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Service and Learning for Whom? Toward a Critical Decolonizing Bicultural Service Learning Pedagogy

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Toward a Critical Decolonizing Bicultural Service Learning Pedagogy

by

Kortney Hernandez

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This dissertation written by Kortney Hernandez, under the direction of the Dissertation Committee, is approved and accepted by all committee members, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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DEDICATION

In loving memory of Rosa Hernandez and Luis Rodriguez, two beautiful and precious souls who passed away during the writing of this dissertation and who are now reunited in heaven together.

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ABSTRACT

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The notion of service has enjoyed historical longevity—rooted deeply within our institutions (i.e., churches, schools, government, military, etc.), reminiscent of indentured servitude, and rarely questioned as a colonizing practice that upholds oppression. Given the relentless insertion of service learning programs into working class communities, the sacrosanctity awarded and commonsensically given to service is challenged and understood within its colonial, historical, philosophical, economic, and ideological machinations. This political confrontation of service learning practices serves to: (a) critique the dominant epistemologies that reproduce social inequalities within the context of service learning theory and practice; and (b) move toward the formulation of a critical bicultural service learning theory and critical principles, in line with the humanizing and emancipatory intent of a critical decolonizing pedagogical practice.

This dissertation is deeply influenced by the writings of Brazilian educational philosopher Paulo Freire and critical activist scholar Antonia Darder, among others, and incisively examines and critiques service learning through critical bicultural pedagogy and critical decolonizing interpretive methodology. As a radical political project, Darder's decolonizing interpretive theoretical framework provides an opportunity to rupture the abyssal

divide that epistemologically privileges the Eurocentric service learning discourse in an effort to place bicultural voices, scholarship, and communities at the forefront of this educational movement. In seeking to move toward equality and liberatory practices, both politically and pedagogically, it is imperative that critical consciousness be the guide to ensure that society does not stand by and accept the displacement and dehumanization of the oppressed by culturally invasive practices of service.

CHAPTER 1

A CRITICAL NARRATIVE AND REFLECTION

> If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.
>
> *-Lilla Watson, Aboriginal artist and activist, 2004*

In 2015, I attended a session at an educational conference on praxis in service learning. Eager to gain deeper insight into the epistemological and ideological constructions of service learning in relation to praxis, I showed up at 8:00 in the morning to get a seat and a feel for the room.[1] The room was moderately filled with people upon my arrival, so I decided to get a seat in the back as we waited for each of the five presenters to preload their presentations and for the 8:15 start time. As I began to glance around the room, I could not help but notice that two of the presenters and I were the only people of color in the room. Later the discussant would arrive, making it a grand total of four people of color in a room of at least 20 people.

I specifically make reference to this racial breakdown given that it inherently lies at the center of the issues explored in this dissertation. As I waited, many questions began to fill my mind: Did I belong here? Why are some people staring at me? Am I the only person of color in the audience? and Do I even know enough about service learning to be here? One person in particular sitting directly next to myself was staring at me so much that I decided to pull out a notebook from my bag. I figured I could mask these insecurities by taking copious notes and at

[1] I offer my narrative and perspective of the session with the utmost respect and love to all of the participants and presenters that were involved—their work provided deep insight and space for the evolution of my thinking with regard to service learning. I take full responsibility for any misinterpretations or misstatements of the their work, which I will discuss below. Yet, I believe that it is important to bring my perspective as humbly as possible to the table.

the same time show that I was worthy of being there. Finally, in what felt like forever, the chair of the session emerged from the audience and laid out the time frame for the presenters and the session began.

The first presenter shared findings on community-based research and its integration into an educational leadership doctorate program with a social justice emphasis. Important to note here is that the program under discussion had recently been admitted into the elite group of Carnegie Project on the Education Doctorate (CPED) institutions.

> The mission of the Carnegie Project on the Education Doctorate (CPED) is to improve the efficacy and reliability of the professional doctorate in education for the advanced preparation of school practitioners and clinical faculty, academic leaders and professional staff for the nation's schools, colleges and the learning organizations that support them. This is done by redesigning all aspects of EdD programs including: curriculum, assessments, admissions, etc. (CPED, 2015)[2]

The Carnegie Project on the Education Doctorate (CPED) is relatively new, established in 2007 and growing to a membership of about 87 colleges and schools of education in 2014 (CPED, 2015). CPED is sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation (CSU CPED, 2007), which was founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1905. In 1906, an act of Congress chartered the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Andrew Carnegie, who gave enormous amounts of his wealth away, once stated: "There are higher uses for surplus wealth than adding petty sums to the earnings of the masses" (Social

[2] Permission to cite content from the CPED website was expressly granted by Jill Perry during her presentation at Loyola Marymount University on January 14, 2016.

Change 101, 2015). One might surmise from this historically relevant statement that Andrew Carnegie, controlling a lion's share of the wealth during this time period—so much so that he launched a campaign for suggestions of how he should give away his wealth—was against the redistribution of the wealth to the petty masses (Social Change 101, 2015). This is particularly relevant given the hegemonic impact of the Carnegie Foundation and the current disproportionate distribution of wealth in the US.

As I listened to the first presenter, I began to wonder what the vast difference between community-based research and service learning was. This presenter must have anticipated this query because the next slide provided background information on community-based research (CBR). One particular reference from this slide stood out as it cited Douglas Porpora and revealed that CBR was an advanced form of service learning. Yet, Corey Cook (2008) has argued, "As is the case with service learning, community-based research suffers from a lack of conceptual precision" (p. 10). Cook has also referenced the "prominent" sociologist Porpora as ascribing to community-based research the "highest stage of service learning" (p.10).

Following the CBR discussion, the presenter proceeded to provide the data for the institution's three-cohort doctorate program sample that incorporated community-based research courses. Throughout the doctorate program, a community engaged competencies self-assessment/ postdecision questionnaire is administered to students. In the sharing of findings, one particular finding stood out and resonated with me: the common theme of *frustration* that the students experienced. I began to wonder what kind of frustration were the students experiencing? Did they not like their placement at a particular community partner? Were they frustrated with community members, their peers, or faculty? Where was this research moving

toward in a social justice–focused doctorate program? These questions were never addressed; instead, the issue of student frustration was left to hang in the air.

The presenter concluded with excitement about being inducted into CPED and the move of the doctorate program to thematic/project-based dissertations (where students would be grouped by their interests with faculty). As the subsequent presenters began to get prepared to present, questions flooded my mind. Where was the voice of the community? What would a project-based thematic dissertation focused on community-based inquiry result in for students and their own agency/scholarship? Where was the praxis? Were they really going to design an educational leadership doctorate program upon the tenets of traditional service learning? Was their engagement with social justice merely on a surface level?

The second set of presenters made their way up to the front to present their research and provide data on how service learning shaped the career choices of alumni. They exclaimed that service learning was of course *role-rehearsal* for future experiences and jobs for the college students and that, therefore, this presentation spotlighted an under-researched population—service learning alumni. The presenters referred to the alumni sample as having engaged in what was known as "sustained multi-term programs" and coming from three different universities. This meant that students were engaged in service learning for longer than the typical semester or one course. This long-term engagement was based on multisemester/multiyear commitments (in one case, 11 courses) for the alumni, in which they were immersed in service learning. While there was amazement at the ability of the researchers to track down alumni and have such an impressive response rate, I couldn't help but be preoccupied with the following question: Where were the voices of the community members? Surely, alumni would have pointed out that the

reciprocal nature of service learning work needed to have the voices of those whom they had "helped"?

The third presenter provided research on China and service learning. Service learning programs were being created at a particular university with the additional component of residential learning. I was surprised to discover that even East Asia had embraced what seemed like a Westernized/Eurocentric service learning orientation for implementation in their higher education system. As I would come to learn, service learning is a global phenomenon, spanning institutions of higher education and educational settings around the world. The presenter, cognizant of running low on time, decided to briefly mention the definitional slides on service learning, noting that the audience already knew the leading research on service learning and therefore, not much time would be spent on going over it.

Certainly, those familiar with service learning were used to the concepts of reciprocity, Kolb's experiential learning cycle, and the benefits for students, as provided by the presenter. The challenge of service learning in this context was that students were voluntary, and there was no course, which meant no incentives for students. Therefore, students would have to be motivated to participate. As I began to contemplate what this research meant, I wondered about the voice of this community—one that had been stricken and devastated by a recent earthquake and also known geographically for its mountainous region? Further, why is it necessary to incentivize students to engage in this work, if their motives are truly genuine? Did the presenter's quick mention of the "understood" service learning theories and constructions mean that everyone cites the same familiar research?

The fourth presenter provided some hope for a critical engagement of service learning as she opened with a quote from bell hooks and referenced the works of John Dewey and Paulo Freire. Beginning with a brief primer about a student who questioned service learning and moving to the possibility for its transformative potential, this presenter was in line to be one of the most critical voices about the practice of service learning by far. The presenter even noted that Freire was often referred to as the "Latin John Dewey"—at which the audience laughed. The presenter articulated the theoretical pieces that informed the work that relied on reciprocity: John Dewey's pragmatism, and Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy. The work was being done in outdoor classrooms, and the student-directed experiential education courses served as the anchor for the methodology of choice—transformative phenomenology. Yet, something was still missing. I began to wonder again, where was the voice of this community in this heavily student-focused and led research? How would Freire, Dewey, or hooks problematize this work?

The last presenter reenergized the crowd with personality, posing two questions, and asking audience members to raise their hands if they agreed with one or the other. Do you need to give students a choice in their service learning placement (they shouted)? Or should you guide them? The majority of the audience raised their hands, suggesting that it was of the utmost importance to give students a choice. A few raised their hands to indicate that students needed to be guided, to which the presenter laughed and remarked we would need to work on this. I did not raise my hand for either of the questions as I was contemplating who is being allowed to dictate this choice—surely, the community should have a say in choosing who enters into their space and their lives.

This presentation was about the importance of voice and choice in service learning for students, and moved on to a discussion of service learning as a pathway for civic engagement. Here it was, the final presentation, and the question was whether students valued their service more if they were allowed to choose their placement, which was simultaneously backed up by a horde of data and a fancy catch phrase. As the last presenter began to conclude, I could not help but wonder where was the praxis and, as such—where was the community? Externally, these presentations articulated dialogue, reciprocity, action and reflection; yet, something seemed to be absent. In his writings, Paulo Freire (1970) conveyed the depth of praxis in the following way:

> As we attempt to analyze dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover something which is the essence of dialogue itself: *the word.* But the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constitutive elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed—even in part—the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world. (p. 87)

Cosmetically, the presentations appeared sound; however, to superficially engage in praxis without a *true word/radical interaction* necessary, according to Freire, and a deeper engagement with what that work entails, was what seemed to be missing/sacrificed. Antonia Darder (2015a), in her book *Freire and Education*, called on critical educators to fully embrace a "dialectical understanding of our relationship with the world" and in turn, "together . . . transform our teaching and learning into a revolutionary praxis—a critical praxis that encompasses reflection, dialogue, and action, where theory and practice are regenerating and in alliance" (p. 43). Paula

Allman (2010) engaged the tension of entering into our material conditions and relations and accepting them as inevitable or natural. She referred to this as an uncritical and thus reproductive form of praxis, which she juxtaposed with a revolutionary praxis that is critically aware and seeks to transform. Allman (2010) further argued, "Critical/revolutionary praxis begins when we critically grasp the dialectical, or internally related, nature of our material conditions and social relations and develops in full as we seek to abolish or transform these conditions" (p. 6).

As the discussant began to speak to the significance of studying abroad for students and the "value of service" before taking questions, I could not help but rest on the reality that I had just sat through five presentations that all proclaimed to "help" the community, but not one had spoken to how community and service learning participants together had engaged this concept of praxis. Did the community have any say in service learning partnerships/programs? This brought to mind Freire's (1970) deep concern: "How can I dialogue if I always project ignorance onto others and never perceive my own . . . Men and women who lack humility (or have lost it) cannot come to the people, cannot be their partners in naming the world" (p. 90).

As the discussant began wrapping up and getting ready to give time for questions, I wrestled with the thought of asking a question to the group of presenters. What would I ask, and would it be good enough? Did the presenters just forget to mention the community because they were pressed for time? Would I regret it if I decided not to ask a question? The discussant and chair of the session opened it up for a couple of questions, as time allotted. Before I could talk myself out of it, I raised my hand—not knowing what I would ask or having even formulated a thoughtful question. A moment of relief came upon me as the chair of the session, sitting

directly behind me, picked a woman from across the room to ask the first question. I regrouped and began to think about how I would phrase my question (if I got the opportunity to ask it). How could I link my understandings of what seemed to be a recurrent theme that was missing from most service learning projects—the community, the people—to the work of the presenters?

As the first question began to wrap up, the chair of the session announced that there would be time for a few more questions. My hand shot up again—surely the chair of the session sitting directly behind me would see it. The chair pointed excitedly over to another woman (she just happened to be one of the presenters) in the front of the room and said he noticed that she had raised her hand previously. She asked her question and then came time for someone else to ask a question. To which, another audience member from across the room just started speaking and asking his question to one of the presenters. This question turned into multiple questions leaving me (and probably others) wondering if these specific questions could have been asked directly to the presenter at a later time.

At this point, I gave up and decided to put my notebook back into my bag in preparation for the end of the session. The audience member realized and acknowledged that he was probably monopolizing all of the question time, so he decided to end his line of questioning for the presenter and pick up with them later. The chair would allow one more question, however, I felt dejected and had forgotten most of the question that I had contemplated asking. Yet, when the chair announced his last call for questions, one of the presenters began to speak and said that someone had been patiently waiting with their hand up. I thought was this presenter referring to me (it just happened to be the one who spoke of Freire, hooks, and Dewey)? So I quickly raised my hand again with no idea how I would ask this tough question.

I quickly thought about how I would link my question with the work of each presenter, and then I immediately realized that data and the concept of reciprocity flowed throughout every presentation. So, I asked my question. It did not come out as smoothly as I would have liked but I shared that my question was open to any and/or all of the presenters. In thinking about reciprocity, I asked the presenters if any of them had collected data on the effects of service learning on the community or provided space for them to share their perspective on the impact of this service upon their community? Silence quickly filled the room. I looked around and wondered, why was nobody speaking, what had I just asked, and did it even make sense?

In what felt like forever, the silence was finally broken by one of the presenters who responded with a flat out: NO. One by one, each of the presenters from around the room echoed the same resounding: NO. This was a powerful moment for many reasons. Would the presenters who said NO and those in the room begin to understand the impact of this response? This question sparked a whole new discussion. One of the presenters began to question the use of the term reciprocity in service learning and whether it was just a buzzword used by the academy to feel good about the work. Many of the presenters then noted that they would begin to explore incorporating more community voice.

Yet, as I left the session, I could not help but be overcome with sadness. Why were we using impoverished communities as the stage for university students to perform role rehearsals? Why were we talking *about* communities if we were claiming to work *with* them? Why were there no community members in this session? The unacknowledged researcher arrogance that had filled this session seemed to quickly deflate toward the end. In the process, I began to search for reason behind a practice that fundamentally strips bicultural communities of their worth,

voice, and agency. I was outraged by the fact that the question of community voice would not be at the front and center of each and every service learning project. Then I began to look inward and wondered how, in my own work, I had upheld the status quo and in turn perpetuated the oppression that is a byproduct of service learning.

I asked myself: What was I trying to convey or hide by pretending to take notes? Why had I euphemistically watered down my question to the presenters? Why did I go the data route to ask my question? Surely, the presenters would have been able to understand and attend to my question had I approached it through critiques of false generosity, colonization, oppression, and cultural invasion. Was I trying to make them feel more comfortable and less threatened? About this, Brad Porfilio and Heather Hickman (2011), in *Critical Service-Learning as Revolutionary Pedagogy*, have noted the reality that many service learning scholars have kept their ties to critical theory hidden for the fear of retaliation from others who may resist "socialist" or "political" overtones (p. xiv). I was disappointed in myself for not taking the opportunity to be vulnerable and really share what I felt in that moment. Yet, little did I know at the time that this experience would be pivotal in my own formation and in seeking to, as Freire (1994) advocated: lessen the distance between what we say and what we do.

We are facing a monumental situation carried out by a practice/phenomenon that has flourished in the last two decades unquestioned and without critique of its exclusionary practices imposed upon bicultural communities. This begs the questions: Why is service learning not conducted in areas of affluence? What if, instead of role rehearsal, we engaged in role reversal and had students of color entering into spaces of affluence to implement service-learning programs? Does service learning only prosper and work in the context of an inferiorized people?

Who really benefits from the service, and as such who is learning from the practice? And what are the potential pedagogical and political consequences for those who believe themselves to have been of service?

Statement of the Problem

Have you ever heard of a service learning program, or any intervention for that matter, taking place in an area of affluence, specifically designed to help the affluent? Would those occupying spaces of affluence allow "poor people" to come into their communities and "help" them? The likely answer to this question exists in the reality that the targets for service learning "interventions" are often solely disenfranchised bicultural communities. This suggests that fundamentally the economically privileged are viewed as superior and therefore must provide their wealth of knowledge in order to help the poor.

This charity or missionary orientation has existed for centuries and is predicated upon the existence of an inferior group, or the "Other." The practice of service learning sometimes noted as a Band-Aid approach or a quick fix can be seen as problematic. John Eby's work (1998), grounded in the insights of George Ritzer and the notion of McDonaldization, characterized service learning as representing "McService, service bites, quick fix service, happy meal community service, or service in a box" (p. 2). It is this reality of service learning that reflects its neoliberal context, as the institutions that employ the practice are often in the business of providing help for the "poor" in a way that epitomizes the business-minded, quick service mode of production of cheap labor. To understand the burden that this places upon bicultural communities often labeled as "inferior," it useful to consider some of the present conditions that support the phenomenon.

Present Conditions

Even before beginning preschool and through to high school, the odds are stacked against bicultural children from poor, working-class communities. The U.S. Department of Education highlighted startling results from the 2011–12 Civil Rights Data Collection, which shed light on the realities for bicultural children and the school districts that provide their public education (Lhamon, 2014). It was found that 40% of public school districts did not offer preschool, making access to preschool not much of a reality for much of the country. Further, according to Lhamon's study from 2014, Black students represented a mere 18% of preschool enrollment but were disproportionately suspended—42% of preschoolers suspended were once and 48% of preschoolers suspended more than once are Black. The study also found that access to courses necessary for college and college counselors were uneven and inequitably distributed, leaving Black students (57%) Latino students (67%), students with disabilities (63%), and children designated as English learners (65%), without full access to courses needed for college. This is compared to Asian American (81%) and White (71%) high school students, who enjoy access to a full range of math and science courses.

The data reflect historical realities produced by the very structures that allow political, social, and economic inequalities to persist in this country. According to the National Poverty Center policy brief from 2009, "In the U.S., one of every three African American children and one of every four Latino children live in poverty—two times higher than the rate for white children" (p. 1). The educational attainment for communities of color is further challenged and limited by the realities that exist within our nation's criminal justice system. Kerby (2012) outlined the impact of the criminal justice system on bicultural communities, illuminating issues

such as the "war on drugs" being waged predominantly on communities of color, along with higher offenses and harsher punishments. Additionally, Kerby in 2012 noted people of color make up 30 percent of the US population but represent 60% of those who are imprisoned. This finding can be linked to unemployment rates, in that some (Myers, 1983; Wacquant, 2000) have noted the political economy argument in which the prison system functions as a method of social control and regulation during economic downturns when there are higher rates of unemployed poor groups (Cox, 2015).

A 2013 longitudinal study revealed findings that early childhood poverty damaged children's brain development. The brain scans of children ages six and 12 that had been tracked since preschool were analyzed (n = 145). Using rodent models as a comparison to suggest the well-established reality of the negative effects of "early unsupportive parenting in the form of maternal deprivation and stress on hippocampal and amygdala development," the authors of the study posited this finding as an urgent global and national health problem for the one in five children living below the poverty line (Luby et al., 2013, p. 2). Of concern with this study is the way in which the "well-validated" (Luby et al., 2013, p. 3) parenting measure known as the waiting task is relied upon to produce evidentiary support for either parental supportive or hostile caregiving. The task—requiring a child to wait eight minutes before opening a wrapped gift placed within arm's reach—is used to judge how the parents react to the child, by categorizing their interaction with their child as either supportive or hostile.

The findings of the study suggested that due to the smaller white matter, cortical gray matter, and smaller volumes of the hippocampus and amygdala for children reared in poverty, the target for preventive interventions should be focused on caregiving, specifically with regard

to mothers rearing children in poverty-stricken areas (Luby et al., 2013). Focusing intently on the importance of "high-quality" caregiving, the study posited that this can be "achieved through parenting education and support as well as through preschool programs that provide high quality supplementary caregiving and a safe haven to vulnerable young children" (Luby et al., 2013, p. 8). This line of thinking and research focuses the need on parental intervention, which in turn locates the blame on parents (particularly mothers) and suggests that they are the reason for their children's limited brain development and environmental conditions. Rather, it would be important to take note of the reality that being reared in poverty is a larger structural issue in which the redistribution of income and wealth might be a better intervention than blaming the victims (Ryan, 1923) or, in this case, mothers.

The "waiting task" in the aforementioned study sheds light on a dominant paradigm with regard to bicultural communities. This dominant thinking is only exacerbated when those not familiar with the community enter into bicultural spaces with their "expert knowledge" that can oftentimes rely upon questionable "objective" research and facts. It is important here to examine excerpts from a journal entry from one service learning participant as put forth in an article by Dick Cone and Susan Harris (1996). The task given to the student during their first week was to describe the setting and impressions of the site, people, and the feelings that the student was having. Cheryl Gilbert in the Sociology 101/service learning course wrote:

> The building was badly in need of repair and there was graffiti and trash in the neighborhood surrounding the school. How could anyone get used to this? . . . I waded through a sea of black and Mexican children to the JEP office . . . Standing in front of me was this little Mexican kid who could barely speak English. Although he was smiling and

> seemed happy to meet me, I could tell that he was poor and probably neglected. While I feel very strongly for the people who live in this community, I do not understand why it is that they continue to live here, subjecting their children to such unbearable conditions. These children are susceptible to picking up bad habits like stealing, lying and cheating in trying to be like the gangbangers who live in the neighborhood. (Cone & Harris, 1996, p. 44)

Cone and Harris (1996) did recognize that the above journal entry reflects privilege and "that students' impressions of the community are often exaggerated and ethnocentric, if not racist and intolerant" (p. 44). Much like the warped logic foisted upon bicultural communities as a result of the "waiting task" in the poverty and brain study, this journal entry is riddled with and informed by a similar racializing ideological discourse that flows from a dominant narrative that has been constructed for "at-risk" communities (Allen, 2014). As a result, blame is often wrongfully placed upon families (mothers in particular) and poverty is equated with negative behaviors and deficit-minded thinking. An excerpt from another journal entry from Cheryl illustrated this reality:

> Miguel had a big bandage on his head and several bruises on his legs. Although I didn't ask him, I'm guessing that these are the results of living in an abusive home. Because of the high rates of poverty, crime, gang activity, and drug use that plague the community, I assume that the pressures get to be too much, and parents release their frustration on their children. (Cone & Harris, 1996, p. 50)

Cheryl's journal entry excerpts reflect the racialized discourse inherent in many interventions and research projects implemented in bicultural communities. This attitude poses a

threat as bicultural communities are labeled and the negative notions often attributed to these communities become accepted as the norm. Therefore, it is important to interrogate fully the service learning practice and its recent growth within our educational system as it directly impacts society and in particular bicultural communities.

Service Learning Institutionalized in Higher Education

In the 1990s, an explosion in service learning programs took place on college campuses across the country (Jacoby, 1999). This era also marked an increase in federal government support and interest in service learning, as evidenced by the passage of the Community Service Trust Act of 1990, National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993, Corporation for National Service, and the Learn and Serve America programs (Jacoby, 1999). The Corporation is cited as providing a huge force for service learning in colleges and universities, through funding grants (Jacoby, 1999). Higher education, in concert, has institutionalized service learning practices and programs within many institutions. The University of California (UC) system, with 10 campuses and approximately 238,000 students (The UC System, 2015), for example, has community engagement/service learning/volunteer centers (see Table 1) available on each campus for students. The University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES, 2006) revealed that, of the total survey respondents, 44% had participated in community service. Additionally, the top three reasons for participating in community service, according to the UCUES 2006 Survey, were to help other people (63%), learn more about the community (31%), and meet people (31%).

Table 1

UC Service Learning Campus Offices

UC Campus	**Center**
UC Berkeley	Public Service Center
UC Davis	Community Service Resource Center
UC Irvine	Office of Civic and Community Engagement
UCLA	Volunteer Center
UC Merced	Resource Center for Community Engaged Scholarship (ReCCES)
UC Riverside	Career Center- Community Engagement
UC San Diego	Center for Student Involvement
UC San Francisco	University Community Partnerships Office
UC Santa Barbara	Community Affairs Board (CAB)/Volunteer Action Center
UC Santa Cruz	Student Volunteer Center (SVC)

José Zapata Calderón (2007) has discussed the impact of this reality by noting that over the past 10 years, the largest university system in the country—the California State University (CSU) system, with 23 campuses and approximately 405,000 students enrolled each year—has aggressively supported service learning. In 1997, CSU campus delegates came together to form the Strategic Plan for Community Service Learning with the primary goal of offering service learning opportunities for all CSU students before they graduated. This led to the creation of a system-wide network of service learning offices with a designated center on each CSU campus (see Table 2) and a coordinating Office of Community Service Learning in the chancellor's office to oversee, monitor, and provide support to each campus.

Table 2

CSU Service Learning Campus Offices

CSU Campus	**Center**
CSU Bakersfield	Center for Career Education and Community Engagement (CECE)
CSU Channel Islands	Center for Community Engagement (CCE)
CSU Chico	Office of Civic Engagement (OCE)
CSU Dominguez Hills	Center for Service-Learning, Internships and Civic Engagement (SLICE)
CSU East Bay	The Center for Community Engagement (CCE)
CSU Fresno	Jan Bud Richter Center for Community Engagement and Service-Learning
CSU Fullerton	Center for Internships and Community Engagement (CICE)
CSU Humboldt	Student Engagement and Leadership Support (SEALS)
CSU Long Beach	Center for Community Engagement
CSU Los Angeles	Center for Engagement, Service and the Public Good (CESPG)
CSU Maritime	Center for Community Engagement in Center for Engagement, Teaching and Learning (CETL)
CSU Monterey Bay	Service Learning Institute (SLI)
CSU Northridge	Center for Innovative and Engaged Learning Opportunities (CIELO)
CSU Pomona	Center for Community Engagement (CCE)
CSU Sacramento	Community Engagement Center (CEC)
CSU San Bernardino	Office of Community Engagement (OCE)
CSU San Diego	Service Learning and Community Engagement Program (SLCEP)
CSU San Francisco	Institute for Civic and Community Engagement (ICCE)
CSU San Jose	Community Engagement Collaborative (CEC)
CSU San Luis Obispo	Center for Community Engagement
CSU San Marcos	Community Engagement
CSU Sonoma	Center for Community Engagement (CCE)
CSU Stanislaus	Office of Service Learning

Calderón (2007), citing the U.S. Census Bureau, highlighted that California was one of four states that had been designated a minority-majority, making it rich in ethnic diversity. This is no more evident than in the CSU system (see Figure 1). Overall CSU numbers reveal that Whites account for 27.3% of CSU enrollment compared to Mexican Americans at 27%, Asian Americans at 12.2%, Other Latinos at 7.8%, nonresident aliens 6.1%, unknown 5.9%, two or more races at 4.5 %, African Americans at 4.3%, and American Indians at 0.3 % (CSU Stat Report, 2014). The reality that bicultural students collectively outnumber whites is important to note as the entire CSU system has adopted and engages in service learning in predominantly bicultural communities. This will be analyzed later when discussing how bicultural students engage the service learning practice.

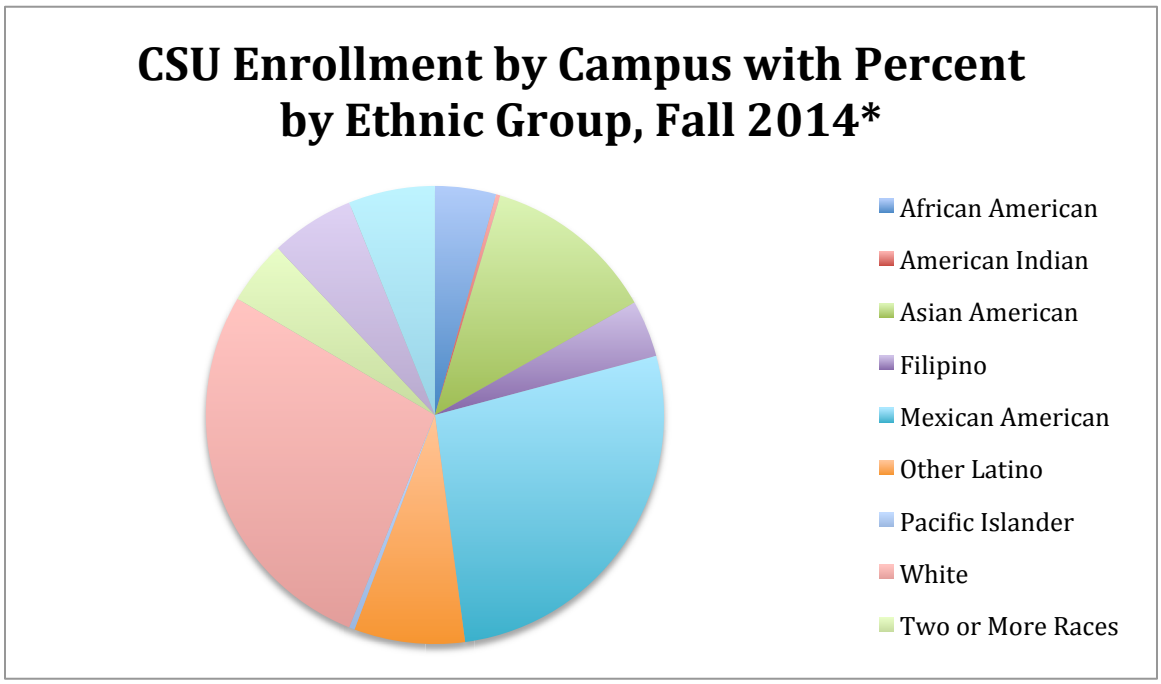

Figure 1. CSU Demographic Enrollment (CSU Stat Report, 2014).

In 2001, the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS) awarded the CSU system with the Higher Education Award for Leadership in National Service, making it, at the time, one of seven institutions in the nation to be honored (Calderón, 2007). In 2006, the President's Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll was launched annually to highlight "the role colleges and universities play in solving community problems and placing more students on a lifelong path of civic engagement by recognizing institutions that achieve meaningful, measureable outcomes in the communities they serve" (President's Higher Education Honor Roll, 2015, n. p).

Moreover, service has become a part of the national dialogue, even pathologizing those who do not engage in service by terming the issue *civic malaise.* The report *A National Call to Action: A Crucible Moment,* assembled by The National Task Force on Civic Learning (2012) and Democratic Engagement, provided 10 indicators of anemic U.S. civic health. These indicators and the findings in this report suggest that civic engagement must be a priority for all students in higher education and that the problems outlined in the report must be rectified.

