BEHIND AND BEYOND THE IVY:
HOW SCHOOLS PRODUCE ELITES THROUGH THE BODIES OF
RACIAL OTHERS

by

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Graduate Department of Social Justice Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
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Doctor of Philosophy 2015
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Abstract

This is a study of how the elite subject is made at Canadian secondary schools. I show how the bodies of racial others are crucial to this making. This dissertation analyzes encounters with racial others both behind and beyond elite schools’ ivy-covered walls. These encounters are linked through a racial process of becoming in which whiteness and elite status are inextricable. This new Canadian elite subject is the gendered global citizen of our intensified neoliberal and racially structured world. I theorize two encounters that consolidate this subject. The first is a multicultural encounter with East Asian international students behind the ivy at three southwestern Ontario elite schools. I conduct a document analysis of archival material to consider how anxiety about increasing numbers of students of color coincided with a shift to co-education. Second, I theorize a humanitarian encounter beyond the ivy between girls of an elite private school and the South African children and staff of a school they visited for the purpose of volunteering abroad. The analysis of the multicultural encounter suggests that schools are compelled to seek further encounters with difference abroad. The analysis of the humanitarian encounter reveals the micropractices that constitute the elite subject in the making, in this case, high school girls.

These historical and empirical analyses are considered together with contextual information on ten elite schools in southwestern Ontario. My approach is to track the continuities and
shifts that characterize elite school encounters. I do this by following routes to elite subjectivity. I theorize moral distinction as a route to elite status, and the rhetorical, discursive, and emotional structures that facilitate this process of becoming. This is a gendered process, and I am particularly interested in the making of elite femininities. This study offers three main findings. First, the processes of becoming elite both behind and beyond the ivy share a racial logic. Second, elite schools sell whiteness. Third, the volunteer abroad encounter, as part of the business of selling whiteness, reinforces students’ sense of elite, racial and moral superiority.
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Chapter One
Theorizing the Elite School:
Being and Doing Good Through Education

This is a study about the schooling practices that produce elites. In our contemporary moment that emphasizes diversity and global citizenship, what role do racial others\(^1\) play in producing elite subjects? What are the routes to becoming elite, both for white students and students of colour? I am interested in how these routes to elite status are formed through global, national, and institutional forces, and how students engage with this grooming process at the site of elite schools. Where might we observe this process of becoming, and what might it look like and feel like? This study emphasizes the role of race in making the elite subject, and the various techniques – rhetorical, discursive, and emotional – that facilitate this making. At the center of these techniques is moral distinction, that is, status achieved through being and doing good. To set the stage for theorizing the elite subject and the racial routes to becoming elite through these various strategies, I open this chapter with the story of how I arrived at this topic through my career at a Canadian elite school. Section two explains the geography of behind and beyond the ivy that forms the framework of this dissertation. The third section outlines how scholars who study elite schools theorize elite education, and a few of the dominant concepts within that literature. Extending from this scholarship, the fourth section defines the key terms that I use throughout this study. Section five discusses the critical race and transnational feminist scholarship that forms the

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1 I use the term racial to mean of colour. I move between both terms throughout this study. I am interested in both the shared racial logic that produces bodies of colour, and the difference between various kinds of racial others, in particular, East Asian international students at elite schools, and the black South African children that a group of elite school students meet through a volunteer abroad program.

2 I define elite status, elite school, and elite subject later in this chapter. Broadly, my definition of elite
foundation of this project. The final section sets out the trajectory of the rest of the study through a discussion of research questions, research contributions, an outline, and an overview of the study.

I arrived at this topic of study through five years as a social sciences teacher and administrator at an elite school in southwestern Ontario. There are three dimensions of this experience that created the impetus for this study. The first was through my institutional work on multiculturalism. My original administrative role was that of international student advisor. My focus was developing relationships with international parents, particularly those in China and Korea, through, for example, strengthening communication between parents, teachers, and school leadership, and increasing parent involvement in school life. I also worked with international students and their teachers on challenges related to culture and language in the classroom. This role was created in part as a result of tensions between East Asian parents and the school. As I gained an understanding of the structural nature of the difficulties faced by international students and the strategies needed to address them, my role developed into a more strategic one, that of director of equity and diversity.

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2 I define elite status, elite school, and elite subject later in this chapter. Broadly, my definition of elite follows from Max Weber (1946), and scholars who take up Weber’s scholarship to theorize elite schooling, such as Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2012). I use the term elite to refer to individuals, groups, and institutions with access to and control of economic, social, and cultural capital.

3 There were several facets of this tension. For example, some members of the school administrators sought a better understanding of the “social hierarchy” of Korean students and parents, a set of relationships that teachers and administrators seemed to find perplexing and somewhat mystifying. School administrators also seemed to be troubled that Korean mothers, who lived in Canada with their children during the school year, were meeting weekly to discuss concerns and challenges, and to share information about school life. The concern seemed to be that the mothers were organizing and that they would cause difficulties for the administration with a barrage of questions and demands. This concern seems to have contributed to the desire for someone to act as a buffer between this group of mothers and the headmaster. Additionally, a colleague recounted to me a story about the headmaster attending a conference at which he heard a presentation by an East Asian international student who was an alumnus of the school. The former student spoke candidly about the difficulties he experienced as an international student. It was suggested to me that this experience aroused the headmaster’s concern about international students’ experiences and provoked a response in the form of improved structures of student support through the position of international student advisor.
The second dimension of my elite school experience that led to this project was the school’s volunteer abroad program. I participated in faculty-led student volunteer trips to Thailand and Ghana. I became interested in the remarkable growth of these programs and how they are linked to school brands and student recruitment at home and abroad, as well as to school mission, vision, and academics. An 18-day volunteer trip in Thailand to work with an NGO to install water pipelines for an Indigenous Karen village was particularly salient. In my journal I wrote about how I was struck by the students’ and faculty members’ views of the villagers as “dirty,” “monkeys,” and “the missing [evolutionary] link,” and by a general disregard for the land and wildlife. I also wrote about the burden on the Karen community of hosting the group. For example, western-style toilets were installed for us, a convenience that strained the water supply that we were there to help with. Some participants expressed judgments about Thai and Karen people as backward, for example, because of religious customs such as placing an offering of watermelon at the base of a statue of the deity Ganesh. One teacher remarked, “Do they think that it will ascend straight to heaven?” There was also a very spatially demarcated element of the village visit, with the school group marking out an area for our meetings using a school flag and a Canadian flag, actions that signaled a national investment in the project.

As part of my diversity practitioner work, I created cultural training for these trips abroad. In this capacity, I often felt resistance whenever I attempted to infuse a critical and anti-racist element to my pedagogy. I grappled with how to intervene in imperial worldviews about helping Third World people, and with the school’s desire, and my own, to play the part of a cultural seer providing insights into practices related to greetings, clothing, and food.
customs. As a person of mixed racial origin, I found myself drawn into the classic dilemma of the native informant: enabling a project of racial rule that masqueraded as helping.

The third dimension that contributed to me arriving at this topic was a grade twelve course that I taught called Race, Gender, and Rights. By creating curriculum and working with students, I reflected on the relationships between the classroom, institutional culture, national mythologies, and global racial capitalism. I also met brilliant and wonderful young people, some who were enthusiastic about critical analysis and uncovering better ways of being in the world, and others who were reluctant and resistant class participants. These three trajectories broadly led me to leave teaching to pursue this project and to make a contribution to anti-racism education. The following section explains the geography of behind and beyond the ivy that I take up throughout this study.

**Behind and Beyond the Ivy**

In chapter two I explain the school visits that I conducted for this research project. During one of those visits to an elite school in southwestern Ontario, I met with a volunteer abroad program director and we talked at length about the relationship between the volunteer abroad program and school culture. In describing the school’s culture, the director explained that the school administration uses the phrase *behind the ivy* to describe the school, and *beyond the ivy* to describe the outside world. I was captivated by this description of elite school geography and took it up as a framework for this study to theorize the making of elite status. Ivy is an important motif within the elite school imaginary. It calls up the Ivy League schools to which students aspire to gain university acceptance. It evokes the grandness of the historical buildings and manicured campuses of prestigious schools. Importantly, the ivy leaf is not the Canadian maple leaf; the ivy leaf exudes something of a particularly old world
English, and New England, prestige, a prestige that Canadian elites are interested in securing. This geography of the world as elite school interior and exterior is one that is shared by many schools, for example, through the common metaphor of the elite school *bubble*. What I find most captivating about this image of the ivy is what it covers: a wall. While there is certainly an institutional inside and outside, which I explore, the idea of *the wall* performs a very important function. It obscures the many forms of exclusion that make up the space behind the ivy. What might be considered the most obvious and salient form of racialization – the volunteer abroad encounter – is secured by other institutional encounters behind the ivy.

Specifically, I take up how multicultural initiatives, in which difference within the student body was created through co-education and international student recruitment, reached a limit point, and schools were compelled to venture beyond the ivy walls as part of the ongoing production of and encounter with difference. Multiculturalism also works to secure the moral virtue of the schools, which legitimates sending students out on humanitarian trips to help others. Race, as this thesis will make clear, is a central aspect to the subject-making processes I describe.

**Theorizing the Elite School**

Scholars who examine elite schools typically focus on the reproduction of class privilege. Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) affirms this in his book *The Best of the Best*, an ethnography of The Weston School, a pseudonym for an elite New England boarding school. Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) writes that “studies of elite schools have tended to focus primarily on understanding their role in *social reproduction*,” noting that “there is little doubt among scholars that all schools play a fundamental role in reproducing social-class structures, and, more specifically, that schools like Weston are crucial for the reproduction of
the upper class” (p. 9, italics in original). For many scholars of elite schools (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009; Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Khan, 2011), Pierre Bourdieu’s *The State Nobility* (1989/1996), and *Distinction* (1984), and Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, are foundational. Bourdieu explores how elite French schools are an important site for reproducing inequities. Similarly, C. Wright Mills (1956/2000) writes that the private school “is the most important agency for transmitting the traditions of the upper social classes and regulating the admissions of the new wealth and talent” (pp. 64–65). Of particular salience in elite education scholarship is Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus*, which, in the context of this study, refers to the ruling class cultural dispositions that are transmitted through an elite education. This trajectory aligns with C. Wright Mills’ (1956/2000) observation that “the vitals of a prep-school are not located in the curriculum. They are located in a dozen other places, some of them queer places indeed” (p. 65).

Bourdieu offers the concept of *habitus* as “at the basis of strategies of reproduction” that reproduce “the entire system of differences constitutive of the social order” (p. 3).4 *The State Nobility* (Bourdieu, 1989/1996) is a study of France’s *grandes écoles* and a meticulous account of the mechanisms through which various modes of capital (particularly what he calls *cultural capital*) are produced and accrued.

Bourdieu provides several important conceptual tools to study educational institutions as mechanisms for consolidating power. He writes that, “the educational institution thus makes a critical contribution to the state’s monopoly on legitimate symbolic violence, particularly through its power to nominate” (p. 117, italics in original). In this way, elite

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4 Bourdieu (1989/1996) describes habitus as “the relation of immediate proximity between objective structures and embodied structures” (p. 38). Wacquant (2005) describes habitus as “the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinant ways, which then guide them” (p. 316).
schools have the ability to designate who is at home in positions of power. Bourdieu (1989/1996) writes that:

One is born noble, but one becomes noble. One must be noble to act noble, but one would cease to be noble if one did not act nobly. In other words, social magic has very real effects. Assigning someone to a group of superior essence...causes that person to undergo a subjective transformation that contributes to bringing about a real transformation likely to bring him closer to the assigned definition. Thus the inevitable practices imposed upon preparatory class and grande école students by their sense of difference tend to objectively reinforce their difference. (p. 112, italics added)

Bourdieu emphasizes that elite status is a process, a becoming. To become elite is to undergo a shift in one’s subjectivity, and this shift has material effects in terms of one’s place in the world. It is through school practices that this shift occurs. Bourdieu also points out the crucial role played by difference in securing elite status, an economy that he takes up as distinction, a facet of elite formation that is a focus of this project.

Throughout this study, I am interested in how moral distinction offers a racial route to elite status. This chapter elaborates on moral distinction as a mechanism for distinguishing oneself as elite through moral excellence, or simply stated, through being and doing good. My study demonstrates that Canadian iterations of multiculturalism and humanitarianism are very effective and useful routes through which to secure moral excellence and to constitute race, gender, and class power in schools. This thesis shows a two-fold relationship between race and moral distinction in the making of elite subjects and schools. First, moral distinction is an effect of the colour line. In other words, schools become virtuous by producing themselves as white. Specifically, the schools deploy a strategy of diversity that consolidates the white somatic norm, and they practice the white disposition of welcoming others through their difference. Together, these techniques of whiteness produce institutional goodness (a
form of moral distinction). Whiteness is also virtue’s condition of possibility; we can help others because we are properly on the side of modernity. Second, moral distinction helps to make the colour line. That is, the quality of virtue is what exalts, justifies, and holds whiteness in place.

Taking up Bourdieu’s dual meaning of *distinction* as difference and division, as well as excellence, Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) develops the idea of “a discourse of distinction” by examining how students narrate their everyday experiences through an understanding of distinctions between their own elite status and others, distinctions that are classed, raced, and gendered (pp. 13-16). Students relied on these distinctions to shore up their belief in a meritocracy. That is, the students believed that the privileges they enjoyed were the result of hard work. Confirming this finding, Natasha Warikoo and Christina Fuhr (2013) explore how students at Oxford acknowledge that applicants who were not educated in high-quality schools may be at a disadvantage because they lack particular skills, while at the same time these applicants assert that their successful admission to Oxford is the result of inherent intelligence. C. Wright Mills (1956/2000), similarly writes that:

> people with advantages are loath to believe that they just happen to be people with advantages. They come readily to define themselves as inherently worthy of what they possess; they come to believe themselves “naturally” elite; and, in fact, to imagine their possessions and their privileges as natural extensions of their own elite selves. (p. 14)

Like the scholars considered here, Mills (1956/2000) also emphasizes the role of class power in consolidating a sense of self, emphasizing the psychological facet of class, writing that “nowhere in America is there as great a ‘class consciousness’ as among the elite” (p. 283). Mills (1956/2000) anticipates Bourdieu’s notion of “ease,” a mode of becoming for elites where skills acquired gradually through the family appear to be natural because they, “bear
no mark of the effort and no trace of the work that go into their acquisition” (Bourdieu, 1989/1996, p. 21). Studies by Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) and Khan (2011) of elite American boarding schools show that meritocracy and ease continue to be integral to the making of elite student status.

Elites, and thus elite schools, are transnational in character. Jane Kenway, in collaboration with a group of scholars from different countries, explores this aspect in her research project, *Elite schools in globalising circumstances: a multi-sited global ethnography* (2010–2014). This study considers schools in England, India, Hong Kong, Australia, Singapore, South Africa, Barbados, Argentina, and Cyprus, all “founded at some stage during the reign of the British Empire” and presently negotiating globalized markets, imaginations, and networks (Kenway & Fahey, 2014, p. 179). Canadian elite schools, while an important piece of this colonial and geopolitical story, have yet to be researched. Clearly, Canadian elite schools are an important part of this story of how colonial nations are negotiating their place on the world stage. In his analysis of an old elite school in India, Fazal Rizvi (2014) finds that:

> to participate in the global age, the College’s new narrative suggests that it must forge a range of global connections and develop within its broader community a global imaginary so that both colonial and post-colonial nationalist traditions become a valuable set of resources with which to engage with the challenges and opportunities of globalisation. (p. 307)

Rizvi (2014) emphasizes the braiding of national and global practices together with institutional directions in the making of elite status. Rizvi and Lingard’s (2010) study of global trends in education policy shows, however, that elite schools are interested in becoming global insofar as this has economic value. Confirming this finding, Brooks and Waters’ (2014) study of thirty elite English school websites reveals that schools emphasize
an English, rather than a global, identity, an orientation calculated to appeal to international students and the desire to learn English as a language and an identity.

It is clear that a racial dimension underpins the reproduction of elites. Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) takes up the shifting, intertwined categories of race, gender, and class to consider “how real people experience actual and lived processes of identification within categories of race, class, and gender that have a direct impact on their particular subjectivities” (p. 161). He finds that processes of distinction are racialized, that students of colour are the diversity curriculum, and that racial bodies do not fully belong to elite spaces in which, as I describe it, whiteness and eliteness go together. Shamus Rahman Khan’s (2011) study of St. Paul’s School finds that elite American boarding schools are more racially diverse than ever, creating a new “democratic inequality” (p. 196) where mobility does not mean equality (p. 199), and black and female students in particular experience contradictions (p. 198). Gaztambide-Fernández and DiAquoi (2010) conclude that racism is “an institutional force” and that “students of color feel that they belong nowhere” (p. 75). Adam Howard’s (2008) study of four elite schools finds that “institutional racism powerfully influenced the experiences of African American students” (p. 171) and that parents of colour feel that it is important for their children to learn about white, affluent culture. Importantly, his study finds that estrangement, alienation, and anxiety are particularly acute for girls of colour, and that white normative beauty may be an important factor in these experiences. This work aligns with the critical pedagogy scholarship about how students learn unstated social norms and values through the hidden curriculum (Apple, 2004; Giroux, 2001).

