, Gulliver reports that attention is accorded the founding nations of the French and English who are also described as the majority in the textbooks. HF framed this diversity as part of “multiculturalism” (Q19), and “heritage” (IF3) and although there was encouragement to learn English well, only a few HF acknowledged French or the other languages spoken in Canada.

(2) *Canadians serve in the military.* In 2012 Gulliver further expounded upon the ‘militarization’ of Canadian identity in ESL textbooks. None of the participants mentioned Canada as a peacekeeper, or our involvement in Afghanistan or other wars, although this is not to imply that such conversations did not take place in the home.

(3) *Canadians are equal and value equality.* According to the concordance, the textbooks highlight Canadians’ rights to equality, language and religion. Many HF voices in this study noted Canada’s advantages for women and an overall feeling of freedom and equality.

(4) *Canadians work hard and are prosperous.* This perspective was also prevalent in the HF, especially among senior constituents.

(5) *Canadians are proud.* “One emotion that the study guides assert is shared by Canadians is pride, primarily pride in being Canadian. The texts also construct Canadians as proud of their diversity and uniqueness” (Gulliver, 2011, p. 24). Many HF used pride to describe their feelings but this study did not sufficiently deconstruct its meaning.

(6) *Canadians create* (referring to Canadian inventors, artists and writers). Although many families took the HS to festivals, museums and other special events, nothing was mentioned of Canadians as inventors, artists or writers.

(7) *Canadians honour the Queen.*

(8) *Canadians are tough.*

(9) *Canadians play hockey.*

In the absence of commentary, HF – urban and rural in both provinces - contested these positions. Perhaps these stereotypes are not as robust in contemporary times as they may have been in the past.

Closing

Data analysis of online surveys and face-to-face interviews helped useful subthemes emerge and revealed increased awareness of benefits that hosting homestay programs have for developing a sense of Canadian culture and citizenship. Throughout the data we saw glimpses of benefits and challenges of being a HF and varying notions of citizenship that relate to and challenge the frameworks of both Westheimer and Kahne (2004) as well as the Canadian Government.

The interview process itself appeared to help participating family members understand what having hosted a foreign exchange student meant for them as they articulated their thoughts. They verbalized perceptions of the process of the homestay hosting experience, its advantages and its challenges. This study has revealed what, for individuals and families, may have been some of the benefits and lasting effects of having given so generously of themselves and their time. This reflective process gave voice to insights about participants’ views not only of their own lives, but of the cultural institutions of which they are a part - families, schools, communities, museums, festivals and their country.

Despite critics of the neo-liberal agenda, young people are travelling more than ever before. The reciprocal exchanges in Canada’s “expanding participation of students in study abroad programs is regarded as integral to the process of internationalizing the higher education curriculum as a response to globalization” (Yang et al, 2010, p. 2; AUCC, 2008; Alberta Education, 2001).

Universities in Canada, as elsewhere (Bennel & Pearce, 2003), have increased their quotas for international undergraduate and graduate students. With Asian and South American parents' beliefs that studying abroad will offer their children increased employability and mobility at home, many seek an overseas language study and schooling experience for their children during secondary school years. The domino effect has been that school jurisdictions now send recruiting specialists abroad and local municipal governments recognize the revenue that accrues from such students, as well as the small but significant business revitalization to local families. The growing homestay phenomenon has meant that the demand for HF struggles to keep up with the number of HS.⁴

This study points to influences of HS on their HF, in particular the HF's growth in awareness of Canada and citizenship, and offers insights that challenge ideological positions. With the increase in numbers of HS, their influence merits further exploration on the imaginings of Canada and Canadian citizenship of hundreds of thousands of Canadians (e.g. HF, teachers, students, administrators, community leaders). Since "we organize our experience and our memory of human happening mainly in the form of narrative-stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing, and so on" (Bruner, 1991, p. 4), narrative accounts from these groups might shed more light on the impact HS have on the flow of being and becoming 'Canadian'. What will be the narratives that the HF will carry with them? How will the youth experience of hosting impact their lives, values and enactments of citizenship as adults? How will the large numbers of HS impact future generations and Canadian communities? How will Canada and imaginings of global citizenship be transformed by the expanding sphere of influence of HS?

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⁴ A google search confirms that brokering agencies are always in need of homestay families (<http://www.schoolsinCanada.com/>; <http://www.intl.retsd.mb.ca/sections/homestay/homestay.html>).

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