The National Focus on Service and Volunteerism

In a Carnegie Foundation Essay entitled *Higher Learning in the Nation's Service*, Boyer and Hechinger (1981) argued, "Higher learning and the nation's future are inextricably bound together" (p. 55). Moreover, they specifically proposed *that the nation's colleges and universities become systematically engaged in the civic education of adults*" (Boyer & Hechinger, 1981, p. 50, emphasis in the original). This report and its proposals foreshadowed some of what would be presented in Boyer's 1990 report, *Scholarship Reconsidered*. As such, Boyer and Hechinger (1981) put forth perspectives in their Carnegie-influenced report that

initiated the notion of service within the confines of an Americanization process. They stated, "If Americans are to be more adequately informed, *education for citizenship must become a lifelong process*" (Boyer & Hechinger, 1981 p. 48, emphasis in the original). The ideological manifestation of a proper citizenship linked to an American identity as a necessity permeates national and even global discourse, becoming rooted in the policies and practices that influence service learning.

For instance, A ServiceNation Summit took place in New York City to begin the conversation about making the United States a nation of service. ServiceNation is a coalition of more than 130 organizations that reach over 100 million Americans with a goal of engaging over 100 million volunteers of all ages and backgrounds by 2020. Interestingly, Campus Compact was in attendance as a representative of higher education, bringing an "all-star group" of college presidents to the summit (Jacoby, 2009). Also noteworthy was that this two-day summit began on September 11, 2008, with various stakeholders and celebrities in attendance to address the topic of service. September 11, which marks a national tragedy in U.S. history, was in this case, appropriated sentimentally to further the service learning movement through proposing that it be recognized as a national day of service and remembrance.

Less than a year after the ServiceNation Summit, on April 21, 2009, President Obama signed the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act into law (Jacoby, 2009; Nationalservice.gov, 2014). The Serve America Act is cited as the "most sweeping expansion of national service in a generation" and brought with it "an historic funding increase" in that Congress fully funded President Obama's FY 2010 request for the Corporation in the amount of $1.149 billion (Nationalservice.gov, 2014). This landmark law was thought to reflect a national consensus on

the importance of service as a powerful response to our current societal challenges (Nationalservice.gov, 2014). The passing of this law ushered in a set of new objectives in an *era of service*: the tripling of AmeriCorps in size from 75,000 members/slots to 250,000 by 2017, increasing the annual education award given for completion of a service year; creating a Summer of Service program designed to target young people (6th-12th graders); offering competitive grants to nonprofits and for the replication of programs; and establishing September 11 as a National Day of Service and Remembrance (Nationalservice.gov, 2014).

Jacoby (2009) argued that this expansion was sorely needed due to the fact that 35,000 college seniors and graduates competed for *only* 4,000 Teach for America slots, in addition to 13,000 Peace Corps applicants. A portion of the Serve America Act involves College Campuses on Service, which targets higher education institutions and designates annually up to 25 colleges as *Campuses of Service,* extending them the opportunity to apply for funding from a large pot of money (Jacoby, 2009). This pot of money is set aside for the specific purpose of institutions that are cited as already rich (Jacoby, 2009) be rewarded for their "service" to communities that are disenfranchised. The question of why this money would not be directly given to communities illuminates the realities that label impoverished communities as deficient and incapable of developing or even participating in creating solutions tied to their own needs. It also illustrates the pernicious need for higher education institutions to be positioned as the dictators of how funds should be allocated and used in the illusive quest to "help" communities that are considered incapable of knowing how to help themselves.

Barbara Jacoby (1996), a leading service learning scholar, has stated, "As social problems become more complex and more wrenching, higher education must renew its historic

commitment to service and exercise its social responsibility vigorously" (p. 318). It is apparent that programs engaging in community service in various neighborhoods serve predominantly students from disenfranchised families (Harrison, 1987). Moreover, Crosson (1983) belabored the importance and responsibility of higher education in public service as it is the center of knowledge and, therefore, must share its knowledge with more than its students and faculty. As colleges and universities begin to engage in programs that allow their students the opportunity to serve their communities and the world, Jacoby (1996) has suggested, it is critical for programs to embrace the concept of service learning. Yet, noteworthy here, is the hidden neoliberal agenda that has seen the dismantling of the welfare state and the diverting of funds from social welfare programs to privatized programs of volunteerism and service—placed neatly within institutions of education.

What is Service Learning?

According to Jacoby (1996) service learning is "a form of experiential education in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" (p. 5). Inherent to this definition and the larger service learning movement is a blatant passivity and removal of the voice of those who are *served* (d'Arlach, Sanchez, & Feuer, 2009). Further, and equally important, is that the above traditional definition of service learning is historically and socially constructed and informed by deficit discourses and paternalistic ideologies.

Service learning credits much of its foundational underpinnings to the work of patriarchal, albeit liberal, philosophers such as John Dewey, Jean Piaget, Eric Erikson, Kurt Lewin, David Kolb, and Donald Schon (Flecky, 2011). According to Ronald Chesbrough

(2011), John Dewey "described the importance of service and service learning as an intimate and necessary relation between the processes of actual experiences and education" (p. 687). The oft-cited definition of service learning by Jacoby (1996) is influenced by Deweyian principles, in that "experiential" learning and reflection were considered to be at the forefront of Dewey's work. Dewey's influential contributions to service learning (despite never mentioning the term specifically) are rooted in his insistence in experiential learning and additionally the belief that education should meet the needs of the public through responsiveness to actual life conditions (Lukenchuk, 2009).

Additionally, the seminal work of Ernest Boyer (1990), particularly his Carnegie Foundation report, *Scholarship Reconsidered,* called for institutions to essentially privilege the knowledge of faculty in remedying the social ills of society. Boyer (1990) argued, "Many academics are . . . drawn to the profession precisely because of their love for teaching or for service—even for making the world a better place. Yet these professional obligations do not get the recognition they deserve" (p. xii). Boyer explored traditional notions of scholarship, engagement, and even what it means to be a scholar or an academician, in order to reclaim the rightful place for institutions as purveyors of expert knowledge.

Moreover, Boyer's (1990) *scholarship of engagement* clearly privileges the role of the academy and those within institutions, who are perceived with a higher value—hierarchically—than those not part of this academic circle. According to Boyer (1990), "It is this issue—what it means to be a scholar—that is the central theme of our report" (p. 2). As such, the institutionalization of the service learning movement within higher education—and what constitutes a scholar or academic—is often itself dictated by the hegemonic values of the

mainstream culture that inform the theories ascribed to by Jacoby, Boyer, and others in defining service learning.

In a review of the service learning literature to be discussed more fully in the next chapters, most of what has been written mechanistically functions to portray the movement in its best light, with an overarching focus and concern for the various benefits that it extends to university students and higher education institutions. Additionally, service learning programs, according to d'Arlach et al. (2009), are often responsible for creating the very problems they are seeking to alleviate. Service learning programs tend to perpetuate and replicate economic and social inequalities through the exercise of asymmetrical power relations. The issue with mainstream forms of service learning lies in the reality that a master narrative has been constructed that reflects a dominant cultural/class discourse of deficit, along with its privileging of the so-called "expertise" of higher education institutions. Hence, it is important to recognize how the construction and pervasive nature of service learning ideology permeates institutional structures, community spaces, and the hearts and minds of those involved.

The tautological claims of the service learning movement suggest that the overwhelming focus of this pedagogical practice is on, both necessarily and particularly, its value to university students. Dan Butin (2007) suggested that service learning offers a variety of approaches to engage students in the issues deemed most valuable by each faculty member. As such, it is necessary to deconstruct the term "service-learning" as well as the inherent beliefs and practices that exist within this mainstream educational movement in order to create a critical space to examine this social phenomenon in its totality and unpack the ways in which—wittingly or unwittingly—objectification, instrumentalization, and exploitation occur. It is precisely for this

reason that, at the heart of this study, resides the central question: Service and learning for whom? Moreover, there seems to be a need to interrogate if the terms "service" and "learning" are mutually exclusive (Kinefuchi, 2010), particularly when applied to specific participants within the service learning movement—namely, university students and those who are supposedly *served?*

Research Questions

Antonia Darder (2015b) has noted that the decolonizing research process seeks to support the critical (re)reading of the world in a quest to unearth histories that have been suppressed. Further, through posing critical questions, a critical decolonizing interpretive process of analysis can unfold that unveils dominant epistemologies and supports a conceptual rethinking of hegemonic norms (Darder, 2015b). Within the culture of service learning, dominant epistemologies support commonsense beliefs and practices and protect the interests of privileged actors. It is this hegemonic mechanism of knowledge construction that silences or dismisses non-Western epistemological traditions born out of lived histories of struggle.

Thus, the research questions here are meant to disrupt "epistemicides"—"a lethal tool that fosters the commitment to imperialism and white supremacy" (Santos, in Paraskeva, 2011, p. xiv). Moreover, there is a powerful force that exists in relation to core beliefs of the dominant society, limiting the legitimacy granted to contesting views of the Other (Fanon, 1967). As such, a critical bicultural (re)formulation of service learning must be systematically linked to decolonizing research questions that seek to disrupt currently held values, beliefs, and assumptions, making room for new readings of the phenomenon under study (Darder, 2015b).

To this end, the research questions that informed this study stemmed from the assumption that service learning is founded upon hegemonic values that must be unveiled, named, and deconstructed in order to actualize a critical pedagogical process that can elicit emancipatory possibilities for oppressed communities. The values of the service learning movement, in its current form, must be then unveiled, disrupted, and reconceptualized, so that it may be reinvented. As such, the overarching questions that guided this critical decolonizing interpretive study were:

- What are the historical and philosophical underpinnings of a dominant service learning ideology?
- What systematic theoretical reformulations and pedagogical practices are required in order to move toward a critical decolonizing bicultural service learning pedagogy?

Purpose

A rethinking and re-envisioning of traditional service learning practices is much needed, along with a more profound critical decolonizing examination of its current form. This requires, as Darder's (1991, 2012) seminal work, *Culture and Power in the Classroom* suggests, an understanding of the inextricable linkage of culture and power within educational settings and its impact on those that are bicultural. However, the majority of service learning literature reveals few efforts to provide a decolonizing examination of this educational movement. Trae Stewart and Nicole Webster (2011) have referred to this aspect of service learning culture as groupthink, in which the movement has avoided critical analysis and evaluation of its impact and, thus, has created a protective, insular core that resists critical engagement—especially by those who hold power over resources and decision-making.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to (a) critique the dominant epistemologies that reproduce social inequalities within the context of service learning theory and practice; and (b) move toward the formulation of a critical bicultural service learning theory, in line with the humanizing and emancipatory intent of a critical decolonizing pedagogical practice.

Conceptual Approach to Service Learning

Critical Pedagogy

Critical theory, grounded in the work of the Frankfurt School and theorists such as Marx, Gramsci, and Foucault, concerns the interrogation of asymmetrical relations of power linked to capitalist and rationalistic ideology (Marr, 2014). Further, the application of critical theory to education asserts the use of learning spaces for liberation from oppressive structures by exposing historical and cultural operations (McLaren as cited by Marr, 2014). Darder and colleagues (2009) posited that critical pedagogy evolved from educators' desire to give greater coherence to the "theoretical landscape of radical principles, beliefs and practices that contributed to an emancipatory ideal of democratic schooling in the United States during the twentieth century" (p. 2).

Critical theorists such as Jean Anyon, Michael Apple, Stanley Aronowitz, Antonia Darder, Michelle Fine, Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Maxine Greene, bell hooks, Peter McLaren, Donaldo Macedo, and others are credited with revitalizing the emancipatory educational movement. The recognition that critical theories of education are intimately linked to actual conditions of everyday life informs the praxis of critical pedagogy. Service learning and, in particular, the learning aspect provide the opportunity for a pedagogical space that can be truly lived and transformative for both those served and those providing the service; yet it is necessary

to ensure that the concerns of vulnerable populations that service learning aims to serve are brought to the center of the discourse. Hence, within this educational learning movement, it is necessary to awaken what Darder (1991, 2012) termed the *bicultural voice* of those who understand the deleterious struggles oppressed populations face. Critical pedagogical principles provide a means with which we can begin to interrogate the service-learning phenomenon and rethink its practices.

Critical pedagogy and its critical principles provide the conceptual lens through which to deconstruct, interpret, and rethink the existing bodies of literature surrounding service learning. From a systematic review of the critical pedagogy literature, Darder (1991, 2012) has carefully articulated a set of critical principles tied to a critical bicultural pedagogy. Generally speaking, these principles include: cultural politics, political economy, historicity of knowledge, dialectical theory, ideology and critique, hegemony, resistance and counter-hegemony, praxis, dialogue and *conscientização*, which are applied here to an analysis of service learning as a social phenomenon. The following principles, in turn, have supported the formulation of a critical decolonizing bicultural service learning pedagogy formulated through this study.

Critical Pedagogical Principles

Cultural politics. Critical pedagogy is fundamentally committed to an emancipatory process of schooling that supports the cultural integrity and language rights of students from marginalized and economically disenfranchised populations by supporting a "politically emancipatory and humanizing culture of participation, voice, and social action" (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009, p. 10). The principle of cultural politics, that is, understanding that culture and power are inextricably linked (Darder, 1991, 2012), is useful in examining the

asymmetrical power relations that exist within the service learning movement, as well as the "cultural struggle over what is accepted as legitimate knowledge" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 10).

Political economy. The institutions that give rise to the service learning movement function in the interests of conserving the existing political economy of capitalism and neoliberal ideals (Darder, 2012). The values that undergird the service learning movement, including notions of partnership and engagement, are generally developed in ways that preserve the interests of the wealthy elite. Scott Key (1996) posited, "Economics was the chief motivation behind the establishment of American land-grant universities" (p. 199), and to a certain extent this study demonstrates that such interests continue to motivate university programs, including service learning.

Historicity of knowledge. Understanding that knowledge is both historical and contextual gives rise and meaning to human experience (Darder et al., 2009). Within service learning, what is often missing is recognition of the historical legacy of practices and lived histories of the communities for which service has been rendered. Also ignored is the history of privilege of those who establish, direct, and control the movement. Thus, the work done by service learning providers can result in the continuing colonization of the mind and body, which must be recognized within a historical context. This view acknowledges hierarchies of privilege as momentarily situated, thus impermanent and changeable. In addition, "students come to understand themselves as subjects of history and to recognize that conditions of injustice, although historically produced by human beings, can also be transformed by human beings" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 11).

Ideology and critique. "Ideology can best be understood as a societal lens or framework of thought, used in society to create order and give meaning to the social and political world in which we live" (Darder et al., 2009, p.11). As a pedagogical tool, an understanding of ideology as a social construction also provides a means by which interrogation of commonsensical and contradictory notions can be critiqued. Through the process of critique, service learning, for example, can be systematically deconstructed with respect to racialized or neoliberal ideologies that preserve hegemonic practices. This allows, then, for commonsense and normative assumptions to be unveiled, challenged, and transformed.

Hegemony, resistance, and counter-hegemony. According to Darder and colleagues (2009), drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971), hegemony involves a systematic process or institutional apparatus of social control, carried out by moral and intellectual leadership, in order to conserve the status quo. However, hegemony is never static or absolute and, therefore, critique and resistance are significant dimensions of countering hegemonic processes. Further, principles of resistance and counter-hegemonic spaces are absolutely critical to any efforts aimed at transforming the hegemonic culture of service learning. It is through resistance that those engaged in service learning practice can resist domination and "make central the voices and experience of those who have historically existed at the margins"—margins that are more illusory than actual (Darder et al., 2009, p. 12). Hence, as Freire argued, marginalization represents the ideological invention of those in power (Darder, 2015a).

Critical Bicultural Pedagogy

Critical bicultural pedagogy as formulated by Darder in *Culture and Power in the Classroom*, (1991, 2012), provides the necessary critical theoretical framework to tackle

pedagogical implications, philosophical underpinnings, historical constructions, and asymmetrical power relations within service learning. Critical bicultural pedagogy "holds the possibility for a discourse of hope" and, thus, allows for bicultural workers within service learning to "question the structures of domination that control their lives" (Darder, 1991, 2012, p. 101). Moreover, Darder (1991, 2012) has posited a critical definition of biculturalism significant to this study.

> Biculturalism speaks to the process wherein individuals learn to function in two distinct sociocultural environments: their primary culture, and that of the dominant mainstream culture of the society in which they live. It represents the process by which bicultural human beings mediate between the dominant discourse of educational institutions and the realities that they must face as members of subordinate cultures. More specifically, the process of biculturation incorporates the daily struggle with racism and other forms of cultural invasion. (p. 45)

It is through the questioning of systems of domination and oppression within our communities that bicultural educators and researchers can assert their "authority of experience" (hooks, 1994) to challenge, inform, and educate those who—wittingly or unwittingly—culturally invade their lives. A critical bicultural pedagogical lens and an examination of the link between culture and power, then underlies this decolonizing interpretive research. Moreover, and as a critical bicultural researcher, I have conducted this study not only "as an academic exercise in knowledge construction, but as part of a larger imperative for liberating subaltern meaning and provoking revolutionary thought" (Darder, 2015b, p. 71).

The bicultural communities upon which service learning has been thrust have been historically oppressed populations whose existence and conditions render them members of subordinate cultures (Darder, 1991, 2012). As a result, bicultural recipients of service must navigate, conform, and adjust to the societal dominant mainstream values that permeate the practice of service learning and that often negate the legitimacy of their cultural existence. While some service learning programs may tout social justice agendas and rhetoric that suggest the need to eliminate power imbalances from the practice, Darder (1991, 2012) astutely argued that what is often missing is "a serious confrontation of the power relations that shape the nature of how working-class bicultural [communities] respond to the tension of cultural conflicts and the pressure to assimilate" (p. 50). Therefore, it is essential to bring awareness and a new critical consciousness to the often-obfuscated and unspoken realities and power relations that exist within the service learning movement.

Methodology

To critically examine service learning, an interpretive methodology was employed. Maria Piantanida (2009) has suggested that dissertation authors "claim their authorial right to put forward their understanding of the phenomenon . . . through an intimate, interpretive study" (p. 191). The "interpretation of texts, events, human actions, narratives and concepts form the basis of inquiry" (UIUC, 2006, p. 1). Service learning as a social phenomenon, here, is interpreted by interrogating the historical and philosophical texts and concepts that inform its construction. According to Piantanida (2009), "It is the researcher's right and obligation to decide what major message is important to put forward" (p. 190) through an inquiry of "sensitivity, rigor and integrity," which can provide for "others who are struggling with the phenomenon" (p. 191).

The interpretivist method gives life to a critical bicultural service learning pedagogy, through a decolonizing examination and interpretation of concepts presented in existing bodies of literature and texts.[3] As an evolutionary and political project, it would be difficult to quantify the amount of literature examined throughout the course of this study and the influential aspects of my practice within service learning. Moreover, given the various forms of text utilized to *read the word and world* (Freire, 1970) in relation to service learning, I can say that an earnest attempt was made to systematically review the available literature.

Freire, in *Pedagogy of Hope* (1994), underscored the importance that our work be exacting, consistent, and passionately expresses respect for differences in ideas and positions. In critiquing the work of others, Freire (1994) offered:

> In many cases, we have not even read the author. We have read about the author, and without going to him or her, we accept criticisms of him or her. We adopt them as our own . . . It is absolutely fundamental, however, that an author be criticized not on the basis of what is said about him or her, but only after an earnest, devoted, competent reading of the actual author. Of course, this does not mean that we need not read what has been or is being said about him or her, as well. (p. 66)

Thus, in this critical interpretive project, as the researcher, I have often wrestled (hours, sometimes days) earnestly and humbly to ensure that any critique leveled in what follows is grounded in a deep respect for the work of others as well as in the quest for truths to be revealed. If I have critiqued a particular practice, author, documentary, clip, photo, movie, and so forth, I

[3] Texts here refer to a variety of things that can be read, not just in the literal sense. Thus, videos, documentaries, conferences, interactions, publications, books, lived experiences, and various other readable "texts" inform the methodological process for this study.

have made sincere attempts to go to the direct sources and develop these critiques through my own bicultural interpretive lens, before and sometimes after I have reviewed the critiques others have launched. As such, in concert with Freire's emancipatory quest for *true generosity*, this radical political project embodies a *Darderean* approach to cultural democracy and liberation that is rooted in the pedagogical wisdom of critical bicultural pedagogy (Darder, 1991, 2012) and critical decolonizing interpretive methodology (Darder, 2015b).

Critical Decolonizing Pedagogy

Carlos Tejeda, Manuel Espinoza, and Kris Gutierrez (2003) in *Toward a Decolonizing Pedagogy: Social Justice Reconsidered*, contended, "Working-class indigenous and non-white peoples are often reduced to ontological foreigners in the very space and time they occupy" (p. 1). Moreover, this physical, social, and psychological violence is enacted upon their daily lives through various forms—economic, cultural, political, linguistic, sexual, spatial, psychological, and epistemological. As a result, they focus on the educational terrain/arena as a site of struggle for social justice through the lens of an anticapitalist, decolonizing pedagogical praxis (Tejeda, Espinoza, & Gutierrez, 2003, p. 1). A decolonizing pedagogical praxis thus becomes critically important to being able to represent the interests of the working-class indigenous as "amnesia-ridden notions of social justice . . . ignore the current manifestations and effects of the corporal and cultural genocide that has been taking place in 'American' society throughout the last four centuries" (Tejeda et al., 2003, p. 1). Tejeda and colleagues (2003) also accentuated the importance of the acknowledgement of the *past* and *present* as coexisting in our understanding and thus ontologically connected to our social subjecthood. "While we acknowledge that the past is obviously not the present, we argue that the latter can neither exist nor be understood

outside of the former" (Tejeda et al., 2003, p. 2). This serves to counteract and consciously take note of the colonial and capitalist structures that have fundamentally marked our existence and hence are central to a decolonizing pedagogical praxis.

Critical decolonizing interpretive research. According to Darder (2015b), decolonizing interpretive research "is rooted in a critical approach that focuses on creating counterhegemonic intellectual spaces in which new readings of the world can unfold, in ways that lead us toward change, both in theory and practice" (p. 1). Additionally, this critical research approach unveils the asymmetrical structures of power and recognizes that all research practices are political processes and are not neutral, apolitical, or ahistorical. As such, decolonizing interpretive research,

> must be profoundly understood as not only a process of the empowerment of individuals, but more importantly as a systematic political effort to shift in both theory and practice the ways in which we comprehend ourselves and make sense of the world. (Darder, 2015b, p. 65)

Moreover, Darder (2015b) has eloquently depicted the decolonizing interpretive research process for bicultural researchers as not only a critical engagement with the dynamics of various interrelated realities and emancipatory aims but also as a laborious process toward change. This labor, deeply rooted in the lived experience of critical bicultural researchers, is devoid of neutrality in the research design, and therefore functions as a "critical bicultural epistemological tool in the transformation of schooling and society" (Darder, 2015b, p. 65).

The critical interpretive research process seeks to counteract the classical positivist approach by offering an emancipatory transformative reading of the phenomenon under study

(Darder, 2015b). Moreover, the interpretive research process is often an intimate one wherein the researcher is connected to, and has intimate knowledge of, the phenomenon (Piantanida, 2009). Further, it is often through this intimate connection to the phenomenon of study that critical bicultural researchers who "embark upon such a process are uncompromisingly committed to not only reinterpreting the world, but to the struggle toward the emancipatory reinvention of social and material relations" (Darder, 2015b, p. 65).

Toward a Critical Bicultural Decolonizing Approach to Service Learning

> Critical service learning has been defined as:
>
> experiential learning that empowers people to recognize, expose, and eradicate the social injustices that structure their lives within a hegemonic social order . . . a process that transforms individuals into counterhegemonic social agents to effectively dismantle the master's house and establish social structures that are more egalitarian. (Hayes, 2011, p. 48)

Critical forms of service learning seek to take into account asymmetrical relations of power and other inequities that are inherent in the service learning dynamic. As such, Steven –(2006) has argued that both service learning and critical pedagogy have origins as counter-normative pedagogies, as they seek to transform school life that may alienate and oppress students. Hart (2006) has also noted that the intersection of these two pedagogies may seek to inform a more emancipatory pedagogy for educational contexts within K–12. This constitutes a move toward a more cohesive pedagogy that encompasses the two, referring to it as *critical service learning* pedagogy (Hart, 2006).

Despite efforts to articulate and actualize critical service learning (d'Arlach et al., 2009; Daigre, 2000; Hart, 2006; Masucci & Renner, 2001; Mitchell, 2008), many important aspects of analysis are missing from current critical efforts to reformulate the practice and that have engaged the question from the standpoint of critical bicultural concerns. Therefore, the critical bicultural emphasis of this interpretive study provides the needed move toward a decolonizing epistemological lens by which to critically examine the bodies of literature on service learning, as well as to support a potential shift toward emancipatory practices in the field. Moreover, the *biculturality* of this interpretive analysis serves to redefine experiences, restore voice, and lay claim to the service learning movement, in the interest of socially and materially oppressed communities—who should find opportunities to name and address their own needs, as cocreators of service learning programs.

In addition to being inherently political, a critical perspective requires a deep commitment to an emancipatory ideal of schooling that is genuinely democratic (Darder et al., 2009). An emancipatory and deeply critical form of service learning could potentially function to counteract its historically repressive nature. Further, Darder and colleagues (2009) have asserted that radical principles, beliefs, and practices are needed to engage critically with the "impact of capitalism and gendered, racialized, and homophobic relations on students from historically disenfranchised populations" (p. 2).

A reconceptualization and reinvention of service learning is then sorely needed; however, this process must be informed systematically by a critical, historical, and philosophical engagement and (re)reading of the phenomenon. Removing the service learning veil of privilege allows the radical engagement necessary in order to not only peel back the layers of oppressive

practices within this educational movement, but also make a place for the voices of historically dispossessed populations who still remain, unfortunately, the target of what Freire (1970) termed *false generosity*.

Researcher's Positionality

Lastly, in examining the phenomenon of service learning, it is important that I, as the researcher, ground my positionality and interpretations of the construct in my lived experiences and the historical and philosophical research (or lack thereof) that exists, in order to deeply and authentically engage with this institutional phenomenon. Toward that end, I situated my personal understandings of service learning and interpreted the literature through my own epistemic lens in order to create space for a different reading. The notion that reality is socially constructed (Rowlands, 2005) and, as such, our worlds are negotiated and given meaning, is paramount to constructing a fluid understanding and interpretation of service learning in its varied form. Douglas (2013), drawing on the work of Cornel West, posited that those seeking a larger emancipatory project must be emancipated first. It is in this same vein that I must begin to liberate myself from the silence and guilt that has plagued my soul during my participation in service learning projects until now.

My educational practice after college placed me as the facilitator of a service learning program, in which I placed teams of university students in preschool classrooms in a local "underserved" city near the university where I worked. The majority of young children there were native Spanish speakers. This is an important distinction to note as it has provided great personal insight into the shortcomings and detrimental outcomes that can result from service learning programs. Oftentimes, as a facilitator in the program, I bore witness to replications of

dominant thinking and actions, which in turn only further oppressed the communities in which the university students were supposedly there to serve.

Language barriers between affluent university students and young impoverished Spanish-speaking preschool children played out in their service interactions. This oftentimes led to university students in the program becoming uncomfortable with their inability to control and linguistically connect to the young children. University students, in turn, demanded that the children try to "speak English" because they could not understand them, resulting in the labeling of some of the children as slow, difficult, or as having behavioral problems. However, this is just one small glimpse into the world of service learning programs, wherein communities or those that are "served" are often disrespected and their knowledge and potentialities ignored or negated.

My fear and hesitancy of questioning the authority of this practice was wrapped up in the reality and possibility that I, as a Black/Mexican woman, would be stereotyped as difficult or combative, outcasted, or worse: fired for critiquing the purpose or practices of the program. While these internal projections led to my silence, gradually this also led to a transformation in my foundational understanding and spiritual commitment to reframing, naming, and challenging, the service learning phenomenon. Many educators working in the service learning tradition are rooted in dominant ways of thinking that can render them blind to the realities and deep manifestations of their own privilege. This privilege, deeply embedded in dominant Western epistemologies, often relies on a strategic weapon—the politics of silence. In her book *A Dissident Voice*, Darder (2011) argued that it is precisely this "lack of concern for established power and an uncompromising commitment to the transformation of social power that ultimately

renders dissident scholars suspect and in need of silencing" (p. 3). Hence, dissident voices are often marginalized and deemed angry when challenging hegemonic norms, but as will be discussed in this study, an awakening of the inner voices and struggles of those most debilitated by traditional approaches to education within schools and communities must be given space to speak and construct new meanings.

The traditional service learning discourse is fraught with ideological repression, in which there exists strategic silencing of those who seek to shed light on the contradictions within this educational movement. Over time, I have become more willing to challenge this traditional approach because, put frankly, I sensed that our collective humanity is at stake. Therefore, service learning changed my life in the sense that my thinking evolved and my commitment to fight at the side of others through love, now more passionately, fuels this work. In critically examining the theory and practice of service learning, as Freire (1970) called us to do in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, I am committed to challenging, speaking, and unveiling that which remains unspoken, unheard, and unwritten about service learning today. To this end, the positionality through which I interrogate service learning converges with critical pedagogy and critical biculturalism—constitutive theoretical frameworks that inform this critical decolonizing interpretive study.

This study was not an easy endeavor in that it intended to disrupt unexamined traditional colonizing assumptions and questioned the legitimacy of mainstream educational notions and practices that disguise inequalities of all forms—all while enforcing complicity and inaction among service learning participants. As Darder (2015b) posited in her critical work on *Decolonizing Interpretive Research*:

> The discussion here is focused on a decolonizing interpretive methodology, in that it is often the least well defined, understood or discussed in research methods courses within most educational studies programs. This may be the case, because interpretive theory building is often, overtly or covertly, discouraged in educational research and only seldom offered up as a viable alternative, particularly to graduate bicultural students in the field who are often not considered capable of such depth of analysis—whether openly acknowledged or not. (p. 72)

Therefore, I make no apologies for the critiques that emerge from this relentless quest and search for liberation. These truths and critiques are absolutely necessary in order to deeply engage the realities of current oppressive practices within the service learning arena. While suffering and degradation have plagued my life from personal experiences with racism, classism, sexism, and other forms of social inequalities, these lived experiences do not define me. Rather, they provide the contours to the lens through which I engage the collective work with those who live within historically oppressed communities and who must struggle daily to survive within the deeply dangerous ideological landscape of cultural, psychological, political, and spiritual hegemony.

Those who engage in a practice that seeks to "help" the oppressed often approach this work, albeit well-intentioned, from a deeply privileged space. Further, those who oftentimes critique and diminish critical push back against dominant paradigms are generally rooted in Western, Eurocentric views, which are only epistemologically consistent and protected when inserted into the dominant value systems that inform mainstream practices. This begs the questions: Does the very term service learning undermine the purpose it seeks to counteract?

Does it reproduce social injustice and devalue those that it supposedly serves? An underlying assumption of this study is that the stigma attached to service learning is racialized and has inherent classed and hierarchical values that reflect the dominant society. Hence, a major aim of this decolonizing interpretive study is to critically examine the field and develop a clear and systematic analysis that carefully unveils the rationales for this assumption—an assumption born and fortified by the practices of traditional service learning programs.