Various elite school scholars theorize the making of masculinities and femininities in elite schools but are confronted with the challenge of understanding how gender, race, class,
and sexuality interlock. Extending from critical girlhood studies scholarship such as that of McRobbie (2009), Ringrose (2013), and Walkerdine (2003), Claire Charles (2014) writes that the elite school girl is the ideal subject of empowered, neoliberal girlhood, a framework which is intensely regulatory. Stoudt (2013) takes up an intersectional approach and defines the study of privilege “broadly” to include “not only class, but the intersection of race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, nationality (to name a few)” (p. 301). In particular, Stoudt points to the gendered structure of elite school privilege such that “elite schools have long held traditions of defining particular types of ‘ruling’ masculinities for the preparation of power and privilege (Gathorne-Hardy, 1978)” (Stoudt, 2013, p. 305). Stoudt (2013) tracks how hegemonic masculinity, heteronormative violence, space, and bullying go together, and form a hidden curriculum (p. 319). This overview of the scholarship on elite schools suggests that it is necessary to consider elite subjectivities in ways that foreground how race, class, sexuality, and gender interlock and how the making of elites is a transnational process. It is on such terrain that I position this study.

**Definition of Terms**

Here, I define terms that are important to the analysis of the geography of the ivy throughout this study.

**Elite**

My use of the terms *elite, elite groups, and elite status* is a broad one that refers to more than socioeconomic class. I use the term to refer to an affluent national class that is also invested in cultivating class power through membership in an elite school community. This investment is an emotional as well as a material one. Levels of affluence vary at elite schools; some families are renowned political and corporate elites, and others are working
professionals who make great sacrifices to pay school fees and afford themselves and their children the opportunity to become integrated within this network.\(^5\) The degree to which this integration is possible is a question that I pursue in chapter five. The definition that I offer here reflects my emphasis on class power through educational experience in an expansive sense that comprises more than official curriculum. My notion of *elite* builds on that of Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2010) who use this term to describe “those social groups that have attained a degree of financial affluence and who are able to mobilize economic, social, and cultural resources in order to secure access to particular kinds of educational experience” (p. 196). It is these experiences, as a kind of grooming, that I am interested in. The volunteer abroad encounter is one of these experiences. While the volunteer abroad encounter is available to students at many public schools, the difference here is twofold. What makes this experience distinct, as I show, is the level of *fantasy* that affluence enables within this encounter, and the productive function that these programs serve at elite schools as part of a larger project of making a particular subject. The definition that I outlined here is my starting point. From here, I further explore throughout this study what *elite status* is and how it is made. I demonstrate, for example, that *eliteness* and *whiteness* are inextricable. My framework of class power is one in which class interlocks with race, gender, and sexuality\(^6\) (S. Razack, 1998). These are inextricable processes that must be theorized together. I use a critical race framework to theorize *race* more fully in the ensuing sections and chapters.

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\(^5\) As I explain in the next section, Canadian elite schools have much smaller endowments than, for example, American elite schools. As a result they offer fewer, and smaller, scholarships, and they have fewer students on full scholarship.

\(^6\) I touch on heteronormativity at points throughout this study; it is an important part of the sphere of how I am theorizing power but is not at the center of this study.
Elite Subject

In the above section, I discussed Kenway and Fahey’s (2014) finding that global experiences are an increasingly important part of making national elite status, and I further explore this in chapters four (on global citizenship) and six (on the volunteer abroad encounter). Canadian elite schools also successfully market and sell their institutions as prestigious brands to families abroad, as one can observe at school recruitment fairs in Europe, the Caribbean, and throughout Asia. Canadian elite schools, then, are mechanisms through which to consolidate Canadian and international elite groups. These schools are desirable because they offer the possibility of facilitating a trajectory of prestigious university education, often in the United States, an education that leads to high status employment and social opportunities. For international students, future elite positions are often in their country of origin. My premise is that Canadian elite schools provide a particular route to elite status for both Canadian and international students. I explain this below. Further, while I do not evaluate international students’ or parents’ desire to become part of the school community, I am interested, in chapter five in particular, in the mechanisms through which they are excluded from it.

The route to elite status that I theorize here is part of the national process of becoming Canadian. Sherene Razack (2004) writes in her book *Dark Threats and White Knights* that Canada imagines itself through the narrative of possessing “the special qualities of a middle-power peacekeeping nation,” a narrative in which Canada is part of the global “family of civilized nations” (p. 10). In this national narrative that S. Razack (2004) describes, being *good* through *doing good* is a racial story with Canada on the side of civilized, modern nations that are called to assist others into modernity. This is the racial story of benevolence
that David Jefferess (2011a) calls *Canadian distinction*. This Canadian narrative offers a way of *being good* for Canadians as well as international students studying in Canada. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the importance of *distinction* in constituting elite status, as Bourdieu (1989/1996) and Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) have shown. There is an intersection here: one may secure elite status through *Canadian distinction*. That is, national distinction is a way for elites to further secure elite status. We know that public schools are important sites for the making of Canadian national subjects (Mackey, 1999). I am suggesting that elite schools offer a particular way in which to become this Canadian subject of distinction through intensified fantasies and big, embodied experiences of *doing good*. It is this process that I uncover in this study, both by setting the stage for how this process developed over time at elite schools, and how it happens now in the volunteer abroad encounter. Elite schools are an important site to study the making of national subjects both because they are places that reproduce material, social, and cultural capital of racial capitalism’s upper echelons, and because elite schools offer a compelling route to *Canadian distinction*. As Jefferess (2011a) demonstrates, Canadian “benevolence has become associated with tolerance and pluralism” (p. 91). Affluent schools have the material resources to offer extravagant programs for tolerance, pluralism, and global citizenship. These include elaborate Lunar New Year and Diwali celebrations with catering, live music, and performers, as well as diversity clubs, Model United Nations clubs and travel, international women’s day events, Arabic and Mandarin language course options, and extensive volunteer abroad opportunities. My interest, then, is in the particular mode of becoming of this elite subject, which is an iteration of the national subject, through the elite school as a site. Throughout this
study, and to emphasize various dimensions in various contexts, I use the terms *elite subject*, *elite citizen*, and *elite global citizen* to refer to this same elite school subject.

**Elite School**

This section discusses the definition of *elite school*. Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) provides a five-pronged rubric with which to distinguish elite American schools from the thousands of independent schools (I explain these in the following paragraph). Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) defines elite school status as comprising five intersecting axes of elite status: typologic, scholastic, historic, demographic, and geographic. I briefly consider each one of these five strands in the Canadian context to define a Canadian elite school.

Starting with *typologic*, elite schools are identified as *independent*. The Canadian Accredited Independent Schools Association (CAIS) defines independent schools as those that are “not-for-profit,” “have charitable status, “are overseen by an elected Board of Governors,” and are “licensed by the provinces in which they operate” (CAIS, n.d., no page number). They distinguish “private schools” as institutions that “can be for profit” (CAIS, n.d., no page). There is a distinction, then, between *public* (that is, provincial schools that are not fee-based), *independent*, and *private* schools. Endowments play an important role in the categorization of independent schools, and Gaztambide-Fernández (2009) notes that “the wealthiest schools have reported endowments around the billion-dollar mark” (p. 27). In the Canadian context, elite schools have much smaller endowments. For example, Upper Canada College ranks as the wealthiest with a reported endowment of over $42 million CAD (Upper Canada College, 2011, p.22), equivalent to over $39 million USD at the time of writing, with Trinity College School at $24 million CAD (Trinity College School, n.d., Endowment, no page number). and St. Andrew’s College at $25 million CAD (SAC Foundation, n.d., no
Smaller endowments mean fewer and smaller scholarship programs, initiatives that facilitate recruiting for racial and socioeconomic diversity. An additional and important typologic attribute of independent schools is their ability to hand-select their students as well as their teachers. This is important in crafting a particular kind of subject and school.

Turning to Gaztambide-Fernández’s (2009) second strand of elite status, *scholastic*, elite Canadian schools take pride in innovative curriculum and pedagogy and the integration of technology. They pride themselves on extensive extracurricular programs that might include, among other activities, community service, music, theatre, dance, competitive sports, squash, tennis, swimming, and yoga. Third, along the *historic* axis, official school narratives of elite school origins are tied to the story of the nation, how the school was modeled on those in England, and ongoing relationships with European royalty.  

Canadian elite schools derive from the tradition of English *public schools*.  

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7 A 1980 investigative report written for the National Film Board of Canada by Robert Lang, a Toronto-based award-winning filmmaker and television producer, sets the stage for the documentary he subsequently directed about Ridley College, *A Secret Garden*, and contains this excellent bit of historical information:

In 1807, grammar schools were set up in the eight districts of the province - boarding schools which were mostly for well-to-do, fee-paying students. The over-riding concern in establishing this system was the education of the young colony’s leaders, “the education of the superior classes” as Governor Simcoe had put it. It was in three major areas that a school system would have been rationalized as important: to produce a civilized and competent elite equipped to preserve and extend Christian civilization in the New World; to preserve and extend British political institutions as a bulwark against American republicanism and democracy which was seen as a real threat at that time; to promote the aim of the churches...Most were modelled on the British public school which had existed in England for more than 1200 years. The most influential among them were closely affiliated with the Church of England and their teachers were imported from the mother country...Ontario schools such [as] Upper Canada College, Pickering College and a handful of others made it through many religious, political and economic crises while hundreds of others fell by the way-side. (Lang, 1980, pp. 1-2)

8 Kenway and Fahey (in press) explain the origin of this term: “In 1868 the Public Schools Act identified a set of seven boarding and two day schools as ‘public schools’ because their only entry restriction was to be fees, not locality or religion” (no page number). The authors explain that these were boys’ schools.
Fourth, turning to the *demographic* component of elite school status, while I can offer anecdotal comments on this based on personal observation, statistics are not available to me as a researcher from which to make precise claims. Unlike the American context where diversity and access are prominent features of the independent school discourse and demographic information is tracked and made publicly available (NAIS, n.d.), this information is not tracked and made available by elite Canadian schools in the same way, either through CAIS, or as publically accessible information at schools. We can hold two observations together in a discussion about demographics: that annual boarding fees for 2014–2015 are as high as $58,870 CAD ($52,680 USD) for Appleby College international boarding students, and $38,460 CAD ($34,416 USD) for Appleby College day students (Appleby College, n.d., Fee schedule 2014–2015, no page number); and that income inequality in Canada continues to be mapped along racial lines (Henry & Tator, 2010). This demonstrates that the students and parents at elite schools are from the upper middle and upper socioeconomic strata, strata that historically have been, and continue to be, predominantly white.9

I offer two comparisons to demonstrate that Canadian elite schools align with, and compete for, international students alongside elite schools elsewhere. For a British point of comparison, the 2014–2015 fees at Eton College, the renowned English boarding school founded in 1440, and model type of school from which those in Canada and the former

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9 There are a number of tax breaks available in Canada for parents who send their children to private school, including tax breaks for students with a doctor’s note providing medical reasons why they would be more successful in a private school environment (Financial Resources, n.d.; Vermond, 2012). While the government assists parents to opt out of public school, it is important to consider this alongside the fact that many Native students do not have a viable public education system to opt into. Hayden King (2013) writes in an article for *The Globe and Mail* that:

Dakota and Innu peoples are not worth it. If Canadian schoolchildren in any region of the country didn’t have clean water to drink at school the unequivocal solution would be to fix the problem – with money. Not so for native kids. (no page number)
colonies are derived, are £34,434, equivalent at the time of writing to $61,728 CAD ($55,238 USD) (Eton College, n.d., no page number). For an American point of comparison, the 2014–2015 boarding fees at the elite Deerfield Academy, from which Jordan’s King Abdullah graduated, are $54,850 USD ($61,295 CAD) (King’s Academy, n.d., no page number). These fees do not represent the total costs including items such as school uniform, and optional programs such as volunteer abroad trips.

Finally, Gaztambide-Fernández’s (2009) fifth strand of elite school status is geographic. Canadian school campuses evoke a sense of grandeur; many of these institutions occupy large tracts of land in highly desirable neighborhoods that boast manicured grounds and majestic chapels, dining halls, and classroom buildings. Together, these five strands describe what distinguishes Canadian elite schools from other independent schools, private schools, and public schools.

**Multiculturalism**

*Multiculturalism* is woven throughout this thesis to describe, with varying levels of emphasis, a mode of encountering others, an attribute of elite schools, and a characteristic of Canadian national identity. In this section, I explain the racial power\(^\text{10}\) structure from which I theorize these articulations of multiculturalism, and which I build on later in this chapter.

Roxana Ng (1995) writes that Canadian multiculturalism is an “‘ideological frame’” that was put in place in 1971 by the Trudeau government to manage an “increasingly vocal and militant” minority population, and, in particular, the mounting demands of Native peoples. This “framework of national unity” (p. 36) was intended to quell growing demands

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\(^{10}\) Further to Gada Mahrouse’s study (2007), and in a slight shift from elite school scholarship, considered later in this chapter, which tends towards a focus on formations of *privilege*, I consider elite *privilege* and *power* as interchangeable.
for equitable treatment for First Nations, minoritized groups, and youth. Himani Bannerji (1995) describes Canadian multiculturalism as “the project of inventing cultural categories to accomplish the task of ruling” (p. 63). Critical race theorists have shown that (white settler) multiculturalism is an ideology that re-articulates and secures racial power (Ahmed, 2000; Bannerji, 2000; Hage, 2000; Haque, 2012; S. Razack, 2004; Thobani, 2007). As Sunera Thobani (2007) demonstrates, state multiculturalism helped to secure white supremacy:

in the reconstitution of whiteness in its distinct (and historically new) version as a culturally “tolerant” cosmopolitan whiteness. This has facilitated a more fashionable and politically acceptable form of white supremacy, which has had greater currency within a neocolonial, neoliberal global order. (p. 148)

Further, Thobani, citing Bannerji (2000), writes that this new white settler configuration fragmented interracial coalitions and positioned Native peoples as another minority group amongst many, working to help deny claims while simultaneously casting the nation-state as the “benevolent guardian” of First Nations (Thobani, 2007, p. 173). This framing of multiculturalism reveals the failures inherent in a liberal paradigm of inclusion. In the context of elite schools, then, and as I explore in the chapters that follow, making a diverse or multicultural school does not abolish white supremacy from institutions. Rather, multiculturalism is integral to whiteness and elite status. I also show how multiculturalism is an institutional attribute that has a moralizing effect, in the sense that we are good because we are diverse, and, further, that multiculturalism’s moralizing effect sharpens the impetus to participate in civilizing projects abroad.

**Humanitarianism**

While chapter three provides a detailed discussion of the economies of humanitarianism and the making of the humanitarian subject, and chapter six analyzes a
particular humanitarian encounter, I outline a definition of humanitarianism here to frame this study. I conceptualize humanitarianism as a relation of care between two bodies, one who is figured as modern and benevolent through an expression of care towards another who is figured as pre-modern and in need. Both of these figures take shape through the relation of care. Clearly, this frame of modernity has a racial structure of white/Canadian humanitarian and a recipient of colour. As I explore later, this care can be expressed through a range of emotions, actions, and practices. I also take up how this relation of care is enmeshed within broader geopolitical economies of aid and ongoing colonial relationships. My approach to humanitarianism follows Chouliaraki’s (2013) notion of post-humanitarianism as “sentimental education” (p. 30). While her study emphasizes the making of publics, however, mine theorizes the making of subjects. I work with her idea of the post-humanitarian subject as one who “situates the pleasures of the self at the heart of moral action” (p. 4), and who abandons justice “in favour of a new emotionality of the self” (p. 20).

I frame the volunteer abroad encounter as an iteration of the humanitarian relation of care and within the industry of humanitarianism, an encounter that is crucial to the making of whiteness and eliteness. Throughout this study, I describe volunteer abroad encounters as humanitarianism rather than service learning. I do so to emphasize the geopolitical and historical continuities of this relation of care and to situate this educational experience within the broader humanitarian industry. Throughout this thesis I emphasize the learning dimension that the phrase service learning implies by considering the experiences that make
the elite subject through the encounter. Finally, and as I discuss later, I also consider global citizenship as a form of humanitarianism.

**Theorizing Being and Doing Good**

While the elite school is the site of this study, the scholarship that forms the heart of this dissertation is drawn from Canadian critical scholarship that theorizes processes of *being good through doing good*. Specifically, this is Canadian critical humanitarian scholarship. This critical literature on *being* and *doing good* are the foundation on which I build my study about the making of the elite subject at the site of the elite school. Now that I have provided an overview of what the elite school is and how I am taking up elite status, I shift into the core literature that forms the foundation of this study in order to provide the research questions and road map for this project.

Within this study about the making of the elite subject, I have identified moral distinction as an important dimension through which this subject position is secured. This thesis shows that, for the elite subject, *being good* is about *doing good*. While the elite subject is not the only subject for whom this process is a crucial one, I am interested in the particular ways that characterize *being good* and *doing good* for the elite subject at the Canadian elite school. I locate this study, then, in critical race and transnational feminist approaches to how Canadians *become good* through *doing good*. The studies considered in this section demonstrate that Canadian scholars have contributed a great deal to a field of study that has become known as critical humanitarian studies. This body of scholarship

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theorizes humanitarianism, development, and transnational solidarity activism. As chapter four shows, the current elite school impulse to volunteer abroad is one that emerges from travel histories of becoming through an emphasis on seeing, to becoming through an emphasis on doing. Elite school volunteer abroad programs emerge both from this shift from a desire that primarily seeks to see an exotic abroad, to one that seeks to do within an exotic abroad (chapter four), as well as from schools reaching the limit point of what can be changed within the student body by adding different kinds of bodies (chapter five), and needing to go outside the school to find further encounters with difference.