Throughout the process of writing this dissertation, it was often suggested to me—by skeptics and other well-intentioned individuals—that I highlight the strengths of service learning, "focus on the good," gather numerical data, interview students, or use a program/case study to capture the voices of community members. Well, if I had listened to these critics, this story and journey would have been very different. Moreover, suggestions that my priorities and efforts were/are misplaced in committing to a systematic critique and the unveiling of contradictions within the service learning movement seem to stem from a strong belief in the "good" that the practice of service learning is doing for students/communities. Consequently, any research too outside the box and critical of the practice would be going too far and thus not be reliable research. Moreover, as one of my students once questioned, "Why would anyone shame volunteerism and service?"—a question that ideologically embodies the denial, hidden tensions, and pushback leveled against critical interrogations. Nevertheless, it is precisely from this pivotal entryway that I embark on this critical interrogation of service learning practice.

Summary

This critical decolonizing interpretive study of service learning provides a philosophical and historical rethinking of this social phenomenon. This study is a radical political project that

undertakes the foundational work for moving toward a critical bicultural service learning pedagogy, highlighting the elements that are currently missing from even a critical service learning approach. The bicultural emphasis and need for the *bicultural voice* to be placed at the forefront of service learning work is vital to the formation of new consciousness around the movement, a critical consciousness or *conscientização* necessary for social transformation (Freire, 1970). The hyphen that typically exists in the term "service-learning" is not utilized in this work. This is a political decision, as it seeks to illuminate the reality that there is much work to be done in moving toward a truly reciprocal, co-constructed practice that moves beyond mere rhetorical proclamations, blind to a reality that often negates the humanity of many.

Chapter 1 has provided an introductory overview of the need to engage critically the various dimensions of service learning and the inherent issues within the movement. Chapter 2 examines the historical, colonial, and philosophical foundations of service learning. Chapter 3 engages the political economy of service learning by examining the hidden ideological, political, and economic formations that construct the phenomenon. Chapter 4 provides a decolonizing examination of the curricular and pedagogical process—establishing the need for an emphasis on biculturality, as well as the potential emancipatory possibilities of a critical bicultural service learning pedagogy. Chapter 5 concludes with the move toward a critical bicultural service learning pedagogy that consists of critical principles to support an emancipatory praxis of critical service learning.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL, COLONIAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SERVICE LEARNING

> Having travelled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist -- the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we, (coloured people of these United States,) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and I pray God that none like us ever may live again until time shall be no more.
>
> *-David Walker's Appeal, 1829, para. 1*

The profundity of the above passage rests not solely in David Walker's intellectual articulation but simultaneously in his visual depiction and declaration of the degradation and racism that plagued bicultural communities, which has persisted for centuries and been advanced by unjust societal policies—policies masquerading as neutral but steeped in the hidden interests of the wealthy and powerful. Of critical importance is that Walker's words reveal a crucial observation, although not stated outright in the excerpt; his observations suggest that the economic degradation rendering people of color as abject impoverished beings is operating and has been "since the world began." Rita Dove (1980), U.S. Poet Laureate (from 1993 to 1995), illustrated the various historical, colonial, and political dimensions operating within Walker's appeal in the following way:

> Finally! Someone who dared to shout his outrage! You see, most of the slave narratives were edited by or dictated to Abolitionists, who then used them as testimony to the cause.

> I had been struck by the contrast between the extreme brutality of the experiences and the calm, almost detached, tone of the author's delivery . . . And then came David Walker. A free Negro who would not be polite, who could read and write and was therefore not obliged to filter his emotions through the transcriptions from well-meaning Abolitionists—he could write his own appeal, arrange for its printing and dissemination. His rage and anguish is palpable in his prose . . . the deep measure of his emotional turmoil. (para. 2)

Walker's words ring as true today as they did almost 200 years ago. Moreover, these realities and dimensions undergird the service learning movement. As well-meaning abolitionists sought to eradicate slavery, they did so through their own White and privileged lens and voices, which only served to provide abstract depictions of the lived experiences of slaves—watered down versions of the enormity of the brutality that slaves endured. This historical practice of commandeering the silenced voices of those who can directly speak to lived injustices is a pervasive reality and one that constructs the dominant discourse of service.

What is Service?

The word *service* is derived from the Latin word *servus* meaning servant or *slave* and despite alluding to slave labor originally, it is thought today to be synonymous with noble enterprise and free agency in most parts of the world (Lukenchuk, 2009). "Semantically related to *service* are the words *subservience* and *servitude,* which presuppose the acts of willingly providing service, but also imply submissiveness, obedience, and bondage" (Lukenchuk, 2009, p. 248). The genesis of the need to focus on service for others has informed much of the service learning movement, propagated and appropriated from the early ideological origins of service

and volunteerism. The term service elicits images of noble actions, duty, dedication, and/or sacrifice in secular and religious contexts (Lukenchuk, 2009).

John Eby (1998) examined the sacrosanctity of the notion of service through the following realization: "Service is awarded something of a 'sacred' status so it is neither popular nor politic to raise questions about the assumptions or unintended effects of volunteerism which often characterizes service-learning" (p. 2). The hyphen that is often used between service and learning is purposeful, as it is used to connote a balance or relationship that supposedly exists between the two constructs and symbolizes a mutually beneficial partnership that results from the experience (Flecky, 2011). Yet, one must critically question the balance/relationship that purportedly exists between service and learning, given the historical context, by truly questioning the mutuality of the partnership for communities and those providing the service.

Roots of Service Learning

An historic probe into the cultural manifestations of service and volunteerism dates back to slavery and illustrates the way in which the early missions were used as colonizing agents to force conformity and deracinate many from their cultural and political roots (Langbehn & Salama, 2011). Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama looked at the view of those who were deracinated as seeing European missionaries as having "brought the Bible and took the land" (p. 216), which has become almost a proverb in all of Africa. Further, the European missionaries had a Eurocentric worldview, which they had no problem legitimizing and imposing upon "heathen" cultures in the colonizing process. Priest and Priest (2008) suggested that, in 2005, approximately 2.1% of all church members in the United States engaged in short-term mission trips outside the United States. Moreover, with great certainty, they suggested that over 1.5

million United States Christians go abroad each year on a short-term mission trip. This signals a deeply rooted practice of cultural invasion advanced by the hegemonic and hidden ideologies embedded within religion and historical injustices.

Slavery and Higher Education

Accusations suggesting that the present wealth of endowments are a result of universities benefiting from slavery have sparked investigations into the histories of institutions, such as the *Slavery and Justice* report commissioned by Brown University in 2003 (Brown, 2009). Craig Steven Wilder (2013), in his book *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, systematically lays out the impact of the African slave trade on the first colonial colleges. Wilder (2013) noted, "In Peru alone, Jesuits owned thousands of enslaved African people, whom they used to sustain a network of colleges and missions" (p. 19). Thus, Wilder signals a seldom spoken truth: The college and the colony were built upon the backs of slaves.

These early colonial colleges embodied "imperial instruments akin to armories and forts" (Wilder, 2013, p. 33), with the mission of converting indigenous peoples, culturally assimilating them, and imposing White-European rule over other nations. Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Williams College, and many other prestigious or "ivy league" universities have a historical past rooted in slavery that points to a brutal legacy of the Christianization of Indians and slaves, given that presidents, students, and faculty owned slaves (many would bring their slaves with them to class), and thus many of these institutions were built upon the forced system of labor and production of slavery (Wilder, 2013).

Shortly after the establishment of Harvard in 1636, "Puritan ministers began sending missives to England that chronicled the spread of the Gospel in America" (Wilder, 2013, p. 23). Pamphlets, such as *New England's First Fruit*, proclaimed that the early colonial colleges were representative of Christianity's success. It shared with readers that Puritan ministers were preaching the Gospel to Indians, Native people embraced God, and the English were winning the trust and affection of the Indians through fair treatment, loving "termes" [sic] (Wilder, 2013, p. 23), and kindness. John Eliot, a missionary, was known for the Eliot Tracts, which were messages written during the four decades between the Pequot Massacre in 1637 and King Philip's War in 1675 (Wilder, 2013). It is significant to note that these communications "included passionate vignettes of Indians accepting Christianity, coming to fear eternal damnation, seeking protection from disease and death by adopting the colonists' religion, and advertising their conversion by mimicking English customs and attire" (Wilder, 2013, p. 23).

Thus began and continued a process of Christianization, Americanization, assimilation, colonizing enculturation, and the telling of the stories of indigenous groups from a Western Eurocentric missionary lens. The recurrent colonial attempts to subdue and civilize Indian "savages" were evident through the deployment of academies. Deceptive strategies permeated colonial history as William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, did things such as institute a plan to "settle a few scholars among the Native nations of New York, where they could master the Indian languages and then build 'one good school of education'" (Wilder, 2013, p. 94). Provost Smith even created a song to teach the Indian's social status to them:

> *Indian* Nations! Now repeat,—
>
> "Heav'n preserve the *British* State!

"And the *British* Chief, and Race,

"And these Lands,—and bless the Peace"

(Wilder, 2013, p. 161)

In his chapter "Could They be Sent Back to Africa: Colleges and the Quest for a White Nation," Wilder (2013) outlined the historical implications of religious and colonization practices and situated them within the context of higher education. Reverend Robert Finley (a former president at the University of Georgia) told a friend in 1816 that if "they" could be sent back to Africa, a three-fold benefit would occur. Of this, Finley claimed "we should be cleared of them:—we should send to Africa a population *partially civilized and christianized* for its benefit:—our blacks themselves would be in a better situation" (Wilder, 2013, p. 247). Upon Finley's ascendency to the presidency of the University of Georgia, he began to plan African colonization and shared his plan with friends and family, in which he urgently believed he needed to concoct a plan that would convince the rich "to form a colony on some part of Africa" to which the free Black people could be moved (Wilder, 2013, p. 247).

In 1817, according to Wilder (2013), Bushrod Washington (a United States Supreme Court justice and nephew of George Washington) became the president of the American Colonization Society (ACS) also known as the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States (blackpast.org, 2015). Various political actors championed the cause, such as Samuel John Mills (an American missionary), who helped "draw religious radicals to the cause" and Charles Fenton Mercer (possible originator of the colonization idea), who established the colony of Liberia to transport free Blacks to in 1822. Thus, "the ACS was

born on campus" and received government funding as well as the funding of the rich (Wilder, 2013, p. 248).

The role that academics played in the construction of this discourse was striking, including as it did the warped logic of White Americans and their preference for ethnic cleansing. Wilder (2013) further noted "they advanced colonization as the best, perhaps only, chance to manage the political tensions resulting from the nation's diverging regional economies and demographic transformations" (p. 248). Hence, the genesis of the ACS was in response to the growing racial tension in the United States and the thinking that free Blacks posed a threat to the well-being of society; as such, Blacks should not be integrated into White America and should be able to become full human beings in Africa, given the possibility that Blacks might unite and rebel against the power of the White establishment (blackpast.org, 2015). The ACS supported the deportation of over 12,000 Blacks to Liberia, with Liberia declaring its independence from the ACS in 1847. However, Liberia still attracted settlers as the only "western-oriented nation on the African continent" (blackpast.org, 2015, para. 6). In 1904, the ACS sent the last of its settlers to Liberia, and thereafter operated as a Liberian aid society, until it was dismantled in 1964 (blackpast.org, 2015).

Afterlife of Slavery

In *Lose Your Mother*, Saidiya Hartman's (2008) journey to trace the historical roots of the Atlantic slave trade provides the following recognition:

> Slavery had established a measure of man and a ranking of life and worth that has yet to be undone. If slavery persists as an issue in the political life of black America, it is not because of an antiquarian obsession with bygone days or the burden of a too-long

> memory, but because Black lives are still imperiled and devalued by a racial calculus and a political arithmetic that were entrenched years ago. This is the afterlife of slavery—skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment. I, too, am the afterlife of slavery. (p. 6)

Hartman thus illustrates the enfleshment of a continually ever-present afterlife of slavery that has yet to fulfill the promise of abolition or decolonization or even sincerely initiate the healing process.

By extension, Hartman's conceptualization of the afterlife of slavery provides an opportunity to understand the manifestation of slavery within the historical context of service. This is particularly necessary given the historic role slavery played within institutions of higher education and the missionary operatives that ideologically carried out the large-scale colonization process. In Jared Sexton's (2012) understanding of Hartman's afterlife of slavery, he stated that it would involve asking "what it means to speak of 'the tragic continuity between slavery and freedom' or 'the incomplete nature of emancipation', indeed to speak of about a type of living on that survives after a type of death" (para. 13). One might surmise that slavery lives on in its afterlife and that it has not died, but only transmogrified into and through many of our contemporary manifestations of colonial and racializing practices. These are the fashionable, modern transmutations of slavery in which the privileged are now providing "servitude" or acting as "servant leaders" (e.g., Dominguez, & Garcia, 2014; Espy, 2006; Spears, 2005) while simultaneously embodying benevolent reincarnations of past practices that reinscribe the deep wounds of a brutal legacy that lives on.

Anthropocide, Anthropology, and the Production of the "Othered"

Various scholars have linked anthropology (cultural, ethnographic, etc.) research and service learning, conceiving it as an ideal marriage (e.g., Hathaway, 2005; Johnston, Harkavy, Barg, Gerber, & Rulf, 2004; Keene & Colligan, 2004; McCabe, 2004; Polin & Keene, 2010; Reeves Sanday & Jannowitz, 2004; Simonelli, Earle, & Story, 2004). However, to introduce a more radical perspective into this supposed perfect marriage, anthropology can be historically linked to colonial, racist, and assimilative practices that provided a historical legacy of what I suggest is—experimental learning. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) illustrated that "the word . . . 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 22). Further, Smith (2012), writing from the standpoint of a colonized being, recognized that the term research is intimately tied to European imperialism and colonialism. In *Culture and Power in the Classroom*, Darder (1991, 2012) asserted that in relation to biculturalism, research based upon psychological or anthropological paradigms produced individualistic and relativistic readings, which contrasts vastly with bicultural scholars who have engaged more precisely the political and economic dimensions of subordinate-dominant relations and the inextricable relationship between culture and power.

According to the *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism* (ERR), anthropology is a discipline that studies race, culture, language, and the evolutionary aspect of the human species (ERR, 2008). Further, the science of anthropology has provided for historical debates that involve the issues of race and racism, given that "more than any other social science, the development of anthropology has been instrumental in shaping racial constructs" (ERR, 2008, p. 93). The term "race" was not widely used during the early colonial experience in North America, rather,

> notions of difference were often couched in religious terms, and comparisons between "heathen" and "Christian," "saved' and "unsaved," and "savage" and "civilized" were used to distinguish African and indigenous peoples from Europeans. (ERR, 2008, p. 93)

As such, the concept of race and the maintenance of studying it in the United States flourished when preservers of the institution of slavery called upon scientists to legitimate slavery and fend off attacks from religious abolitionist and Enlightenment groups, who believed in equality and the unity of God's children (ERR, 2008).

Racial categories became entrenched through the scientific differentiation of groups of people, such as in 1735 when Carl Linnaeus categorized humans as a single species within the primate family, or when Johann Blumenbach divided the human race into unequal and separate categories in his publication *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* (ERR, 2008). Blumenbach has been credited with the construction of the most commonly known racial categories that existed in the early 21st century, which were Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, and American (ERR, 2008). Moreover, "the most handsome and becoming" (ERR, 2008, p. 93) type who generated all other species, according to Blumenbach, were Caucasians; and he viewed Europeans as the most advanced peoples. These hierarchical categorizations of race provided the justification of inequality and inferiorized groups. Thus, as Baker and Patterson (1994) posited, "Hegemonic ideas about race were added to the anthropological canon" and thus "counterhegemonic ideas were obscured and made visible only by savvy maneuvers and coalition building" (p. 1). They also noted a distinct element of anthropology and its historical linkage to colonialism, slavery, the construction of race, and the killing off of counterhegemonic ideas in relation to the anthropological canon, which can best be termed as *anthropocide*.

Anthropocide. The killing off and exsanguination of one's culture, of the human "species" which widely and historically affected indigenous groups through colonizing and acculturating means is linked deeply to the roots of anthropology. The Yanomami "controversy" as Robert Borofsky (2005) referred to it, centers around the "prominent anthropologist" Napoleon Chagnon and "world-famous geneticist" James Neel, who infiltrated the Yanomami people that lived in the Amazon rainforest. According to Ken Weiss (2015), who took the "heat" for holding samples of blood that had been taken from the Yanomami people, over a half century ago, numerous expeditions were carried out by the United States, South America, and European scientists who visited particular tribal groups that were located near Catholic mission stations "where there was a lot of interaction, or people were interacting in other ways with the colonizers of the continent" (Weiss, 2015, para. 1).

In his book, entitled *Darkness in El Dorado,* Patrick Tierney leveled numerous accusations against Neel and Chagnon, denouncing them for engaging in unethical behavior for their own professional gains and actions that bordered on criminality (Borofsky, 2005; Weiss, 2015). Many located the issue not just in the two "famous" scientists but also in the practice of anthropology and the racist science that had provided for such practices to persist. Noted as one of the foundational scholars of the "anthropological corpus" (Borofsky, 2005, p. 4), Napolean (Nap) Chagnon was situated as one of the most celebrated cultural anthropologists to come after Margaret Mead (Weiss, 2013).

Through his writings, Chagnon made the Yanomami one of the most famous "primitive" people. The consequence was they were encroached upon during the colonial era through the invasive racializing and "Othering" practices of anthropologists. Chagnon's famous

anthropological 1968 text, *Yanomamo: The Fierce People*, furthered the production of the "Othered" within the anthropological space. Moreover, it reinforced the public acceptance of scientific and academic imposition upon racialized and impoverished populations within our society. Thus was perpetuated the historical practice of the cultural invasion of groups such as the Yanomami, who were reduced to objects that could be experimented upon and studied. This pervasive and dehumanizing practice persists in contemporary service projects, where "Othering" participants and cultural imposition are still the norm—albeit in more sophisticated terms.

Service Learning Origins

Service learning credits its origins to philosophers such as Alexis de Tocqueville, John Dewey, and Jane Addams. Moreover, their engagement with the notion of a democratic society in the early 20th century was influential in relation to the service learning phenomenon. Additionally, David Kolb's (2013) experiential learning cycle influences the service learning practice. Of importance here is that often the overarching dialogue encompassing service carried out through the aforementioned philosophers concerned the need to produce proper citizens who would be productive and responsible in society. This discourse reflects still the expressed national concern and moral discourse that drives the funding and backing practices of service programs.

Alexis de Tocqueville and John Dewey provided 20th century conceptualizations of democratic society that are heavily credited with providing the philosophical and intellectual roots of service learning (Kenny, Simon, Kiley-Brabeck, & Lerner, 2001). Alexis de Tocqueville's treatise, *Democracy in America,* was based on his analysis of the United States and

the need for social commitment as central to a functioning democracy, which he recognized as based on competition and individualism. De Tocqueville directly countered individualism, specifically in relation to the United States, and his observations suggested the need for social commitment to civic, moral, and religious freedom (Kenny et al., 2001).

Alexis de Tocqueville and later Robert Bellah were influential in coining the phrase "habits of the heart." James Arthur, Ian Davies, and Carole Hahn (2008), who cited the National Council for Social Studies, defined habits of the heart as a "commitment to democratic principles and values that manifests itself in the everyday lives of citizens. A focus on knowledge alone is insufficient for the task of civic education" (p. 402). Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven Tipton (2007), in *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, discussed a study in which they found that many people remained optimistic about their own futures, despite thinking that the world was going to *hell in a handbasket*. This individualistic reality provided for Bellah and colleagues to note the importance of the linkage of individual futures to the future of society as a whole (Eby, 1998). This democratic angle and focus was also inherent in John Dewey's ideas.

Zhuran You and A. G. Rud (2010) recognized John Dewey's learning theory as the "essential theory underpinning service learning" (p. 36). Dwight Giles and Janet Eyler (1994) even wrote an article entitled "The Theoretical Roots of Service-Learning in John Dewey," in which they use two of Dewey's works to "reconstruct a conceptual framework for service-learning" (Le Grange, 2007, p. 4). Giles and Eyler depicted Dewey's work as providing a central examination of education in its broader context through the "primacy of the concept of experience" (Kendall et al., 1990a, pp. 256–257). Moreover, they took note of the dialectical

stance that shaped Dewey's entire philosophy. Under a Deweyian conceptualization, Giles and Eyler suggested that the expression would be "service and learning" in order to "reflect the dialectical interaction between the two . . . [moving] beyond the 'Either-Or' educational philosophy that Dewey found so unproductive" (Kendall et al., 1990a, p. 259).

The notion of experiential learning upon which service learning now rests is deeply influenced by Deweyian principles. Dewey, valued as a proponent of democratic schooling, must be understood through his philosophical epistemes, as they have provided the pedagogical forces for the service learning practice as it operates today. As such, Curry (2011) provided a critique of Dewey, suggesting that the work of White philosophers often contributed

> to the erasure of Black, Latin American, and indigenous peoples in an effort to solidify white thinkers' authority on racism and colonialism over and against the reading of authors who are part of the groups that actually suffered under oppression. (para. 6).

For examples, one can examine the positions and exchange between Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells on lynching and rape,[4] or consider why Paulo Freire is often read through "white theoretical apparati" (Curry, 2009, p. 2) when referred to as the *Latin John Dewey* in service learning discourse. True and central to this political project, Curry (2011) noted that in philosophy, often this was perpetrated by "explaining away the racism of white scholars like John Dewey (who supported segregated education, assimilation, and the naturalness of racial antipathy)" (para. 6). Absolutely essential to this critique of Dewey is the understanding and

[4] See *Lynching and Rape: An Exchange of Views* (1977), in particular, *Respect for Law* by Jane Addams and a response to it entitled *Lynching and the Excuse for It* by Ida B. Wells-Barnett, in which Wells counters the argument of Addams (who was against lynching) that rape is what causes lynching. This illustrates the ways in which bicultural voices comprehend and can better speak to our own lived conditions while those from privilege often rationalize the violence.

dismissal of the suggestion that historical white philosophers and their scholarship were just "products of their time" (Curry, 2011, comments section, para. 10), especially given other critical bicultural philosophers who were writing during the same time period.

De Tocqueville, Bellah, and Dewey provided democratic philosophical constructions, critiques of individualism, and a focus on the moral panic of the time—disengagement and disillusionment of Americans from civic participation (Kenny et al., 2001). De Tocqueville and Dewey attributed this disillusionment to feelings of isolation and powerlessness in dealing with the societal problems of the time (Kenny et al., 2001). This may reflect a different view, as the current focus seems to have shifted to pathologizing civic disengagement and attributing it to a pedagogical concern rooted in the need for educational reform. Before examining this civic disengagement discourse, we must turn to the philosophical contributions of Jane Addams to service learning. If ever one would suggest a mother and father of service learning, it would likely be Jane Addams and John Dewey.

Gary Daynes and Nicholas Longo (2004) have situated Jane Addams in the service learning history as a pioneer of the settlement culture, which located service not in the university, but rather in and with the community. They illuminated Jane Addams's collaborative work that directly resisted a top-down model and resisted the institution/university, as it represented a laboratory of sanitized methods. Jane Addams and the founding of Hull House, for which she is most known, provided a political center for her to engage in her community work—which is credited with providing "the core of today's service-learning practice" (Daynes & Longo, 2004, p. 6). Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr created an institution that provided for the cultural elevation of immigrant (mostly Italian) families in the neighborhood, where the Hull House

settlement was located (Daynes & Longo, 2004). Addams's critique of higher education institutions provided for her quasi-radical views on how service would work best through situating herself and others within the actual neighborhood. Yet, she remained connected to the university and various financial donors. One of her friends, John Dewey (who gave lectures at Hull House), was so influenced by Addams's work that he named his daughter Jane (Daynes & Longo, 2004).

One of the practices implemented by Hull House was the art lending program, which allowed for the improvement of the community by "[loaning] copies of paintings by European masters to families for display in their tenements" (Daynes & Longo, 2004, p. 6). Originally pleased with the lending program and its ability to beautify rundown homes, Addams, upon reflection, was noted as adding other cultural events to go with the lending program that were more relevant to the culture of the community members (Daynes & Longo, 2004). The art lending program, however, provides historical insight into the philosophical ideologies that undergird service. It can be interpreted that the thinking behind the lending of fancy artwork to provide "beauty" to rundown houses misses the mark with regard to what families who faced impoverished conditions really needed. Fancy artwork does not place food on tables or help pay for necessities that allow for the survival of families. This misplaced and misguided practice of art lending is rooted in what those in privileged positions valued and thought communities needed; and this practice was probably implemented without consulting communities or even asking what they needed.

Given the time period, especially for women, Jane Addams's work and focus on immigrant communities was seen as radical and revolutionary. However, rooted in the historical

and current practices initiated within communities, it is important to examine the experimental culture that often provides for the exploitation and instrumentalization of the disenfranchised, at the hands of service programs and providers. The U.S. Department of Agriculture—Office of Experiment Stations produced the *Dietary Studies in Chicago in 1895 and 1896,* conducted in cooperation with Jane Addams and Caroline Hunt of Hull House. "The dietary studies herewith reported were chiefly made among families of the foreign-born population of Chicago, including Italians, French Canadians, Russian Jews, and Bohemians" (Atwater & Bryant, 1898, p. 3). The Office noted that Jane Addams was instrumental "in selecting the families whose food habits were to be studied, and superintended the details of the work" (Atwater & Bryant, 1898, p. 3). The purpose of these dietary studies, conducted with few exceptions fully in the Hull House, were to obtain information about the living conditions and "the pecuniary economy of the food of the poor of different nationalities residing in the worst districts of Chicago" (Atwater & Bryant, 1898, p. 7).

The targets of these experimental studies were the Hull House participants, and access was gained to these members by way of the trust that had been established between the Hull House managers and the community members. This exploitation of trust is evidenced in the following passage from the study report:

> The managers and residents of Hull House are very familiar with the region. They are in close touch with the people, enjoy their confidence, and exert an influence over them which is remarkable for its extent and for its great and diversified usefulness. The thorough acquaintance of Miss Addams and others of the Hull House with the district, and their close sympathy with the people, were most important factors in carrying on this

investigation. These circumstances made it possible to choose problems involved which might otherwise have been out of the question. (Atwater & Bryant, 1898, p. 8)

The culturally invasive practices carried out through this study required researchers to enter into the houses of poor immigrants and collect data that included "the character, amount, and cost of the food consumed," in addition to financial and hygienic conditions of the family (Atwater & Bryant, 1898, p. 8). It is important to state that although the researchers gained access to the community members by way of Hull House, only four studies were carried to a close, as many of the participants refused to carry the dietary study past the first day. Further, the study noted, "It is unusually difficult to obtain access to the homes of the Italians and gain permission to conduct dietary studies" (Atwater & Bryant, 1898, p. 15).

This inappropriate use of communities as laboratories and objects for experiments is best summed up by John Eby (1998), as it embodies the prostitution of service "by making it serve objectives which contribute to the students or the college or university rather than the community" (p. 3). In this case, the prostitution came by way of the Hull House in concert with the federal government/Office of Experiment Stations. Critiques of Hull House have questioned why community members would not fill the leadership roles given solely to the White middle class live-in residents, the house's assimilative practices, as well as the reality that Blacks were not always warmly welcomed due to the possibility that they might discourage other ethnic groups from coming.

While Tocqueville, Dewey, and Addams do not represent an exhaustive list of service learning influencers, they are utilized to highlight key realities that have existed within service learning as it has been historically constructed. It is these key points that provide the

foundational thrust needed to examine and deconstruct rooted ideological thinking within service learning. Further, David Kolb's (2013) influence, by way of experiential learning, provides critical insight into the service learning practice.

According to Glen Gish's *The Learning* Cycle (1990), David Kolb (2013), a developmental psychologist, formulated a model for looking at learning as a "total experiential process" (Kendall et al., 1990b, p. 199). Gish posited, "The model can [provide] a view of how service-learning can become a vehicle for carrying students through significant development and can have a major effect on their careers and lives" (Kendall et al., 1990b, p. 199). The model reduces learning to a process wherein a set of experiences adheres to four steps in the experiential learning process. These four steps in the experiential learning process (see Figure 2), according to Kolb, are concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation.

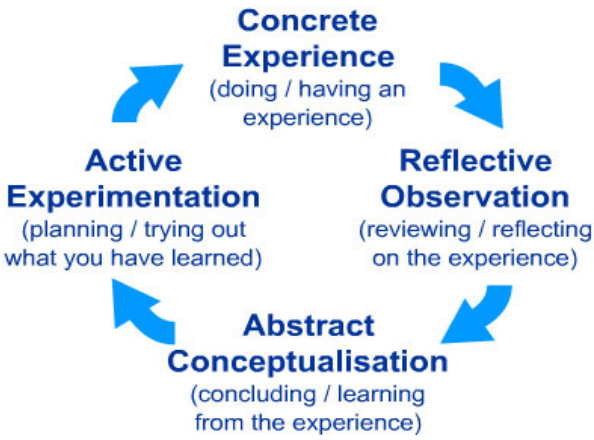

Figure 2. David Kolb's Experiential Learning Cycle (Kolb, 2013).

David Thornton Moore's *Experiential Education as Critical Discourse* refers to Kolb's model as "the single most frequently quoted treatise on experiential education . . . [proposing] two concepts that clearly fit the structuralist mold" (Kendall et al., 1990b, p. 277). Further,

Moore arranged the model into four learning styles known as divergent, assimilative, convergent, and accommodative, which has resulted in experiential educators administering the Kolb's Learning Styles Inventory to see where their students might fall (Kendall et al., 1990a). The experiential learning cycle provides for an analysis of the shift that began to decenter communities and move toward centering university students and higher education institutions in service practices. The impact of Kolb's experiential learning model will be discussed further as it relates to the curricular process.

Service and Learning

John Eby (1998) noted that those who critique service learning provide the rationale "that it does not address real community problems, because it is not real learning and because it teaches students inadequate understandings of service and social issues" (p. 1). This critique revisits the foundational concern of this study—service and learning for whom? Moreover, what does service and learning provide, and for whom does it provide it? Previously mentioned, the works of Dewey and the dialectical tension that exists within the terms service and learning are important to tease out through the service learning discourse. To engage the service learning term, Sigmon (1994) constructed a typology of service learning that unpacks its complexity and variety of definitions (See Figure 3).

Table 3

Robert Sigmon's (1994) typology for service learning

Service-Learning: Related Concepts and Key Elements A Typology of Service-Learning	
Service-LEARNING	Learning goals primary; service outcomes secondary
SERVICE-Learning	Service outcomes primary; learning goals secondary
service-learning	Service and learning goals completely separate
SERVICE-LEARNING	Service and learning goals of equal weight and each enhances the other for all participants

.

Robert Sigmon is credited with helping to start the service learning movement as part of the Southern Regional Education Board in the 1960s (Kendall, 1990a). As such, according to Andy Furco (1996), Sigmon declared that in order to establish goals for service learning and to meet them, a precise definition must be developed. The typology of service learning was Sigmon's attempt to move toward a more universal definition that included reciprocal learning and the balance between learning goals and service outcomes (Furco, 1996). The typology, thus, provides a way to make distinctions between various types of service-oriented programs and that of service learning. Compared to volunteerism, internships, community service, and field education, the practice of service learning, according to Furco's extension of Sigmon's typology, represents the highest stage because of its expressed intention to benefit both the provider and recipient of service. This is a commonly held belief among the dominant service learning scholars and reflected in the scholarship they produce.

Canonical Forms of Service and Learning

The scholarship on service learning reflects canonized (typically Eurocentric) forms of privilege. In 1990, Jane C. Kendall and associates provided a "three-volume resource book for anyone who wants to start, strengthen, or support a program or course that combines community or public service with learning" (Kendall et al., 1990a, p. 1). Each of the volumes was entitled *Combining Service and Learning: A Resource Book for Community and Public Service,* and was sponsored by the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education, in cooperation with Campus Compact and 93 national and regional organizations. In the introduction to volume one, Kendall (1990a) suggests that these volumes are for those "who want to explore the philosophical, historical, conceptual, and cultural contexts of their efforts related to integrating service and learning" (p. 1).

Not only did these three volumes serve as a resource for service practitioners and scholars, but also the volumes took hold of the service movement and provided the canonical scholarship that defines and reflects the service learning practice. It reflects a carefully constructed amount of research that portrays the service learning practice in a way that will ensure minimal critique. The first volume included over 75 works by generally canonical scholars comprising almost 700 pages. The second volume included over 40 works, and over 60 profiles of programs and courses that provide service and learning, spanning over 500 pages. The third volume, edited by Janet Luce, an annotated bibliography of carefully chosen works about service and learning, gave nod to the Campus Compact coalition in addition to Carnegie Foundation publications.

Suggesting the failure and demise of community service programs in the 1960s and 1970s, Kendall (1990a, pp. 9–10) in volume one offered three lessons that can be learned from and built upon:

1. Most of the programs were not integrated into the central mission and goals of the schools and agencies where they were based.
2. Those in the community service movement learned several important programmatic lessons about the balance of power and the pitfalls of "helping others" or "doing good".
3. We learned that while it sounds great to help young people learn through service experiences in the community, the service experience alone does not ensure that either significant learning or effective service will occur. (pp. 8–10)

Kendall (1990a) referred to a "transition team" that worked behind the scenes during the 1970s, committed to revamping the practice and simultaneously wrestling with what worked and what did not work. Kendall (1990a) stated, "We tried to identify the elements that need to be incorporated into new programs that involve young people—and adults— in their communities in meaningful ways" (p. 11). As a result, through "experimentation and the exchange of ideas throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, this 'transition team' developed and refined several program models across the country" (Kendall et al., 1990a, p. 11).

In Kendall's (1990a) introductory chapter to the volumes, she tackled service learning as representing two levels of meaning: a program and a philosophy of education that reflects a set of values and a particular epistemology. This particular epistemology is a Western one. Moreover, Kendall's upfront engagement with the problematic of the term *service* provides

insight into a fundamental structure of passivity and hypocrisy that results from the practice of service learning. Kendall's concerns with the term service stem from the inequity that it inherently constructs between the "served" and the "servers," calling for someone to do something *to* someone else. Further, it does not represent a social justice that is linked to the practice of "service-learning." Kendall (1990a) also suggested that, for African Americans, the term service can still conjure visions of indentured servitude, or provide a golden ticket for the salvation of White upper class people who feel guilty about their access to resources. All of these concerns over the term service, however, are readily diminished by Kendall's rationalization that "this book is not about service; it is about the particular potential for and the critical importance of the integration of service and learning" (p. 24).

Kendall (1990a) stated in her work that she uses the term service-learning "because there is no other term that fits what I mean by the integration of meaningful community involvement with reflective learning and that is commonly understood by the intended audience for this book" (p. 24). As such, her choice for a term that comes close to what she would want is "reciprocal learning in the community," yet she stated, "but would you have picked up the book with that title" (Kendall, 1990a, p. 24). This calls into question what these volumes were put in place to do—sell books or provide critical engagement with the practice? Why did Kendall not suggest another term? True to this culture of passivity clouding the service learning practice, Kendall (1990a) in relation to the language debate, hoped "that a new public language will emerge that gives people a way to talk about this powerful combination—or that 'service-learning' will gain general acceptance in a way that allows it to shed the current baggage of its component words"

(pp. 24–25). However, other attempts to canonize particular forms of service learning scholarship were what followed in the maintenance of the practice as it exists today.

In 1994, Gail Albert and the University of Vermont's Center for Service-Learning staff were the editors of the *Service-Learning Reader: Reflections and Perspectives on Service,* published by the National Society for Experiential Education. Between 1997 and 2005, a comprehensive set of monographs on service learning, known as *Service-Learning in the Disciplines*, was published and produced by the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE) under Edward Zlotkowski, who was senior editor (Calderón, 2007). Additionally, various other reports, volumes, and even programs have been commissioned for the purposes of constructing the discourse central to the service learning practice.

Programs and Acts

After the American Revolution, a civic focus permeated the founding documents of over hundreds of colleges (Hartley, 2009). The Morrill Act of 1862 (Hartley, 2009), which established land-grants for colleges, was undergirded with an explicit mention and "focus on excellence in scholarship to the practical needs of the community," in addition to block land-grants for universities with a larger focus on the merging of learning, scholarship, and service under the second Morrill Act of 1887 (Kenny & Gallagher as cited by Hathaway, 2005, p. 10). Speck and Hoppe (2004) have noted that at the turn of the 19th century, American colleges and universities became more important in civic engagement and community life. Thus, the early 20th century marked civic and political activism that was thought to have shaped educational philosophy into a vehicle for social change (Speck & Hoppe, 2004). The beginnings of service learning and its distinct history in the US took root in the social and political activism of the

1930s and the progressive tradition of politics and education (Lukenchuk, 2009). According to Hartley, as a response to youth disengagement from civic life, numerous initiatives were launched that shifted the focus of civic learning from *volunteerism* to *service learning*. This shift moved away from an extracurricular model to one that sought to unite curricula (learning) and service (Hartley, 2009).

In the 1930s, Roosevelt's administration ushered in the New Deal, and one of its massive programs—the National Youth Administration—was cited as a key development in service learning, through the creation of jobs and educational opportunities for over 700,000 youth, ages 16 to 25. The philosophy of this program was evident in its purpose, which was "to teach by example, the practice, responsibilities, and rewards of citizenship," a philosophy that spilled into other programs under the New Deal like the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) (Speck & Hoppe, 2004, pp. 35–36).

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

The early history of the service learning movement can also be linked to Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). This act, grounded in Keynesian economics, was designed to eliminate poverty, expand educational opportunities, increase the safety net for the poor and unemployed, and tend to the welfare and financial needs of the elderly (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). Eleven major programs were part of this antipoverty act, one of which was the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program, which called for recruitment, selection, training and the referral of volunteers to state/local agencies or nonprofit organizations to perform the duties necessary to "combat poverty" (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). The first VISTA members started in January 1965, and by

the end of the year, approximately 2,000 members were working in poor neighborhoods and migrant regions (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). The 1970s saw the merger of VISTA with the Peace Corps and the National Senior Service Corps, which led to the creation of the ACTION agency (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). The Domestic Volunteer Service Act (DVSA) of 1973 also further defined VISTA's legislative purpose as supplementing the efforts to fight poverty in low-income communities (Nationalservice.gov, 2015).

Community Service Trust Act of 1990 and National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993

President George H. W. Bush created the Commission on National Community Service in 1990, which subsequently led to the passage of the National and Community Service Act in 1993, under President Clinton (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). Under this act came the merger of ACTION, AmeriCorps, and various other federal agencies to form the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS). As previously mentioned, the Corporation is cited for providing a huge force for service learning in colleges and universities through grant funds (Jacoby, 1999). It is the nation's largest annual grant maker supporting service and volunteering (Nationalservice.gov, 2015).

The 1990s initiated an ideological shift in the service movement—from ridding the nation of poverty to the neoliberal overtones of accountability, bootstraps, and social responsibility discourse. The creation of CNCS in the early 90s and its recent reauthorization in the Serve America Act have focused on answering the call to serve and as such have been appropriated from its origins in ridding the nation of poverty. In the process, the emphasis moved even further away from the genuine needs of vulnerable populations, toward being responsive to the

needs and concern for assisting privileged university students to become more civic minded. Two current organizations illustrate the ways in which the historical roots of the service learning movement gave rise to such a quick and mobilized form of practice within the higher education context.

Current Organizations that Inform Service Learning

According to Butin (2006), major federal funding and private funding allowed for the expansion and sustainability of a diverse service learning movement, which now spans K–16. Two organizations have given rise and further control to the institutionalization of service learning within the realm of higher education. Examining these organizations with respect to their impact on service learning reveals the institutionalization of service learning within higher education and the way in which it is protected and funded.

Campus Compact

In 1985, based at Brown University, Campus Compact was founded (Heffernan, 2008). "Campus Compact advances the public purposes of colleges and universities by deepening their ability to improve community life and to educate students for civic and social responsibility" (Campus Compact, 2013, p. 1). According to Ira Harkavy and Matthew Hartley (2010), Campus Compact, which is a coalition of higher education presidents that leads the service learning realm, has grown from three institutions in 1985 to over 1,100 in 2009. This is approximately one-quarter of all colleges and universities in the United States (Harkavy & Hartley, 2010).

Millions of college students are engaged in some form of service learning practice each year, taught by tens of thousands of faculty members (Butin, 2006). However, despite the high numbers of faculty members engaged in the service learning movement, there seems to be a lack

of literature that addresses the ways in which faculty engage both college students and those being *served*. More importantly, increasing value is being placed on the service learning movement and, according to a Campus Compact report, the estimated value of service learning in 2011 was $9.1 billion, an almost $4 billion increase from 2008 (Tande & Wang, 2013).

Campus Compact (2013) also provides access for all to browse a variety of service learning program models, with many variations listed under each of these models. These seemingly recipe, cookie-cutter type models of how to enact service learning programs potentially dismiss the importance of the context in which service learning programs operate. Additionally, one survey concluded that 12,577 faculty members of Campus Compact institutions taught a service learning course, and 45% of the institutions offered between 11 and 50 courses at their institution (Staff, 2006, as cited by Harkavy & Hartley, 2010). Campus Compact's hegemonic reach extends beyond institutions and into the research that informs the practice as well.

The Research University Community Engagement Network (TRUCEN)

The early years in the 2000s marked a realization by many that a focus on civic and community engagement was increasing in colleges and universities (Curley & Stanton, 2012). Furthermore, according to Curley and Stanton (2012), many began to notice that infancy stage service learning movements were springing up in community and liberal arts colleges and some state universities that were teaching-focused. This was something that seemed to be lacking in research-based universities. Campus Compact's executive director recognized the need to encourage engaged scholarship at research institutions and their potential for leadership in this area as well (Curley & Stanton, 2012).

As a result, in 2005, the director convened a meeting of scholars from some of the more advanced civically minded research institutions to see how they promoted this type of engagement on their campuses (Curley & Stanton, 2012). The purpose of this meeting was to explore in depth the nature of civic engagement work at research-focused institutions and to provide a space to address the challenges that were unique to these institutions. A total of 13 research universities met for two days at this initial meeting, in which they discussed their ideas but also decided to take action and become a "voice for leadership" in the larger civic engagement movement that was burgeoning in higher education (Curley & Stanton, 2012).

What was born from that meeting became known as The Research University Community Engagement Network (TRUCEN) and one of its first tasks was the creation of a case statement (Curley & Stanton, 2012). TRUCEN came about after three initial meetings had taken place and an agreement had been reached to expand its membership. The institutions that would be given membership would be high-ranking research institutions, which would be classified by Carnegie and members of Campus Compact (Curley & Stanton, 2012). Their case statement discussed the importance of research universities and the need for them to embrace and advance engaged scholarship at each of the following levels: institutional, faculty, and student (Curley & Stanton, 2012). Interesting to note, of these suggested levels, there is no mention of communities or those that are "served."

To further the process, the TRUCEN network developed a set of recommendations for ways in which research universities could promote the goal of *engaged scholarship* at their own institutions and throughout higher education (Curley & Stanton, 2012). The term engaged scholarship, which is often used in the service learning literature, functioned to eliminate the

voice of those being "served" by placing faculty or academia in a role that "engages" those in need through scholarship carried out by the institutional setting.

In just six short years, a structured network grew to include over 35 high-ranking research-focused institutions (Curley & Stanton, 2012). The rapid growth of this network is further evidence of the ways in which hegemonic structures function and seek to perpetuate the status quo. Seeking to further the agenda of service learning within the higher education context, the voice of those most oppressed was seemingly ignored as those in power engaged in the act of false generosity. The roles that TRUCEN and Campus Compact play within the service learning movement exemplify the ways in which power is protected and mobilized. Additionally, it is necessary to briefly examine the impact of other hegemonic organizations and their influence on the service learning movement.

National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE). The National Society for Experiential Education was founded in 1971 and serves as the "national resource center for the development and improvement of experiential education programs nationwide" (NSEE, n. d.). One of the hegemonic elements of the NSEE is its Experiential Education Academy that is tied to their mission and seeks to enhance members' professional development. Another key aspect of its mission is its quest to be the "national leader in advancing experiential education as a field and a profession" (para. 1). Thus, the NSEE offers a series of workshops that lead to a Certificate of Achievement for professionals who want to hone their experiential education knowledge. Hence, the academy is designed to carry out specific goals such as providing a foundational understanding of the theory and practice of experiential education, help meeting the

NSEE principles of effective practices, and develop the knowledge, skills, and competence of members for implementing experiential education within their institutions.

AmeriCorps. AmeriCorps was founded in 1994 and "engages more than 75,000 Americans in intensive service each year at nonprofits, schools, public agencies, and community and faith-based groups across the country" (AmeriCorps, n. d., para 1). AmeriCorps's explicit mention of engaging "Americans" suggests that those who do not have "citizenship" may not be allowed to take part in these service experiences. Moreover, assuming an American identity, the AmeriCorps program furthers the process of "Othering" as those that are not "American" are placed in the category of Other. The AmeriCorps website suggests that the programs that are funded under its umbrella are more than just part of moving communities forward. They provide service to their members through the creation of jobs, pathways, and opportunities for youth to enter the workforce. As it is described: "AmeriCorps places thousands of young adults into intensive service positions where they learn valuable work skills, earn money for education, and develop an appreciation for citizenship" (AmeriCorps, n. d., para 33).

Conversely, Kliewer (2013) has argued that the decision by civic engagement practitioners to accept AmeriCorps funds requires that their programs be formulated "within the context of neoliberalism" (p. 75). From personal experience working for an AmeriCorps program, students sign contracts in which they pledge not to engage in any political activities such as protests or even personal proclivities such as drinking when they are working under the AmeriCorps name/logo. Any form of noncompliance jeopardizes the federal government funding awarded to the particular program. Thus, as a hegemonic overseer, Americorps—an

extension of the federal government and neoliberal practices—ensures that programs and service learners are indoctrinated into an arena of proper citizenship and behavior.

Carnegie Foundation's Classification for Community Engagement. According to the New England Resource Center for Higher Education (NERCHE) at the University of Massachusetts Boston, it has entered into a partnership with the Carnegie Foundation for the continued processing of the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification (CCEC). In 2015, the Carnegie Foundation selected 240 United States colleges and universities to receive its Community Engagement Classification for a total of 361 campuses that have the classification (CCEC, n. d.). The classification is a voluntary process for institutions and requires the collection of data and documentation to provide "evidence-based documentation of institutional practice to be used in process of self-assessment and quality improvement" (para. 2). It is firmly stated that the classification is not an award. Moreover, community engagement is defined as "collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities . . . for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (CCEC, n. d., para 1).

As such, Jacoby (1999) argued that, regardless of the partnerships present within an institution's service learning program, there is no doubt that the benefits that these programs supply far outweigh the problems or frustrations that might occur. However, Steven Hart (2006) suggested that the efficiency and sustainability of service learning provides a technical and functional perspective in which the benefits to the individual student are valued but the reciprocity of the service may be lost. Consequently, this allows for community needs to be

ignored through the framework set forth by service learning (Hart, 2006), an issue that strikes at the core of the political, ideological, and economic concerns raised by this study.

CHAPTER 3

INTERSECTIONS OF POLITICS, IDEOLOGY, AND THE ECONOMY

> We have been denied the most elemental preparation so that they can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads: no land, no work, no health care, no food, no education. Nor are we able to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor is there peace nor justice for ourselves and our children.
>
> But today, we say ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation. The dispossessed, we are millions, and we thereby call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the only path, so that we will not die of hunger due to the insatiable ambition of a 70-year dictatorship led by a clique of traitors who represent the most conservative and sell-out groups.
>
> *-Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN)*
>
> *Declaration of the Lácandon Jungle, 1993, para. 2*

To move through this journey, one must revisit the foundation that is central to this radical political project—a critical base that seeks to dismantle the brutalizing conditions of tyrannical, repressive actions and policies inflicted upon those deemed unworthy, and thus imposing upon and creating a world of oppression, neoliberalism, capitalism, and domination, for many at the behest of few. The above passage reflects the way in which the Zapatistas forthrightly and courageously revolted against the Mexican government in the fight for the

political and economic rights of indigenous peoples in Mexico. We should be encouraged by these revolutionary actions, which espoused an undying commitment to an *armed struggle* and the move toward the journey for survival, reclamation of justice, and the pursuit to be heard.

It is important for the purposes of this study to engage the above piece and this political project from the standpoint of oppressed populations that battle daily to survive abject conditions, irrespective of the dominant discourse and false realities that often feign a different reality for subaltern populations. The Zapatistas's slogan "Para todos todo, para nostros nada" (Everything for everyone, nothing for us) reflects a profound and collective commitment that is absolutely central in a move toward decolonization, social transformation, and the disruption of the current order, in the quest to be truly heard and liberated. For those who have been victimized by the service learning practice, this slogan provides a powerful disruption to a one-sided practice that often provides benefits for service providers, off of the backs of oppressed communities.

The scars of historical oppression are not always visible upon our bodies but this does not diminish in any way the violent acts of war, epistemicide (Paraskeva, 2011), and domination that have been waged against bicultural communities with respect to collective struggles. Therefore, in line with the revolutionary and anarchist movement launched by the Zapatistas, it is vital to "call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the only path" to politically and economically deconstruct the service learning movement and counter the discourse of "conservative and sell-out groups" who pledge allegiance to the architects of the domination that oppresses the dispossessed. These dimensions at work here are inextricably linked to the economic realities of both the past and current. The struggles of the Zapatistas provide us insight

into political and economic realities such as the politics of voice, who speaks history, and who defines material/economic conditions within this political economic enterprise. Thus, an in-depth analysis of the political economy in relation to the service learning movement is absolutely necessary, as both the political dimensions and economic realities are inseparable (Darder & Torres, 2004a), and thus always operate in tandem.

Antonia Darder and Rodolfo Torres (2004) in *After Race: Racism After Multiculturalism* put forth an essential argument in dissecting the nuanced dimensions that construct the political economy. They exposed the intentional and deceptive separation of the political and economic spheres, with the recognition that deliberate camouflaging functions to protect capitalist motives and ideologies. Drawing upon the work of Ellen Meiksins Wood and her reference to a "structural" separation, Darder and Torres (2004) noted, "This false separation of the political and economic has served to obscure and distort our understanding of the fragmentation of social life within capitalism" (p. 107). Operating here is a very powerful invisible/"abstract" separation that "conceals the unjust accumulation of capital and power—an accumulation sustained by asymmetrical relations tied to class and firmly anchored to the social practices of racism, sexism, homophobia, ethnocentrism, and other forms of social inequality" (Darder & Torres, 2004, p. 110). By extension, Darder (2012), drawing on the work of Michael Peters, highlighted the inner workings (both covert and overt) of the political economy in the following way:

> There is no question that we are in the midst of a disastrous internationalizing project of neoliberalism. As Michael Peters (2001) argues "neoliberalism has attempted to provide "a Universalist foundation for an extreme form of economic rationalism," which can be

regarded as the latest political-economic formation of advanced capitalism in the West. (p. 413)

Given that the political economy is often couched in a universalizing neoliberal discourse, it is of absolute importance to examine the traditional service learning discourse and its implications for practice.

Traditional Service Learning Discourse

"The centrality of engagement is critical to the success of higher education in the future," and, as a result, ideologically informs service learning as a phenomenon (Fitzgerald, Bruns, Sonka, Furco, & Swanson, 2012, p. 7). This notion centers upon a framework for scholarship that promotes engaged citizenry. Rooted in the traditional higher education institutional structure, the emphasis is on forms of engagement (i.e., civic engagement, engaged scholarship/university, etc.) that serve to examine the historical and philosophical underpinnings of the service learning practice.

According to Anotonina [sic] Lukenchuk (2009), the Depression, the Civil Rights movement, and the War on Poverty, in part, constituted the ideological, political formations of service learning. Furthermore, the knowledge produced as a result of service learning actions fall into the *traditional* epistemology of practical wisdom or phronesis. Darder (1991, 2012) has argued that American pedagogy in the traditional sense, generally, has been divided into conservative and liberal perspectives. Similarly traditional forms of service learning can also be divided into these two perspectives, both of which ultimately uphold the cultural/class status quo, and ideologically contrast with radical liberatory practices.

Tania Mitchell (2008) has posited that a traditional approach to service learning "emphasizes service without attention to systems of inequality" (p. 50). Shrouded within the traditional service learning discourse are elements of competition and individualism. Whereas service learning programs that uphold the status quo in an acceptable way are touted as effective programs, those that do not are often the few (individual) programs that are critiqued in the literature as ineffective. Collectively, we must understand that if one service learning program fails, they all fail in some way, given our connectedness as societal human beings. Therefore, we must critically reexamine the ways in which power is constructed and protected within service learning discourse.

Conservative Service Learning Discourse

According to Darder (2012), the conservative discourse with regard to education is enfleshed in a positivist ideology, which views the world technocratically and honors a logic and method based on the natural sciences. The service learning programs and supporting literature that give rise to conservative ideologies are those that oftentimes reduce the success of programs to quantifiable outcomes and do not engage critically the dimensions of service learning, especially those that require dialogue within communities. Consequently, "this conservative discourse often functions to promote passivity among bicultural students through its adherence to a view of knowledge as objective, separate, and devoid of the knowing subject" (Darder, 2012, p. 7). This notion of passivity works to complexify the realities of the service learning practice, particularly for bicultural students, as it negates the knowledge of those within communities and those perpetuating the practice. Those implementing service learning within communities often bring their ideological knapsack of privilege (McIntosh, 1988), normative assumptions, and

expert ideals in order to "civilize racialized populations to ensure that society remains orderly and safe" (Darder, 2012, p. 7).

Within service learning, the conservative educational discourse can be attributed to the traditional forms of service learning (Mitchell, 2008) that are intent and built upon maintaining the practice as is. Upholding the status quo, this conservative learning refuses at all levels to engage in any critical examination of its own pedagogy. The heavily data-focused studies and forms of measurement used within service learning reflect a positivist, conservative engagement with the practice. It centers objective knowledge and does not engage the messiness of struggle with tough issues that are not so cut in stone but must be engaged to move toward emancipatory practices.

Liberal Service Learning Discourse

Liberal attempts often manifest in the form of empty rhetoric that objectifies and dehumanizes subaltern populations. Their words do not completely align with their actions, their bodies, their beliefs, and, as such, liberals resist radical thought and are ambivalent "when our expressed concerns fall outside of the exceptional notions of their idealism" (Darder, 2011, p. 6). Further, often deployed in service learning discourse is the notion of "voice" and what forms of knowledge are deemed acceptable. In relation to service learning, this emerges in the literature that seeks to hear the voices of the unheard, without an understanding of how this act is deeply connected to the conditions and lived histories that the unheard face.

Various philosophical and epistemological constructions undergird the service learning phenomenon. Thus, if we were going to categorize the current developments of the field, taking note of its political constructions, we could align the practices of a traditional service learning

practice with that of a conservative discourse and the current critical practices of service learning with the liberal discourse. Current critical conceptions of service learning tend to espouse a positivist ideology that is rooted in a Western paradigm. As Paraskeva (2011) critically noted, "Western counter-dominant perspectives are crucial in the struggle for social and cognitive justice, yet not enough" (p. xxi). These Western critical conceptions and theories of service learning must open up the Western canon of protected knowledge and make way for a new epistemological configuration (Paraskeva, 2011).

Ideological Tensions

Kendall (1990a) described the failure and demise of community service programs in the 1960s and 1970s and touted that a "transition team" that was instrumental in ushering in the service learning practice was strategically working behind the scenes in revamping the service movement. This transition team was a crucial actor in helping to restructure and revitalize the movement to provide program models for the practice of service learning across the country (Kendall, 1990a). This was a crucial and pivotal moment that revealed the ideological shift and appropriation of the "community" service practice as it pushed back against "the antiwar movement and civil rights struggles of the 1960s and early 1970s, [which challenged] the American university . . . to break with its elite, lily-white, patriarchal tradition" (Darder, 2012, p. 415).

One might surmise that the failures of the 1960s and 1970s that Kendall alluded to in her introduction to the *Combining Service and Learning* canonical trilogy embodied neoliberal multiculturalism. According to Darder (2012), this conservative ideology of multiculturalism

> enact[s] a structure of public recognition, acknowledgement of acceptance of multicultural subjects, based on an ethos of self-reliance, individualism, and competition, while simultaneously (and conveniently) undermining discourses and social practices that call for collective social action and fundamental structural change. (p. 417)

If we examine the 1960s' and 1970s' "failures" to which Kendall may have been alluding, we can note a very distinct form of social engagement simultaneously coupled with a deliberate undermining of its purpose.

The Brown Berets operating in the 1960s provided free breakfast programs and free medical clinics to the people. Their political newspaper, *La Causa*, was a form of dissent and a radical engagement of the times, written to critically and honestly depict the material conditions of the people. Carlos Montes, one of the cofounders for the East Los Angeles Brown Berets, spoke to the reality of civic education and need for revolutionary struggles in the following way:

> We started out with civic involvement and education as the road to equality, but soon learned that only real revolutionary change and political power by poor working people would gain real equality and freedom. We evolved from civic duty, work within the system, to self-determination, revolutionary nationalism and international solidarity with the liberation movements of Latin America, Africa and Asia - like the Vietnamese, the Congolese and Cubans fighting for freedom from U.S. domination. (Fight Back, 2003, How did the political views of the Brown Berets develop section, para. 1)

Here Montes noted the inseparability of the political and the economic, as well as the recognition that civic involvement and education were never effective tools in seeking to dismantle the conditions of poor working class populations. For this reason, Freire advocated

that the historical task of the oppressed, who are the best equipped to understand the impact of an oppressive society, is to work toward their own liberation (Darder, 2015a). It is this understanding of self-determination that has yet to be recognized and understood by the service learning movement.

At this juncture, it is worth noting that it was this spirit of political self-determination that motivated The Black Panther Party of the 1960s to create free breakfast programs and community health clinics in order to take charge of the social needs of the people in direct response to the economic disinvestment of the time. Similar to the Brown Berets, the Black Panthers disseminated and wrote their own newspapers, such as the *Community Service Bulletin, The Sentinel,* and *The Black Panther*, which operated on both a local and national level.

> The party was one of the first organizations in U.S. history to militantly struggle for ethnic minority and working class emancipation—a party whose agenda was the revolutionary establishment of *real* economic, social, and political equality across gender and color lines. (Baggins, 2002, para. 1)

This acknowledgement and understanding of the political-economic realities can be illustrated in an interview with Bobby Seale, who was instrumental in founding the Black Panther Party in Oakland; he stated:

> They came down on us because we had a grass-roots, real people's revolution, complete with the programs, complete with the unity, complete with the working coalitions, we were crossing racial lines. That synergetic statement of "All power to all the people," "Down with the racist pig power structure" –we were not talking about the average white person: we were talking about the corporate money rich and the racist jive politicians and

> the lackeys, as we used to call them, for the government who perpetuates all this exploitation and racism. (Baggins, 2002, Interview of Bobby Seale section, para. 1)

A few months after the first free Panther's breakfast program was created in Oakland, J. Edgar Hoover publicly stated that the Black Panthers were the "greatest threat to the internal security of the country" (Baggins, 2002, U.S. Police Terror and Repression section, para. 3).

The Brown Berets and Black Panthers ushered in powerful social movements for liberation of which the people held ownership and took charge in providing and working within their own communities to demand change and to provide a means of survival in response to the lack of support and brutal conditions placed upon their lives. The ownership and dissemination of newspapers as forms of political expression were crucial in informing the people and in seeking collective transformation tied to revolutionary means. These movements were acts of resistance against the domination and degradation that plagued bicultural communities. They were constructed to push back against the political and economic conditions that rendered bicultural communities a slave to a world that refused to acknowledge the inequality that existed with respect to wealth and all forms of oppression. Although, Kendall (1990a) and others have discredited efforts tied to "social justice, economic democracy, universal human rights, and the political self-determination of oppressed populations" (Darder, 2012, p. 418), powerful discourses and genuine movements were at work.

Politics of Sentimentalism

Ivan Illich, in the late 1960s, also spoke truth to the political and economic dimensions at work within the service practice. Illich (1968), an Austrian philosopher, animated the issue regarding service and volunteers or missionaries, who inhabited a culture they did not

understand. Illich issued the excerpt below at a speech in Cuernavaca, Mexico, in which he called for stopping U.S. volunteers from entering into Mexico and other places, criticizing Western-influenced paternalistic charitable actions. Referring to the service providers as *vacationing do gooders*, Illich (1968) shed light on the pretentious impositions that give the illusion of doing good:

> Today, the existence of organizations like yours is offensive to Mexico. I wanted to make this statement in order to explain why I feel sick about it all and in order to make you aware that good intentions have not much to do with what we are discussing here. To hell with good intentions. This is a theological statement. You will not help anybody by your good intentions. There is an Irish saying that the road to hell is paved with good intentions; this sums up the same theological insight. (para. 6)

Illich's (1968) words acerbically critiqued volunteers who essentially lacked the wherewithal to accept their inability to help anyone upon whom they imposed their colonizing ways. As such, he illustrated that the reality of volunteers, steeped in their bravado and supposedly *effective* data reports only exposed ineptitude at seeing the realities of communities or respecting their traditions, language, and space. In turn, Illich poignantly suggested the impossibility of a volunteer "helping" someone when there is no common ground upon which to meet—linguistically and hierarchically.

Illich's (1968) perspective sheds light not only on the linguistic threat but also on the recognition of the unequal power relations tied to economic forces that exist in the service dynamic. This was further magnified through the historical context of the missionary mentality, international service, and U.S. mainstream ideologies—all occurring in 1968, when Illich gave

the speech, and remains relevant today. While there seems to be a tendency to engage Illich's work in the current service learning dynamic from a very liberal standpoint, diminishing aspects of its relevance and criticality by warning readers that "parts of the speech are outdated and must be viewed in the historical context of 1968 when it was delivered" (Kendall, 1990a, p. 314), his deep engagement and exposure of the practice is absolutely crucial to a critical reading of the service learning movement today.

As such, Illich's (1968) assertions in the historical context of international service missions mirror the reality of current service learning programs regarding to their hyper focus on the benefits for university students and institutions. Illich referenced the spending of approximately $10,000 by the Peace Corps on each corps member to help him or her adjust to the new environment and "guard [them] against culture shock" (para. 25). Illich astutely pointed out the oddity that no one ever thought about using money to educate the "poor Mexicans in order to prevent them from the culture shock" of meeting the volunteers (para. 25). Illich's radical engagement draws important distinctions and builds foundational work for a critical look at the ways in which a "missionary mentality" or secular missionaries have historically invaded and uprooted communities upon which they thrust their do-gooding intentions. These do-gooding intentions, again, fall right in line with what Freire (1970) referred to as *false generosity* and further reflect a deeply embedded aspect of the political nature of the service learning practice.