I begin with Barbara Heron’s (2007) groundbreaking book, *Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender, and the Helping Imperative*. Heron’s (2007) book builds on her doctoral dissertation (1999), making this an early study about the making of white, middle-class femininity through helping others. Heron theorizes race, nation, class, gender, and morality. Her study of white, middle-class Canadian development workers on long-term contracts in sub-Saharan Africa shows that the women’s desire to help forms a *colonial continuity* that repeats, (while also modifying over time), the ongoing foreclosure of African subjectivity in the making of empowered, morally good, white women. Heron (2007) writes that “our desire for development” is “a profound desire for self” (p. 156), and a confident, unitary self signals a move to dominance. Heron (2007) notes the salience of global interventionism to Canadian national identity. Her work articulates with that of development scholars such as Choudry (2010), Dei (1998), Escobar (1997). Esteva (2010), Kothari (2006), Rodney (1982), Sardar (1999), and Tucker (1999). Heron (2007) critiques the popular view that humanitarian and development practices are “unproblematically ‘good,’” noting in particular how they are contingent on “the construction of a racialized other” (p. 6). Heron’s (2007) findings show
that it is through “continually working toward a position of accountability” that “bourgeois women like myself can aspire to morality” (p. 15).

Along the same lines, Sheryl Nestel’s (2000) doctoral dissertation takes up encounters with women abroad through what she calls midwifery tourism. Nestel (2000) explores how Ontario midwives acquire experience and training at border clinics where the bodies of Third World women provide the raw material for their acquiring of expertise. Nestel (2000) traces “how feminist projects which rely on unexamined notions of ‘global sisterhood’ actually reproduce unequal relations of power between women” (p. 138). Nestel (2000) shows that Canadian midwives were able to consolidate moral, benevolent selves through the birthing bodies of globally southern women, “while rationalizing both the specific relations of violence experienced in the border clinics and the global violence which produces the geopolitical spaces in which those clinics have thrived” (p. 144). Nestel’s study shows how encounters with racial others abroad create moral, white, femininities, and how marginalized women’s bodies become, with great risk to their bodies, opportunities for acquiring midwifery expertise and building midwives’ careers in Canada. Nestel’s (2000) finding has particular salience for the elite girls’ school volunteer trips abroad considered in this study, and the desire to go abroad in search of relationships with racial others.

Narda Razack’s (2003) dissertation considers how the encounter abroad works in the context of university faculty and students travelling to the global south for research and practica. N. Razack (2003) finds that critical self-reflective practices were unsuccessful in interrupting or reconfiguring narratives about unfortunate others and benevolence as transformative. The dominant, colonial frame of Northern helpfulness obscures the historical context and structural nature of poverty, enabling the export of social work knowledge and
practice from the global north. N. Razack’s (2003) findings show that travel from privileged spaces in the global north to structurally disadvantaged places in the global south secures an imperial, national identity. Of particular salience for this study is N. Razack’s (2003) finding that racial minority students struggled with their presence in the global south, and “tended to be more aware than the white participants of how racism and whiteness operated to keep their white colleagues in superior positions” (p. 317). N. Razack’s (2003) study participants “felt the struggles of the local people more acutely than the white participants,” and “their need to react to injustices tempered their privileged Northern status” (p. 317). Accordingly, in her 2005 article, N. Razack argues that “for the participants of color, visiting or revisiting colonized space unsettled their relations to nation, nationality, and citizenship” (p. 102).

Sherene Razack’s work (2004, 2007) places entanglements of race, nation, gender, morality, and pleasure at the center of processes of being and doing good. S. Razack (2004) maps the racial journeys into personhood that characterize Canadian national processes of becoming, that is, how racial others are crucial to making moral, feeling, Canadian subjects. In the context of the Rwandan genocide, for example, S. Razack (2007) writes about the particular process of becoming that happened through the Canadian public’s viewing of films about the genocide. S. Razack (2007) writes that, “the suffering of the Rwandans has been transformed into our pleasure, the good feeling that we get from contemplating our own humanity” (pp. 381–382). Racial hierarchies, then, are secured through feeling the pleasure of being good. This is the pleasure that Canadians take from imagining themselves as Third World saviors. This analysis is crucial in revealing how moral virtue is embodied, and secured, through feeling. Canadians imagine themselves as equipped to “gently teach Third
World Others about civility” (S. Razack, 2004, p. 33), and as uniquely positioned through an imagined capacity for doing good.

S. Razack’s work (2004, 2007) demonstrates that humanitarianism is crucial to the national imaginary, and to understanding how racial hierarchies are produced in the Canadian context. S. Razack (2004) demonstrates that humanitarianism enables Canada to assert its place on the world stage, a process that requires a violent relationship with racial others. The relationship between humanitarianism and Canadian national identity requires that Canadians continuously seek humanitarian encounters abroad, as an essential aspect of how we come to now ourselves as racially superior. Humanitarianism is an important site at which these processes of making a moral, Canadian subject through doing happens; the humanitarian relation is a mechanism through which racial others abroad are sought, and racial hierarchies are secured.

Nancy Cook’s (2005) study of volunteers in Gilgit, Pakistan, also demonstrates the making of empowered Western/white femininities through the bodies of racial others. Cook (2005) uncovers that this making is an ongoing, historical one with women’s involvement in development originating in “the ‘civilizing’ aspects of European interventions” (p. 354). Cook’s (2005) findings show that the development workers in her study become “honorary men” in that they are granted access and mobility from which Indigenous women are normally excluded, helping the development workers to develop a sense of themselves as “freer” against a background of local women, while simultaneously still lacking authoritativeness at home. Cook’s (2005) study, then, reveals the importance of racial encounters abroad in facilitating access largely denied to Western/white women within patriarchal structures at home.
Shifting to transnational solidarity activism, Gada Mahrouse (2007, 2010, 2014) shows that social justice efforts to *do good* abroad through accompaniment/observer activism in conflict zones re-inscribe global white hegemony and are fraught with complexities and contradictions. She finds that volunteers tend to maintain hierarchical relations of power and innocence, often through the language of *solidarity* and *partnership*. Mahrouse (2014) finds that “the racialized experiences [the activists] have abroad are integral to how they come to understand their positioning as First World subjects” (p. 13). This activist encounter is explicitly a racial one that depends on the power of whiteness for one’s body to protect another’s body, differently positioned in the global racial hierarchy, from violence. However, the role of racial power is minimized in the encounter at the same time as racial, national, gendered, and classed subject positions are consolidated through it. In this way, “by viewing and portraying themselves as wanted, helpful, and as well-meaning, some [activists] were able to reconcile their concerns about the racialized dominance they enact through their presence” (Mahrouse, 2014, p. 116). Extending from this analysis, Mahrouse’s most recent work (forthcoming) about Canadian higher education students’ volunteer abroad experiences reveals the role of expressions of love as a way for Canadian volunteers to reconcile power inequalities.

Simon Darnell (2009, 2012) theorizes the making of Canadian subjects through volunteer abroad encounters in the domain of sport. Darnell’s dissertation (2009) and book (2012) analyze the experiences of Canadians volunteering abroad with the “Sport for Development and Peace” (SDP) movement. Darnell concludes that whiteness and innocence are integral to the volunteer program, and that rather than challenging the systems of inequalities, which forms the motivation for their travel, volunteers reify the very inequalities
that they intend to overturn. Darnell’s work demonstrates the limitations of deploying a charity model to get to justice. Specifically relevant to this study is Darnell’s (2009) finding that volunteers’ return to Canada “was marked by the solidification of Whiteness, the securing of geo-political innocence, and subsequently a sense of mourning when the opportunities to enact similar change, and to assume a colonial subject position, were not as readily available at home” (p. 295). This finding suggests that the volunteer abroad encounter offers a unique process of racial becoming to Canadian global citizens, one that is deeply colonial and political.

Finally, I turn to David Jefferess’ (2011a) analysis of how benevolence is a material and discursive structure that is integral to the figure of the global citizen. Jefferess (2011a) critiques the presumed morality of benevolence to show how it reinscribes inequity and racial hierarchy. Through an analysis of documentary representations of renowned humanitarians Stephen Lewis, former United Nations ambassador, and James Orbinski, former president of Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders), Jefferess (2011a) demonstrates the ambivalent post-racial move that at once asserts the spectacle of whiteness, and moves to erase whiteness. To occupy the position of the benevolent caregiver is to position oneself as modern and fully human, a relation that is made possible by the ejection of those in need as outside of modernity and humanity. The structure of benevolence, then, “produces violence and structural inequality as poverty and misfortune” (Jefferess, 2011a, p. 92). This move articulates with what Jefferess (2011a) names “Canadian exceptionality” (p. 89), which comprises “hegemonic narratives of Canadian identity as innocent, peaceable and exceptional” (p. 91), a “prevailing norm that ‘we’ Canadians are enablers and capacity builders in a world divided into the structural binary of the fortunate and unfortunate” (p. 91).
Jefferess (2011a) shows the important function performed by benevolence in making innocent, privileged Canadian subjects, also noting that there are marked differences in the level of ease, contestation, and anxiety, and in how available Canadian exceptionalism is for white Canadians versus Canadians of colour. Significantly, Jefferess (2011a) demonstrates how Canadian pluralism constitutes benevolence; pluralism works as a sign of modernity and global citizens desire to help others attain this modernity, too, a desire that legitimates humanitarian intervention. Stated differently, our multicultural character makes us modern and good, and because we are modern and good we have an obligation to help pre-modern people get to modernity. In chapter five I take up this relation between multiculturalism, modernity, and benevolence, to show that multiculturalism helps compel elite schools to go abroad to volunteer.

The literature discussed in this section demonstrates that humanitarianism is central to the Canadian national imaginary and to national identity, an importance that underscores the racial structure of national belonging and citizenship. Building from Jefferess’ (2011a) findings, in this study I analyze a particular multicultural encounter, in relation to the humanitarian encounter, as that which sets the stage and legitimates volunteer abroad initiatives. This chapter demonstrates that multiculturalism and humanitarianism are linked through a racial logic of white dominance. This dissertation engages with and builds on the critical humanitarian studies discussed here in order to offer an analysis of youth subjectivities in general, and girls in particular, at the site of Canadian schools. I build on the critical humanitarian scholarship presented in this section by further theorizing the role of racial bodies in the making of Canadian material and discursive dominance through whiteness, and the specificities of this process for young elites in the context of schools.
Contributions and Research Questions

The objective of this study is to theorize the making of the elite subject at Canadian elite schools. I set out three research questions that guide this study. The first question is: who is the elite subject that students are called to become? To answer this, I follow colonial trajectories to map the subject position of the gendered, elite citizen of our intensified neoliberal and racially structured moment. To demonstrate what this subject position does, I consider this position in relation to the broader economies of humanitarianism, of which it is a part. The second question is: how do schools secure elite status? To answer this, I theorize a historical moment where the elite status of three schools was destabilized, and the moves that the schools made to re-secure this status. The third question is: how do students take up this elite subject position at the site of the elite school? That is, what are the practices through which students actually become elite? This question uncovers the particular elite school making of a gendered global citizen through what I will refer to as a civilizing femininity.

This study contributes to existing scholarship in four main ways: (1) it asserts the need for global citizenship and volunteer abroad scholarship to account for the central role of race in school programs that focus on multiculturalism and “helping others;” (2) it helps to assert within the elite schooling scholarship that elite status must be theorized together with whiteness; (3) this study extends the scholarship on the humanitarian industrial complex by elaborating on how schools are a site for the making of humanitarian subjects; and (4) this thesis contributes to anti-racism education by calling attention to the need to interrupt the racial route to elite status for young people in Canada.
Outline and Overview

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Following the introduction presented here in chapter one, chapter two elaborates on how I take up what I explain as the encounter as research framework and methodology. I discuss the two entry points of the study: document analysis of archival material, and empirical study of a South Africa volunteer trip. I address the ethical dimensions of the study, and describe the research participants and schools.

Both chapters three and four address the first research question; that is, they map the elite subject that students are called to become. Chapter three does this by elaborating on the framework of the encounter from chapter two. Chapter three explains how subjects are made through discourse, how the subject position of the global citizen is made through various discourses about exotic people and places, and the specificities of the elite school global citizen. I begin by explaining my poststructural approach to theorizing subjectivity. I am particularly interested in fantasy, desire, and racialization. I then analyze the particular structure of humanitarian desire. I explore the geopolitical context of humanitarianism, emphasizing what is at stake in integrating humanitarianism and schooling. I then discuss the attributes of the global citizen, and how the global feminist is the gendered global citizen, a figure and orientation that I later theorize in terms of a civilizing femininity. I conclude by framing my rubric of the elite subject and the role of fantasy in creating this subject.

Chapter four continues theorizing the elite subject that students are called to become by charting a chronology of elite school encounters that have led to the current emphasis on volunteer abroad. This chapter tells the story of the shift from becoming an elite subject through an emphasis on seeing, to becoming elite through an emphasis on doing. I show the chronological move from the Grand Tour, a mid- to late-twentieth century form of travel for
European gentlemen as part of their coming-of-age, to current volunteer abroad programs. I consider historical examples of travel after the Grand Tour that demonstrate the shifting nature of encounters at Canadian elite schools. I tell the stories of Inuit scholarship students at Lakefield College School in 1928–1929, British war guests in the 1940s, the transition to exchange programs, and the shift to gap year programs and volunteer abroad initiatives. This chapter tells the story of the institutionalization of volunteer abroad programs at Canadian elite schools.

Chapter five elaborates on why volunteer abroad programs became necessary by considering the role of multicultural initiatives at elite schools in creating this impetus. Here, I address the second research question about how schools secure elite status. This chapter considers historical documents from three elite school archives: Ridley College, Lakefield College School, and Appleby College. I show how having too many bodies of colour becomes institutionally unsettling. I then demonstrate how whiteness is (re)made and secured through recruiting local, predominantly white girls to offset increasing numbers of East Asian students who upset the racial balance, and, as a result, the elite status of the schools. I theorize how welcoming others through difference is a practice of whiteness, one that secures an institutional moral distinction. It is both this moral distinction, and the need for further difference after having reached the limit point for difference behind the ivy, that helps to create the impetus to seek further encounters with racial others abroad. This outward movement is a continuation of the ongoing strategy of producing elite status through the bodies of racial others at schools. This chapter demonstrates that the shift to co-education effected a civilizing femininity; that is, adding local, white girls helped to make the school modern during a time of increased East Asian bodies. The analysis also shows that elite
schools sell whiteness. Chapter five demonstrates that elite schools had to go beyond the ivy to seek out more encounters with racial others, and to find new ways to sell whiteness.

Chapter six demonstrates that the volunteer abroad encounter is a mechanism through which elite schools sell whiteness beyond the ivy. This chapter answers the third research question about how students become elite subjects in practice. This chapter is a study of an elite Canadian girls’ school’s South Africa trip. I take up empirical data to theorize the making of the elite girls. I show that the process of becoming elite through the humanitarian relation of care is a raced and gendered one. Specifically, I demonstrate how the encounter produces a civilizing femininity of the elite global citizen. Throughout this chapter, I theorize a cluster of grooming strategies and rhetorical, discursive, and emotional structures that form routes to elite status. For example, some of these strategies help to make an intensified fantasy that produces amplified emotional expressions, and others work to foreground participants’ sense of pleasure and capability, moves that obscure injustice. Moral distinction is at the heart of this chapter, since the volunteer abroad encounter is an act of doing good to be good, and the diverse strategies that I theorize in this chapter help to constitute this moral excellence in the encounter.

Chapter seven reflects on the research objective and questions to discuss how this study contributes to anti-racism education. I consider how this project uncovers the making of the elite subject through strategies that secure moral distinction. I summarize how the volunteer abroad encounter is an important route for becoming an elite subject, and the role of the multicultural encounter in this becoming. I reflect on implications of the findings, resistances that I have encountered when presenting the findings of this study, and gaps in this project that call for future analysis.
Chapter Two
Research Framework, Design, and Process

Introduction

This chapter explains the design of this research project, that is, the tools I used to uncover how elite subjects are made at Canadian schools. Section one explains how what I explain as encounter forms the research framework and methodology of this study. Section two re-states the main research questions and the two entry points into the study through which I answer them: document analysis of archival material, and empirical study of a South Africa volunteer trip. Section three describes the process of gathering data. I discuss participants, consent, elite school access, and contextual information. The conclusion provides an overview of what is unique about the research design presented in this chapter, and why it is a strong approach with which to answer to research questions that I pose.

The Encounter as Research Framework and Methodology

This study seeks to theorize the meeting of racial bodies and white/Canadian bodies in the context of elite Canadian schools. This meeting happens at the schools, and is also facilitated by institutionalized school travel programs. Building on Gada Mahrouse’s dissertation (2007) and the book that followed (2014), I am interested in the intersection of “embodiment, the encounter, and the contact zone” which together offer ways of simultaneously thinking about the materiality of the body, movement, and the psychic dimensions of racialized relations” (Mahrouse, 2007, p. 37, italics in original). These psychic and embodied dimensions include emotions. Like Mahrouse (2007, forthcoming), I am interested in a poststructural framework of subjectivity that theorizes the fluid, shifting, and constructed nature of identities, together with a postcolonial framework that theorizes the
making of subjects in relation to geopolitical, historical, and material relations. While I further discuss these frameworks in chapter three, I begin to take up the encounter here to position my research method as one that seeks to uncover relations between macro and micro social worlds in the context of young people and at the site of the elite school.

_Embodiment_ is central to this study because I am considering a physical meeting where the materiality of the other shapes the subject’s experience of being in the world. I agree with Mahrouse (2014) that Frantz Fanon’s scholarship on the encounter is crucial to theorizing how white subjects “come to know themselves or experience their ‘being’ through the Other” (p. 16). Like Mahrouse (2014, pp. 170–171, note 75), I am also drawn to S. Razack’s theorizing of the colonial encounter as one that shifts over time while remaining “a moment when powerful narratives turn oppressed peoples into objects, to be held in contempt, or to be saved from their fates by more civilized beings” (S. Razack, 1998, p. 3). Throughout this study, I am interested in both this making of bodies into objects through race, and how this making enables saving the racial other. This hierarchical relation recalls Mary Louise Pratt’s (1992) concept of the _contact zone_, “spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (p. 4). I am interested in the production of this asymmetricality, the political and educational projects that it facilitates and that facilitate it, and how young people take up this asymmetrical relation.

To define and analyze _encounters_, I use Ahmed’s (2000) analytic of _stranger fetishism_. _Stranger fetishism_ is “the ‘cutting off’ of figures from the social and material relations which overdetermine their existence,” a severing that “ontologizes the stranger” and “turns the stranger into something that simply is” (p. 5), rather than made. The multicultural
“mode of proximity” is a particular economy of stranger fetishism through which the stranger surfaces, and through which she may be welcomed or expelled as the “origin of difference,” an act that produces her as the stranger either way (p. 97). This encounter works through “a double and contradictory process of incorporation and expulsion: it may seek to differentiate between those strangers whose appearance of difference can be claimed by the nation, and those stranger strangers who may yet be expelled” (p. 97). The production of different kinds of strangers is integral to how multicultural stranger fetishism works. It is through welcoming or rejecting strangers that the national subject acquires ontological coherence.

Ahmed (2000) points out that it is not that strangers do not belong; rather, strangers have a place in the nation as those who are from somewhere else. Strangers play an important role in the making of national, transnational, and institutional collectives. Ahmed suggests that, whether welcomed or expelled, the proximity of strangers is necessary to make the nation. In Canada, as in many multicultural and postcolonial contexts, “the ‘we’ itself emerges through the very gesture of claiming difference,” where “those who appear as different are incorporated as difference - a process that allows the nation to imagine itself as heterogeneous” (p. 113, italics in original). This is the process of consumption that characterizes the multicultural mode of proximity, a process that is always racial in that it is about making the white/Northern nation through other (racialized) bodies. The proximity of

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12 I use the term postcolonial not to invoke a fantasy of transcending coloniality, but rather to point to ongoing colonial encounters, relations that infuse all facets of our social and psychological lives, and of a “failed historicity,” a marker that cannot capture the past or the present (Ahmed, 2000).

13 Throughout this text I move between the terms white, white/Canadian, and white/Northern depending on the context. I employ white/Northern to refer to a relational, material and discursive power position within the global racial hierarchy. I use Northern rather than Western to connote the global North and what S. Razack (2004) calls the “family of civilized nations” (p. 55). I could equally have used Western, which would be more in keeping with Said (1979) and Mahrouse (2014), or vacillated between the two terms. My choice of Northern is intended to emphasize the whiteness and civility through which the Canadian north and climate are imagined. There is considerable overlap between the terms elite and white/Northern, the complexities of which I discuss in
strangers is crucial to nation-making practices, and racial strangers are particularly important since our bodies are marked with difference as a permanent sign of national exclusion, reluctance, expulsion, or “differentiated inclusion,” “a contradictory location” of insider and outsiderness (Puwar, 2004, p. 58). The encounter with strangers as “the proximity of that which cannot be assimilated into the national body” demarcates the borders both within the national body and between it and a national exterior (p. 100, italics in original). The stranger acquires “bodily integrity” in being welcomed or expelled by the subject, processes which “constitute the boundaries of bodies and communities,” and produce the stranger either way (Ahmed, 2000, p. 6).

I follow Ahmed’s (2000) approach by analyzing two encounters through which elite subjects are produced. In the multicultural encounter in chapter five, I analyze the production of the East Asian international student as racial stranger. In the humanitarian encounter in chapter six, I analyze the making of the African child as the racial stranger. These are two different racial strangers, two different modes of proximity, and two different routes to constituting the elite subject through racial processes of becoming. Like Ahmed (2000), I do not study the stranger as an essential being. Rather, my approach is to uncover how the construction of the stranger makes the subject. This approach resonates with Andrea Smith’s suggestion that, taking up Anthony Viego (2007), “our goal may not be to ‘understand’ the Native but to challenge the grid of intelligibility under which the Native is known” (A.

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chapters four and five in terms of how the category of elite is contingent upon white/Northern proximity. I use the term white as described by Mahrouse (2014) in the sense of “to capture the more visible and embodied or corporeal processes of racialization” (Mahrouse, 2014, p. 20). As I explore in chapter four, I also explore whiteness, as critical whiteness scholar Ruth Frankenberg (1988) writes, as “a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed” (p. 1). Both the embodied and the cultural facets of whiteness are important throughout this study.
Smith, 2013, p. 270). My objective is to make an intervention into these grids of understanding.

While I am particularly interested in the unique and crucial role played by racial strangers, at some points I consider encounters with others who are not known through racial difference. These moments of contact with others who have some cultural difference, but who are known through a sameness as *like family*, provide an important point of comparison to tell us something about the making of whiteness and eliteness. Throughout this study, as I mentioned above, I consider two categories of strangers. The first group is at the heart of this study: racial others. Further to the framework of strangers discussed here, I often use the term *racial strangers* to describe these others who are known through racial difference (East Asian international students, and South African children). In each of these chapters, there is a secondary category of stranger that is important to name, and for this figure I use the term *familiar strangers* (Puwar, 2004). This category refers to encounters with those who are not known through racial difference, but rather through racial sameness and kinship. This category is notable in that it describes the creation of a kind of cultural difference that is safe, for example, in the case of elite, predominantly white, South African families who host the volunteer students from the Canadian school. *Familiar strangers* play an important role in consolidating a moral position of *being good* through having engaged with cultural difference, a move that is often predominantly about transnational networking with elites. This move to create *familiar strangers* also enables a *safe* encounter with difference through the safety net of shared class privilege and power. My framework of strangers, then, facilitates a nuanced theorizing of specific strangers in particular encounters and the different ways in which the elite subject is made.
To conclude this section on the central place of strangers in this study, I offer a story to share about my own experience of feeling like a stranger at an elite school. In some ways, I arrived at a study of strangers by way of my Italian grandmother’s long dinner table, with an object that receded to the background of my childhood: a simple, white dinner plate with a blue border. Many of these plates filled the eclectic collection in my Nonna’s hutch and provided the white background for her traditional Abruzzese meals over conversation, much of which was in an old, rural Italian dialect. I never gave much thought as to how these plates came to be there; they were just part of the homeliness of Nonna’s house. Years later, when I arrived as the international student advisor and teacher of social sciences at an elite school, I felt very out of place as a mixed-raced daughter of immigrants – a white Italian mother (Catholic) and an Indian Guyanese father (Hindu) – in a very Anglo-Saxon (and Anglican) environment. I was one of four or so women of colour in a faculty of about one hundred and twenty. On my first day, during a moment of anxiety while navigating dining hall norms, I was surprised to find that the object on my tray was the same white and blue dinner plate from Nonna’s house. It felt strange to encounter this homey object in an unfamiliar place; it was at once comforting and disorienting. I began to unravel how these plates were, in fact, quite out of place at my grandmother’s house. Nonna explained that decades earlier her good friend worked with other immigrant Italian women in the kitchen of this elite school and brought leftover cake, doughnuts, and fruit for Nonna’s youngest child on school dinner plates.

This entry point into elite school life provided what Ahmed (2006) might call “an oblique angle” (p. 161) of entry into institutional life. This obliqueness, or strangerness, was sharpened through my work on institutional diversity and inclusivity that I discussed in
chapter one, where I was tasked with finding ways to *integrate* international students and families into school life, and Korean and Chinese students in particular, a dynamic that I quickly found to be one of white dominance, and of resistance to white dominance, rather than an imagined ethnic failure or multicultural ingratitude. Through this work I was quickly attuned to those who receded to the background of elite school life, those who did not *fit*, me included. It is important to note that my experience as both an elite school teacher and researcher are shaped by my embodiment, that is, being a woman of colour. While I cannot account for all of the ways in which my embodiment has shaped my conversations and relationships with other students and teachers, white and of colour, further to Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard’s (2012) article, it is certain that it has shaped what is shared, and what is withheld. I do not consider it an accident that the school where I worked did not hire a white person as international student advisor. My research project, then, follows from these various ways of engaging with strangerness.

The remainder of this chapter describes how I put together a study where, like both Ahmed (2000) and Mahrouse (2007, 2014), the encounter “is the methodology” (Mahrouse, 2007, p. 39, italics in original). In other words, I examine how elite schools and subjects are made through encounters with their own racial position, “encounters that occur in contact with (racial) Others, as the ambivalent site where whiteness is constituted, or put differently, where race happens” (Mahrouse, 2007, p. 39).

**Research Design**

This study took shape through the three guiding research questions that I set out in chapter one. Who is the elite subject that students are called to become? How do schools
secure elite status? And how do students take up this elite subject position at the site of the elite school?

I choose two sites through which to enter the study of racial others at elite schools: historical document analysis and an elite school volunteer trip in South Africa. I conceptualize these sites as two distinct encounters. I included document analysis as part of this study in order to understand something of the institutional context of the volunteer trip. This part of the study, which I take up in chapter five, includes three elite schools: Ridley College, Lakefield College School, and Appleby College. The analysis comprises admissions documents at three schools that tell a story about co-education and international student recruitment. I take up these documents to analyze how racial practices structure the space behind the Ivy. The second entry point of this study, the South Africa volunteer trip, which I take up in chapter six, comprises various ethnographic tools of study. This encounter is at the heart of this dissertation because, as I demonstrate in the following chapter, humanitarianism plays a crucial role in making the elite global citizen. The following sections describe these two entry points into the study. I also discuss the contextual information that is woven throughout the dissertation.

Archives

I conducted research at the archives of ten elite schools (one was online) as part of the contextual information component that informs this study, which I explain below. Research from three school archives forms one of the two the entry points of this study in chapter five. These schools are: Ridley College, Lakefield College School, and Appleby College. I describe these schools in the section on contextual information later in this chapter. The rationale for including an archival component was to contextualize the volunteer abroad trips
within the institutional histories of these schools. Many of the archival collections are rich repositories with the earliest collections dating from the early to mid-nineteenth century. While I found very little information about volunteer abroad trips or even local service learning, I came across many stories about encounters with racial others. In particular, it was admissions documents from the 80s and 90s (which I found only at three schools) to which I was most drawn because they provided a great deal of insight about historical processes of institutional diversity and making elite status. I take up these documents in chapter five as a particular multicultural encounter. I have not fictionalized the names of these schools because the information is drawn from public archives, unlike the South Africa component of the study, in which I am working with young people and teachers.

I take up additional archival data from various schools elsewhere throughout this thesis to supplement the analysis of making elites through racial others. In the case of the story of Sam and Ben that I came across in the archives at Lakefield College School, I also pursued my research at the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church in Toronto, which led me to further pursue the topic with various Diocese Archives, and then Library and Archives Canada and the Library of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (the latter two are online).

It is important to emphasize that the primary function of school archives is to promote the school and provide materials for marketing, fundraising, and alumni relations, and that the institutional story that gets told through the use of archival documents can be very promotional in nature.\(^{14}\) However, I have found that archives house much more than the

\(^{14}\) For example, Appendix B from the minutes of Ridley College’s May 9, 1997 Board of Governors meeting is a proposal from the headmaster for a sequel book to the one originally published about the school:
narratives that are selectively told from their documents, and that there are different stories to be told.

**South Africa Volunteer Abroad Trip**

In keeping with the confidentiality of this part of the study, I can provide few details about the trip or the school, for which I use the alias *Manorwood School*. What I can say is that it was an elite Canadian girls’ school that undertook the trip, one that is not included elsewhere in this study. The trip comprised three weeks and combined tourist activities with volunteering. The sections that follow provide further details through a discussion of the components of this part of the study: pre-trip reflections (one per participant), post-trip interviews (one per participant), and participant observation.

*Pre-trip written reflections.*

I included a pre-trip reflection\(^\text{15}\) to elicit more detailed and contemplative responses than an interview typically permits, and to allow participants the opportunity to provide written responses in addition to oral ones. On the first page I wrote a lengthy introductory comment to give some sense of myself and the purpose of the reflection. I chose questions related to interests, family, ethnicity, race, and feelings about the trip. I elected to use the language of *racial belonging* on the reflection because I felt that this would make the most sense to participants. I distributed the reflection on a cross-Atlantic flight, once participants were away from other responsibilities, and some took a few days to complete it. The

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\(^{15}\) See Appendix H for the reflection assignment.

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The underlying thesis would be that during these forty years, consciously and unconsciously, Ridley has re-defined itself; and it now stands well-prepared to fulfil a leadership role in Canadian and global education in the Twenty-First Century. Both co-authors are keen that the product should be perceived as a celebration of Ridley’s successful evolution. Among other purposes, it would provide a wonderful public relation vehicle within the Ridley Family and beyond. (Lane, 1997, p. 1)
reflection turned out to be very enriching in terms of understanding how participants theorized themselves and the trip. Some participants contributed extremely detailed responses and this enabled me to open conversations with them during the trip about their interests and experiences. I also used the reflections, along with my participant observation notes, to tailor the interview questions to each participant. If there was anything in the reflection that I was not sure about, that was missing or incomplete, or that I wanted to know about in more detail, I asked about it in the interview. By the time I conducted the post-trip interviews I knew the participants rather well and we generally had easy, free-flowing, and often candid 60–90 minute conversations.

**Participant observation.**

The program director at Manorwood and I discussed the various trips that I might attend. We agreed on the South Africa trip because it fit best with my ethical review timelines and was a well-structured project. The trip comprised volunteering and recreational (tourist) activities. While volunteering, students stayed with host families at a local elite school with which Manorwood shares an ongoing relationship. The students volunteered at a school in a township. The placement was facilitated through a local, white South African-led NGO. Students participated in the NGO programs for students at this school. Manorwood students taught computer skills, facilitated structured art activities, and participated in unstructured play. Tourist attractions and visiting historical sites were an important part of the experience. During the three-week participant observation I took notes on my phone each day throughout all of the activities\(^\text{16}\) and filled in any additional details and recorded personal reflections at night at the hotel.

\(^{16}\) I used the participant observation matrix in Appendix J as a very general guide.
Interviews.\textsuperscript{17}

Semi-structured interviews are a very important component of this study because they provide a one-on-one opportunity for conversation instead of the group interactions that characterize much of the trip, and they enable participants to tell their stories without interruption, focusing on what is important to them. I felt that it would strengthen the data to read first-person accounts alongside participant observations and reflections. I booked the interviews at the school during the fifth and sixth week following the return from South Africa. The interviews were recorded and I took notes by hand throughout to track repeated words and phrases, to jot down anything that I wanted to probe further, and to modify the question guide as needed. Participants were invited to bring journal entries and photographs to the interview.

The interview questions focused on participants’ motivations and feelings about the trip. I used various types of questions and tools to engage with the participants in different ways. For example, I developed interview questions that asked participants to reflect on particular situations from the trip, to talk about a photo that I brought of the interior of a room at the school, to select a word from a word bank\textsuperscript{18} that best describes their feelings towards the children they worked with, and to critique an official school article describing the trip. This helped to elicit concrete responses. I was particularly interested in the language that participants used to theorize their experiences and many of my questions were directed towards asking participants to explain words that they used. Throughout the interviews I

\textsuperscript{17} The interview protocols are listed in appendices K-O.

\textsuperscript{18} The word banks can be found in Appendix O.
checked-in with participants, often paraphrasing what they had said to ensure that I understood.

**Gathering Data**

My general approach to engaging with people and documents was to wander around. While this is not a remarkable approach, I make note of it because it was a very important part of how the data came together and took shape. The time that I spent at eleven elite schools, both reading documents and not reading documents, was a key part of how this study acquired its form. These visits included candid conversations, such as those I had with two immigrant Italian women who work as cleaners at Ridley College, and who would visit me in the archives to make sure that I got a cookie in the faculty lounge at recess.

**Participants**

The South Africa trip participants determined the primary pool of potential research participants. The secondary pool comprised Manorwood students and graduates who had previously participated in the South Africa trip, and one teacher from another elite Canadian school who led a volunteer trip to South Africa with a group of students from her school. This secondary pool was recruited through an email sent by the volunteer abroad program director. The bulk of the data is derived from the participants in the South Africa trip since only these individuals were involved in the pre-trip reflections, participant observation, and post-trip interviews. Teachers and students from previous trips were involved solely in post-trip interviews.

In our conversations, all participants in this study identified as female. The summary of participants is as follows:

- Participant observation of an unstated number of Manorwood students and
teachers in South Africa;

- Interviews with eight students from Manorwood who have participated in a South Africa trip over a span of three years, four of whom are of colour (two East Asian-Canadians, one East-Asian international student, one other Canadian student of colour);

- Interviews with two white female teachers from Manorwood who participated in a South Africa trip over a span of three years;

- An interview with a South Asian teacher from a different elite Canadian co-ed school, who participated in a volunteer trip to South Africa between during the same three-year span.

The students’ grade levels at the time of travel range from grade nine to twelve with the majority of students being fifteen at the time of travel. One of the East-Asian Canadian students who identified as belonging to a racial group explained her belonging in terms of a particular Asian country and noted that her ethnic heritage “has shaped my life quite a bit in how I approach life” and also that she is “very much Canadian.” The East-Asian international student changed her answer from belonging to a racial group, to being “between” belonging and not belonging to any racial group, to finally not belonging to a racial group. One of the participants who later identified as white indicated in the pre-trip reflection that she was undecided as to racial belonging, and she described her “ethnic heritage” in terms of “North American societal norms.”

Many teacher and student participants who identified as white in the interview indicated in the reflection that they did not belong to any racial group. When asked about ethnic backgrounds and cultural traditions, each of the white staff and students listed one or
more European countries in relation to a parent, grandparent, or other ancestor. Several mentioned European languages other than English spoken by them or their relatives. One identified her family as Roman Catholic, and two mentioned their Jewish heritage. A Canadian student of colour mentioned towards the end of the interview as an aside that she has a parent who is of colour, this participant did not describe herself in terms of race and did not appear to think of herself in racial terms. The teacher participant who identified as of colour was very conscious about the way in which her body was taken up within an African volunteer abroad context. Problematically, some white students explained that since they had taken a social sciences course in which they learned that race is a social construct, they had no racial identity to reflect on. These responses reflect considerable ambivalence about the meaning of race, particularly as it relates to one’s body and one’s own racial positions.