If we critically engage the line of thought that Darder (2012) provided, it is evident that a manipulative force was strategically functioning in efforts to dismantle the advancements of the liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As a result, these community-minded, social

radical movements of the time were undermined by the discourses that suggested the failure of these movements, when in actuality an invisible inner-working political and economic agenda was dismantling, watering down, and reconstructing the practice. As Darder (2012) noted, "decolonizing discourses that emphasize the recognition and complexity inherent in a politics of difference, along with the amelioration of poverty and other forms of social, political and economic inequalities, are deemed disruptive to the prevailing neoliberal order of the university" (p. 417).

Therefore, the service learning literature and educative process for students (without concern for community members) suggests a blatant removal of decolonizing discourses and the voice of those being "served," which in turn continually affirms the university and the students' expert and dominant roles in the enactment of these programs. The educative process thus becomes a necessity to the inner workings of the political economic enterprise, making it imperative to examine how sentimentalism operates within the service learning practice.

False Generosity

At this juncture, it is useful to once again return to Freire's (1970) assertion that "every approach to the oppressed by the elites, as a class, is couched in terms of . . . false generosity" (p. 133). Darder (2002) referred to this false generosity as a disingenuous concern for the well-being of those that are poor and culturally diverse, which in turn strips away their identity and power, interfering with and disabling their ability to act on their own behalf. False generosity may, unfortunately, be the anthem of the service learning movement, as it creates the illusion that those in positions of power care about and are willing to acknowledge the deeper structural issues affecting those often dehumanized through this practice.

Freire (1970) adamantly denounced this false expression of generosity as it perpetuates injustice. He asserted, "An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this 'generosity', which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty. That is why the dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source" (p. 44). Further, *the slightest threat* to service learning may delegitimize higher educational institutions, their foundational constructions, and their supposed positive impact on communities. Hence, the result of service learning becomes a form of "false charity," whereby the recipients of this so-called service are further objectified and dehumanized by what Freire (1970) referred to as the need to reach out their "trembling hands" in order to receive services. Generally speaking, false charity and concern seldom occurs without monetary gain or economic advantage in the neoliberal game of life.

Liberal Sentimentality

In public discussions, bell hooks (2013) often has utilized popular culture and media to critique the evocation of sentimentalism. Moreover, hooks (2013) has asserted that sentimentality moves us away from forms of critical analysis. Sentimentalism is often a disconnected or abstracted form of feeling expressed by those participating in service learning—those who are seldom personally knowledgeable about the larger structural conditions that reproduce and perpetuate historical inequalities. James Baldwin (1949) in *Everybody's Protest Novel*, articulated the complex dimensions of sentimentality in the following way:

> Sentimentality, the ostentatious parading of excessive and spurious emotion, is the mark of dishonesty, the inability to feel; the wet eyes of the sentimentalist betray his aversion

> to experience, his fear of life, his arid heart; and it is always, therefore, the signal of secret and violent inhumanity, the mask of cruelty. (p. 1654)

What Baldwin's words clearly suggest here is that sentimentalism tends to project a false sense of self, of feeling, that upholds complacency and inaction within a revolutionary reconceptualization of service learning.

These two aspects, sentimentalism (the expression of sentimentality) and false generosity, coalesce to ideologically undergird and embed the service learning practice. The expression of this culture of liberal sentimentalism by way of false generosity can be witnessed in the many reports that provide "the excitement and euphoria of the service-learning movement, fueled by dramatic stories of the benefits of linking learning and service [yet masking] underlying troubling issues" (Eby, 1998, p. 2). Moreover, in seeking support for the service learning practice, an article entitled "Carrots for the Faculty," highlighted the importance of providing incentives for faculty in the form of money, time, and professional status (Kendall et al., 1990b). This is coupled with a focus on incentives for students, as a necessary practice in relation to engaging in this type of work.

It is this disembodied sense of emotional expression, along with a "disingenuous concern" for others, that results in a lack of criticality within service learning. This is not to say forms of critical engagements in the field do not exist; but rather that these are few and far between. Hence, one can surmise that a practice not critical of its impact as a whole and that continually reaffirms its effectiveness must look at and reexamine the ways in which the dominant ideology constructs its existence, reproduction, and perpetuation.

Hegemony of Helping: The Service Learning Industrial Complex

Unfortunately, despite all the sentimentalism at work in service learning, little has led to the eradication of the dominant notion that White is right, so prevalent in the hegemony of helping practiced by the service learning industrial complex. It is useful prior to proceeding to define what is meant by "industrial complex" here. Industrial complex has been used within the context of radical discourse to speak to its representation of "modern neo-libral [sic] capitalism" (Shakur, 1998, para. 3). As such, Assata Shakur, who declared, "I am a 20th century escaped slave" (Assata: in her own words section, para. 1), has provided an analysis of the prison industrial complex, which can be directly applied to a conceptualization of the service learning industrial complex. Shakur's critical insights are key to understanding the hegemonic apparatus that functions as a result of the industrial complex. Here, Shakur's words (quoted at length) speak to the pervasive nature of an industrial complex that sustains the hegemonic helping nature of service and thus, where she analyzes the prison system, it can be directly linked to service learning:

> Those who are targeted as the victims of the [Service Learning]-Industrial Complex are mainly people of color. They are Native Americans, Africans, Asians, and Latinos, who came from societies where there were no [service programs] and where [service learning was] an unknown concept. [Service and missionary programs] were introduced in Africa, the Americas Asia as by-products of slavery and colonialism, and they continue to be instruments of exploitation and oppression. In the heart of the imperialist empires, [service learning is] oppression.
>
> The [service learning]-industrial complex is not only a mechanism to convert Public tax money into profits for private corporations . . . It serves two purposes. One to neutralize

> and contain huge segments of potentially rebellious sectors of the population, and two, to sustain a system of super-exploitation, where mainly black and Latino captives are [served from] white rural, overseer communities. People of color are easy targets. Our criminalization and villanization is an Amerikan tradition. The image of the dirty-lazy-shiftless-savage-backwards-good-for-nothing-darkies has been the underpinning of the racist culture and ideology, that dominates U.S. politics.
>
> (Shakur, 1998, para. 2)

Few in service learning openly speak to this phenomenon and thus must be discussed here to unveil deeply concealed dimensions that disavow the knowledge of those supposedly receiving service, while being subjected to deficit notions that perpetuate degradation and economic marginalization at the hands of those that are generally White, or whose hegemonic theories influence the practice. This hidden ideological dimension, a dominant Western one, has been historically constructed and protected, as laid out previously through structures of slavery, colonization, and the hegemony of academic discourses (i.e. anthropology, psychology, education, etc.), and slyly functions within the service learning industrial complex to protect the status quo. This is even at work in the few attempts within service learning to engage the notion of Whiteness, which is generally focused on how privileged White students operate.

Moreover, the notion that White is right points to a larger "savior" syndrome tied to the hegemony of helping within service learning practices. An international incident involving the nonprofit organization Invisible Children illustrates this point. Teju Cole (2012) posited, "If we are going to interfere in the lives of others, a little due diligence is a minimum requirement" (para. 1). This statement, in part, was made in response to the hoopla that ensued from the Kony

2012 campaign to make Joseph Kony, characterized as an evil warlord from Uganda, famous through films and a strategic campaign strategy produced by Invisible Children. At the center of this liberal sentimentalist, political-economic production stood a White filmmaker named Jason Russell. Unaware of the historical legacy and context of what Joseph Kony represented, Russell and those from the Invisible Children organization—for their own personal gains—reinscribed the deep wounds for many in Uganda by elevating the image of Kony—globally. Moreover, as Jedidiah Jenkins, Invisible Children's Director of Ideology, revealed in his statements supporting the organization, more money went to awareness and advocacy than to Africa. Thus, the millions of dollars raised from the campaign to make Kony famous were primarily spent in the US—on salaries, film production costs, and professional services—possibly lobbying or travel expenses (Visible Children, n. d.).

In response to the Kony 2012 video, Teju Cole took to Twitter, issuing seven tweets, included below in their entirety:

1. From Sachs to Kristof to Invisible Children to TED, the fastest growth industry in the US is the White Savior Industrial Complex.
2. The white savior supports brutal policies in the morning, founds charities in the afternoon, and receives awards in the evening.
3. The banality of evil transmutes into the banality of sentimentality. The world is nothing but a problem to be solved by enthusiasm.
4. This world exists simply to satisfy the needs—including, importantly, the sentimental needs—of white people and Oprah.

5. The White Savior Industrial Complex is not about justice. It is about having a big emotional experience that validates privilege.
6. Feverish worry over that awful warlord. But close to 1.5 million Iraqis died from an American war of choice. Worry about that.
7. I deeply respect American sentimentality, the way one respects a wounded hippo. You must keep an eye on it, for you know it is deadly.

(2012, para. 2)

Cole (2012) argued that Africa "serves as the backdrop for white fantasies of conquest and heroism" (para. 15). This stems from the colonial project all the way to the present day in which the egos and emotional needs of Whites are conveniently and necessarily privileged. Given this geopolitical economic interference, it is critical to brush these important aspects of race, in which "white saviors" hold power *over* the voice of communities ravaged by poverty, against an interrogation of service learning as an industrial complex. This includes the deeply embedded curricular, political, economic, historical, and racial ideologies that uphold a tightly constructed narrative that embodies the White savior industrial complex. While many critical service learning scholars and articles interrogate the singular issue of race or Whiteness (e.g., Cann & McCloskey, 2015; Dunlap, Scoggin, Green, & Davi, 2007; Endres & Gould, 2009; Green, 2001; Hill-Jackson & Lewis, 2011; Mitchell, Donahue, & Young-Law, 2012) as a sole depiction of how to move toward critical engagement, it does so at the expense of a simultaneous and necessary union with and analysis of the political economy.

As such, one must question why so many critical portrayals of service learning focus on singular issues such as race or gender. It could be argued that the political economy is given

very little if any investigation within the service learning arena due to the reality that it hits so close to home. One must continually question: Where does the money go? As such, service and learning for whom through an analysis of the political economy forces us to come to a deeper understanding of whether the benefits are in the interests of those carrying out the practice or for/with the community—which the dominant discourse repeatedly claims but does not honor.

Within the service learning industrial complex, the political and economic manifestations of privilege are clearly seen and strongly linked to who holds leadership and power and the role that many policies, out of the control of disenfranchised communities, play. Could it be that a truly emancipatory and liberating form of service learning would require an analysis of where money goes and, in turn, a more equitable redistribution of institutional monies to communities? Yet, if service learning functions through the hegemony of helping, then one might not be able to conceive of the possibility that communities can help themselves and are capable of using money for needs that they have identified for themselves. Yet, within service learning, the process of colonization and hegemonic helping occurs through the traditional needs that service learning programs have identified.

A philosophical and historical conceptualization of the service learning industrial complex provides an understanding of service learning as a constructed hegemonic apparatus, with a set of systems and structures that constrict and constrain emancipatory thought and practice. This generates a blanket of helplessness and complicity in alliance with the status quo and its oppressive practices. The service learning industrial complex and its functionaries provide for the dictates of the nation-state to be carried out in an unquestioned fashion "being used, not only as a weapon against political dissent, but as a weapon against anyone who protests

any of the injustices of the system" (Shakur, 1998, para. 4). Thus, the curricular and hegemonic actors, which take possession of the minds and hearts of well-meaning participants, allow for the service learning industrial complex and its interests to be served and protected. Even those critical of the practice are caught in the web of lies, brainwashing, and concealed conditions that function in hidden spaces, outside the public scrutiny and accountability of the public.

Within the service learning industrial complex, there is a fixation with learning about other cultures or in the Freirean (1970) sense, the cultural invasion of communities not for the sake of learning, but so that service providers can dominate, colonize, and assimilate communities. This is carried out through an adherence to false generosity, an absence of genuine spirit, and a lack of conscientization/critical consciousness *with* communities. As such, the curricular and pedagogical practices are more reflective of service *earning* (as opposed to learning) and *experimental* education (as opposed to experiential) by students and scholars alike. Practice through this conceptualization becomes more fixed on the earning of hours (Campus Compact, 2014) or what can be gained from engaging in service, as well as engaging in communities as if they were laboratories (Eby, 1998) and the service becomes an experiment for reporting. All this is illustrative of the conditions that exist within the hegemony of helping within the service learning industrial complex. The practices that occur within service learning, on every level, must be critically and continually reexamined, so that critique becomes transformative and embedded within the practice.

Colonizing Enculturation through Service Earning

The colonizing enculturation process of service earning is designed to justify the earning capacity of service learning participants. As such, the benefits or earnings become a function of

the systematic disembodiment of service learning actors, which effectively serve to counter the emancipatory possibilities of the practice. Service learning actors become colonized and loyal to the gains and earnings of service learning, such as helping, self-serving practices, earning hours, course credit, federal work study, tenure for faculty, grants, funding, service records for faculty, service/volunteer experience for students to place on their job and college applications, in addition to the accolades that all involved receive for being of service to the community. Thus, the colonizing process is tied to the enculturation of service learning participants, anchored in the values and beliefs of the dominant culture.

The quantification and monetization of hours. Tania Mitchell,[5] one of the few bicultural scholars given space in the canon to speak to critical service learning recently suggested that the monetization of service learning hours is problematic. Mitchell provided current Campus Compact numbers on the aggregated data for student service learning hours to illustrate how hours are routinely equated to a monetary amount. This amount is often highly inflated and thus shifts the practice to one that becomes obsessed with and feeds off the quantification and monetization of student's service learning hours. According to a 2014 Campus Compact Survey of Student Service, for example, the national total of students involved in community engagement was 1,382,145, which they equated to 154,800,240 hours with an overall value of service for the year at $3,490,745,412. Similarly, AmeriCorps stated that since 1994, "more than 900,000 AmeriCorps members have contributed more than 1.2 billion hours in service across America while tackling pressing problems and mobilizing millions of volunteers for the organizations they serve" (AmeriCorps, n. d.).

[5] Tania Mitchell made these comments as a panel speaker at the 2015 International Association for Research on Service Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE) Conference.

As Mitchell articulated in her brief statement, the factoring of hours into a dollar amount is deceptive and, if one examines the 2014 Campus Compact hours above, we can see this very clearly. The student's hours, based on the supposed value of service determined by Campus Compact, equate to about $22.55 per hour that the students served. Mitchell pointed out that the minimum wage, federal work study, and many jobs do not even pay the dollar amount that an equation of these hours reveals. Moreover, a highlighting of hours often becomes the focus for service learning in that other aspects of the curricular and pedagogical practice are sacrificed in order to adhere to the mandates of funding streams that require the counting of hours. With a focus on the "value of service" to the university and to society through free, unrestricted service learning labor, it reveals the reality: this economic gain is not focused on the benefit to poor working class communities.

Show me the money: Where is the line item for the community. As mentioned previously, the defunding and dismantling of the welfare state under the Reagan administration and the emergence of the neoliberal reign has also seen the rise of the service learning movement in all facets of the educational system. This is no coincidence, as it clearly suggests that money is redirected into the hands of those deemed most capable of "helping" those in need. This deficit mentality functions to disempower communities (through economic and deceptive strategies)—communities that are quite capable of generating their own solutions had they the time and resources to do so. Thus, one must continually question why the political economy is never engaged fully in the service learning movement—as this would demand a shift in how funding flows into institutions that monetarily benefit the most. This would also mean that those writing the literature and in positions paid for by particular funding designated to service

learning (i.e., scholars, professors, university presidents, policy makers, etc.) might have to question if their positions and financial benefits come at the expense of the material needs of oppressed communities.

This analysis of the economic placement of funds within service learning is not a call for an either/or but rather a shift to an emancipatory rethinking of how political and economic aspects are situated within the service learning realm. Moreover, in considering the lack of critical consciousness regarding the "finances" of service learning, this suggests that many might be uncomfortable having to do something such as reallocate their budgetary funds directly to the community supposedly being served. This would, of course, require the deinstitutionalization of funds and a restructuring/redistributing of the economic wealth of service learning outside of the institutional tower. As such, we must ask: Could those in positions of power over the service learning wealth advocate for the placement of the communities that are "served" to be included directly in the budget and programmatic decisions that fund the practice? Why is the money not directly given to communities if they are the ones in need of "help"?

As noted earlier, cultural invasion, according to Freire (1970), refers to invaders who infiltrate the cultural context of a group and disrespect their self-governing potential through actions that impose their own worldviews on those whom they invade. Serving as cultural experts instead of cultural workers (Freire, 1998a), service learning participants often are ignorant of and, thus, unknowingly disrespect the knowledge and wisdom that exists within the communities they pretend to serve. This negation of community knowledge is a consequence of teaching to a hegemonic curriculum that must remain unexamined. Even when service learning programs/courses (Banks, Schneider, & Susman, 2005) enact efforts to contend with the deeper

economic issues that communities face, they still fall victim to the invasion of communities and the cultural context in which those "served" are living, because of the dominant pedagogical process that chews up and spits out quick service and Band-Aid solutions.

Jacoby (1999) posited that community benefits of service learning include access to institutional resources, the opportunity to participate in teaching and learning, and assistance. The use of the word "access" in reference to institutional resources further suggests that those being served are in oppressed position and the dominating culture provides and allows "opportunities" to help those in need of "assistance." This contrasts dramatically with Butin's (2006) assertion that,

> the service-learning movement has often downplayed or glossed over the minimal social justice outcomes of service learning practices. For all of the human, fiscal, and institutional resources devoted to service-learning across higher education, there are, in fact, very minimal on-the-ground changes in the academy, in local communities, or in society more generally. (p. 491)

Despite Butin's (2006) often-expressed depoliticizing sentiments, his critique here clearly suggests that service learning curriculum and practice should be examined holistically to determine how all the integral parts of this movement can possibly work toward a more emancipatory vision for all who are impacted. This would need to include a critical process whereby those in positions of power or in the "expert" role examine the ways in which they may be perpetuating an unequal balance of power and colonizing practices, in their political, economic, and discursive proclamations (d'Arlach et al., 2009; Hart, 2006; Mitchell, 2008).

Under a community service veil, the service learning movement perpetuates the process of hierarchical class formation by placing mainstream institutions as purveyors of knowledge for disenfranchised communities. About this hegemonic dynamic, Freire (1970) has argued that the oppressed often adapt to the structures of domination in which they are immersed, seldom waging a struggle for freedom because of the fear associated with running the risk it would require. Instead, many cope by adapting to colonizing expectations, in the hopes of gaining, in the least, the security of conformity.

The power of dominance and the fear of freedom represent key aspects that may help to explain why service learning programs are able to effectively infiltrate communities and uphold their hegemonic myths. Community members, in many instances, may "yearn to be free" but don't "listen to the appeals of their own conscience" (Freire, 1970). In the process further dispossessed, they often accept the help and small rations of economic hand-outs that service learning programs impose, as their only option. For communities that have been oppressed and relegated to the margins of society, it may be difficult to work toward liberation, as an inherent fear may exist in speaking out against hegemonic educational practices (Darder, 2002). This fear, reinforced by service learning's hegemony of helping, may remained obscured, in that if the powerless question practices of service learning within their community, they may lose access to resources, albeit limited, that come with such programs and, thus, would be left with nothing.

It is through false generosity and sentimentalism that the service learning movement has successfully created the illusion that those in positions of power genuinely care about those most marginalized and in enduring ways. Historical examples (i.e., the destruction of liberation movements and the dismantling of social welfare programs) have shown that this is simply not

the case, given that many programs and projects begun by service learning programs end up abandoned, when disinterest in a particular community sets in or the money wanes (e.g. Learn and Serve America and their loss of funding and recent AmeriCorps funding cuts).

Neoliberalism

Cited as one of the critical dimensions of Freire's work was the analysis that capitalism is the root of domination (Darder, 2002, 2015a). Class formation and the way in which the political economy has allowed for the creation of an exploited and marginalized class further allows for capitalist logic to be the "primary totalizing force in the world" (Darder, 2002, p. 39). Further, Darder (2002) has suggested that Freire's perspective on cultural invasion is driven by his analysis of the profit motives of capitalists. The literature previously mentioned, revealed that if those without degrees (i.e., community/marginalized members) find ways to solve societal problems, the legitimacy of the university structure might be called into question. Looking at this from a capitalist perspective, in order to preserve the gains of the "individual" institutions, they have to enter into communities in an expert role to protect their dominance and continue to enact their totalizing force. Thus, institutional curricula must reflect the neoliberal project through adherence to a market based, model-influenced, packaged program that reflects the dominant society (Giroux, 2007).

Chicano historian Gilbert Gonzalez (1990, 2013) has argued, "The public higher educational system is becoming a private educational enterprise, a transition initiated by the neoliberal creed" (p. xxxi). Moreover, as previously mentioned, the 1990s marked a critical point and pivotal shift in the national service movement in the restructuring, reauthorization, and implementation of various acts and funding that paralleled neoliberal policies, all contributing to

the dismantling of the safety net. Brandon Kliewer (2013) warned that "maintaining a civic engagement movement that does not account for neoliberalism [could undermine] the very democratic sentiments and institutions that the movement attempts to revive" (p. 73).

In her book, *The New Political Economy of Urban Education,* Pauline Lipman (2011) defined neoliberalism as "an ensemble of economic and social policies, forms of governance, and discourses and ideologies that promote individual self-interest, unrestricted flows of capital, deep reductions in the cost of labor, and sharp retrenchment of the public sphere" (p. 6). Moreover, Lipman has posited that neoliberalism is "legitimized by racist ideologies that pathologize people of color as morally deficient freeloaders on the state, thus reframing structural problems as moral and behavioral" (p.149).

Service learning in the neoliberal context highlights individual responsibility, flaunts a focus on individual accountability (Kenny et al., 2001), and promotes expert models (Campus Compact, 2014). Further, an intense focus and emphasis on social responsibility and volunteerism has been employed along with the call for Americans to "serve" and become involved in remedying the ills of society (Nationalservice.gov, 2015). These neoliberal values have been transplanted into the service learning movement with volunteerism, engagement, and service being touted as the moral answers to proper "citizenship" by many of our national leaders and policies (Wingspread Report, 1989).

Wendy Ann Hathaway (2005) has suggested that service learning courses have been seen as the answer for disinterested students by providing experiences for them to, in essence, fill the community support void produced by receding social services brought about as a result of the "Post-Welfare" movement. This is an important point in that it suggests that the dismantling of

the welfare state has taken economic means (money) directly out of the pockets of people of color and placed it in the hands of service-providing professionals by funding government service programs (because, of course, they possess the understanding of how to provide for communities of people in need). Hathaway (2005) concernedly stated:

> I have concluded that, in spite of several benefits, there are underlying contradictions within service learning and the "neoliberal" ideologies that promote this type of course design as the panacea for the social inequities of our society. (p. 5)

Neoliberal education policies such as the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and an earlier report promulgated by the Reagan Administration, *A Nation at Risk*, also are relevant to the service learning movement. The standardization of schooling practices under NCLB mirrors the standardization of the service learning practice. *A Nation at Risk* ushered in the adherence to excellence for educational reform-minded programs; and this was no different in the service learning realm. In 1989, the Johnson Foundation funded a Wingspread conference orchestrated to define the *Principles of Good Practice in Combining Service and Learning.* The results were 10 principles and a preamble that stated in part "we are a nation founded upon active citizenship and participation in community life. We have always believed that individuals can and should serve" (Wingspread Report, 1989, p. 1). This standardization of the service learning practice is seen in many of the service learning references to this report, and further the report takes note of the importance of "service programs of high quality [that] can be created and sustained over time" (Wingspread Report, 1989, p. 1). The emphasis on high quality is most definitely a result of the neoliberal rhetoric of *A Nation at Risk*.

In 1983, a joint statement was issued from the following organizations: Association for Experiential Education (AEE), Council for Adult an Experiential Learning (CAEL), and the National Society of Internships and Experiential Education in response to *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. This statement, titled *A Nation at Risk: Another View,* critiqued the Reagan administrations report for its hyper focus on more homework, longer school days, teaching (teachers) rather than learning (students), and merit pay. While this statement is noble for its critiques of the original report, it submits alternatives influenced by its own neoliberal agenda. This counterstatement calls for a change to the educational environment centered upon individualistic concerns. As an alternative and a move toward a better strategy, this influenced a treaty call for the experiential learning approach to be valued in order to produce better citizens and workers of the future (Kendall et al., 1990a).

In addition to U.S. hegemony carried out by global and international service learning initiatives and programs such as the Peace Corps, the neoliberal impact inherent in the service learning practice can be summed up in the words of John McKnight (1977): "The business of modern society is service. Social service in modern society is business.". Consequently, there has been an emergence of an ideological shift and the overwhelming privatization and deregulation of public goods and services, including social, educational, medical, and even prison programs.

The Logic of Free Labor

Lipman (2011) has noted in her characterization of neoliberalism that there is often a deep reduction in the cost of labor. With regard to labor and service learning, there is often a powerful underlying invisible reality operating, and it is evident in the dismantling of the welfare

state. "Government expenditures for social programs [can] be reduced without concomitant reductions in services as long as the spending cuts are offset by infusions of labor from volunteers" (Schwartzman, 2002, p. 47). Oftentimes, as previously discussed, within service learning programs, there is a counting of volunteer hours of service rendered and then an equating of what that labor would actually amount to if provided an hourly amount.

Roy Schwartzman (2002) has noted that Milton Friedman was opposed to and was a critic of mandatory service initiatives, in that he believed that compelling service would threaten the willingness of students to engage voluntarily. Yet, Schwartzman exposed the hidden logic behind this statement by suggesting "service learning could serve as yet another means to wheedle cheap labor out of the workforce, forestalling systemic reform by hiding behind the idealistic rhetoric of volunteerism. In short, the servers become servants of prevailing socioeconomic structures" (p. 48). The reality is that, according to Schwartzman (2002) who referenced John McKnight, with unpaid labor come great economic gains. Further, citing Oi, Schwartzman (2002) noted, "Estimates [reveal] that more than five million jobs could be staffed by service volunteers" (p. 50).

The hegemonic tenets that construct and undergird service learning reveal "the political and economic tyranny that neoliberalism incarnates, through policies and practices that seized control of higher education [and society] and bludgeoned a critical multicultural vision" (Darder, 2012, p. 418). Further, Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne (1994) have called upon us to recognize that an emphasis on altruism and charity is often used to back a conservative political, economic agenda. Voluntary community service, through the form of service learning programs, is thus advanced in place of government programs. Westheimer and Kahne (1994), who cited

Radest, have spoken to the way in which government slithered further and further away from the use of funded social programs in a support statement made by George Bush regarding the National Community Services Act of 1990:

> I am particularly pleased that [this act] will promote an ethic of community service . . . Government cannot rebuild a family or reclaim a sense of neighborhood, and no bureaucratic program will ever solve the pressing human problems that can be addressed by a vast galaxy of people working voluntarily in their own backyards. (p. 19)

This statement reflects a logic and political economic agenda that adheres to free labor and a disinvestment in, to borrow from David Walker (1829), the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings. Following this logic, the inner workings of the political economy of service learning therefore disregard the bicultural voice and struggles substituting them for a neoliberal, "whitewashed" (Darder, 2012), service learning practice.

Political Economy of Voice

The yearning for our collective voices to be heard in the struggle for our humanity and liberation is often clouded by false rules of engagement and diminished by commonsensical notions (Gramsci, 1971), such as the "politically correct" term that aligns to supposed universal systems of values. "Political correctness has the ability of stifling questions of value in favor of the agreements of fake civic commonality" (Hernandez, 2014). In essence, our voices and souls become trapped and censored for fear of going against that which is made commonsensical and normalized, both politically and pedagogically. Darder (2012) has argued that,

> Political correctness debates across the university underhandedly promoted an adherence to both a whitewashed and politically lukewarm scholarship, seeking to snuff out the

> dissenting voices of critical academics whose work aimed to critique, challenge, and transform the intellectual life of higher education, as well as the traditional academic formation of university students. (p. 417)

The civic participation discourse, furthermore, aligns directly to this notion of voice and political correctness, as it too reflects an idealized construction of civic performance and vocalism within society. The way in which critical bicultural voices are co-opted and diminished is evident in various forms, such as the way in which the assimilation/Americanization of voice occurs (Gonzalez, 1990, 2013), the criminalization of voice (Rios, 2011), the homogeneity of voice (Ochoa, 2013), the sacrificing of voice (Abrego, 2014), the abstraction and dismissal of voice (Dyrness, 2011), and the demise of the dissident voice (Darder, 2011).

The silencing of critical voices within the service learning domain may in turn eliminate the opposition and resistance required to forthrightly name the discomfort and its impact in relation to unjust practices. Further, *freedom of speech* rhetoric gives the illusion of freedom of voice but the reality is that racialized voices are often silenced, marginalized, and set aside when they run counter to dominant ways of knowing. Also noteworthy here is the reality that being given the opportunity to speak (by those who hold power) does not necessarily guarantee that one will be heard or that the power of one's words will be respected and integrated into decision-making. This is very important to note given the treacherous silencing, dismissal, and elimination of collective voices that seek to speak to the injustices that plague everyday society and, in this case, the service learning practice.

Our voice is an expression of all of our bodily senses—it is an extension of our mind, body, and soul, as it seeks to spiritually connect us to the world and what exists within our

hearts. For transformative dialogue to take place, one must be able to genuinely articulate one's own voice within the environment where one lives (Asgharzadeh, 2008). Linked to this question of voice, Alireza Asgharzadeh examined the centrality of the natural mother tongue as the source of learning, creativity, self-definition and self-identification. Asgharzadeh portrayed the dynamism of voice in the following way:

> Tongue, voice, and language are techniques and properties of the body. These bodily properties are, nonetheless, shaped and conditioned by a variety of physical, social, cultural, and political forces. Although the body ought to have the freedom to express itself, one cannot ignore the societal limitations imposed on such freedom and such expression. (p. 346)

Further, linguistically, this mother tongue or voice cannot be of the oppressor, colonizer, or the dominant culture, but must be rooted deeply in one's lived environment (Asgharzadeh, 2008). Therefore, we must decolonize our voices and the practices that give way to the inaccurate depiction of our collective struggle. Darder (2015b) has also argued that,

> a dialectical understanding that one's individual voice exists in relationship to a larger communal voice. It is, however, important not to essentialize the meaning of what has just been stated, in that bicultural theorists are critical researchers who recognize that they are deeply accountable for the exercise of their individual voices. (p. 73)

In turn, members of subordinate cultural communities are bound to be more aware of the way in which their individual bicultural voice is connected to the collective voices of their communities (Darder, 2015b).

An often-touted liberal concern (previously mentioned) within service learning is the "absence of voices" (Darder, 2015b, p. 73). As a consequence, those often employing the "absence of voices" rhetoric, are those who cannot speak personally to the lived struggles of working class bicultural populations and, as a consequence, run the risk of tokenism and appropriation of the Other. "Tokenism carries out the task that overt assimilation was unable to do, that is, find a space for the dissonantly marginal while maintaining the hegemonic structure of the institution" (Narain, 1997, pp. 155–156). Drawing upon the model-minority myth and the notion of tokenism as a consequence of the political economy agenda in service learning, the term *model-tokens* might best fit to depict the instrumentalization and appropriation of the voices of bicultural iconized figures such as Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King, Jr., who surely would have issued critiques about the model-tokenism inherent in the bourgeois culture of service learning.