Consent

I developed four permission forms for different types of participants: information, consent, and assent forms for current Manorwood students and their parents; information and consent forms for current participant faculty members; information, consent, and assent forms for previous Manorwood students and their parents (the parental consent was waived for those over eighteen years of age); and information and consent forms for previous participant faculty members (see Appendices D, E, F, and G). 

Ascent is sought for participants considered too young to give informed consent but who are able to understand the research project and express their willingness to participate. Given the age of the student participants, the accessibility of language was particularly important in all forms of communication including consent and assent forms and interview questions, and I strove for clarity and simplicity. Each consent and assent form has a separate signature line for the
various data collected (ex: pre-trip reflection, observation in South Africa, audio recorded post-trip interview), as well as personal journals and photographs, and journals and photographs of others in which one is mentioned or shown. I did not take copies of any photographs or journal entries but did review some with students at the end of their interviews.

I emphasized both in speaking to the South Africa group and in the consent and assent forms that participation in the study was not mandatory, that participation or lack of participation would have no impact on relationships with the department or the school, a point reiterated to the group by the program director, and that the study is confidential in that participants’ identities would be concealed insofar as possible. Each traveller was given the opportunity to accept or decline to participate in the study. To provide the greatest confidentiality possible for participants, I do not provide participant profiles in this study, nor do I provide details about the roles held by faculty members at the schools, since this could potentially cause others at the school to identify who made which comments. Some of these comments are very sensitive in terms of feelings about the schools. I have also obscured as many personal details as possible while retaining the integrity of the study.

Since I am researching white/Canadian subjectivities, the children at the schools in South Africa are not part of this study; the research subjects are elite school students and those with whom they primarily interacted, particularly teachers. I explained my project and data collection practices to the NGO and the township school, ensured that they had no questions or concerns, and prepared a script that an NGO staff member read in Zulu to explain my presence to the children at the schools (see Appendix I).
Elite School Access

One of the areas of interest for scholars of elite schools and elite education is the question of access. How does a researcher gain access to an elite school? How does one make a claim to legitimacy as an outsider? I consider myself both an insider and outsider to elite Canadian schools; I did not attend private school, and while I no longer work at one, I spent enough time there to gain a considerable understanding of how things work.

I began this project without a research relationship with a school. I was not interested in approaching my former school about the project; I wanted to observe a different institution and program. My research relationship with Manorwood School resulted from an introduction to a volunteer abroad director who was interested in my study. I wrote a proposal to the board of directors to request approval to conduct some research for the department to evaluate their programs and to complete a separate set of research for my doctoral study. Without realizing it until after I had written the proposal, and not unlike other researchers in the field of elite education in composing the letter I successfully deployed all of the markers of elite school credibility that I had access to. Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2012) write about the tenuous nature of elite school access, noting about many scholars who write about elite school access that:

What most of these accounts typically ignore or underplay are the ways in which access is typically premised on researchers’ already established links to elite groups, including their elite status as members of the academy. We have sought to highlight here that our ability to do this kind of work evolved from the fact that we were already, in some way or another, insiders in the world of elite schooling. (p. 294)

For example, while situated as an outsider as a researcher I also claimed an insider relationship to the independent school community by describing my work at an elite school. I
established my ability to perform school-focused research by citing a school-wide research project that I led there, and I noted that this particular project was developed and facilitated in collaboration with the well-respected National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) in Washington, D.C. I also briefly explained the rigorous University of Toronto ethics review process. Finally, I offered to present my findings to the board from the department assessment, supplemented with the general findings from my doctoral research. The board accepted my proposal and I began discussions with the director about how best to structure the research.

**Contextual Information**

I use the term *contextual information* to describe information not included in the data but that had a bearing on the study. Some of this information is cited in this dissertation. These comprise my diary entries from previous volunteer abroad trips to Thailand and Ghana that I took part in while a teacher at an elite Canadian school, and conversations that took place during this study with volunteer abroad program directors, other current and former staff members at elite Canadian schools, and former students. My conversations with program directors, or, in some cases, individuals who were knowledgeable about the programs and were willing to speak with me, were informal conversation and were not recorded; rather, I took notes during these meetings. I structured the conversation this way to make the research encounter more comfortable for participants, and to be sensitive to the risks that they were taking in speaking candidly about how things work at their schools. I also let directors know that anything that they wanted to keep “off the record” would not be included in my notes or the study. When I refer to these individuals throughout the study I do
not link the comments with any school. I included 10 schools within the contextual information component that informs this study.

These schools are located in southwestern Ontario and relatively close to Toronto. They are linked, the older ones more so, to the British public school model that Kenway and Fahey (2014) describe as “class-based,” “implicated in the economic, cultural and military dynamics of empire building,” and “often/usually” with “church (as) the conduit” (p. 179). The reason for my focus on schools in southwestern Ontario is twofold. Firstly, there is a concentration of elite schools in this area. Secondly, this selection of schools offered me greater accessibility, since, being located in Toronto, I could easily visit multiple times if needed. I have listed the schools and some information about them in Appendix A. Of the ten schools, there are two girls’ schools: Branksome Hall and Havergal College, both K–12 day and boarding schools located in Toronto. Four of the schools are boys’ schools: Crescent School (3–12, day school), Royal St. George’s College (3–12, day school), St. Andrew’s College (5–12, day and boarding), and Upper Canada College (K–12, day and boarding). Each of these is located in Toronto with the exception of St. Andrew’s College, which is about an hour north in Aurora, Ontario. The study includes four co-educational schools, all of which are former boys’ schools: Appleby College (7–12, day and boarding), Lakefield College School (9–12, day and boarding), Ridley College (K–12, day and boarding), and Trinity College School (5–12, day and boarding). These schools are located outside of Toronto. Appleby College is in Oakville, a municipality within the Greater Toronto Area about an hour west of the city. Lakefield College School is two hours northeast of Toronto, in the rural town of Selwyn, north of Peterborough. Ridley College is about ninety minutes from Toronto in St. Catharines, the sixth largest urban area in Ontario. St. Catharines is
directly across Lake Ontario from Toronto, in the Niagara Region, and very close to the
United States border. Trinity College School is located in Port Hope, Ontario, a municipality
approximately an hour east of Toronto on Lake Ontario. The majority of the schools are
Anglican, many with an explicit chapel program, a chapel affiliated with an Anglican
Diocese, and an Anglican chaplain. These schools tend to emphasize what they call an
interfaith approach that recognizes other religious texts and holidays. Each school is a
member of the independent school governing body, Canadian Accredited Independent
Schools (CAIS).

**Self-Reflexivity**

In a study that critiques the fashioning of the humanitarian hero, how do I avoid
positioning myself as the hero researcher who uncovers this process? In the context of
ethnography, which is particularly pertinent in the context of the ethnographic tools that I
use, Jackman (2010) writes that, "reading classic ethnographic accounts reveals this
pervasive assumption that the farther one travels, the more authentic one's research becomes"
(p. 117). Like my research participants, how am I implicated in the practice of securing
authenticity through the (research) encounter abroad? When taking participant observation
notes and analyzing the data I returned to the question of what my theoretical frames do in
terms of what is captured, what is left out, and how I am being made in the process of
understanding how others make themselves.

Throughout this study I am mindful that my own subject positions are being
negotiated and that I am securing my own forms of belonging by engaging in critical
the reproduction of the critique of normativity is one of the surest ways to secure belonging
in the field!” (p. 335). Additionally, as A. Smith (2013) writes in her article about the logics of the privilege of self-reflexivity, this paper positions me as yet another judge of others’ confessions of privilege. This is unavoidable. Rhetorically, and somewhat paradoxically, I am “within” the hegemonic discourse that I am critiquing. Further, I am positioned as privileged in my role as PhD candidate and researcher from the University of Toronto.

**Data Organization and Analysis**

During note taking, coding, and analyzing for themes, I was particularly interested in what was repeated, what was left out, where language was used tenuously to cover gaps in how participants theorized their experiences, the moments when participants had difficulty explaining, and the moments when emotions were remembered and evoked. Similar to Watson’s (2012) technique in her essay *Analysing Narratives*, I did not have a rubric against which I evaluated each narrative or text but rather I read for themes, particularly those relating to race, class, femininity, nation, *being* and *doing good*, and caring for others. I conducted the same thematic analysis for all of the data. The patterns that emerged created the contours of this dissertation.

**Surprises**

Conducting participant observation everyday for three weeks in South Africa and taking detailed notes about everything I could, sometimes for twelve hours a day, was exhausting and isolating. I also found it difficult to negotiate South Africa as a woman of colour. I was sometimes taken up as Indian and sometimes taken up as white where I felt very uncomfortable being included in “just us” conversations with white South Africans about Indian and black South Africans. There were also moments when I was a part of the group of black women working at the school, for example, when one of the women described
me as, “She’s like us – she likes to eat.” I was constantly negotiating how to be a good guest and a good researcher, how to be a part of and apart from the group. This sometimes meant being silent in a situation in which I otherwise might have said something inappropriate, disruptive, and angry. Instead, while I endeavored to be a good guest, for example, by bringing materials for projects at the township school, taking notes made being a good guest nearly impossible. I started to wonder why it was important for me to be a good guest, and if it would really make any difference in my research relationships. For example, it is somewhat awkward to be taking notes while at a social function. It is also important. I found that if I refrained from taking notes it left me trying to manage an impossible list of things in my head of what I urgently need to write later, making me preoccupied and again rendering me a bad guest. Reflecting on it, it seems that being a researcher set me up to be a bad guest regardless. Perhaps I took the note taking too seriously. I seemed to be the research killjoy at every turn. At a social function, although I may only have been writing about what food is being served, others did not know this, and it certainly evoked some discomfort around what I might say about participants.

I found that I was generally regarded by the faculty on the trip as a student rather than a researcher, and although I was formerly a high school teacher at a school similar to theirs I was not generally regarded as one of them. This was a very familiar feeling from my time as a teacher at the school where I taught; I simply did not feel like I belonged, a feeling that, for me, comes back to the whiteness of spaces. The students appeared to take their cue from the faculty and did not seem to regard me as a teacher or a person of authority. For most of the trip, until one of the students asked me at dinner, the students also perceived me to be much younger than my age, and when they found out they were mistaken, they became even more
interested in learning about me. As a result, I enjoyed many wonderful conversations with the students and I very much enjoyed being around them.

One of the surprises of engaging with students came after the study was over. I visited the school to present an overview of my findings to anyone from the group who was interested. I was nervous to talk to the students (and one teacher who attended) about the findings, and was surprised and thrilled to find that the students expressed sincere approval of and appreciation for my findings. The resistance I was expecting came only from the teacher who had questions about the conclusiveness of an ethnographic approach rather than a quantitative study.

While some independent schools tend to be wary of external researchers, I was somewhat surprised and very appreciative of the generosity of busy staff members who made time to meet with me. Many of the archivists and program directors were enthusiastic, giving of their time, and very accommodating to my research requests. Many staff members expressed interest in my research topic and were keen to participate in the study. The program directors at one school were enthusiastic to talk to someone who had previously done related work at an elite school since there is so little communication and collaboration between elite schools in general and in this area in particular. There was also the afternoon that a retired head of school and his wife invited me to their home to talk to me very candidly about my research questions over tea, making themselves available for follow-up questions by phone and email.

Having said this, one of the biggest challenges of researching elite schools is an institutional culture of apprehension. Generally speaking, elite school culture is not conducive to external critique or to sharing information with other schools. While this is not
unique to the independent school industry, it is nonetheless important to emphasize. I experienced very different receptions from the various schools, and some administrators were reluctant to participate.

The institutional culture of apprehension has a history. One of the books that I cite in this study, *Old Boys: The Powerful Legacy of Upper Canada College*, was written by James Fitzgerald (1996), an alumnus of Upper Canada College. This book features interviews with former students and includes stories of sexual violence. For example, stories about one particularly infamous former teacher are mentioned in the book (Fitzgerald, 1996) and have been written about in the press (Appleby & Cheney, 2006a, 2006b). Clark Winston Noble was convicted in the late 90s of the sexual assault of two students, one at Upper Canada College in 1971, and another at Appleby College in 1989. Although Noble “was known around UCC as ‘Knobby,’” [and] had earned a reputation as a bisexual pedophile,” (Appleby & Cheney, 2006a), Mr. Noble successfully transferred from Upper Canada College to Appleby College. Perhaps most disturbing is that Mr. Noble was integral to founding and directing Appleby College’s northern campus curriculum, “Northward Bound,” a wilderness adventure component that required students to stay overnight. Mr. Noble received a very unusual pardon and served no jail time (Appleby & Cheney, 2006a, 2006b). It would seem that schools are, understandably, wary of those who would circulate narratives about what goes on behind their ivy walls. To offer a very different sort of example, one of the schools included in this study changed their archival research procedures following (and, clearly, as a result of) my visits, and, while independent school archives are largely considered public

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19 A yearbook article (Appleby College, 1979) describes how the program was founded. The article is signed by “C.W. Noble Director, Northward Bound” (p. 145). Noble’s presence seems to have been scrubbed from the history of this program. A 2004 article written by the archivist at that time recounts the founding of the program with no mention of Noble (Des Roches, 2004).
collections that serve their communities, I would have been required to report to the head of school to obtain clearance for any further archival visits. It is risky for teachers to take part in this kind of research given the tendency towards an institutional culture of apprehension. This chapter outlined the precautions that I have taken to mitigate these risks.

Practices around documenting, storing, and retrieving archival collections, as well as the willingness of archivists to assist with finding materials, varied widely. While visiting school archives I also recorded my reflections about the research. For example, it was an odd feeling encountering no trace of my work as director of equity and diversity at the school where I worked.

**Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the research framework, methodology, research design, and research process to set the stage for the analysis presented in the following chapters. The encounter as methodology has several important advantages. The first is that this framework brings greater nuance to our understanding of how power works through difference at elite schools, both behind and beyond the ivy. It links the processes that make elite status through different kinds of racial strangers. It also reveals the shared economies for making elite status behind and beyond the ivy. Further, this framework theorizes the ways in which different areas of institutional life, such as international service learning and diversity initiatives, are linked through an underlying institutional logic of race. By theorizing encounters with strangers we make visible the processes that secure the status of elite schools and begin to disrupt the economies that deploy strange bodies in the making of power.

This research design is appropriate for asking the three questions that I pose because my project comprises a range of techniques, a broad sweep of time, and different geographies
to theorize the macro and micro processes that I seek to uncover. This broad approach enables me to theorize the relationships between home and away, past and present, and macro and micro-level practices.

I now turn to analyzing encounters in greater depth in the next chapter in order to theorize the elite global citizen in our intensely neoliberal and racially structured moment.
Chapter 3
Theorizing the Encounter

Introduction

Chapter two introduced the framework of studying *encounters* by analyzing particular modes of *stranger fetishism* (Ahmed, 2000). Chapter three elaborates on this framework to demonstrate how subjects are made through encounters. In this chapter, I am particularly interested in the humanitarian encounter. This story about the making of subjects is told through the colonial encounters through which they take shape. My approach here is to follow relationships between bodies. Section one opens with a poststructural framework of subjectivity. I discuss the Orientalist and African imaginary and the subject that it produces. I am particularly interested in how fantasy, desire, and race make the humanitarian subject. I theorize humanitarianism as a particular relation of care, and what I explain as a *governmentality*. Second two defines the humanitarian industrial complex, a definition that comprises education and schools. The third section theorizes the global citizen as humanitarian, and considers the gendering of the global citizen. Section five holds the strands of this chapter together to show that global citizenship, an articulation of humanitarianism that helps integrate schools within the humanitarian industrial complex, is increasingly institutionalized at elite schools. My objective in this chapter is to demonstrate the macro and micro practices of humanitarianism, and how these converge for young people in the figure of the global citizen.

Subjectivity: Becoming Through the Encounter

The subject is made through discourse. Throughout this study, I trace the elite global citizen that is made through the body of the racial other. In this section, I describe the
discourse from which this subject is formed. I am particularly interested in four dimensions of this discourse: Oriental fantasy, African fantasy, racialization, and humanitarian desire.

My notion of discourse extends from scholarship on Orientalism as the making of an exotic geography abroad. Edward Said (1978) writes that “there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away” (p. 55). Distance and difference are made through fantasy; they are theatrical. Said (1978) describes the Orient as the stage on which the whole East is confined, a “theatrical stage affixed to Europe” (p. 63). Imagining the Orient through fantasy of exoticism (that is, producing the Orient), goes together with ruling it. This fantasy also creates the space at home. Inderpal Grewal’s book *Home and Harem* (1996) shows how the harem, or, the exotic abroad, an opaque space to be penetrated, and the domestic space of home, are both produced through the Orientalist dialectic, and that the harem is crucial to consolidating the moral virtue of home.