Model-Tokenism

As model-tokens, both Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King, Jr., have been instrumentalized by organizations such as AmeriCorps to further the service discourse. To examine this line of thought further, we must take note of two quotations often used in conjunction with the service movement.

> Life's most persistent and urgent question is: What are you doing for others?
>
> Martin Luther King, Jr. (CNCS MLK Toolkit, 2015)

> If you really want to make a friend, go to someone's house and eat with him . . . The people who give you their food give you their heart.
>
> Cesar Chavez (Nationalservice.gov, 2013)

This discussion focuses on the political economy of service learning with the assumption that, in part, service learning practice has represented forms of mis-education (Woodson, 1933). Illustrative of this mis-education of service learning is the appropriation and misinterpretation of the voices of two influential bicultural leaders. This wholesale use of their work to carry out hegemonic service agendas nationally reflects an unethical but powerful political rhetoric. The headlines read: *Communities Commemorate Cesar Chavez Through Service and Learning* and *Martin Luther King, Jr. Day of Service* (nationalservice.gov, 2013). Service programs that are funded through AmeriCorps must celebrate one of these political activists by creating a day of service in their honor. This is particularly interesting given the strict guidelines of AmeriCorps that oppose all forms of political activity/activism for those under their funding umbrella. Reminiscent of the prostitution of service discussed earlier, one can interpret the following two depictions as instrumentalizing, exploitative, and tokenistic.

> The day of service, recognized around Chavez' birth date of March 31, is a legal holiday in the state of California and an optional holiday in several other cities and states. Community groups, schools, and other organizations use the event to reflect on Chavez' life and carry out service projects in his honor.
>
> (Nationalservice.gov, 2015)

> This milestone is a perfect opportunity for Americans to honor Dr. King's legacy through service. The MLK Day of Service empowers individuals, strengthens communities, bridges barriers, creates solutions to social problems, and moves us closer to Dr. King's vision of a beloved community.
>
> (Nationalservice.gov, 2015)

The use of these two subaltern voices reflects a dominant discourse that reverberates throughout societal applications of service learning practice. Further, the use of Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King, Jr., as model-tokens reflects what Darder (2012) has identified as "the occasional portrayals of colored faces and celebratory rhetoric for public relations pamphlets and Web sites" (p. 413). This is tied to the economic politics of voice. Thus, it is this dominant curriculum that informs the service learning practice and constructs its ideological positioning.

In *Reclaim MLK: Beyond Sanitized Narratives*, Page May (2016) poignantly stated that Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "legacy has largely been isolated, sanitized, repackaged and labeled divine: a convenient status that encourages passive messiah worshipping over grassroots community organizing. This is no accident" (para. 1). As May (2016) alluded to here, what is not discussed by governmental organizations such as AmeriCorps who have co-opted his image and elided his radicalness, is the reality that he forcefully called for the redistribution of wealth and the need to restructure the political economy, which was the underlying vision of the Poor People's Campaign. Thus, with the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., came a newly "state-sanctioned, sanitized," less threatening image of King, effectively used to "discredit, delegitimize, and disinform subsequent organizers" (para. 4) who wish to continue the legacy of his work for liberation. This disingenuous appropriation of voice speaks to the hegemonic, political economic strategies that inform the dominant discourse and lack of criticality often found within the service learning movement.

The Mis-Education of Service Learning

Misleading proclamations about the "failures" of the movements of the 1960s and 1970s, as noted above, served to effectively hijack true collective efforts that were at work within

bicultural communities. This strategic form of mis-education, as termed by Carter G. Woodson in 1933, has served both a political and economic purpose—a purpose still at work in service learning practice. Central to the discussion here is also the inevitability of the minority-majority (Calderón, 2007) and the reality that bicultural students collectively outnumber (Mexican Americans comprising the largest portion) the dominant group (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1). Darder and Torres (2014) referencing this minority-majority shift illustrated the following:

> By the sheer force of numbers, the kinds of adults that Latino students become will dramatically shape the future history of this country as the former white majority becomes a minority population, at least in terms of number. For, as would be expected, this "new minority" population will still control the lion's share of nation's wealth, power, and privilege, which is likely to result in new waves of political mobilization in the coming years. (p. 2)

Moreover, Darder (2012) has called for us to examine the way in which students and even professors are "initiated as tenuous agents of the neoliberal academy . . . [and thus] conditioned into a culture of antidemocratic values that shape the expectations of their teaching, research, and tenure process" (p. 414). These are critical assertions, as they articulate the ways in which bicultural students enter into the education process and are thus stripped or conditioned out of their critical roots. With the inevitability of the minority-majority and the dominant bicultural population that today exists within the CSU system as a whole, it becomes no coincidence that these institutions are the sites of a system wide implementation of strategically placed service learning centers with an overseer (Office of Community Service Learning in the Chancellor's Office) office. This then becomes a political educational arena of control tied to

economic hidden agendas, wherein not only is there a "culture of surveillance, carried out by loyal gatekeepers" but also the utilization of the "hegemonic consent of professors who . . . support both the corporatization and instrumentalization of higher education" (Darder, 2012, p. 414).

Freire (1970) engaged the complex forces operating with regard to mis-educative forms of control enacted upon bicultural communities and at work in the traditional ethos of service learning practice:

> The oppressed, who have adapted to the structure of domination in which they are immersed, and have become resigned to it are inhibited from waging the struggle for freedom so long as they feel incapable of running the risks it requires. Moreover, their struggle for freedom threatens not only the oppressor, but also their own oppressed comrades who are fearful of still greater repression. When they discover within themselves the yearning to be free, they perceive that this yearning can be transformed into reality only when the same yearning is aroused in their comrades. But while dominated by the fear of freedom they refuse to appeal to others, or to listen to the appeals of others, or even to the appeals of their own conscience. (pp. 47–48)

Moreover, in order to examine this complex and camouflaged mis-education occurring within the service learning tradition as it has been implemented within higher education, we must turn to a critical discussion that can better assist us in considering the decolonization of the service learning curriculum.

CHAPTER 4

DECOLONIZING THE SERVICE LEARNING CURRICULUM

> No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption…Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization.
>
> *-Paulo Freire, 1970*

What Paulo Freire (1970, 1994, 1998b) deeply understood and what emanated in many of his writings is that pedagogy must operate in communion *with*, not for, the oppressed in the struggle to regain our humanity. Thus, as Freire has critically noted, in the struggle, this pedagogy will continually be made and remade *with* the oppressed. No homogenizing curricular pedagogical approach or prescriptive prepackaged model will suffice in a pedagogy that is genuinely lived and embodied. As such, the conceptual and philosophical fissure of curriculum and pedagogy in the practice of service learning serves as a temporary colonizing endeavor for those who remain politically unaware of the inextricable link between curriculum and pedagogy.

The term service learning itself metaphorically depicts the bifurcation of curriculum and pedagogy—of theory and practice. While this may seem like an overgeneralization or oversimplification, what essentially takes place within service learning practice is that the theory/learning or the curriculum takes place within the institutional setting (i.e., a service

learning course at a university) and the practice/service or pedagogy takes place in bicultural communities. Moreover this binary of curriculum and pedagogy is divorced from community input, in that the majority of the service learning scholarship on curriculum or pedagogy is written to the benefit of the students or faculty (e.g., Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Flecky, 2011; Heffernan, 2001), while issues and concerns related to communities remain undertheorized and only superficially engaged. This physical/conceptual rupture between the curricular and pedagogical or theoretical and practical also reflects the philosophical and epistemological disarticulation and distantiation at work in service learning scholarship and practices within communities.

Moreover, as Freire (1970) critically noted above, the oppressed must be their own example, meaning that bicultural workers—community members, students, scholars, must be at the center of the work, the discourse, the scholarship, and the "canon." This is most evident in the current service learning scholarship and the overall practice of "service" that *majoritarily* depicts the voices of well-meaning, White patriarchal/matriarchal scholars and "helpers." The book *Service Learning: A Movement's Pioneers Reflect on Its Origins, Practice, and Future* situated the service learning movement in the 1960s and provided the accounts of 33 pioneers who reflect on the integration of education and social action (Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). These 33 pioneers are reflective of a majority of White perspectives with very few bicultural voices. Thus, these pioneers have effectively institutionalized the curriculum canon for service learning scholarship in the interests of the dominant and privileged.

Institutionalizing Service Learning Curriculum

Robin Crews (2002), in the *Higher Education Service-Learning Sourcebook,* posited that the integration of service learning into the curriculum is part of the process of institutionalizing service learning on university and college campuses. However, this situating of curriculum within the institution suggests that those within the institution maintain control of the curricular process and thus the pedagogical formations of the practice. This hegemonic reality serves as the justification for the curricular process to be dictated from the neoliberal university. As such, Crews (2002) suggested that curricular integration begins with institutional and faculty understanding and is carried out and developed in typically one of three ways: "Through the addition of fourth-credit options to existing courses, by redesigning existing courses to include service-learning in a comprehensive fashion, and by developing new courses that are service-learning courses from the outset" (p. 25). Moreover, it is suggested that internships, immersion/alternative break programs, and practicums can also serve as forms of integration for service learning into the curriculum.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (1999), service learning—despite having been suggested a century prior—was not incorporated in earnest into the curriculum until the early 1970s. A study conducted by California State University Eastbay (Nelson & Thomas, 2013) suggested that most service learning occurs through courses upon which institutions rely as the primary option. Typically, faculty members at institutions work with service learning staff to partner with communities and develop "pedagogies for each individual course" (Nelson & Thomas, 2013, p. 5). It is worth noting here that these curricular practices also conveniently find their way into primary and secondary education, for example,

the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), one of the largest school districts in the nation, states the following about service learning as a graduation requirement on their website:

> In March 1999, the Los Angeles Unified School Board approved a change in graduation requirements to include SL. Students will complete a SL experience integrated into the curriculum of an academic course in grades 9 through 12 in order to graduate from high school. In line with state and federal initiatives, the district supports a SL opportunity at each grade span (K-5, 6-8, 9-12), but requires a SL experience in grades 9 through 12. (LAUSD, 2005)

Additionally, service learning's disciplinary reach can be seen in a recent review of service learning in medical education done by Trae Stewart and Zane Wubbena (2015), where they indicated that the recent passage of the Affordable Care Act has also influenced the effect of service learning on medical curricular reform.

Zlotkowski and Duffy (2010) posited that as community-based work became more popular within the higher education setting, there became increasing pressure to show its effectiveness and, specifically, its academic effectiveness. The creation of the *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* helped to meet this need by providing resources on ways to assess student outcomes in service learning courses (Zlotkowski & Duffy, 2010). The effectiveness literature on service learning suggests that there are many motivations behind the practice, which according to John Eby may make service learning seem like a "means to an end" (as cited in Brigham, 2012). Brigham (2012) referenced the facts that students may be seeking the course credit and instructors may be seeking to promote their teaching record and service to the university, making service learning seem like more of an obligation than an opportunity.

Brigham (2012) referred to Eby's warning to recognize that through the practice of service learning, community members may become objects and passive recipients and the potential exists for the prostitution of service through contributions to the university and not the community.

Lambright and Alden (2012) discussed the use of the term *sustainability* as being used extensively throughout the service learning literature with no real consensus on its definition. In an attempt to define it (using Billig's definition), they suggested that sustainability is similar to institutionalization as an innovation that endures over time. Further, sustainability/ institutionalization within service learning involves the ability to maintain relevance through the building of constituencies, partnerships, leveraging resources, and securing funding sources over time. As laid out above, the institutionalization of service learning within higher education, as suggested by the literature, illustrates the way in which service learning is practically synonymous with higher education, as the voices of the recipients of service are, for the most part, silent.

Cited as benefits that show the effectiveness of service learning are the following: critical reflection, comprehension of course content, theory and practice linkage, understanding complex societal issues, enhanced development, problem solving, and working collaboratively (Butin, 2006; Jacoby, 1996, 1999). Faculty opportunities to use their research and teaching in community contexts are also a highlighted benefit of service learning (Lambright & Alden, 2012).

Moreover, most service within higher education is a cocurricular activity (Meisel, 2007). The cocurricular process, which is reflective of course curriculum that requires students to

engage in volunteer work or a service project, is integrated into the faculty's teaching pedagogy (Nelson & Thomas, 2013). In order to demonstrate the professional value of service learning, one of the tenets to encourage student participation consists of co-curricular transcript that involve the service learning director collaborating with the campus registrar to produce this cocurricular transcript, which documents the students service learning experience and can be provided to graduate schools or for employment (Nelson & Thomas, 2013).

Curriculum can also be viewed, in its most practical sense, through mis-educative forms of reflection practices that exist within service learning pedagogy. Many resource manuals provide the models that are most valued, with some critical misfires. One interesting curricular strategy that sets up this process nicely is a group reflection activity known as the "*Frierian* [sic] *Fish Bowl"* (Utah Valley University, n. d.). The "Frierian [sic] Fish Bowl" is designed to spark discussion and gain full participation in service learning courses in a "safe" way because "certain individuals will feel uncomfortable voicing their opinions in a group environment" (p. 11). This method of reflection is noted as possibly eliciting controversial responses that do not tend to be voiced openly, but the Frierian [sic] method "gets all opinions down on paper" (p. 11).

Despite such activities that are meant to promote participation, upon closer examination of the curricular process of service learning, what is clear is that a narrow-minded view exists with respect to how curriculum is/can be constructed and how participation is envisioned. Moreover, the lion's share of the curriculum is fundamentally rooted in the logic of the market economy and what are deemed *best practices*. Reflection exercises within service learning curricular experiences are considered an important aspect of student development (Nelson & Thomas, 2013). According to Bringle and Hatcher (1996), service learning through a course is

believed to produce the best outcomes, when utilizing service experiences that are connected to reflection activities. These reflection activities can include writing activities, group work, and class presentations, which center on the level at which students have gained understanding of the course material or theory. Yet, what are students reflecting upon, and who dictates the theoretical and philosophical direction of the pedagogical and curricular choices for students?

The Hidden Curriculum: Unveiling Epistemicides

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) has asserted that there is no global justice without global cognitive justice because without cognitive social justice, epistemological injustices persist. As such, educational injustices are enacted through epistemicides that are inherently at work in the hidden curriculum and dictated by the Western Eurocentric paradigm that protects the rationality of this hegemonic worldview at all costs. According to de Sousa Santos (2007), abyssal thinking implies that "whatever is produced as nonexistent is radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the accepted conception of inclusion considers to be its other" (p. 45). Thus, he has critically noted modern Western thinking is abyssal thinking: it involves:

> A system of visible and invisible distinctions, the invisible ones being the foundation of the visible ones. The invisible distinctions are established through radical lines that divide social reality into two realms, the realm of "this side of the line" and the realm of "the other side of the line." The division is such that "the other side of the line" vanishes as reality, become nonexistent, and is indeed produced as nonexistent. (de Sousa Santos, 2007, p. 45)

Disrupting curricular injustices, then, requires a global paradigmatic shift in epistemological sensibilities and a rupturing of the abyssal divide. In service learning, for example, it would

necessitate the opening and expansion of spaces for decolonizing scholarship, voice, and activism to take place and to be valued as part of the "canon" and curricular and pedagogical process.

Sandra Corazza articulated the necessity there is to "think about the inadressable, the unthinkable, the non-thinkable of the curriculum," which was essential in cocreating what she termed a *vagamundo* curriculum (as cited by Paraskeva, 2011, p. xxiii). In essence, this boundless/borderless process espouses the itinerant nature of the curricular theory that Joao Paraskeva (2011) put forth in his challenges of hegemonic epistemologies, often seen as inconvenient to liberals, particularly those from the dominant culture. As Paraskeva (2011) so eloquently asserted in *Conflicts in Curriculum Theory: Challenging Hegemonic Epistemologies*, *itinerant curriculum theory* (ICT) "pushes one to think in the light of the future as well as to question how can "we" actually claim to really know the things that "we" claim to know, if "we" are not ready specifically to think the unthinkable, but to go beyond the unthinkable and mastering its infinitude" (p. xxii). With this call to engage in a radical creativity of thought, it demands an expansion of the "canon" and an acceptance that those who are bicultural have a powerful and rightful place in thinking the unthinkable, with regard to that which currently is deemed legitimate in the field of service learning.

Along the same lines, Giorgio Agamben (2000) has suggested that we need to build our political philosophies anew. Bicultural philosophers anchored in epistemologies of the South (Paraskeva, 2011; de Sousa Santos, 2007) have asserted the need for this fundamental epistemological shift with respect to how dialogue and curriculum are defined, configured, and practiced. Within the context of service learning, this points to the need for curricular

disruptions that are grounded in non-Western epistemes (Paraskeva, 2011). The South, according to Paraskeva (2011), who cited de Sousa Santos, is "metaphorically conceived as a field of epistemic challenges" that call for a new emancipatory praxis, one that "opens the Western canon of knowledge and is responsive to the need for a new epistemological configuration" (p. xix). What this warrants, according to Paraskeva (2011), is a "deliberate disrespect of the canon" and not the "romanticization of the indigenous cultures and knowledge" (p. xxii). Given the political nature of voice and the hegemonic decentering of the bicultural voice, this interrogation of knowledge construction also requires asking who is deemed knowledgeable and thus who is allowed to speak. As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of epistemicides (Paraskeva, 2011), which points to the killing off of knowledge that runs counter to the dominant Western discourse, must be understood as embedded within the commonplace philosophical assumptions that inform the curriculum and through which the hidden curriculum or hegemonic politics of service learning discourse is carried out. In order to avoid the epistemological annihilation of knowledge not deemed rational or legitimate, Paraskeva (2011) has suggested that "one needs first to assume consciously that (an)other knowledge is possible and then to go beyond the Western epistemological platform, paying attention to other forms of knowledge and respecting indigenous knowledge within and beyond the Western space" (p. 152).

In light of this, what functions so well within service learning and what furthers the divide between curriculum and pedagogy, is indeed the hidden curriculum of service learning, a covert phenomenon aptly noted by scholars such as Tania Mitchell and her colleagues (2012). Hence, we must acknowledge that inherent in curricular efforts lie political economic interests

that perpetuate the cultural hegemony of a Eurocentric Westernized education and society. In this instance, the hegemonic interests of the racialized, patriarchal, heterosexist, neoliberal enterprise are carried out systematically, through the conformity and complicity of agents (students, faculty, community members, etc.) engaging in the practice of service learning.

What must be recognized is that this hegemonic dynamic bypasses consciousness (Darder, 2015a), resulting in an epistemological indoctrination that is achieved, wittingly or unwittingly, through curricular means divorced from authentic forms of democratic political and pedagogical processes. Hence, to effectively deconstruct the curriculum of service learning will require critical engagement with the numerous established curricular models (listed on Campus Compact's website) and the various curricular tools that have been created and promoted for acceptable service learning practice. Of particular importance here again is the hidden curriculum of service learning that generally functions without critique, effectively silences dissent, and is, more often than not, accepted as just and unproblematic.

Drawing on the work of Phillip Jackson, Michael Apple (1990) has noted that the hidden curriculum is "the norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively, taught in schools and that are not usually talked about" explicitly (p. 84). We can see in Apple's (1990) description of the hidden curriculum its interconnectedness to epistemicides:

> What was often in the past a conscious attempt by the bourgeoisie to *create* a consensus that was not there, has now become the only possible interpretation of social form and intellectual impossibilities. What was at first an ideology in the form of class interest has now become *the* definition of the situation in most school curricula. (p. 82)

Hence, a critical interrogation of service learning curricular discourses, through the lens of the hidden curriculum, can help to reveal some of the deeply masked and problematic aspects of the pedagogical and curricular structures that uphold and protect the status quo rendering of service learning.

Interrogating the Service Learning Curriculum

The curricular process of service learning is often carried out as an ahistorical practice that rarely engages the historical roots of the phenomenon or its outgrowth from historic conditions such as slavery, missionary work, religion, experimental "trials," cultural anthropology, and various other exclusionary disciplines and practices. Understanding that the practices implemented within educational arenas are inherently political, it is of absolute necessity to examine the curriculum of service learning with a critical eye. For example, the practice of teaching to the test, wherein standardized testing influences the educational process and curriculum for teaching, often informs primary and secondary schooling practices. According to Darder (1991, 2012), instructional practices of a teaching-to-the-test curriculum function under the guise of "evidence-based" and at the expense of primary cultural and linguistic knowledge.

Teaching to the Discourse

This study argues that a similar pedagogical process takes place in the realm of service learning (and frankly within the higher education realm in general), that of *teaching to the discourse*. As such, students may be completely unaware that the curricular process they are receiving is deeply rooted in a dominant positivist discourse that interferes with the development of criticality and, therefore, promotes a lack of social and political consciousness. Moreover,

attempts to engage politics, critical issues, and social justice discourse in service learning curriculum and pedagogy fall short when they are not placed alongside the larger structures that uphold an unjust political economy, do not offer an alternative emancipatory vision for political change, and when students are divorced from embodying cultural democracy as part of their everyday life.

Typically, college students and those participating in the practice of service learning are informed by the dominant discourse that normalizes the interests of the status quo. This ultimately forces complicity and inaction by leaving questions of power and injustice off the table and out of the pedagogical process of learning. Students, in the banking process, are educated as passive receptacles (Darder, 2015a; Freire 1970), rather than from a critical perspective that invites them to think more substantively about their service learning role, practice, and its consequence to communities.

Hence, the covert values of the curriculum both perpetuate teaching to the discourse and effectively reinforce commonsensical adherence to dominant epistemes. Ada Maria Isasi-Díaz and Eduardo Mendieta (2012) have referred to this phenomenon as epistemic hegemony, which "make[s] it possible for those in the dominant group to ignore or disavow their epistemic privilege . . . the center continues to hold; it continues to exclude . . . and, therefore, it continues to oppress" (p. 3). As such, it is important to unpack some of the hidden curricular practices and epistemicides that inform the process of a teaching to the discourse, both pedagogically and politically.

Experiential Learning or Experimental Learning

In the Western Eurocentric dominant worldview, service learning curriculum represents the dictates of the institution, which essentially constitutes how and what should be learned and/or taught. Given Dewey and Kolb's influence, experiential learning and its integration into the curriculum within institutions has always been a primary focus. As such, Bringle and Hatcher (1996) have noted that the use of Kolb's experiential learning model as a theoretical basis for programs and students is widespread. Additionally, the need for institutions to recognize the four parts of Kolb's experiential learning cycle and to uphold a "commitment to experiential education as reflected in the curriculum is [considered] the primary factor in the long-term institutionalization of any educational innovation" (NSEE, 2016) within the field of service learning.

However, a critical epistemological examination reveals that Kolb has been critiqued because "the inventory has been used within a fairly limited range of (mainly Western) cultures and thus the assumptions that underpin the Kolb and Fry model are Western" (Forest as cited by Greenway, n. d.). Moreover, the model is noted as "tak[ing] very little account of different cultural experiences/conditions" (Smith as cited by Greenway, n. d.). Through this absence of diversity in the discourse, Western knowledge is protected and upheld. and any knowledge that counters this curricular approach is deemed as transgressing or violating the service learning canon. Moreover, a feminist critique of David Kolb's experiential learning model by Michelson (1996) argued, "The reflective or constructivist view of development denigrates bodily and intuitive experience, advocating retreat into the loftier domains of rational thought from which

'raw' experience can be disciplined and controlled" (n. p.). This controlling and disciplining dimension of the epistemicide frame reveals its deeply concealed colonizing function.

Colonizing Photography

Service learning is generally portrayed through the lens of the dominant culture. Arguably, one of the most insidious, tendentious, and least-critiqued hidden curricular practices of service learning are the visual messages communicated by way of pictures/photographs used to capture the practice of service. These photographs reinforce the colonial, hegemonic apparatus that strategically reinscribes the master narrative of colonization. Often these photographs function as the representations and appropriation of bicultural bodies, depicting smiling faces that are happy with their placement in the structure of the coloniality of power. As Martha Rosler (1992) argued:

> This moment is ahistorical . . . this covert appreciation of images is dangerous insofar as it accepts not a dialectical relation between political and formal meaning, not their interpenetration, but a hazier, more reified relation. (p. 318)

Hence, this visual colonization deserves deeper philosophical and historical interrogation, in order to better understand its embeddedness in the colonial epistemes. It is what these photos reinforce that is the most violent of all—the reality that those that are bicultural must be "saved" by someone who is often White and clearly privileged to do so (e.g., just Google images for the phrase: volunteer and Africa). It is also problematic that those carrying out the practice of service or coming into communities to help represent in the paradigm both the answer and key to change for those being "served," who are seen as fundamentally unable to help themselves. This is often done through either depicting smiling faces or faces of degradation and misery in photos.

The use of such missionary-inspired depictions serves to tug at the heartstrings of the liberal sentimentalist, discussed earlier. Further, these oppressive photo practices suggest that those receiving "help," by way of their smiling faces of approval or unhappy faces, want and value or need the help that is being given, without context to reveal the true story of racism and economic apartheid that undergirds the conditions at work in poor working class communities of color. Upon closer examination, this constitutes a common practice that is not only violent, but also renders bicultural bodies voiceless and invisible, through the visible.

This phenomenon is critiqued by ingenious poet Jo Carrillo in her poem "And When You Leave Take Your Pictures With You," in which she movingly proclaimed, "our white sisters radical friends love to own pictures of us . . . holding brown yellow black red children reading books from literacy campaigns smiling. Our white sisters radical friends should think again" (Moraga & Anzaldua, 1981, p. 63). Carrillo poignantly signaled the reality that although these pictures supposedly provide tangible representations of the suffering of the Other, the colonizing function of these pictures are akin to a double-edged sword. In that, the do-gooders demand that the dispossessed adhere to this reified view of their existence and the hegemonic logic that demands their grateful "smiling" faces.

Moreover, when the abstracted "smiling" faces turn into the embodied faces of those who toil daily in oppressive conditions, as Carrillo contended, "they are not quite as sure if they like us as much. We're not as happy as we look on their wall" (Moraga & Anzaldua, 1981, p. 64). This reveals a perverse colonizing dynamic that fetishizes both poverty and the dispossessed, while rendering them possessions of study and objects of civic engagement. Further, a critique of photo oppression enacted upon communities would be incomplete without acknowledging

how these colonizing visual images that penetrate the unconscious realm function to reinforce the legitimacy of exercising what Darder (2004) called a *culture of dominion* over poor, racialized, and gendered populations.

Colonizing photography, as conceptualized within the service learning realm, exists as an unexamined and psychologically oppressive practice that is perpetrated upon bicultural communities through the use of photographic/visual means. Visual depictions within service learning arguably never engage the underlying political question: Why are these visual depictions being rendered, or even needed, in the first place? For, if this question were frequently asked, one would have to grapple and struggle with the implications of a culturally invasive, self-serving, falsely generous, and dehumanizing practice. This obsessive fetishization of "picturesque photos from exotic locales" (Kliewer, 2013, p. 77) (and sometimes not so exotic) appropriate Black and brown bodies for economic profit to benefit—both literally and figuratively—by privileged actors and their institutions.

Many other concerns abound within the context of a critical interrogation of colonial practices of photography within service learning. Whose photos are taken and under what conditions? Whose and what photos are valued? What narrative do these photos (re)tell, and whose interests are protected and perpetuated? What are the political-economic values of the images deemed useful? The fact, moreover, that one service learning article noted, "the students remained somewhat disappointed that they would not have something tangible to photograph to illustrate their service project" (Simonelli et al., 2004, p. 49) speaks volumes to the photographic objectification and appropriation that goes unquestioned in the service learning field. While the use of photography may occasionally be engaged within the practice of service learning, it

generally is framed as a matter of mainstream ethical caution and generally devoid any of decolonizing aim.

In using photography to document the accomplishments or "impact" and "benefit" of services to communities, one must note the strategically unspoken power dynamics at work. Rachael Wendler (2012) has noted that service learning practitioners enjoy the freedom of what she calls *unrestricted interaction* with communities due to the fact that many service learning programs bypass and circumvent the ethical protocols of institutions, especially with regard to human subjects protection (as traditionally defined by the Institutional Research Board process). Yet, what is important to note here is that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) resulted from atrocious research abuses perpetrated over the years against vulnerable populations including poor communities of color, yet, framed "for their own good." This led to the institutionalization of ethical protection codes to monitor university and medical research practices against violation of human subjects (Curry, n. d.). Nevertheless, Harriet Washington (2006) has argued vehemently, "A string of abusive experiments have revealed that the nation's five thousand IRBs have failed to perform their role of protecting the public" (p. 401). Furthermore, a 1998 report issued by the Department of Health and Human Services Office of Inspector General titled *Institutional Review Boards: A Time for Reform* determined that IRB staff are often overwhelmed with cases, involved in conflicts of interest, and lack training (Washington, 2006).

Wendler (2012) further noted, "Service-learning classes often engage in activities that would be deemed highly problematic when viewed through the lens of human subjects protection," yet she emphatically stated, "I am by no means calling for a formal review of service-learning projects" (p. 30). Well I am! Additionally, she uses the culturally inept

Belmont Report (or "bible") to propose and guide principles that she believes would be helpful for an ethics of service learning. Of photography, she proposes the following, "Instructors might also consider a policy for photography, another method of data collection. Photography is an act of representation that can be profoundly political" (p. 33). Moreover, this visual assault upon communities is seldom engaged with the intimacy that exists within and behind the picture or visual imagery of human beings and their lives that has been constructed.

Often photos of service learning community participants are taken surreptitiously, such as when communities/students/classrooms/schools receive donations from holiday toy drives or companies such as Old Navy on Christmas or during Thanksgiving. These are prime examples of self-serving and colonizing photo practices, which render the subaltern voiceless, particularly given the tacit exchange expectations that accepting the gift automatically extends photo rights to the giver; or the moral view that if one does not want to take a picture after receipt of a service or gift, the person is ungrateful; or lastly, a lack of cooperation with the dominant protocol is justifiable reason to exclude one from participation. This is even more pronounced within the pervasive culture of selfies, where most could not conceive of rendering service to anyone without making the experience a photo op. Nevertheless, despite this critique, this is not a call for a ban on photos during service experiences, but rather a call for those taking pictures to consider the deeper curricular and colonizing consequences of this act with respect to issues of asymmetrical relations of power. Thus, the following questions should be engaged: What will these photos be used for? Why does one want to take the photo? What is being captured—explicitly and implicitly?

The "Radical Political Economy" Course

The next curricular consideration here is related to a so-called "radical political economy" service learning course. Banks et al. (2005) proposed combining a living wage research project with service learning by constructing what they termed a radical political economy course for undergraduates. The authors of the course posited, "Virtually any topic that activists are taking up can be integrated into a political economy course. We have been particularly successful with projects on sweatshops and the living wage" (p. 348). In addition, they suggested that economics faculty have many reasons to incorporate service learning into their courses and that it is important to problematize mainstream economics. They drew upon two course examples implemented within economics courses that utilized the living wage project. They described the living wage movement as a force for economic justice in communities with "the basic premise [being] that full time workers should earn enough so that their families are able to live above the poverty level, independent of public and private assistance" (p. 349).

According to Banks and her associates (2005), the *students* decided how many people one full-time income could support, and this factor in the course is why it is referred to as "radical political economy," supposedly drawing upon Marxist ideas. The students were expected to provide the "expert" input for the staff on campus, for whom they supposedly advocated through the process of examining their wages in comparison to other higher-level wage occupations. Banks and colleagues have asserted that one of the most valuable aspects of this service learning curriculum is student engagement with economic concerns.

> [The students] sought input from support staff people, debated political versus economic reality, discussed how many people one full time income should support, and considered how they might best make a contribution to what they had come to believe was a fair and just demand for a living wage. Their reflection drew on course literature, interaction with many people in the community, and a clarified understanding of power relations in society and what these mean to real people who earn low wages. (Banks et al., 2005, p. 351)

However, upon critical interrogation, the curriculum actually serves as a form of mis-education in that it legitimizes the logic of the neoliberal discourse and traditional views of capitalism. Students, in this case, are placed in false positions of power, furthered by their very superficial engagement in the political economy—its impact upon subordinated staff members, and its implications for bicultural communities. One operating from a truly radical political economy perspective would take into account larger structures of inequality and asymmetrical power relations inherent in students supposedly determining the family size that "one full-time" income would support, without (for the most part) the lived experience of having to take responsibility to survive under such economic restraints.

Further, a radical political economy perspective would take note of the reality that engaging the political economy solely from a living wage perspective is insufficient, as it does not reveal and/or problematize the unjust distribution of wealth that is a function of the hidden curriculum and dominant teaching discourse they have been subjected to during their schooling. While this "radical political economy" course provides a curricular example of some of the problematic aspects of service learning discourse, there are, of course, more complex forms of

epistemicides operating, not always obvious, that reinforce normative and commonsensical acceptances of traditional service practices. Freire (1970) argued that education is a political act and, by extension, the curricular discourse is political, too. Ira Shor (1992), following Freire's lead, insisted, "Politics reside not only in the subject matter but in the discourse . . . the way classrooms, schools, colleges, and programs are governed is political" (pp. 14-15).

The Politics of Food: Constructing the Other

In service learning curricular and pedagogical practices, faculty and students uphold a racializing logic, much like the historically racializing acts of anthropology that effectively served "Other" particular groups. This logic relies upon the pedagogical/curricular ways in which students and faculty construct their service work, which is in essence the way in which they situate themselves or conceive their service identity. What this reveals is also the way in which service participants, through the construction of their service work (self/service identity), construct the "Other" (community members/service recipients). For those providing service, there is a deeply entrenched logic that inserts students/service providers into a canon of Western domination that ideologically pushes them to believe that service rests upon the need for them to do something to someone else, to be of service, to help the "Other." While this is the larger ideological positioning of service work, it can be critically interrogated through the politics of food that informs service learning curriculum.

The racializing of food within the service learning arena can be linked to a legacy of culturally invasive practices of colonization and, in this case, through the particular foods that have been historically associated with racialized groups. Thus, critical issues around food are often engaged by individualistic means and labeled through neoliberal terms. In the process, the

discourse is framed around issues tied to the food insecurity or hunger of the individual, rather than as a communal phenomenon tied to the larger economic structural conditions that cause hunger and food insecurity in communities, in the first place. This perspective serves to reify commonsensical victim blaming views about those who suffer from food insecurity and hunger, in that ultimately each individual (or household) is responsible and accountable for its own well-being.

For example, in 2006, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Economic Research Service introduced new language to depict varying levels of the severity of food insecurity, which it categorized into four areas (Coleman-Jensen, Gregory, & Rabbitt, 2015). Of importance here is how they defined and ultimately constructed issues related to food in individual terms, which adhere to neoliberal views:

> Food insecurity—the condition assessed in the food security survey and represented in USDA food security reports—is a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food. Hunger is an individual-level physiological condition that may result from food insecurity. (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2015, para 2)

Attributing food insecurity and hunger to an individual issue of access or a physiological condition informs a curricular process within service learning that engages issues singularly and as if their etiology is located within individual attitudes and behavior, outside of systemic relations. Thus, there is an underlying belief that solutions are to be tackled, for instance in this case, by simply donating food, sponsoring a holiday drive, or tackling "hunger" with food bank service.

This perspective is directly tied to that discussed earlier regarding the USDA- Office of Experiment Stations and the dietary study conducted at the Hull House, with the cooperation of Jane Addams and Caroline Hunt. The previously mentioned dietary study conducted in Chicago was one of many carried out in the early and mid-1890s, given that the Secretary of Agriculture at the time wrote, "Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston suggests the expediency of establishing food laboratories" ("Founding American Nutrition Science," 2008, para. 2). In 1893, Wilbur Olin Atwater, whom Atkinson admired, gained public support for his food investigations and became the overseer for "the first federal funding of human nutrition research in the United States" ("Founding American Nutrition Science," 2008, para. 3). Regarded as the father of American nutrition and

> concerned about the nutrition of the poor and disadvantaged, Atwater supervised intake studies of black sharecroppers, Mexican families, poor whites, and inmates in state mental institutions. His observations ring true even today: "The differences in diet . . . are influenced, to some extent, by race habits, and to a still larger extent, by the material conditions of the consumer . . . especially the income." ("Founding American Nutrition Science," 2008, A Man of Action para. 19)

This historical process of investigating or using bicultural communities as laboratories to conduct experiments regarding food habits and other issues has resulted in the continued racialization of communities and the foods they choose to consume. Atwater oversaw more than 300 food studies ("Founding American Nutrition Science," 2008) within institutions in 17 states and on families whose houses essentially became experimental "stations" and laboratories, in order to inform the government and the public about the food proclivities of oppressed populations (e.g.,

Dietary Studies in New Mexico in 1895 and *Dietary Studies with Reference to the Food of the Negro in Alabama in 1895 and 1896*). Arguably, food stereotypes (e.g., watermelon, chicken, collards, sweet potatoes, rice, beans, tortillas, chili [*sic*], frijoles, etc.) attributed to particular racialized populations stem from these first studies conducted through culturally invasive "scientific procedures" and carried out by supposedly neutral researchers who recorded in detail the food samples taken from supposedly diverse ethnic groups. The result was a racializing process of bicultural communities through the historical documentation of food. As such, "collards" in the Alabama dietary study were recorded as "a variety consumed to a large extent by the colored population" (Atwater & Woods, 1897, p. 10). The New Mexico dietary study suggested, "Mexicans of the poorer class raise the greater part of their food, which is almost entirely of vegetable origin" (Goss, 1897, p. 6). Absent from these descriptive studies was any reference to the cultural, economic, or geographic conditions or structural inequalities responsible for these food findings.

If one examines historically the politicizing and racializing practices of food for bicultural communities, the linkage to service learning curricular practices can be seen very clearly. For example, in *Service-Learning with a Food Stamp Enrollment Campaign: Community and Student Benefits* involved the Greater Philadelphia Coalition Against Hunger (predominantly staffed by service-learning/work study students from Philadelphia campuses). Porter, Summers, Toton, and Aisenstein (2008) characterized the project in the following way:

> The Food Stamp Enrollment Campaign we describe demonstrates the potential of involving service-learning students in public benefits campaigns such as Food Stamps to effect sustainable change in the community, as well as engaging students in political,

social, and economic issues. This model serves many of the aims of both the service/charity and the social justice models of service-learning. (p. 68)

Similar to the 1895 dietary studies, the Greater Philadelphia Coalition Against Hunger received one of 19 national outreach research grants from the USDA in 2002 to evaluate ways to increase food stamp enrollment. Moreover, the Coalition received funding for a proposal to evaluate the efficacy of using service learning students and volunteers in a Food Stamp Enrollment Campaign within the community (Porter et al., 2008). By 2006, over 280 students from 14 campuses participated in the campaign, designed to enroll and sign up qualified community members for food stamps. The university students received curricular guidance through courses taught by faculty from three institutions and three disciplines. Service learning courses included: the Politics of Food and Agriculture, the Politics of Poverty and Opportunity, Sociology of Poverty, and Christian Ethics.

While Porter et al (2008) to their credit, addressed the need for students to attend not only to the individual but also to the structural barriers, there is in practice still a critical misrecognition of what this means to service learning efforts. One might consider the actual need for food stamps in the first place as the structural barrier; and, in this case, the actual food stamp campaign and the process of enrolling community members not only furthers inequality but also structurally inhibits communities from collectively rising out of their lived conditions of poverty. Moreover, the structural and federal mandates that control policies that dictate who is considered in "need" and the protocols they must follow (i.e., fill out forms, turn in documents, make repeated trips to welfare offices, etc.) in no way provides a remedy for communities that

are systematically denied access to the resources they lack financially to buy sufficient food for their families.

Thus, the curricular process enacted within this service learning project inadvertently preserves the legitimacy of a missionary discourse of food. This, for example, is evident in one student reflection: "I felt the potential to help a needy individual was far greater through the Food Stamp Enrollment Campaign than through other food distribution programs" (Porter et al., 2008, p. 71). Despite the allusion of attending to and examining community needs related to food, this surface-level curricular engagement sends a dehumanizing message to students, as they continually are taught to see themselves as separate from and superior to the "Other," without the need for such a sentiment to ever be spoken. This is also reinforced by the authors who noted, "Students no longer saw the Food Stamp Program as a course requirement but as an opportunity to help poor people buy groceries and still pay the rent" (Porter et al., 2008, p. 72).

The outsider as insider. As this discussion has tried to show, a pervasive colonizing phenomenon is at work throughout the service learning field to promote engagement with poor, working class communities of color. One of the most pervasive is related to curricular activities meant to place the outsider on the inside of unfamiliar experiences. Consequently, there is an "Othering" process that relies upon the belief that students need to experience what subaltern populations are contending with—this is where the logic of experiential education asserts its intractable influence within service learning curriculum and pedagogy. To step in and out of the conditions of the "Other," and supposedly experience what members of disposed communities experience daily is the aim of certain curricular games used in service learning. Inadvertently,

this approach seems to only provide comfort in soothing the discomfort of the privileged, by making them believe that they now understand, for example, the hunger of the oppressed.

To this end, Oxfam America and Oxfam International, well-meaning organizations, have also inserted themselves into the curricular process of service learning. In their sloganized appeal, they state, "Nearly one out of three of us lives in poverty. But we see a future in which no one does. Sign up to learn how you can help people help themselves in the fight against poverty, hunger, and injustice" (Oxfam, 2016, para. 1). A registered trademark of the organization is their Oxfam America Hunger Banquet®, which has found its way into many campus and community spaces. The following description comes directly from its website:

> The Oxfam America Hunger Banquet is a memorable, interactive event that brings hunger and poverty issues to life. After 40 years, this volunteer-led effort is still going strong—and has changed hundreds of thousands of lives. When guests arrive at an Oxfam America Hunger Banquet, they draw tickets at random that assign each to a high-, middle-, or low-income tier—based on the latest statistics about poverty around the world. Each income level has a different experience. Join us in having this interactive meal and discussion about poverty, hunger, and inequality. (Oxfam, 2016, para. 1)

"What's on the menu?" Oxfam suggests that a typical banquet includes the following for the three meals:

- High-income (15 percent of guests): pasta, sauce, salad, and juice
- Middle-income (35 percent of guests): rice, beans, and water
- Low-income (50 percent of guests): rice and water

(Hunger Banquet Toolkit, 2011, p. 5)

Inspired by the old adage "Walk a mile in someone else's shoes" is a problematic notion for those engaging in these banquets because the reality is that someone else's shoes will still never be your shoes. The pretentious notion that one could simulate the lived experiences of another is evident in the supplied Sample Oxfam America Hunger Banquet® event script (Hunger Banquet Toolkit, 2011). This racializing curricular process of hunger banquets adhere to scripts that begin by putting forth statistics for those living in poverty and then a call to join Oxfam in the fight against hunger. Moderators read off of these scripts and introduce participants to three areas of the world, based on economic means. The moderator is prompted to discuss how each person's ability to access resources and achieve security is really what this event is about.

The script then suggests that the moderator introduce the three groups—the first one being the high-income group. "If you are sitting over here, you represent the 15 percent of the world's population with a per capita income of $12,000 or more per year" (Hunger Banquet Toolkit, 2011, p. 9). Those in the high-income group (seated at tables with crisp linens) are described as fortunate enough to afford a nutritious diet but more likely to exceed the daily calorie intake and thus more likely to face health issues such as diabetes and heart disease. Additionally, the high-income group is characterized as having the best medical care in the world, their children can attend school, they have access to credit with the option to turn down many offers, a secure home, they own at least one car/two televisions, and have job security.

The racializing and stereotypical descriptions depicting each of the three groups move the participants to embody a character based upon the randomly chosen ticket they received when they entered the banquet and chose to draw upon the real life experiences of people in poverty.

In YouTube and online videos that have captured hunger banquets in action, laughter can be heard as participants attempt to role-play a member of their assigned income group—this is not only unfortunate but also morally and ethically reprehensible. The middle-income group (seated in chairs-no table) is characterized as representing roughly 35% of the world's population, with access to resources and security, varying greatly. For those in this group, they are noted as living on the edge, and "probably own no land and may work as a day laborer, a job that pays a paltry amount—but it's better than nothing" (Hunger Banquet Toolkit, 2011, p. 9).

Those randomly selected to be in the low-income group, are characterized in dehumanizing ways. Despite only being given rice and water (oftentimes with no fork/spoon to eat with), they must sit on the floor during the banquet. This dehumanizing element is a function of the dominant ideology that continually degrades those that are disenfranchised and that actually live in poverty. Considering life as the luck of the draw, it is noted, "Some people have the good fortune to change their lives for the better, but for most, the circumstances of life are determined by factors outside of their control" (Hunger Banquet Toolkit, 2011, p. 10). This thinking is situated in an individualistic, neoliberal ideology that suggests that one can pull oneself up by their bootstraps and out of poverty if they desire or are lucky enough to do so. Thus, the reality that the banquet script goes on "at random" to move particular people out of their assigned group and into another group further suggests that life is just one big game in which at any given time you may receive the luck of the draw and shift in or out of poverty.

Moreover, the hunger banquet food choices are inherently problematic, "Othering" and racializing. The choice of rice and beans for those who are in the "lower classes" sends a variety of implicit and explicit messages to participants. Never mind that rice and beans are high in

protein and often the choice for many well-off vegetarians, rice and beans within the hunger games arena become stigmatized as embodiments of inferiorized cultures. Student participants who end up in the "low-income" group have to leave the banquet "hungry" and are saddened by the thought of being poor and having to eat rice and beans for three meals a day. Students (often White students) are consoled and then encouraged to get involved and walk away from the hunger banquet more aware and with a desire to help others.

Sadly, masquerading as a pedagogical practice of engagement in the issue of hunger, this curricular activity unwittingly makes a mockery by carelessly diminishing what it truly means to live in poverty. It is important, first of all, to state that hunger is not a game; there are serious political and economic structures of inequality at work—domestically and globally—that impact people's lives in concrete ways, where hunger is not a matter of choice or an experience that can be sampled for a few hours and be understood. Those engaging in "hunger banquets" or similar activities should critically reexamine such approaches, as these activities: (a) exacerbate the inferiorization of "Othered" groups, (2) only engage critical issues on a surface level, and (c) trivialize human conditions that have dire consequences for the lives of vulnerable populations.

Living on one dollar. To draw upon another brief example of the issues put forth in the above discussion of the "hunger games" and the curricular aspects that raise concern, one can also consider the film *Living On One Dollar* (Living on One, 2015). The documentary chronicles the journey of four White male students who lived in rural Guatemala on one dollar a day for eight weeks during their summer vacation—an exercise inspired by their economic development classes and internships (Huffpost, 2012). Chris Temple and Zach Ingrasci, two Claremont McKenna College economic majors, decided to spend their summer in this way

because “they believe that understanding the reality of poverty is the critical first step in addressing the problem” (CMC, 2012). Moreover, after applying for funding and being rejected by 13 different places, they finally received funding from the Whole Planet Foundation and students at Claremont McKenna College to carry out their project of seeking to understand extreme poverty and the issues that they had learned about in the classroom (Huffpost, 2012).

The filmmakers further shared, “We battle intense hunger, parasites and the realization that there are no easy answers, but find hope in the inspiring lives of our neighbors Rosa, a 20 year old woman, and Chino, a 12 year old boy” (Living on One, 2015, para. 1). Accordingly, they created one of six “incredible social justice films on Netflix,” according to Relevant Magazine (2015, para. 1), in an attempt to “mobilize others to help end extreme poverty” (Living on One, 2015, para. 2). In true hunger games form, the young White males decided to simulate the real conditions and uncertainty of poverty by putting numbers in a hat and picking out a number each day (anywhere from 0-9) that would determine how many dollars they would receive for that day. About food, they noted, “After eating just one bowl of rice and beans every day, we aren’t feeling so good and Zach even passes out on the floor . . . is this why Guatemala has one of the highest rates of malnutrition in the world?” (Living on One, 2015, para. 2)

While the aim was to shed light on the issues of poverty and hunger, it would seem that the filmmakers profited more from the documentary, and actually seemed to be extended greater sympathy than those actually living under the dire conditions of poverty they chose to briefly emulate. According to the filmmakers, “To our amazement, the film has since won Best Documentary at the Sonoma International Film Festival, and received endorsements from Nobel Laureate Muhammad Yunus, USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah, and the Director of the Hunger

Games, Gary Ross" (Living On One, 2015, para. 3). Their economic profits and gains have resulted from multiple screenings and tours across the country as well as an online LivingonOne Shop where they sell $24.99 sandals (10% goes to Guatemala educational and health services), Rosa Shirts (fabric woven from Rosa, a Guatemalan woman from the film), as well as the film and educational licenses for K–12 schools and universities for public screenings of the film on their campuses. Chris Temple and Zach Ingrasci can also be booked for speaking engagements, especially given their newest film *Salam Neighbor*, in which they become the first filmmakers given a tent and granted permission to live in a Syrian refugee camp by the United Nations (Living On One, 2015). Moreover, as is too often the common practice, the stories of oppressed communities and their issues are told through the lens of privileged White people—well-meaning people who consistently appropriate the stories of bicultural communities for their own personal and professional gains.

The Maintenance of the Status Quo: Curriculum Politics

Within the field of service learning exists a very deeply embedded political terrain, despite claims to the contrary. At work within the politics of the political are some of the following accusations, such as: denouncing the political, opposing the use of critique (meaning that to critique educational practices rips them apart and no practical suggestions are made for how to fix them), and the indoctrination of students through exposure to issues of social justice and oppression, so that they become essentially politically charged automatons. Some service learning scholars are opposed to the teaching of political engagement within service learning (see Schopmeyer, 2014), and thus, some scholars believe that politics have no place in the academy (Butin, 2006; Fish, 2008). Given the impact of service learning on poor working class

communities, this antipolitical stance conveniently upholds neutrality in the privileged interests of those seeking to maintain the status quo and remain complicit with a practice that has likely never been enacted upon them.

Neutrality: The Politics of the Political

Stanley Fish's (2008) *Save the World on Your Own Time* suggested that the political is not relevant to academic formation or in the university setting because it is *nonacademic* and thus has no place in the academy. Fish denounced the "everything is political" line of thinking, and asserted that this "mantra is ritually invoked by those who do not respect (or believe in) the distinction between academic work and political work" (p.172). Fish (2008) instead suggested a politics of choice or an academic politics that would be "teaching rather than proselytizing—doing academic politics and not ballot box politics" (p. 174).

In alignment with Fish's (2008) antisocial justice politics, Dan Butin (2006), a service learning scholar who has provided critiques of service learning, favors the antifoundational approach. Butin categorized service learning into four pedagogical realms: technical, cultural, political, and antifoundational. In an interview, Butin expressed his favor of the antifoundational over the political:

> I always come down on the anti-foundational, because by transforming students' perspectives of themselves in the world, I believe, one by-product may be social justice. But if I put social justice as first, I will always hit a huge number of conceptual, practical, and political problems. (Schopmeyer, 2014, p. 33)

Butin (2006) addressed the problematics of politics in his view by claiming it was a horrible thing because public education has been funded predominantly by the federal

government, and with this comes with the prohibition of teachers "serving in an advocacy or partisan manner, not to mention that 50% of the population vote for Republicans" (Schopmeyer, 2014, p. 33). As such, Butin claimed that it was not his job to tell students how to vote or whether they should look at poverty from a conservative or liberal perspective (Schopmeyer, 2014). Yet, it is important to note that both Butin and Fish (2008) reveal in their view of politics, a surface reading of politics that contradicts a democratic vision. What Darder (1991, 2012) critically argues about an emancipatory politics that is simultaneously grounded in a democratic vision of education and society is that "democracy in the United States often has been reduced simplistically to an unqualified principle of majority rule, enacted primarily through the electoral process—while simultaneously the voices of minority groups are systematically silenced within the larger society" (p. 57). As such, the politics that Butin and Fish denounce and speak of is tied to things like "ballot box politics" or voting Republicans, which reduces politics to the electoral process, stripping away its larger emancipatory aim. Moreover, Schopmeyer (2014) noted that Butin has vehemently rejected the word "political" in preference for the phrase "creating engaged citizens" for what service learning can provide for students.

Assimilation and Americanization: The "Engaged Citizens" Discourse

The discourse of *engaged citizens* is essentially a function of the adherence to a government primed Americanized, Eurocentric identity. This identity represents what Paraskeva (2011) referred to as uni-versal rather than pluri-versal. As such, the enculturation process of a universal Americanized identity becomes a systematic threat to the biculturation of subaltern groups. An example of this pervasive "engaged citizens" discourse is at work at Hendrix College in Conway, Arkansas. The Engaged Citizen Program at Hendrix consists of a semester-

long course requirement for all first-year students designed to prepare "its graduates for lives of service and fulfillment in their communities and the world" ("The Engaged Citizen Program," n. d., para. 1). Moreover, the citizenship discourse generally rests upon students' ability to participate in dutiful, citizen-like, government-influenced processes such as voting (the "democratic" process) and public service or civic issues. Another example is Simpson College in Iowa, which has an Engaged Citizenship Curriculum created by the faculty consisting of a civic engagement focus that involves citizenship rights and stresses the importance of becoming an effective citizen ("Engaged Citizenship Curriculum," n. d.). Other universities also have enacted engaged citizen curriculum requirements such as Drake University in Iowa ("Engaged Citizen Experience," n. d.), University of Illinois at Springfield ("Engaged Citizenship Common Experience," n. d.), and Champlain College in Vermont ("Engaged Citizenship Requirement," n. d.), just to name a few.

Molly Ryan (2012) issued a report as part of the National Center for Learning and Citizenship's (NCLC), *Every Student a Citizen* project, which was funded by Learn and Serve (AmeriCorps) and State Farm (the insurance company). This report examined how five states were moving forward given the elimination of Learn and Serve America (LSA) funding, "the sole federal funding stream dedicated to service-learning in PK-12 schools" (Ryan, 2012, p.3). Ryan reported that in 2000 only 27 states had included service learning in state policy, compared to 2011 in which 42 states mention service learning in state policy. The NCLC and the Education Commission of the States (ECS) conducted state policy scans in 2000 and 2011 to determine how service learning had been institutionalized in the states. It was found by the end of 2011 that practically "every state had either passed legislation or adopted state board of

education policy that encourages local schools to use service-learning" (Ryan, 2012, p. 5).

The notion of engaged citizenship exists not only in higher education but also in the K–12 realm. In 1998, for example, a Philadelphia Initiative instituted a graduation requirement that in order for promotion to grades five, nine, and to graduate from high school, students in Philadelphia had to "complete a citizenship project using service-learning" (Holdsman & Tuchman, 2004, p. 8). This Philadelphia citizenship competency and promotion and graduation requirement policy was part of Children Achieving, Philadelphia's education reform plan. Characterized as a service learning initiative of "unprecedented scale for one school district" (Holdsman & Tuchman, 2004, p. 1), in four years it developed over 250 community partnerships, trained over 2,000 teachers in service learning philosophy and methodology, and garnered approximately 20 million dollars per year in financial support.

Freire and Service Learning

Markus Schopmeyer (2014) interviewed six community engagement "experts" regarding the politics of service learning. The researcher was interested in understanding the opinions of the interviewees regarding the relevance of Paulo Freire and critical pedagogy to their practice or "whether they believed this philosophy was a relic of neo-Marxist thought that lost significance after the end of the Cold War" (Schopmeyer, 2014, p. 31). Interviews were with the following six community engagement "experts": Dan Butin, Valerie Kinloch, Star Moore, Seth Pollack, John Saltmarsh, and Marshall Welch. Schopmeyer claimed to place special emphasis on Freire and critical pedagogy within the programs of his six interviewees.

Of the six "experts" interviewed, only one was bicultural—Valerie Kinloch. A self-described scholar activist, she believed that service learning was "definitely a social justice and

activist-oriented approach" (p. 35). Also, she offered—unprompted—during her interview, "I am a Freire girl and I am of the belief that critical consciousness is something that we thrive for . . . we have to name inequities, we have to name those things that keep us oppressed" (Schopmeyer, 2014, p. 35). She even acknowledged during the interview that Stanley Fish had written a critique of her work but that she was "totally unapologetic" for her social justice orientation toward service. Additionally, she did not believe that she was indoctrinating students, but rather providing them alternative ways to view the world and then asking them what they were going to do about this.

Star Moore did not believe that service learning should teach political engagement directly, but that the political biases of professors should be acknowledged. Seth Pollack, one of only two full professors of service learning in the country, worked at the Service Learning Institute at California State University Monterey Bay (CSUMB), which is one of the only 23 CSU campuses to make service learning mandatory, given its social justice–informed mission. "He saw politics as too narrow a category to describe service learning goals as he believed politics to be primarily concerned with a formal code of law" (Schopmeyer, 2014,p. 41). Moreover, he acknowledged that part of the issue is related to the way in which funding is often tied to the federal government—where participating in politics is prohibited.

Marshall Welch is the director of St. Mary's (in California) CILSA Center where they combine service, social justice, and Catholic Social Teaching. Welch was clearly political but suggested that the students are not coerced into any political stance and that the curriculum does not include political education. John Saltmarsh, one of the only participants who actually met Freire, recalled a story in which Freire was asked a question about struggle from the group and

then paused for a really long time, articulating the importance of being patient. Saltmarsh, who considered himself a political operative in the Freirean sense, said he did not believe that service learning could have a transformational impact on the community. "He called any such notion 'hubris' and 'wrong.' The transformational part exclusively applies to students and their learning, according to Saltmarsh" (Schopmeyer, 2014, p. 43).

Dan Butin, referred to earlier, when asked about critical pedagogy, was willing to give it credit for shifting from a "teacher-centered to a student-centered model" (p. 33) and acknowledge Freire's challenge of the banking model of education. However, Butin did not agree "that a revolutionary quality could be ascribed to Freire's contribution to the field of education" (pp. 33–34). Moreover he insisted that,

> "raising the flag of Freire" in higher education today "is disingenuous" and that professors who do so just flaunt their rhetoric. Butin then dismissed a social justice approach to service-learning as "misguided" and "misinformed," because "there are too many unintended consequences that we do not understand." Faculty who adopt an intentional social justice approach, he added, "whether they know it or not, are buying into an indoctrination model of education."… "Just because certain pieces of literature refer back to Freire," he said, we cannot conclude that the majority of professors practice service-learning from a social justice perspective. (Schopmeyer, 2014, p. 34)

Moreover, Butin believed that since the majority of faculty are left-wing, their teaching becomes a form of liberal coercion. Further, social justice outcomes can be secondary by-products, but in his antipolitical view should not be the expressed intentional learning goal.

Critical service learning literature (e.g., Diemer, Voight, & Mark, 2010; Hayes, 2011; Kajner, Chovanec, Underwood, & Mian, 2013; Marr, 2014; Masucci & Renner, 2001; Porfilio & Hickman, 2011; Rosenberger, 2000; Webster & Coffey, 2011; Wu & Dahlgren, 2011) abounds in which the work of Freire, in particular his seminal text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* has supposedly been used to "conceptually and pedagogically anchor critical approaches" to service learning and community engagement (Hernandez & Pasquesi, forthcoming). Moreover, within the practice, there is a tendency to water down and depoliticize Freire's radical engagement of praxis for a more favorable Kolb-influenced Experiential Learning Model (Deans, 1999; Hernandez & Pasquesi, forthcoming).

However, upon an analysis of Freire's writings (beyond *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*), it is clear that he was not only not neutral, but also unapologetically political (Darder, 2015a). Freire (1994) in *Pedagogy of Hope,* discussed the criticisms leveled against his work, noting, "They criticized me for what seemed to them to be my exaggerated 'politicization'" (p. 1). Of this, Freire astutely proclaimed, "They failed to perceive that, in denying me the status of educator for being 'too political,' they were being as political as I. Of course on the opposite sides of the fence. 'Neutral' they were not, nor could ever be" (p. 1). Engaged only in abbreviated doses and without grounded political clarity, Freire's critical praxis and radical life's work have been misinterpreted especially through the mainstream eyes of service learning scholars. Donaldo Macedo (2005) brought this concern together with earlier discussion of "the politics of political" noting, "Educators who misinterpret Freire's notion of dialogical teaching also refuse to link experiences to the politics of culture and critical democracy, reducing their pedagogy to a form of middle–class narcissism" (p. 18). This, moreover, can occur when there is the mistaken belief

that to read or speak the words constitutes the same thing as living the pedagogy (Darder, 2015a).

Dominant class perspective—wittingly or unwittingly—seek to utilize educational practices to cover up the truth and, thus, immobilize the emancipation of the working class, utilizing "progressive" methods when it is convenient for them to do so (Freire, 1998b). Yet, in reality, their oppressive actions are oftentimes carried out in the guise of "neutrality" (Freire, 1998b). Neutrality, hence, poses a danger to progress for the oppressed or, in this case, those "served" by service learning programs. Freire (1998b) suggested that neutrality could serve as a hypocritical and comfortable way of avoiding choice and possibly hiding the fear of denouncing injustice or as a means of essentially washing one's hands in the face of oppression. The leadership and policies that support service learning purport to address community needs; however, by overlooking or not addressing the underlying hegemonic perspective that informs service learning programs, the needs of communities cannot truly be addressed.

Service Learning: Moving Toward a Critical Decolonizing Bicultural Pedagogy

In the mid-1990s, Don Hill wrote about the death of service learning by creating 10 reasons that foreshadowed the demise of this practice in 2010, as it seemed to be a fad that would fade in due time (Zlotkowski & Duffy, 2010). While it is noted that Hill's focus was on K–12 education, he suggested that all 10 reasons could be adapted to fit the higher education context. One of the reasons Hill gave was that service learning was not becoming an appealing strategy for mainstream classroom teachers (Zlotkowski & Duffy, 2010). Yet, in contrast, Zlotkowski and Duffy (2010) suggested that the opposite was occurring in higher education. Campus Compact, Ford Foundation funding, and other prominent figures allowed for the

institutionalization of service learning within higher education, along with faculty buy-ins. Accordingly, the service learning industrial complex has become embedded within the fabric of mainstream educational practices, thus it is highly unlikely that we will see the death of the service learning practice—despite the rhetorical shift to enact new discursive logic that seeks to shed the baggage of the term "service" learning in favor of "community"—including recent uses of "community engagement," "community based partnerships," and/or "community-based research."