Significantly, Achille Mbembe (2001) theorizes the particular way in which the otherness of Africa and Africans signify in contemporary discourse. In his book *On the Postcolony*, Mbembe (2001) writes that Africa is understood “in the discourse of our times” through a “negative interpretation,” through an “elementariness and primitiveness that makes Africa the world par excellence of all that is incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished” (p. 1, italics in original). Mbembe (2001) elaborates on the opacity of African experience; the African, while lacking the “attributes properly part of ‘human nature,’” as described above by the “mutilated” interpretation of Africa (p. 1), is at once “close(r) to ‘being human,’” that is, to nature, “a world we cannot penetrate” (p. 2). Africa emblemizes the pre-modern world to enable the Northern world to come into relief as the modern world. Mbembe (2001) writes
that, “we can, through a process of domestication and training, bring the African to where he or she can enjoy a fully human life. In this perspective, Africa is essentially, for us, an object of experimentation” (p. 2). The *incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished* way in which Africa is imagined perpetually facilitates assistance and intervention from those who are produced as modern. Africa is an idea that “has historically served, and continues to serve, as a polemical argument for the West’s desperate desire to assert its difference from the rest of the world” (Mbembe, 2001, p. 2). This invention of Africa both enables the West to constitute a world for itself, that is, a place for itself in this world, and legitimates “exclusionary and brutal practices towards others” (Mbembe, 2001, p. 2). Africa, and the African, take the notion of “‘absolute otherness’” to its “furthest” point (Mbembe, 2001, p. 2). Africa is “the very figure of the ‘strange’” (Mbembe, 2001, p. 3).

In chapter six on the South African volunteer abroad encounter, I return to Mbembe’s (2001) ideas on how Africa and Africans are imagined as occupying the furthest point from civilization and modernity, *absolute otherness*, and *the figure of the strange*. Following Mbembe (2001), it is important to understand how Canadian elite schools are participating in the West’s global project to use Africa as an object of experimentation, to improve incomplete Africans, to penetrate African human experience, and to embrace *absolute otherness* with love. We know from S. Razack (2004) and Heron (2007) that this invention of Africa and Africans is central to the Canadian national imaginary. S. Razack (2004) writes that “Africa has long occupied the space of degeneracy in the European imagination and thus the space in which white nations and their national subjects come to know themselves as dominant,” noting that “Canada has been no exception in this respect” (p. 34). Heron (2007) writes about Canadian development workers going abroad that:
it becomes almost impossible to conceive of the “Third World,” a “developing country,” or, in this case, “Africa,” apart from the meanings that have become so firmly attached to these imaginatively fashioned physical spaces. In effect, we inhabit fantasy places that are constituted by relations of comparison… (p. 55)

Linking Mbembe (2001) and Said (1978), Heron (2007) emphasizes that, “like the ‘Orient’ of Orientalist discourses, there is no real place actually corresponding to this imagined geography of ‘Africa’” (p. 56). Africa remains, in the Canadian national narrative, the mythical dark continent.

Oriental and African fantasies shape the national discourses from which subjects are formed. Yeğenoğlu (1998) describes the work of discourse as “a subject constituting practice” (p. 27), in Foucault’s double sense of assujetissement as a double-bind of subjecting and enabling (p. 21). Yeğenoğlu (1998) describes the fantasy of the Orient as emblemized by the figure of the veiled woman. The modern, civilized subject takes shape through a desire to know this woman by unveiling her to see her face. This logic of visibility and proximity is rearticulated in a geographical way: the modern subject desires to see the exotic landscapes, such as the African continent, which are the theatres of Canada and the Northern world, to acquire knowledge and mastery through proximity. This desire to see and to know is a violent one. Yeğenoğlu (1998) writes that the impetus towards “penetrating the inaccessible world of the other,” of “discovering her truth” (p. 58), is the hostile “force of negation which constitutes the subject as sovereign” (p. 57, italics in original). Subjects, then, are formed through discourse, and desire, pleasure, and fantasy are integral to this making. Race is also a crucial dimension of producing subjects. Stoler’s (1995) study of the centrality of sentiments

_____20 My approach to subject formation is a poststructural one that theorizes the self as verb rather than noun, as the perpetual process of coming-into-being rather than a being (Davies, 1997).
and sensibilities to making European bourgeois character and racial discourse, emphasizes “the racial grammar on which imperial distributions of desire rests” (p. 164). Both Stoler and Yeğenoğlu emphasize the racial making and racial effects of desire.

Accordingly, processes of racialization are at the heart of this study. I discuss racialization here as part of the process of becoming. Goldberg (2002) defines race as “the social or cultural significance assigned to or assumed in physical or physiognomic markers of cultural attributes, habits, or behavior” (p. 118). Race describes socially constructed and geohistorically specific categories, that is, the racial hierarchies of white supremacy, and the meanings that secure them. Racialization describes the processes through which these racial meanings are made. In her book Represent and Destroy, Jodi Melamed (2011) describes racialization as a material and discursive process that orders the world according to the logic of white supremacy:

Racialization does not function, therefore, only at the level of ideology, attaching positive or negative meanings or narratives to preexisting forms of humanity. Rather, racial knowledges are materially produced discourses that both constitute and are determined by the historically specific material circumstances and geohistorical conditions for which they offer comprehension and sense making. They do not just arrange human beings along a pregiven scale of value. Instead, they are at once productive and symptomatic of the total value making (such as political and economic value) that secures specific historical configurations of personhood, human organization, and relations to the natural world as possible, imaginable, and sustainable. (p. 12)

The racial is constitutive of the modern. It describes and creates white dominant global material and discursive structures. The racial overflows the category of race. Melamed writes that, “racialization procedures constructed orders of difference around a color line that symbolically collapsed into phenotype other categories of privilege and stigma (rich and poor, advanced and backwards, moral and immoral)” (p. 12). As Omi and Winant (1994)
have written, racialization happens by folding other hierarchies into it that are/were not explicitly racial. Melamed (2011) emphasizes this facet as an important attribute of processes of racialization in our present moment since racialized advantage and disadvantage are increasingly organized according to “new criteria” beyond the colour line, signaling a new flexibility in the logic of white supremacy (p. 12). Finally, and further to Mahrouse (2014), the concept of racialization that I use here “is premised on the idea that there are several systems and processes of power such as race, gender, class, and sexuality that operate through one another” (p. 13). As I discussed earlier, like S. Razack (1998), as well as Mahrouse (2014), I intend an interlocking conception of these processes of power where “each system of oppression relie(s) on the other to give it meaning” in “historically specific ways” (S. Razack, 2004, p. 12), with an emphasis on “simultaneity” and “co-constitutiveness” (Mahrouse, 2014, p. 13). In the context of this study, an interlocking analytic of systems of advantage is crucial to theorizing elite status.

**Humanitarian Desire**

*Humanitarian desire* is an imperial longing to care for the stranger in need. The humanitarian stranger is the constitutive object in the humanitarian dialectic of care. In the context of critical humanitarian literature, Calhoun (2010) writes that “(h)umanitarian action focuses paradigmatically on strangers” (p. 23). To get to an account of humanitarian desire, I begin by addressing desire, and the exercise of power through the shaping of desire, which I explain in terms of *governmentality*. Desire works as a cultivated way in which the subject turns towards the racial other. Butler (1997), taking up Althusser (1971), makes “‘turning’ crucial to subject formation: one becomes a subject through ‘turning around’ when hailed by the police” (Ahmed, 2006, p. 15). Modes of becoming a subject work through desire; we are
hailed to become subjects by turning towards particular ways of knowing, seeing, and feeling. This cultivation of our desires in particular directions is what Foucault (2000) named the structuring of a field of possibilities. He writes that “the exercise of power is a ‘conduct of conducts’ and a management of possibilities,” where “to ‘conduct’ is at the same time to ‘lead’ others (according to mechanisms of coercion that are, to varying degrees, strict)” (p. 341). Foucault (2000) expands on his concept of “government” this way:

Power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or their mutual engagement than a question of “government.” This word must be allowed the very broad meaning it had in the sixteenth century. “Government” did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed... It covered not only the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, that were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. (p. 341, italics added)

Desire, in being groomed in particular directions to sustain political projects for imperial and state power, works as a governmentality. For example, Grewal (2005) identifies global feminisms as a “transnational governmentality” (p. 59), that is, a frame that secures material and discursive power through the ways in which it invites subjects to become and to act that sustain neoliberal racial capitalism. This thesis takes up humanitarianism as a governmentality. I explore humanitarianism’s governmental desires and modes of action and becoming. The framework that I use to theorize these modes is Ahmed’s (2000) stranger fetishism, which I explained in the previous chapter. In summary, to analyze stranger fetishism is to read for how bodies are commodified and encountered, either through attraction, repulsion, or both, in the making of national collectives. I now turn to humanitarian desire.
To trace humanitarian desire I draw from S. Razack’s (2007) article, *Stealing the Pain of Others*, her (2004) book, *Dark Threats & White Knights*, Miriam Ticktin’s (2011) book, *Casualties of Care*, and Lynn Festa’s (2006) book, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth Century Britain and France*. To clarify how my framework of caring and subjectivity is positioned in relation to these scholars I begin by pointing out an important distinction between Ticktin’s notion of the recipient of humanitarian aid and the way in which I am conceptualizing these bodies. In the context of her work on immigration, Ticktin conceptualizes the recipients of humanitarian aid as the subjects of humanitarianism while carefully documenting the ways in which these bodies are ejected from humanity and are used to consolidate the French nation. Further to S. Razack’s work, I take up these technologies of dehumanization and national consolidation as ways in which these bodies are deployed as objects of care, and I look at how their use in consolidating the nation coheres the subjectivity of the humanitarian care-giver. It is also important to note that my notion of care, unlike Ticktin’s, does not include the valence of medical care, which is central to her study. The difference between the two approaches is in the subjectivities studied. Whereas Ticktin traces how recipients of humanitarian care attain humanity through suffering, I am interested in the Canadian subjectivities that are formed in the humanitarian encounter.

S. Razack (2007) theorizes, in the context of Canadian responses to the Rwandan genocide, how the humanitarian subject is made through a relationship with the body in pain, and how sensitivity depends on a violent relationship with the racial Other. She traces Saidiya Hartman’s (1997) discussion of the enslaved body in *Scenes of Subjection*. Hartman considers how philosopher John Rankin deploys pain and suffering to attest to the humanity of enslaved bodies. Hartman (1997) tracks how Rankin’s “desire to don, occupy, or possess
blackness or the black body as a sentimental resource and/or locus of excess enjoyment is both founded upon and enabled by the material relations of chattel slavery” (p. 21). In imagining himself as the enslaved body, it is only by stealing another’s pain that the suffering of the black body has meaning, denying the Other’s subjectivity and masking Rankin’s complicity and power in economies of enslavement. S. Razack (2007) writes that “the pain can only come into existence at the expense of the slave as subject” (p. 377). Her notion of stealing the pain of others emphasizes three crucial facets of this making. Firstly, “stealing the pain of others” is a Canadian national “process of consumption” (S. Razack, 2007, pp. 375–376, italics in original). This process is an ongoing, unfinished one, a national practice that articulates with bell hooks’ (1992) notion of the commodification, consumption, and disappearance of black bodies in the pursuit of white pleasure. Secondly, S. Razack (2007) writes that through stealing the pain of others “we come to know ourselves as a compassionate people; indeed, trauma suggests that it is our very vulnerability to pain that marks us as Canadians” (p. 381). This vulnerability as an attribute of the national body is what makes caring for others work, and this vulnerability appears again and again in the elite school programs and encounters considered throughout this thesis. Vulnerability interlocks with our national humanitarian character: “believing ourselves to be citizens of a compassionate middle power who is largely uninvolved in the brutalities of the world, we have relied on these images and stories [about the Rwandan genocide] to confirm our own humanitarian character” (S. Razack, 2007, p. 376). It is our unique ability to feel that bequeaths to us our innate humanitarian orientation as a way of reaching out to the world. Thobani (2007) describes this ability in terms of the:

master narrative of the nation, which takes as its point of departure the essentially law-abiding character of its enterprising nationals, who are
presented (for the most part) as responsible citizens, compassionate, caring, and committed to the values of diversity and multiculturalism. (p. 4)

Compassion is imagined as encoded in the national DNA. Thobani (2007) writes that these “exalted characteristics” of the national subject “fix” an “inherently unstable sense of self, offering a national structure to its humanity that promotes cohesion in the face of the fragmentary and highly dissociative aspects of subjectivity” (p. 10). This ability to feel is sticky; it also coheres the nation (Ahmed, 2004). Festa (2006) writes how this affective circuit works in eighteenth century literature where humanitarian sensibility was, to some extent, forged:

by designating certain kinds of figures as worthy of emotional expenditure and structuring the circulation of affect between subjects and objects of feeling, the sentimental mode allowed readers to identify with and feel for the plight of other people while upholding distinctive cultural and personal identities; it thus consolidated a sense of metropolitan community grounded in the selective recognition of the humanity of other populations. (p. 2)

Thirdly, witnessing pain, whether it is genocide or more everyday forms of poverty, to experience our vulnerability, does something. S. Razack (2007) says of the Canadian documentary Shake Hands with the Devil, based on General Roméo Dallaire’s book, that “I suggest that our witnessing of Rwandans’ pain has mostly served to dehumanize them further, and in the process, to reinstall us as morally superior in relation to them” (p. 376). Accordingly, chapter four takes up the moral dimensions of the humanitarian relation of care in the context of making elite status. The politics of care produces kindred relationships between national subjects through a shared orientation. S. Razack (2008) writes that “a race fiction thus grounds the nation and inheres in the power of the state to decide who is part of the kin group and who is not” (p. 28). The repeated direction of care coheres subjects through white/Northern kinship.
This section shows that the humanitarian process requires a certain kind of consumption of the other. Humanitarian subjectivity is made through the other; it is a process of consumption that converts bodies of colour into white/Northern pleasure and moral virtue. My approach throughout this study is to follow this relationship between bodies. What does this relationship between bodies look like geopolitically?

The Humanitarian Industrial Complex

Humanitarian governmentality requires an imperial world of saviours and those who need saving. This section discusses the broader economies of humanitarianism globally, that is, the humanitarian industrial complex, to map the political project into which the global citizen is hailed through a humanitarian orientation to racial others. I begin by defining the humanitarian industrial complex. I then consider how critical humanitarian scholars, who all argue that humanitarianism is a governmentality, including Calhoun (2008, 2010), Fassin (2012), Fassin and Pandolfi (2010), Melamed (2011), Pandolfi (2010), S. Razack (2007, 2009), Redfield and Bornstein (2010), and Ticktin (2011), have theorized the global economies of humanitarianism.

To define the humanitarian industrial complex I begin by locating it as part of the non-profit industrial complex, a system that A. Smith (2007) theorizes in the INCITE! anthology, The Revolution Will Not Be Funded. A. Smith (2007) writes that both Rodríguez’s (2007) and Gilmore’s (2007) essays in the INCITE! anthology argue that the non-profit industrial complex “manages and controls dissent by incorporating it into the state apparatus, functioning as a ‘shadow state’ constituted by a network of institutions that do much of what government agencies are supposed to do with tax money in the areas of education and social services” (A. Smith, 2007, p. 8-9). Elaborating on the embedded relationships of non-profits
and security and intelligence regimes, A. Smith (2007) notes that many non-profits have supported CIA programs (p. 13), and that “the rise of the white liberal philanthropic establishment had lasting political effects that ultimately equaled (and in some ways surpassed) the most immediate repressive outcomes of COINTELPRO and its offspring” (p. 35). A. Smith (2007) emphasizes the role of non-profits in “the violent state-organized repression of racial and revolutionary elements within the Black and Third World liberation movements of the late 1960s and early 70s, as well as what remains of such liberation struggles today” (p. 35, italics in original). Accordingly, this dissertation does not consider humanitarian and/or grassroots activities as inherently apolitical, innocent, or separate from state and transnational regimes of surveillance and regulation. Rather, I define the humanitarian industrial complex as the convergence of non-profit, government, corporate, military, security, intelligence, and peacekeeping formations both to facilitate violent intervention through the rubric of assistance and care, and to manage and control the mechanisms for pursuing social justice work. Importantly, I situate education within the humanitarian industrial complex as part of the work of government and non-profit organizations. As this thesis demonstrates, educational programs help students to master the racial logic of the humanitarian industrial complex, and invite students to eventually participate in more committed ways. Accordingly, I wish to emphasize the complexities and concerns that accompany the increasing integration of schools within the humanitarian industrial complex. The remainder of this section elaborates on this definition of the humanitarian industrial complex through a discussion of critical humanitarian scholarship. I begin by briefly considering how humanitarianism is deployed to support military and security regimes.
Critical humanitarian scholar Didier Fassin (2012) writes that “even dressed up in the cloak of humanitarian morality, intervention is always a military action — in other words, war” (p. 22). Fassin (2012) also notes that the “responsibility to protect” principle was adopted at the 2005 World Summit of the United Nations and “from Somalia to Bosnia to East Timor, the invocation of this moral obligation served as a justification for military interventions, without the legality of the Security Council vote” (p. 14). Further, Ticktin (2011) suggests “there is evidence that relief activities reinforce war economies” (p. 79, note 14). The history of humanitarian logic and practice, then, is entangled with military intervention as a mechanism for governing populations.