Beyond the Master/Servant Paradigm

It is not unusual for many to decide that the way to enter into a decolonizing process is to simply do away with all that is in place. In contrast, Freire did not advocate the wholesale rejection of educational practices, which are also human creations. For example, regarding the problematic question of technology, Freire maintained the dialectical tension surrounding the arguments about technology, in that he did not consider the answer to be outright rejection, despite its political, economic, and hegemonic foundations within schooling practices, but rather a thoughtful rethinking and critical engagement with respect to its emancipatory potential (Darder, 2004). A similar dialectical tension must fuel our commitment to service learning, in that it should not be rejected outright but rather the emancipatory process of our humanization must reside at the center. While a critical systematic interrogation has foundationally grounded this study and unveiled some deplorable revelations and conditions, there persists deep faith that the service learning practice can undergo a process of *conscientização* and, as such, begin to move toward a decolonizing bicultural pedagogy of service learning.

Service has become rooted in our institutions (i.e., churches, schools, government, military, etc.), and therefore, we must challenge the sacrosanctity that service is commonsensically undertaken and look to critically reimagine our educational practices and society anew. We must take hold of and struggle for revolutionary hope and radical, political change. Lilla Watson (2004) articulated this well when she described Gunther (a missionary in central New South Wales in the 1840s) and his amazement at the contrast between the hierarchical structure of his society, and its inequalities, and that of the Murris. She stated:

> This peculiar form of government admitting of no distinction of rank, but allowing each man to share in their consultations and decisions as to any questions arising among them (which) stamps a feeling of independence and haughtiness with the appearance of dignity on the character of the men rarely to be met among differently governed natives. As they have no titles for distinction nor a proper name for a chief so they have neither a word in their language to signify a servant . . . no man has an idea of serving another. This idea of their dignity and importance is carried so far that they hesitate long before they apply the term "MR." to any European even though they know full well the distinction we make (between master and servant). (p. 3)

Watson (2004) challenged us to recognize that "Gunther wasn't talking about some ideal to strive for, but describing what had [actually] been achieved" (p. 9). Further, she exclaimed "Wouldn't it be good to live in a world where every person was proud, independent and dignified? Where no one was either servant, or a master" (Watson, 2004, p. 9)? It is precisely this paradigm shift that must drive emancipatory, democratic forms of critical service learning research—forms that embody and are tied to deep understandings of the way in which our

society consciously or unconsciously "serves" and, by extension, ostracizes and excludes only particular groups of people. Thus, revolutionary hope should permeate our work as we seek to dismantle the historical phenomenon of service that has been left unquestioned and now has taken root within our institutions and practices. This chapter closes with a call to push back against epistemicides and for placing bicultural voices at the center of the discourse within service learning practice, in addition to the building of a humanizing pedagogy—one that genuinely nourishes the emancipation of all people. The concluding chapter explores one possibility, anchored in Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed and the culturally democratic principles of Darder's theory of critical biculturalism.

CHAPTER 5

AN EMANCIPATORY VISION FOR A CRITICAL BICULTURAL SERVICE LEARNING PEDAGOGY

> Toward such a decolonizing end, critical bicultural theorists have chosen to engage the dominant literature on pedagogy, curriculum, methodology, and schooling in ways that treat these writings as data to be systematically and qualitatively analyzed, based upon their own (autoethnographic) historical experiences of difference, as both historical subjects in their self-determination and bicultural critical educators in their field.
>
> *-Antonia Darder, 2015b*

Forging an emancipatory pedagogical vision involves a collective commitment to think the unthinkable, the unimaginable, and to recognize the impermanence of historical practices that have resulted in degrading, colonizing, and oppressive conditions for students from subaltern communities. To conceive of an emancipatory vision, moreover, requires that it be tied to one's lived history and to a clear political project (Darder, 2011). About this, Freire (1994) argued:

> A politicized person is one who has transcended the perception of life as a pure biological process to arrive at a perception of life as a biographical, historical, and collective process. A politicized person is one who can sort out the different and often fragmented pieces contained in the flux. Political clarity is possible to the extent that we reflect critically on day-to-day facts and to the extent that we can transcend our sensibilities so as to progressively gain a more rigorous understanding of the facts. (p. 130)

Thus, to counter the complicity and inaction that currently exists within the service learning movement, it necessitates from us a grounded and coherent political clarity in that we

collectively must devote our lives to an emancipatory way of living and being, if we are to transform the structures of domination and exploitation that prevail. As such, an emancipatory political vision relies upon a commitment to critical principles that are tied to our moral and ethical relationships with the world, so that we embody these in our language, actions, and daily lives. Most important to this study is that the liberation of subaltern groups remains at the heart of this vision.

Critical Principles for Decolonizing Service Learning Praxis

Service learning lives in, moves in, and embeds itself within disenfranchised bicultural communities. It does not, in contrast, live in, move in, or embed itself in spaces of affluence. Hence, this work requires that we no longer stand by and accept that the oppressed be displaced by the practice of service. Yet, the recent emergences of critical forms of service learning continually fall short, as they forcefully uphold the structure of a one-sided, unidirectional practice, which fails to take note or ever question why the privileged are never the recipients of "service" or in need of "help."

In seeking to articulate critical principles for a decolonizing service learning praxis, it must be linked to an understanding of the relationship between theory and practice. Of this critical relationship, Freire and Macedo (1995) wrote:

> Curiosity about the object of knowledge and the willingness and openness to engage theoretical readings and discussions is fundamental. However, I am not suggesting an over-celebration of theory. We must not negate practice for the sake of theory. To do so would reduce theory to a pure verbalism or intellectualism. By the same token, to negate theory for the sake of practice, as in the use of dialogue as conversation, is to run the risk

> of losing oneself in the disconnectedness of practice. It is for this reason that I never advocate either a theoretic elitism or a practice ungrounded in theory, but the unity between theory and practice. In order to achieve this unity, one must have an epistemological curiosity—a curiosity that is often missing in dialogue as conversation. (p. 382)

The six critical principles that will be set forth and discussed in this chapter are placed alongside practical realities and an earnest attempt to situate bicultural voices at the center of this decolonizing praxis. Thus, the unity between theory and practice becomes crucial to navigating the traditional service learning canon and pushing it open in order to expand its latitude for those that have been oppressed, inferiorized, and rendered voiceless by this practice for far too long.

Resistance and Critique

Some of the most egregious practices within the service learning movement have taken place without critique—such as hunger banquets, photo oppression, hours counting, and unfathomable support for the continued infiltration of communities for the purposes of providing "help" through the dictates and mandates determined by the institution's hegemonic discourse. Hence, resistance and critique are crucial to addressing the asymmetrical relations of power that are embedded within a dominant service learning practice. As Darder (1991, 2012) has argued, those from subordinate cultures who push against and resist dominant ideologies are seeking to shatter the existing relations of power, in the hopes of generating emancipatory possibilities. As such, when practices such as the Cesar Chavez or Martin Luther King service days are enacted in this era of neoliberal multiculturalism, they become "prime examples of how these initially radical concepts—intended to resist and push back cultural invasion—have been appropriated in

such a fashion that they now do little to challenge the real basis of power of the dominant culture" (Darder, 1991, 2012, p. 41).

The element of critique must be infused by and grounded in an emancipatory political vision of dialogue. For it is within this vision that our critique is refined and developed, and one is able to coherently and precisely engage the deeply embedded issues at work within this hegemonic terrain of service. About this, Darder (2015a) noted, "Critical dialogue provides a collective space in which our ambiguities and contradiction can be expressed, critiqued and transformed through a spirit of solidarity" (p. 112).

With regard to critical decolonizing interpretive research, Darder (2015b) asserted that critique serves to uncover the hidden epistemologies tied to power that are at work within traditional practices and methodologies. What this then requires is the space for resistance and critique to be valued as an integral part of service learning practice. To embed critique in the practice of service learning would force programs and practices to have to contend with their ineptitude and the recognition that every practice must be evolutionary and continually re-invented in a collective spirit of solidarity with communities.

Disruption of Cultural Hegemony

Any radical political project, by necessity, must seek to push back against the dominant hegemonic practices that allow for asymmetrical relations of power to persist. Provided that the mainstream dominant service learning practice functions as a short lived, temporary benevolent encroachment upon communities and one that often engages singular issues deemed important by the institution, one must disrupt this commonsensical approach. To enact a revolutionary practice of teaching, something that service learning at times claims to do, requires an

understanding of hegemony and its consequences. Hegemonic forces, as discussed throughout this study, seek to preserve the status quo and strongly resist transformation. This includes the institutional structures and belief systems that perpetuate asymmetrical power relations. As Darder (2014) astutely pointed out:

> There is an enduring legacy of cultural hegemony and racialized language policies associated with centuries of colonialism that has resulted in a long history of protracted language struggles around the world…In order to ensure that the "Other" is kept in line with the system of production, racialized institutional policies and practices historically have led to national efforts which have resulted in the push for assimilation, deportation, incarceration, and even the genocide of minority populations. (p. 1)

In examining these interpretations more deeply, we begin to better understand the way in which asymmetrical relations of power are exerted through the use of an institutional structure (university) that perpetuates social injustice: by only examining issues at a surface level, which seldom requires the redistribution of power or resources (Darder, 2002). Moreover, as Carlos Munoz (1997) critically asserted, for bicultural scholars, "the answer lies in the structure of the university. We remain victimized by it and are powerless to control our collective intellectual development" (p. 452). This reflects why critical service learning efforts only go so far—as they often work within the hegemonic structure, becoming immersed in and chained to it, rather than challenging it, whether knowingly or unknowingly. Thus, by only engaging service learning on a surface level, from a college student's development perspective, the opportunity to actually uncover the ways in which the institutionalization of service learning within higher education may often be lost, thereby perpetuating the status quo.

Without disrupting cultural hegemony, service learning as a practice will always uphold false generosity and culturally invasive practices. This disruption necessitates an understanding and challenging of political and economic forces that seek to further erode the agency and voices of bicultural communities, who often never see a penny of the money that has been put into institutional pockets.

Counter-Hegemonic Practices

The language of possibility is central to counterhegemonic practices as well as research that counter oppressive theories and practices (Darder, 2015b). Within this language of possibility also exists the emancipatory conditions that support continual (re)readings and reinventions of the dominant service learning practice. Counterhegemonic practices decenter the Western epistemological canon that is bound to contemporary mainstream understandings of service learning, in order to provide new spaces for the subaltern to speak. Decolonizing service learning requires that institutions begin to enact the language of possibility, which conceive of possibilities that may have never entered the realm of consciousness, given our entrapment in hegemonic conceptions of service learning. Thus, institutions employing service learning must thoroughly re-evaluate "business as usual," and seek to enact emancipatory practices that honor and center the voices of those served in a genuine effort to work *with* rather than *for* communities.

For example, a counterhegemonic practice would seek to disable the production and profitable enterprise that upholds the service learning industrial complex through an emancipatory effort to redistribute the service learning wealth and place it directly in the hands of those who are "served" and in whose name the field thrives economically. This would require

institutions to examine their service learning budgets and the allocation of funds to determine if the communities and organizations they claim to "serve" are actually benefitting from the economic gains that the institution enjoys. For example, upon review of a proposed service learning budget from one public university requesting an increase in funds, it is evident that 90% of the funds for the service learning program are allocated to salaries (four full-time employees) and benefits ("Budget Proposal Narrative," 2014). Only $2,000 is allocated for goods and services (out of $126,220), which may or may not be used directly for the community that is being "served" ("Budget Proposal Narrative," 2014). This speaks to the need for a widespread redistribution of wealth across all programs that receive funding for the expressed purposes of serving communities in need. Moreover, counterhegemonic practices such as redistribution of service learning monies, will always fall short of a decolonizing aim, if they are not precisely tied to an emancipatory vision and politics that are theoretically grounded in a commitment to those most impacted by these practices.

Dialogue

Dialogue is no easy task, as it requires an ongoing commitment to be *with* the people. Darder and colleagues (2009) have noted that dialogue constitutes one of the most important aspects of critical pedagogy, in that it engages an emancipatory process that is committed to the social empowerment of communities by respecting them as rightful historical subjects of their world. Thus, in a radical and political sense, as Freire realized,

> In order to understand the meaning of dialogical practice, we have to put aside the simplistic understanding of dialogue as a mere technique. Dialogue does not represent a somewhat false path that I attempt to elaborate on and realize in the sense of involving

> the ingenuity of the other. On the contrary, dialogue characterizes an epistemological relationship. Thus, in this sense dialogue is a way of knowing and should never be viewed as a mere tactic to involve students in a particular task. We have to make this point very clear. I engage in dialogue not necessarily because I like the other person. I engage in dialogue because I recognize the social and not merely the individualistic character of the process of knowing. In this sense, dialogue presents itself as an indispensable component of the process of both learning and knowing. (Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 379)

With this in mind, dialogue within service learning would require all involved to engage with each other. It would mean earnestly talking *with* the community, families, young children, students, faculty, and all that are affected by the practice, within the context of the service. This would require one to be committed to dialogue even when it seems like the difficult choice or too "time consuming." Moreover, dialogue must always be an earnest attempt to engage communities with respect for who they are. As one community member told Freire (1994) in *Pedagogy of Hope*:

> The way this conversations's goin' nobody's gonna git it. Nope. "Cause as far as you here're concerned"—and he pointed to the group of educators—"you're talkin' salt, and these people here," meaning the others, the peasants, "they wanna know 'bout seasonin, and salt ain't but part of the seasonin." (pp. 60–61)

It is also worth noting here that the Zapatistas are known for talking out every decision among members of the group before deciding anything; and while this may be thought of as time consuming and lengthy, it was valued as extremely important to the political formation of their

communities (Dellacioppa, 2009; Malott, 2008;). As such, a service learning project that took place within the Zapatista community was dictated by the community members and, as a consequence, service learning participants were forced to recognize that they possessed very little power over the decision-making process in this case. This shift in power, where the Zapatista community held leadership and power over what the service learning participants would be allowed to do in the community, made the students so uncomfortable that they confronted their instructors and stated,

> We've been here four days now, and we're having a really wonderful time . . . We enjoyed dancing and singing with the folks up in Tulan, and playing with the kids, and making tortillas, and yeah, well, we picked a few baskets of coffee. But . . . We aren't doing any service. (Simonelli et al., 2004, p. 43)

Through dialogue and decolonizing traditional service learning practices, the students and instructors were forced to contend with the collective power and agency within the Zapatista community, which "is guided by the precept *mandar obeiciendo,* literally, to lead by obeying" (Simonelli et al., 2004, p. 46), which simultaneously honored and affirmed the voice of the Zapatista community.

Affirmation of the Bicultural Voice and Social Agency

As has been extensively discussed throughout, what currently exists within the service learning movement is the affirmation and privileging of Western epistemology, whereby the voices of Eurocentric philosophers and scholars are privileged and given space within the canon to speak. It is through this space that they—deliberately or inadvertently—repress or render critical bicultural voices, voiceless. Strategies that have been leveled against bicultural voices,

such as the distorting discourse of political correctness, serve to protest against the inclusion of decolonized voices. Thus, affirmation of the bicultural voice and social agency is much needed within the hegemonic constraints of a service learning tradition that thwarts the knowledge and power of bicultural voices. A critical theory of cultural democracy supports a genuine, concerted effort to awaken the bicultural voice of communities and workers in a way that "cultivates their critical participation as active social agents in the world" (Darder, 1991, 2012, p. 44). As such, it is crucial to examine what a decolonizing biculturation process entails.

A new discourse has emerged within service learning that seeks to engage the lack of community voice and call upon community members as "co-educators" (Case, 2013) in the practice of service learning and community engagement. However, just because community members have now been labeled "co-educators" does not mean that their voices will actually be heard when they seek to alter or critically engage the service learning pedagogical process with students, faculty, and those placed in "expert" positions. While the benefits of service learning often claim reciprocity as a foundational piece, the affirmation of the bicultural voice is not always a certainty. An example, also reminiscent of the earlier discussion about colonizing photography, can illustrate the appropriation and suppression of the bicultural voice.

In 1936, Dorothea Lange photographed Florence Thompson, a Cherokee woman living in Modesto, California. The photo became "the world's most reproduced photograph"—*Migrant Mother*. According to Rosler (1992), Thompson was quoted by the Associated Press as saying, "That's my picture hanging all over the world and I can't get a penny out of it . . . What good's it doing me?" Thompson even tried to get the photo suppressed, and rightfully so; but Lange has insisted upon the warped reification of Thompson, insisting that you can see anything you want

in her—"she is immortal . . . She thought that my pictures might help her, so she helped me" (Rosler, 1992, p. 316).

As Darder (2011) has posited, the bicultural voice is intimately linked to one's self-empowerment and personal identity, and through this aspect of one's being, one gains the agency to participate in the "collective public voice" (p. 37). As Florence Thompson asserted, her photograph became a representation of the exploitative practices of the privileged photographer who had taken it; and yet, her efforts to get the photo suppressed fell on deaf ears. In similar ways within the practice of service learning, the voices of bicultural communities, on one hand, can be suppressed; while, on the other hand, they are appropriated in ways that reproduce silencing representations. Hence, the affirmation of the bicultural voice is of utmost importance to the social agency, empowerment, and genuine spirit of solidarity within bicultural communities—and an important principle for those who have existed invisibly, on the other side of the abyssal divide where Westernized, Eurocentric epistemologies perpetuate their silence and dispossession.

The Dialectical Continuum

Darder (1991, 2012) offered a powerful contribution to our understanding of the biculturation process and response patterns that bicultural human beings exhibit as a result of the influence of culture and power. As Paraskeva (2011) noted, Darder's "superb exegesis" anchored the reality that any critical theory in alignment with cultural democracy must recognize the power that biculturalism holds in the classroom/society. Judith Estrada (2012) drew upon Darder's dialectical continuum of the biculturation process to put forth a dialectical continuum of ambiguity. This represented for Estrada a move from colonizing/hegemonic aspects to

decolonizing/ emancipatory aspects, within the context of critical media literacy and an analysis of the ambiguity of identity portrayed in representations of Dora the Explorer. Through her extensive content discourse analysis of Dora the Explorer cartoons, Estrada showed that Dora the Explorer at one moment could represent an emancipatory subject and at another reflected a colonized representation. Thus, in maintaining the dialecticity between colonized and decolonized entity, Estrada engaged the dialectical tension that must be retained (Darder, 2015a; Freire, 1970) within the context of a decolonizing pedagogical praxis. This constitutes an essential principle in order to move toward a decolonizing bicultural service learning pedagogy.

Critical examination of this dialectical movement is almost nonexistent in the service learning literature. Yet, this does not mean that decolonizing practices are not at work within the service learning field. Drawing from Darder's discussion of critical decolonizing interpretive research (2015b) and critical theory of biculturalism (1991, 2012) what becomes evident is that this dialectical process is also at work in service learning practices (See Figure 4). Accordingly, individual actions, systemic practices, and structural processes are continually moving across the tension of a dialectical continuum of colonizing enculturation and decolonizing biculturation. This enacts within the colonized moment a process that is tied to assimilative enculturation/*citizenization,* in which the moment becomes consumed by personal gains or what can be earned—thus, service earning—whereas the decolonial process experiences honor biculturalism, integrate bicultural workers (within the community and institution), and place bicultural voices at the center of the work, with an eye toward extending the decolonizing possibilities of the service learning process.

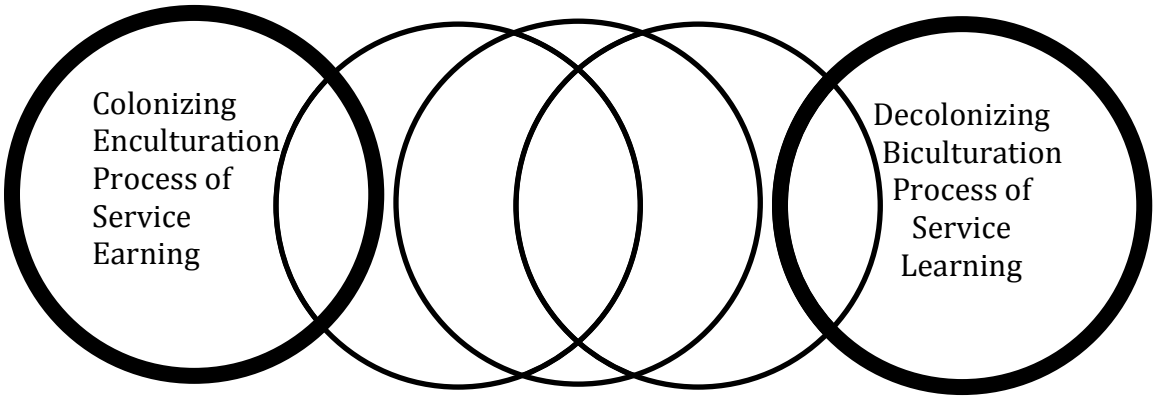

Figure 4. The dialectical continuum of service (l)earning.

Decolonizing Service Learning Praxis

A commitment to a decolonizing service learning praxis assumes that theory and practice are linked as a central tenet. A service learning student shared her understanding of this, phenomenon with the following words:

> We must work toward change by putting our reflections and theory into practice to change the banking education system into one that contains praxis and dialogue. Where students are not seen as robots but as actual human beings who have the potential to govern this world. (D. Garcia, personal communication, November 13, 2015)

A decolonizing praxis begins with the recognition of context as a central component to the work; but also with a deep understanding that before any work can be undertaken, one must forsake the tendency to use prepackaged curricula, models, and preplanned pedagogical and curricular practices. What is of absolute necessity is a commitment to working with communities, in a way that centralizes community solidarity and recognizes the complex dialectical nature of the colonizing/decolonizing enculturation process within the mainstream context of service learning

and the need to transform it. Within this dialectical engagement, we must recognize that our faith in and commitment to the people must be an earnest one.

An earnest commitment enables an emancipatory space and logic that cannot be dictated before it happens. As Paraskeva's (2011) critical itinerant curriculum theory suggests, the praxis must be borderless—it should embrace ambiguity and because of this creative purpose, it must be grounded in critical principles and an emancipatory vision that is consistent with its decolonizing aim. As Darder (2014) has also noted, it must also be informed by the alliance of theory and practice in which, as Freire described, social relations of critical praxis are part of a self-generating process of reflection, action, and dialogue.

Conscientização

Progressive educators in positions of leadership and policy making within service learning must work to engage the field in ways that respect the process of political change and the evolution of social consciousness as a truly collective and communal process. This calls for democratic policies and practices of voice and participation that nurture and cultivate the *conscientização* of men and women as free human beings. For, in truth, it is only through the awakening of critical consciousness, as a critical principle, that injustices of the status quo can be forthrightly interrogated and the threat these pose to our collective freedom be challenged. Moreover, with respect to the needs of bicultural communities "conscientização points to an understanding of critical awareness and the formation of social consciousness as both a historical phenomenon and a human social process connected to our communal capacities to become authors and social actors of our destinies" (Darder, 2015a, p. 82).

Conscientização, moreover, requires a continual commitment to an evolutionary awareness that honors ambiguity, uncertainty and a borderless pedagogy. What this entails is an understanding that the evolutionary dimension of conscientização (Darder, 2015a) is a collective one that depends upon the dialogue, voice, agency, critiques, and resistance of the people. Thus, with regard to a critical decolonizing praxis, conscientização points to a deliberate effort that moves us toward the development of social consciousness and collective emancipatory action, which seeks to transform, in particular, the oppressive conditions of suffering within oppressed communities.

Creating the Conditions for Cultural Democracy

A vision of cultural democracy must be regenerating and provide greater public spaces for enacting truly democratic life. "One of service-learning's biggest limitations, admittedly, is that it induces students to ask only, 'How can we help these people?' instead of the harder question, 'Why are conditions this way?"' (Bickford & Reynolds, 2002, p. 231). Creating pedagogical conditions for cultural democracy helps to unveil both the inequalities that exist, as well as the possibilities for transforming together the dominant service learning practice and the asymmetrical relations of power that still inform it. What this requires is the political and pedagogical recognition of democracy as a site of struggle that must consistently be linked to intersections of culture and power. In the process, deeper questions tied to "who controls cultural truths" (Darder, 2011, p. 32) can be interrogated and critically engaged.

For bicultural educators and students, in particular, within the service learning movement, a culturally democratic educational environment signals "one in which students may participate actively and freely, and where they will receive the consistent support and encouragement

required for them to develop their bicultural voice so they may learn to use it toward their social empowerment and emancipation (Darder, 1991, 2012, p. 35). Thus, to create the conditions for cultural democracy within service learning requires that communities not only have a seat at the table, but also have the opportunity to share equally in the process that governs their lives and the programs meant to "serve" them. These conditions must be apparent in culturally diverse pedagogical approaches, borderless epistemologies that promote cognitive justice, and decolonizing curricular processes that are all informed by the histories, cultural wisdom, and everyday lives of the most vulnerable communities. Needless to say, this also calls upon us to abandon dominant discourses and epistemicides that thwart and disable democratic life. However, the critical principles and conditions laid forth in this chapter will continually fall short if love is not placed at the center of our pedagogy.

Service Learning As an Act of Love

> We have something very important to tell you, new friend. If you're here to teach us that we're exploited, don't bother—we know that already. What we don't know . . . and need to know from you . . . is, if you're going to be with us when the chips are down. (Freire, 1994, p. 60)

I cannot imagine a service learning praxis rooted in love that would continually feed off the exploitation and domination of communities through capitalist endeavors that fail to acknowledge or question why is it that some are usually placed in the position of "helper, "server," or "expert," while others are not. Nor can I imagine a service learning praxis rooted in love that fails to acknowledge our human survival as dependent upon the survival of our fellow brothers and sisters. Freire's (1994) pedagogy necessitated that when we speak, we must change

the "speaking to" to "speaking with," which implicitly communicates respect for the knowledge and dignity that others bring to our dialogue. Service learning as an act of love refers to an approach to the work that is grounded in "love as political force . . . an intentional spiritual act of consciousness that emerges and matures through our social and material practices, as we live, learn, and labor together" (Darder, 2015a, p. 49). Moreover, it is imperative to note that this love isn't "merely a feel good notion of love that is so often mistakenly attributed to this term" (Darder, 2002). Freire (1998b) referred to this love as an "armed love- the fighting love of those convinced of the right and duty to fight, to denounce and announce" (Darder, 2002, p. 34). Furthermore, a pedagogy of "love" refers to a love that is "never about absolute consensus, or unconditional acceptance, or unceasing words of sweetness, or endless streams of hugs and kisses" (Darder, 2002, p. 34). It is in the struggles to break down the "false views" that exist within the service learning practice that a critical love can emerge.

In the fight by the oppressed for their liberation, Freire (1970) noted that this fight "because the purpose given it by the oppressed, will actually constitute an act of love opposing the lovelessness which lies at the heart of the oppressors' violence, lovelessness even when clothed in false generosity" (p. 45). Deceptive notions of benevolent intentions and well-meaning discourse only serve to camouflage the colonizing inequalities that permeate the neoliberal arena of service learning—inequalities fueled by greed, exploitation, and practices of cultural invasion that strip the subaltern of their humanity. This is the lovelessness, of which Freire spoke; the lovelessness that must be challenged and overcome in our liberatory efforts to infuse our practice with love and our on-going struggle with a profound sense of hope and solidarity. It is in this way that we become true revolutionaries, in the flesh.

EPILOGUE

What is like to live in poverty, to die in poverty, to live a life chained to degrading material conditions that dehumanize every part of your being? These conditions are no fault of your own but have come about because of historically racist practices and an unwillingness by many to acknowledge your suffering so much so that you have been denied your humanity. If you have never lived this life, you can never pretend to know what its like for those who have. I can recall my own personal experiences of degradation when, at four or five years old, I was embarrassed to walk with my older sister to the corner store to buy groceries for our mom. This was because my older sister hated having to go to the store and pay for our food with food stamps. At such a young age, I had already seen, internalized, and experienced the impact of such humiliating and dehumanizing conditions.

As I got a little older and entered elementary school, I remember taking walks with my mom and siblings to the nearby store, and we would regularly pass homeless people—one of which my family came to befriend and talk with regularly. It was at about seven or eight years of age that I could not reconcile what it meant to live on the street with the reality that we had a home to go to. I share this experience because during this time, I remember dreaming of a solution to this reality. This was a dream that I never shared with anyone (except maybe one of my close friends on the playground) until now. From these early years, all I remember is that I did not want anyone to have to live on the street, to be hungry, or to be sad. So one day, as I was cleaning out the couch and stumbled upon some loose change, it sparked my imagination and provided me what I thought was a great idea. I began to wonder—what if every child all over the world (I did not even know how big the world was) in every school, got the loose change

from their couches or the extra dollars that our parents gave us and put it in one huge bowl in each of our schools, so that we could give the money to those who needed it where we lived and so that no one would have to live on the streets.

While writing this dissertation I remembered this dream that I had at only seven or eight years of age, and it sparked many discoveries for me. I realize now that at such a young age, I was beginning to understand the need for a redistribution of wealth within our society. I also understood at that age that I could not cure or fix something like homelessness by myself; it required our collective humanity. Moreover, it reminded me that our young children have such beautiful minds, hearts, and souls and that, if given the chance to speak, they can provide powerful insights—if we just listen. Lastly, as a deeply sensitive young child, I realize that I had an emancipatory political vision tied to a belief that no one had to suffer and that through collective means everyone could work together to ensure this. Although the educational and socialization process may have chipped away at this vision, it has come back to me at this juncture in my life and through this dissertation.

Gloria Anzaldua (1990) has poignantly argued:

> The world knows us by our faces, the most naked, most vulnerable, exposed and significant topography of the body. When our *caras* (faces) do not live up to the image . . . [they] want us to wear . . . we experience ostracism, alienation, isolation and shame. (p. xv)

In her book *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras*, Anzaldua brought to light the realities facing people of color as racist ideologies permeate White Anglo-American discourse that tends to erase or cover up our faces from their reality.

Anzaldua (1990) noted that to become less vulnerable to the oppressors, we have often changed our faces and put on máscaras (masks). "The masks are already steeped with self-hatred and other internalized oppressions," covering up our bleeding faces, rubbed raw from the many masks we wear and the new series of roles that we take on with each mask (Anzaldua, 1990, p. xv). She called for women of color to strip off las máscaras, remove our disguises and leave behind our personas so that we might fully engage and become subjects in our own histories and sit at the center of our own discourses. As such, we can begin to gain the agency to make our own *caras* and, as a result, construct our own identity. "We begin to displace the white and colored male typographers and become, ourselves, typographers, printing our own words on the surfaces, the plates of our bodies" (Anzaldua, 1990, p. xvi).

Many critical revelations were revealed to me through this research that are indispensable in seeking to bring greater coherence to this study and to my lived experiences. This was a painful dissertation to write, given service learning's deeply concealed practices, which were unveiled to me through my research. I realized that I have been participating in many of these practices, and thus my lived experiences provided great personal insight as I attempted to decolonize my own mind and the false views that I've accepted. I recognized, as Anzaldua (1990) critically noted, that I needed to remove *las mascaras,* which have allowed me to remain silent and in fear, and as such, begin dispelling the myths that exist for communities of color. I have to engage deeply and honestly, so that I may remain fully present and coherent with the realities of a practice that I know all too well—a practice that negates the existence and lives of many and that forgets—whether consciously or unconsciously—to honor the voices and knowledge of the communities to whom service is rendered, day in and day out. Thus, I've

offered an alternative view of the practice that speaks to my own process of decolonizing biculturation. I came to the conclusion that I could not remain silent anymore; I must have the courage to speak!

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