Humanitarianism, as a tool for the government of populations, is also deployed as part of security regimes. Barnett and Weiss (2008) write that:

(a)fter the cold war — and in reaction to the growing perception that domestic conflict and civil wars were leaving hundreds of thousands of people at risk creating mass flight, and destabilizing entire regions — the [UN security] council authorized interventions on the grounds that war-induced disasters imperiled regional and international security. (p. 24)

By expanding the definition of a “‘threat to international peace and security’” and creating a new label, “‘complex humanitarian emergencies’” the UN Security Council further legitimated humanitarian intervention in governing vulnerable, mobile, and destabilizing populations that posed potential security threats to other nations (Barnett & Weiss, 2008, p. 24). Humanitarian action was expanded to stem the overflow of these populations and work in service of global security. 9/11 has had a catalyzing effect on this interlocking relationship and has further served to merge humanitarian, military, and security operations. Barnett and Weiss (2008) write that:
since 9/11 many countries, especially the United States, have viewed counterterrorism and humanitarianism as crime-fighting partners, with failed states as sanctuaries and staging platforms for terrorists. Humanitarian organizations, in this view, can become part of wider “hearts and minds” campaigns, attempting to convince local populations of the goodness of armies and invading in the name of stability and freedom. In his now infamous words, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell (2001) told a gathering of private aid agencies that “just as surely as our diplomats and military, American NGOs are out there [in Afghanistan] serving and sacrificing on the frontlines of freedom, NGOs are such a force multiplier for us, such an important part of our combat team.” (p. 25)

This quote suggests an integration between military and humanitarian intervention where helping is not separate from war, but rather the two collapse, such that NGO staff are “part of [the] combat team” (Barnett & Weiss, 2008, p. 25). The concept of emergency has intervention built into it. Pandolfi (2010) suggests that “‘(e)mergency’ is a way of grasping problematic events, a way of imagining them that emphasizes their apparent unpredictability, abnormality, and brevity and that carries with it the corollary that a response – intervention – is necessary” (p. 228). In this way, the declaring of an emergency legitimates actions that would not normally be acceptable. Fassin (2012) suggests that “the temporality of emergency” is shared by both humanitarian and military actors and is “used to justify a state of exception” (p. 10). Exception is a very useful category; a rejection of the sovereignty of states and a moral imperative to intervene happen through the frame of exception. Fassin and Pandolfi (2010) note, “in structural terms, military and humanitarian actors place themselves under the same law of exception” (p. 15). To engage with exception is to engage with “extralegality and extraterritoriality, justified, in their view, by the legitimacy of their actions and the mobility of their sovereignty” (p. 15) so that “morality now justifies suspension of the rule of law” (p. 12).
Humanitarianism as an integral part of military intervention follows from a history of colonial intervention. Calhoun (2010) writes that humanitarian ideas were “part of the rationale for colonialism” in terms of rescuing Indigenous peoples from barbarism.

Humanitarianism was “often part of the ‘civilization’ that colonial powers brought to bring to the peoples they conquered” and encompassed education and medical care (Calhoun, 2010, p. 39). Humanitarianism was the very orientation of colonialism and its civilizing missions.

Offering an astonishing example of how the humanitarian mode obscures violence, S. Razack (2009) notes, “we would do well to recall that King Leopold, whose activities in the Congo resulted in the death of ten million Africans, was known in his day as a great humanitarian” (p. 818). Colonial and imperial government happened through humanitarian ideas, sentiments, and practices as a way of reaching out into the world. Calhoun (2008) notes that “France’s mission civilisatrice was understood as humanitarian, bringing civilization to those suffering from the lack of being French or even European. Colonialism was often understood (with no cynicism) as humanitarian” (pp. 77–78).

As this study demonstrates, humanitarianism increasingly interlocks with education and schools. The move to accelerate and intensify the integration of humanitarianism within education through global citizenship is an unsettling trend. Grooming young people to become moral subjects through intervention is to create subjects that have very useful political leanings from the perspective of state power. I now turn to critical scholarship about global citizenship to further explore the ascendance and troubling dimensions of global citizenship.
The Global Citizen

Melamed (2011) notes that racialization’s new criteria, which I touched on previously in this chapter, results in “newly privileged racial subjects,” one of which is “the multicultural global citizen” (p. 13). This section takes up some of the critical literature on global citizenship to consider humanitarianism as at the heart of global citizenship, and global citizenship as a crucial discourse for young people in our current post-humanitarian moment. I am interested in how global citizenship is deployed in secondary schools as part of the humanitarian industrial complex. Extending from the scholarship of Biko (1978), Césaire (1972), Fanon (1967), Memmi (1991), and wa Thiong’o (1986), psychology and epistemology are crucial sites of colonial and imperial violence. The global citizenship worldview, in enforcing white/Northern dominant ways of seeing and being in the world, facilitates psychic and discursive violence, and helps to secure the material violence of the humanitarian industry.

The link between the global citizenship discourse and ongoing colonial and imperial violence is taken up by Abdi and Shultz (2011), who write about the proliferation of global citizenship scholarship:

we decided to see these [writings] for what they really are: a new line of Western constructions of citizenship that are imagined for the world, and then, without any consultations, exported to all corners of the globe. We, of course, see the danger of these, and we labeled them as counterliberating; we went a little bit further; we are seeing the complexities of these citizenship definitions, constructions and analysis as negatively adding to the already problematic “democracy” and “development” situations in sub-Saharan Africa which, after five decades of “independence,” have not yet achieved the long-awaited subjective-institutional freedoms that were promised for the postcolonial perspective and space. (p. 169)
The global citizenship discourse replicates and operates through (or traffics in) these problematic notions of democracy and development. This narrative works with exploitative relationships of industry (mining, for example) that characterize Northern incursions into the global south.

Global citizenship operates through this logic of racial capitalism, where, as Melamed (2011) writes, “race has continued to permeate capitalism's economic and social processes, organizing the hyper-extraction of surplus value from racialized bodies and naturalizing a system of capital accumulation that grossly favour the global North over the global South” (p. 42). Further to Abdi and Schultz (2011), the global citizenship frame perpetuates these material and discursive economies. Global citizenship is a political rubric that works to hail students to lead the work of racial development from positions of power, whether they are corporate, government, or non-governmental. This is a particularly important point to emphasize in the context of elite school students, who, as I show later in this chapter, are called to become elite through national and global leadership.

Jefferess (2011a) has shown how global citizenship enacts a post-racial politics. That is, global citizenship reinstates racial inequality in the moment that it elides it. Global citizenship, then, is an imagined transcendence of race, when in fact it articulates through a racial dialectic, secures a deeply racial logic, calling young people to modes of becoming through whiteness and imperial dominance. Jefferess (2011a) links the structure of benevolence with humanitarianism, showing how the global citizen becomes a humanitarian figure through the transcendence of race. He demonstrates that benevolence “informs and shapes the rhetoric of global citizenship in Canada,” and that benevolence is a mechanism for transmitting a post-racial politics (Jefferess, 2011a, p. 78). Jefferess (2011a) further shows
how global citizenship becomes about making a modern subject that assists racial others into that modernity. Accordingly, “not everyone can be a global citizen” (Jefferess, 2011b). As I explore later in the context of the racial logic of the humanitarian economy of care, the bodies of racial others are needed as a sentimental resource (Hartman, 1997). Global citizenship is about learning to play one's part. This is crucial for young elite subjects, as I explore in the analysis of the South Africa encounter.

This post-racial transcendence proves handy in displacing previous, well-established curricula for anti-racism and decolonizing education. Additionally, as Tarc (2013) notes, the concept of the “empowerment” of global citizens is problematic since the condition for the possibility of “taking action” is the dismantling of social supports:

the “global citizen” is the “empowered” subject who cares and takes action to help others in a context of reduced government spending for social programs and safety nets under the widening gap between wealth and poverty. (p. 12)

Not only, as the above critiques suggest, does global citizenship fail to make a meaningful intervention in structural disadvantage, but structural disadvantage is also the condition that makes global citizenship possible. My premise is that global citizenship initiatives tend to be imagined, problematically, as social justice education. Volunteer abroad programs, as part of the process of becoming global citizens, are often positioned as a kind of social justice education. These critiques raise deep concerns about the integration of global citizenship programming, such as We Day. I briefly take up We Day to show the salience of global citizenship in the political lives of young Canadians, and to demonstrate how global citizenship offers Canadian young people “a way of achieving social distinction through being ‘good,’” (Jefferess, 2012, p. 19). This sets the stage for the analysis later in this chapter
of how the global citizenship discourse works for girls at elite schools in particular, and at elite schools in general.

We Day is an important site for making global citizens in Canadian elementary and secondary schools. We Day is one of Marc and Craig Kielberger’s initiatives, the hero Canadian global citizens behind the non-profit organizations Free the Children and Me to We, the latter helping to fund the former. Jefferess’ (2012) shows that We Day “promotes a way of being good in the world as a consumer identity” (p. 18) where “benevolent action is marketed as the source of fulfilment” (p. 21). Jefferess (2012) traces how the “Me to We” enterprise “impedes social action by foreclosing the possibility of recognizing how ‘we’ are implicated in the structures that produce suffering and inequality” and “prevents us from recognizing how we might connect ourselves to the ideals and strategies of social movements around the world that seek not aid but the transformation of these structures of inequality and the worldviews that normalize them” (p. 19). Extending from Chouliaraki’s (2010) work, Jefferess (2012) shows how humanitarianism and branding intertwine, a mode that overflows into global citizenship initiatives such as “We Day,” which traffics in humanitarian modes of racial stranger-making in the making of a benevolent, fulfilled self.

This analysis of We Day’s emphasis on consumption and the foreclosing of critical analysis matches my observations in October 2012 when I attended We Day at Toronto’s Air Canada Centre with approximately 20,000 other attendees, mostly teachers and students who, as the event advertises, did not purchase tickets, but rather “earned” them “through service,” a phrase repeated throughout the event. I received the ticket through a contact at an elite

\[21\] No longer solely a Canadian initiative, the 2014 We Day schedule includes Minnesota, San Jose, California, Seattle, Chicago, and London, England (We Day, n.d., no page number).
school that was being wooed by Me to We’s voluntourism program administrators. A major mechanism for foreclosing critical thinking was through obedience and behavioural expectations. The entire event was scripted for television. This works in much the same way as François Debrix (2007) writes about “the discourse of tabloid geopolitics” as “a popular geopolitical narrative that is intent on replicating a trash/tabloid media format of description of political, cultural, or economic urgency” in a way that is “eye-catching” and “overly simplistic” (paragraphs 1 and 4). There were very clear rules of behavior. No texting, except when we were prompted, “there are Telus texting moments so text like crazy during those moments.” Clear the aisles for photographers. Don’t stand. Perform the We Day Dance choreography when instructed. This is about students being good consumers and playing their part. There is no thinking involved in making a difference. You can just buy a t-shirt that says, “I love Maasai warriors,” and take home a Swag Bag filled with promotional materials from Royal Bank, Cineplex, Second Cup, and others. As this section demonstrates, this lack of critical thinking in Canadian global citizenship education is systemic.

One of the speakers at the We Day I attended was Roméo Dallaire. Like the Kielburger brothers, Dallaire is another white, male humanitarian celebrity. Dallaire is a former Canadian military General known for his attempts to stop genocide in Rwanda. Dallaire talked to the crowd about kids starving and dying in the Congo and addressed the students in the audience saying that these Congolese kids, ”are not any more abandoned because you are not going to let them be abandoned because you are engaged. You, you are without borders. There's no borders (sic). There's no limit to what you can do” (Dallaire, 2012.) His message posits Canadian youth at once the same as and equal to the youth of the world and separate from and uniquely able to save them. Dallaire’s address suggests that
humanitarian logic, feeling, and practice are what Canadian youth, white and of colour,
inherit as national ability.

What is at stake in interpellating youth into this imagined revolution? Dallaire’s story
provides the frame for these trips: we live in a colour-lined world where we as Canadians
stand on the side of civility and innocence and are called to assist racial others into modernity
(S. Razack, 2004, p. 158). This is a quotidian part of a larger moral and political geography
where more aggressive acts of humanitarian engagement are undertaken in the name of
assisting racial others into modernity, as shown in the history of the humanitarian industrial
complex presented earlier in this chapter. I now turn to scholarship on women saving pre-
modern others, and how girls at elite schools are uniquely called to this work through global
citizenship.

**Gendered Global Citizens: Girls**

Returning to Yeğenoğlu and Stoler, the racialized processes of becoming that these
scholars describe are crucial to the making of a particular subject which I trace here: the
global feminist. I began by discussing the global feminist in order to propose my concept of a
civilizing femininity. I then briefly touch on Claire Charles’ (2014) scholarship on the elite
girl global citizen, and Anita Harris’ (2004) concept of the neoliberal *can-do girl*.

Transnational feminists describe the category of the global feminist as an
ongoing/redeployment of Orientalism in which white women save women of colour (Kaplan,
2001). Travel has been an important part of consolidating the global feminist. Specifically,
the global feminist comes into her own gendered personhood through ruling over the
colonized. As the studies by Heron (2007), Pratt (1992), and Cook (2005) discussed in
chapter one suggest, current global feminist missions to care for, save, or civilize globally
southern women are an extension of previous civilizing missions. Gendered travel bestowed freedom through the invocation of racial superiority and obscured structures of patriarchy, class, and race in the metropole. Encounters with their sisters in the colonies helped to consolidate independence and autonomy at home (Grewal, 1996). Particularly pertinent for this study is Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s (2002) frame of “feminist-as-tourist” which “could also be called the feminist as international consumer or, in less charitable terms, the white women’s burden or colonial discourse model” (p. 518, italics in original). Mohanty describes this model as “a pedagogical strategy in which brief forays are made into non-Euro-American cultures” (p. 518) that “leaves power relations and hierarchies untouched since ideas about center and margin are reproduced along Eurocentric lines” (p. 519). This frame is useful both in terms of actual and pedagogical (such as literary and cultural) excursions abroad. Similar to Kaplan (2001), Grewal (1996, 2005), and Mohanty (2002), Nguyen (2011) notes that global feminist tropes include global sisterhood and “a liberal idea of women’s freedom that celebrates individuality and modernity” (p. 370).

Global feminism, then, dovetails easily with humanitarianism since, as Nguyen (2011) writes, global feminism “often draws on North-South disparities and discourses of patriarchal states or ‘backward’ cultures through which a politics of comparison constructs Western women as ethical and free and saviors of oppressed women around the world” (p. 371). The transnational feminist scholarship outlined here tracks the historical trajectories of the global feminist subject and emphasizes how white femininity continues to be secured through civilizing relationships with women in the global south.

Extending from this scholarship on global feminism, throughout this study I use the term civilizing femininity in two ways. The first level of meaning describes the historical and
ongoing imperial orientation of the global feminist: her desire to civilize, save, and care for her sisters in the global south, an orientation that secures an elite white femininity. The second level of meaning, which I explore in chapter four, describes the effect of the global subject’s presence on institutional space. That is, recruiting white, female students, who are identified as belonging to the category of the modern, makes the institution modern and civilized. In other words, I explore how the addition of white feminine bodies can serve to civilize and modernize boys’ schools and help to secure the moral virtue on which elite status is contingent, a process which I describe in terms of a civilizing femininity. To close this section, I consider scholarship on girls’ subjectivities in particular.

Charles’ (2004) book, *Elite Girls’ Schooling, Social Class and Sexualised Popular Culture*, considers the making of elite femininities at an elite private secondary school in Australia. Charles (2014) notes an increasing media culture focus on empowered girls, and that processes of becoming for elite girls continue to be highly regulated, drawing a wider discursive field than before. This discursive field ranges from older discourses about sexual modesty and respectability, to neoliberal discourses about choice. Charles (2014) writes that “there is already some evidence that for young women in elite educational settings, neoliberal, post-feminist narratives about successful girls may represent particularly powerful normative expectations” (p. 37). The elite school emphasis on creating leaders, together with the neoliberal impetus for girls to fashion themselves as independent, flexible, and successful in the global capitalist marketplace, is a salient convergence. Of particular salience for this study is Anita Harris’ (2004) book, *Future Girl* in which Harris shows that, in alignment with our intensified neoliberal moment, girls are increasingly called to become global citizens by taking up national and global issues.
Throughout this study I am interested how the elite girl is produced through a civilizing femininity, global citizenship, and the neoliberal *can-do girl* impetus. In other words, I am particularly interested in how a civilizing femininity shapes the self-fashioning of the *can-do* elite global citizen. I now provide a brief overview of the elite global citizen.

**The Elite Global Citizen**

This chapter suggests that global citizenship is an important dimension of schooling in Canada. At its core is the idea of producing moral subjects through humanitarian benevolence. Michèle Lamont (1992) theorizes moral character “as a status signal” (p. 177) that is central to the formation of elite identities. Both Lamont (1992) and Chouliaraki (2013) theorize moral character as a particular formation that is shaped by the specific context in which it is formed. In this section, and further to chapter one, I offer that our post-humanitarian moment positions the global citizen-humanitarian as salient in making the moral standing of the elite subject. Jefferess’ (2012) analysis of *We Day* shows how “distinction” is produced through global citizenship’s humanitarian emphasis on *being good* (p. 22). School mission, vision, and volunteer abroad programs offer some insight into the making of the elite school iteration of this fantasy of *becoming good*.

As these elite school statements suggest, elite schools are in the business of creating leaders. As Kenway and Fahey (2014) find in their global ethnography of elite schools, “leadership is a key trope in the schools, and participating in any global youth leadership programme encourages the students to imagine themselves as global leaders in various fields” (p. 191). A prominent theme that emerges in elite school conceptions of leadership is the intertwining of space (the world) and time (the future) as sites for imagining the limitless possibility available to, and, in some cases, already belonging to, elite students. For example,
Appleby College’s mission is “to educate and enable young men and women to become leaders of character, major contributors to, and valued representatives of their local, national and international communities” (Appleby College, n.d., Our Mission, no page number).

Trinity College School’s vision statement, again invoking an expansive geography and futurity, reads, “Trinity College School will be internationally regarded for excellence in developing leaders of character, purpose and vision due to the strength of its people, programme and place” (Trinity College School, n.d., About Us, no page number).

Emphasizing global reach and future leadership, Branksome College’s vision is “to be the pre-eminent educational community of globally minded learners and leaders” (Branksome Hall, n.d., no page number). Ridley College’s vision statement also emphasizes leadership: “Ridley College is internationally recognized for inspiring leadership, igniting creativity and nurturing the human spirit in a world of infinite possibilities” (Ridley College, n.d., no page number).

Upper Canada College’s purpose statement is similar in its linking of leadership with geography but has a greater emphasis on positions of leadership as belonging to its students. The statement notes that Upper Canada College selects and nurtures boys to “take their place as leaders in Canada and beyond our national boundaries, as global citizens, making an impact everywhere” (Upper Canada College, 2008, p. 3). With a similar focus on equipping students to take the future places of leadership which seem to already belong to them, Havergal College’s mission and values statement notes that they “prepare our graduates to take their place as leaders of the future;” leadership is listed as one of their “ideals” through which “every Havergal student, beginning in Junior Kindergarten, is encouraged to develop leadership skills, with the school offering a diverse range of opportunities to do so” (Havergal College, n.d., no page number).
In many of these statements, leadership is a natural disposition that is nurtured. Leadership is also gendered, with some schools further describing their notion of educating *whole boys* or *whole girls* rather than the commonly used phrase *the whole child*. Some statements suggest that students already arrive as leaders, and also become leaders through educational experiences, evoking Bourdieu’s (1989/1996) observation cited earlier that “one is born noble, but one becomes noble” (p. 112). I offer that students become elite in being hailed to be/become the leaders that they already are, and to step into the positions of leadership already reserved for them. Many statements describe leadership according to an outward movement across geographies and into the future with an emphasis on the promise of the young person, of the not-yet-subject-and-citizen (see Lee Edelman, 2006).

Geographies are also crucial here. The elite subject has global spaces readily available in which to encounter her innate leadership abilities. Volunteer abroad programs, then, are important mechanisms for being elite global – and gendered – leaders. This leadership imperative is an important dimension of the fantasy of the elite subject.

If global citizenship initiatives can offer a way of *being good* through a consumer identity (Jefferess, 2012), what happens for students whose affluence grants them a greater ability to consume? Wealth, as well as the desire for educational experiences that secure elite group status, which I discussed in chapter one, both make a difference in terms of the mode of becoming through the bodies of racial others, the moral position produced, and, as Jefferess (2012) describes it, the formulation of an ethical *we*. In chapter six, I theorize the particular, intensified fantasy of the elite school global citizen. There are two steps between here and there: the history of elite school encounters, and why it became imperative for
Canadian elite schools to venture beyond the ivy. The next chapter is a chronology of historical elite school encounters that theorize the arrival of the volunteer abroad program.
Chapter 4
A Chronology of Encounters:
From Seeing to Doing

Chapter three described the discursive, geopolitical, and educational contexts from which the elite global citizen arises in our current humanitarian moment. I noted how elite school language about producing national and global leaders emphasizes an outward movement. What are the historical elite school encounters that led to the institutionalization of volunteer abroad programs? Through what other encounters did the volunteer abroad encounter arrive? This chapter examines the historical elite school encounters that tell the story of the chronological move from the Grand Tour to current travel abroad programs, and, in particular, the volunteer abroad encounter. Each encounter reveals a specific desire at the heart of the formation of elite status. This chronology shows a shift from an emphasis on the desire to see, that is, to observe the lives of foreign others, to an emphasis on the desire to do, that is, to improve the lives of those considered disadvantaged. While doing does not replace seeing, and the scopic impulse is a persistent one, I show that there is a shift in the dominant desire that is at the heart of these encounters. In this transition from seeing to doing, the elite subject becomes a humanitarian and comes to know herself as assisting others into modern life, a mark of superiority that is at the core of what it means to be white.

I consider six elite school encounters that contributed in different ways to the racial project of producing the elite subject: the Grand Tour from the 17th to the 19th centuries, Inuit scholarship students at Lakefield College School in 1928–1929, war guest programs in the mid-20th century, exchange initiatives, gap year programs, and volunteer abroad initiatives. My approach is to follow continuities and changes that tell the story of the move
from *seeing* to *doing*. The final section describes current elite school volunteer abroad programming at several Canadian schools.

**The Grand Tour**

The Grand Tour was a form of travel and rite of passage for young, wealthy Europeans from the 1600s to the early 1800s. The travellers were predominately men, and the trip could take anywhere from a few months to a few years. This was a coming-of-age experience that, as Grewal writes, “young men of the English aristocracy undertook as part of their education, a mode of travel that was central to class and gender formation” (Grewal, 1996, p. 1). In her book, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, Chloe Chard (1999) defines the Grand Tour in broad terms as predominately undertaken by men from northern Europe who “aim to travel to the southern side of the Alps” with the “desire or intention to visit Rome” and are “likely to return to northern Europe” (p. 15). The Grand Tour narrative, as Chard (1999) explains, describes the *sights and wonders* of France and Italy, for example, with an emphasis on architecture and art. Chard (1999) notes that 17th and 18th-century travellers display “a strong desire to discover a dramatic difference from the familiar within the topography of the foreign” (p. 49). Specific rhetorical strategies were deployed to accomplish this. Mahrouse (forthcoming) uses elements of Chard’s framework to theorize Canadian higher education students’ field trips in the global South. I follow Mahrouse’s (forthcoming) approach by taking up two of Chard’s concepts in relation to elite high school encounters abroad: *opposition* and *intensification*.

Chard (1999) describes *opposition* as the “device of constructing binary, symmetrical oppositions between the familiar and the foreign” as one of the most common techniques for “translating foreignness into discourse,” a technique deployed by Grand Tour narratives and
used by other forms of writing (p. 40). *Intensification* is a rhetorical move that describes different geographies according to a shared attribute while emphasizing that one geography displays this attribute “in an intensified form” (p. 49). These rhetorical strategies produce a hierarchy of subjects and places, one civilized and advanced and the other less so. While these techniques are not unique to Grand Tour narratives, they are integral to them, and, as I demonstrate in chapter six, to the volunteer abroad experience and narrative.

While the Grand Tour did not acquire prominence in Canada in the same way as in northern Europe, Canadian elite schools took part in trips that mimicked the structure of the Grand Tour. One such trip was undertaken by Appleby College. A booklet entitled *Seeing Europe: An Account of the Appleby School Travel Club Tour of 1932* and written by student John H. Osler, chronicles a group of Appleby boys’ travels across the Atlantic by steamship and through Britain, France, Switzerland, and Germany. As the title of the booklet indicates, this trip is about *seeing*. Different from the Grand Tour structure, the Appleby excursion is a teacher-organized, group tour. Similar to the Grand Tour, the travel narrative describes architecture, for example. St. Paul’s Cathedral, the Tower of London, and Westminster Abbey. The narrative concludes as so many accounts of encounters abroad do:

Such a tour gives one the opportunity to understand more easily the point of view of other people, and it seems to me that there would be far fewer wars, far less arguing over such matters as debts and reparations, and far less intolerance, if everyone were able to take a trip similar to the one taken by the Appleby School Travel Club. (Osler, 1932, p. 28)

The idea that justice is attainable through leisure travel continues to be a prominent, and problematic, discourse, as chapter six demonstrates. This was the only trip undertaken by the
Appleby School Travel Club. While encounters with difference in Europe were relatively rare, a few Canadian elite students had opportunities to experience otherness within the confines of the school walls when Indigenous students were awarded scholarships. While rare, this occurrence would have nurtured a strong sense of racial superiority.

**Inuit Scholarship Students: Sam and Ben**

While reading documents at Lakefield College School’s archives I was struck by a photo of two children of colour dressed in school uniforms taken in 1928 (Andrew Harris, 1979, p. 39). The children are “Sam and Ben, two Eskimo (sic) boys who spent a year at Lakefield in 1928” (Andrew Harris, 1979, p. 74). I followed the story of how Sam and Ben came from Southampton Island and Baffin Island to an independent school northeast of Toronto, more than 2700 km away, uncovering how they were seen to be part of an experiment in colonial improvement that began, ironically, as an initiative proposed by the father of one of the boys. Archibald Lang Fleming, Archdeacon and Bishop of the Arctic Diocese of the Anglican Church of England in Canada from 1927–1949, details in letters how John Ell Oudlanak from Southampton Island, renowned Inuit leader, approached Fleming to ask for assistance in ensuring that his eleven-year-old son, Ben, be educated “‘no more as an Eskimo (sic), always as a white man’” (A. Fleming, 1928b, p. 1). Fleming’s

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22 Four years later, Appleby College:

joined the Overseas Education League to observe the 1936 Summer Olympic Games held in Berlin, Germany. Accommodations for students were provided in the International Jugendlager or Youth Camp, along with other visiting students from various countries….The students spoke highly of the generosity and hospitality that they received. (Krause, 2011, pp. 16-17)

The students, then, stayed at a military Nazi Youth Camp. In 1974, R.J. Smye, interviewed one of the students on that trip, D.M. Dewar, as part of the research to write an official Appleby book. An excerpt from the transcript of that interview reads:

**Dewar:** …This was the games where Jessie Owens, the negro, won everything and then turned his bck on. We saw that. We saw all sorts of Nazi rallies in Berlin. Frightening thing. In a huge square; thousands of people. It was a frightening experience really. (Smye, 1974, p. 3)
letters describe how he sought the help of Hudson’s Bay officers to recruit another boy, nine-year-old Samuel Pudlett, from Baffin Island, and how Fleming justified these actions in the face of concerns expressed by the Director of the North West Territories & Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior, saying that Inuit people are not (yet) wards of the state (A. Fleming, 1928b, p. 1).23 Archdeacon Fleming covered the costs for this “introduction to school life in civilisation” (p. 1), a “very important experiment” (p. 1) that “will create considerable interest all over Canada and the [text omitted from the archival document] and therefore will possibly have far-reaching effects”24 (A. Fleming, 1928a, pp. 1-2). Fleming aimed to “demonstrate what I very firmly believe, that the Eskimo (sic) are in no way inferior to the white people, but are simply an undeveloped race” and that “the idea is not to educate these boys and send them back to the simple primitive Eskimo (sic) life, but to send them back for all practical purposes as white men” (A. Fleming, 1928b, p. 2). He notes the health dangers to Sam and Ben, but writes that “we must take some chances” (A. Fleming, 1928b, p. 2).

The colonial underpinnings of making white men out of Inuit boys was part of a national project of Canadian sovereignty and control of resources in the North. This experiment, as Fleming called it, happened through the rubric of caring for Native children by providing an Anglo-Saxon education. This was a project in which Fleming was deeply invested. In his book Northern Exposures, Canadian historian Peter Geller (2004) notes that “Fleming worked closely with the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the

23 It was not until April 5, 1939, that the Supreme Court of Canada unanimously ruled that Inuit qualified as Indians under the British North America Act of 1867, and were therefore subject to federally mandated education for all Native children under the Indian Act of 1894 (Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2013, pp. 1, 7).

24 In 1928-1929 Lakefield College School was called The Lakefield Preparatory School, or Lakefield School.
MSCC, recruiting staff, raising funds, and formulating policy” (p. 204). While Sam and Ben were not sent to a residential school, places of abuse for many Indigenous children, their schooling near Peterborough was nevertheless unmistakable as part of the policy of killing the Indian to save the man. As Duncan Campbell Scott (who is said to have been the first to use these words), the Canadian bureaucrat and Head of Indian Affairs at the turn of the 20th century remarked, civilizing Indian children through schooling would effectively solve the Indian problem. Scott initiated the policy of compulsory attendance of Indigenous children in residential schools, a policy for which the Canadian government has now apologized (Leslie, 1978, p. 114). For educators, Sam and Ben came from a primitive place of no future, and there are many letters and invoices detailing the children’s bodies as diseased with bronchitis, ear infections, measles, mumps, and tonsillitis. A letter from the Archdeacon to Mr. Oudlanak notes that “the doctor says that Ben should now be a stronger boy than before, because his tonsils and adenoids were very much diseased, and were poisoning his system” (A. Fleming, 1929a, p. 1). However, Lakefield’s Headmaster’s letter to the Archdeacon records that “one of these boys may die before they get acclimatized” (Mackenzie, 1929a, p. 2). The experiment was regarded as both a success and a failure; the boys had to return to the Arctic after one academic year to avoid probable death. Reading the piles of school invoices, one must also wonder about the role of the mounting costs of medical bills in arriving at this decision. Importantly, Fleming and Lakefield College School become the white heroes of educating the Native, and also of saving him from the certain death that this education in civilization would have effected. In terms of the success of the experiment, the archival letters evidence a consensus that Inuit children had the capacity to be improved through education and become white men. Mrs. Elizabeth Fleming wrote in an unpublished diary that
“the Headmaster said that within that one short school year these ‘primitive’ boys proved themselves the equal of the white man’s sons in intelligence and ability to learn” (E. Fleming, n.d., p. 25).

Archival records reveal that Sam and Ben were successfully civilized at Lakefield School, a process evident in Sam and Ben’s grasp of the English language (Fleming, 1929c), their wearing of a Lakefield School uniform (Lakefield College School, 1931) and wearable underwear (Bailey, 1929), and their purchases of shoes, a toothbrush, and toothpaste (Lakefield Preparatory School, 1929). Sam and Ben were reported to pray earnestly (Bailey, 1929), use “their knives, forks and spoons ‘to the manner born’ and were “dignified and polite” (Fleming, 1928a, p. 1). Geller (2004), citing a Toronto Star article from 1929 (“Eskimo Boys”) notes that the photos of Sam and Ben in their school uniforms that were reproduced in school materials and in the media “testified to the civilizing possibilities for the young Inuuk when released from the supposedly ‘negative’ influences of Inuit culture” (p. 76). Geller points out the similarity between these photos and the propaganda photos from American residential schools such as Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania which show students with “Native dress,” long hair, and stern expressions whose “after” photographs show the same students with cropped hair, in school uniforms, and an easy expression. The similarities are certainly striking. I agree with Geller that the smiling photo of Sam and Ben is a “classic example of the photographic representation of Aboriginal ‘improvement,’” the imagined ‘Eskimo’ [is] transformed.” (Geller, 2004, p. 76)

Archdeacon Fleming wrote to the Headmaster Rev. Mackenzie that he “shall soon have to send in a report to the Government regarding the experiment, as they have been
deeply interested in the whole matter from the first” (Fleming, 1929b, p. 1). The Headmaster offers the Archdeacon this assessment:

Sam and Ben showed remarkable native ability. With the door of means of comprehension but half opened – hardly that for they knew little English – they were keen and eager to learn and quick to understand. They have remarkable memories and power of concentration. Docile and unaggressive they were easy to teach – it was a pleasure to see their brown faces light up as they grasped a new idea. When it is considered how handicapped they were by continuous absence from school since Christmas their progress in ability to express themselves in English is wonderful. (Mackenzie, 1929b, p. 1)

Mrs. Fleming notes in her diary that the “experimental case” “attracted wide publicity” and “the conscience of the Canadian Government was aroused and there developed the beginnings of education for the children of the North” (n.d., p. 26). These findings helped to sustain the genocidal regime of residential schools in Canada, and to expand it across the country in general, and within the Arctic in particular. In this way, an elite school and Anglican Church collaborative humanitarian experiment helped to secure one of the foundational practices of violence in Canada’s history. While Indigenous attendance at elite schools gave way to their mandatory attendance at residential schools, as the 20th century progressed Canadian elite students gained other opportunities to understand their own civilizational superiority through the bodies of racial others. This time, however, superiority

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25 What effect did this experiment have on Sam and Ben? A letter from Archdeacon Fleming to Lakefield Headmaster Rev. Mackenzie notes upon their departure that “they made it clear to me that they did not wish to go to the land of the Eskimo” (A. Fleming, 1929b, p. 1). We do not have Sam and Ben’s words to speak for themselves. All we know of Ben is that he is reported to have drowned during a fishing trip off Baffin Island (Andrew Harris, 1979). In the archival documents I found only one indication of the subsequent reactions to a civilizing education. Mrs. E. Fleming wrote in her diary describing her honeymoon trip to the Arctic a chance reunion with Sam:

The Bishop talked to Sam in English and it was clear that he understood but he himself clung to his native tongue. When the Bishop tried to coax him to speak to me in English he simply said, “I would rather not.” (E. Fleming, n.d., p. 26)

The final archival trace of Sam is a moment of the refusal of an interpellation that is not of his choosing, the call to perform the civilized white man. The official school narrative of 1979 says only that “Sam is a carver and the class of 1978 presented one of his carvings to the school” (Andrew Harris, 1979, p. 74).
would be achieved not through difference, but through racial bonding with those considered family.

**English War Guests in Canada**

War guest programs are a moment in Canadian history when we knew ourselves as *good* because we cared for our imperial family. Many English students were placed in homes across Canada during the Second World War. For example, some children of Oxford University staff members were placed with families of staff members at the University of Toronto (“Yet to Place 60 Children,” 1940). The majority, if not all, of elite Canadian independent schools formed war guest relationships with English schools. For one example of hosting war guests I turn to Branksome Hall and their relationship with Sherborne School in Devon, England. A *Toronto Star* article (Thompson, 1987) that recounts a 47-year student reunion notes that “Canada accepted more than 7,500 children from Britain as war guests” because “their parents had decided that England was far too dangerous a place for children during war” (p. A22). More than 100 young people, who were accompanied by guardians, boarded at Branksome Hall or lived with students’ families several years during the war. The article goes on to quote one former guardian of the group from Sherborne School, Dame Diana Reader Harrison:

“I remember just before we went, the Canadian Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, who was in England at the time, said to us, ‘Never fear! Canada will never let you down.’ And it didn’t,” she said. “We met with this incredible warmth and generosity. (Thompson, 1987, p. A22)

The group from Sherborne School was supported by donations from the school, its families, and alumnae (“Yet to Place 60 Children,” 1940, no page number). A July 6, 1940 article from the Toronto Telegram reads: “the arrival of the first ‘guests of Canada’ was an
inspiration here to everyone, and a feeling of gratitude arose for the chance given to lend a hand in this way to the Motherland” (“Children Arrive in Toronto,” 1940, no page number).

One student who was a war guest at Havergal College, Jean Aide Kemble, notes the similarity between her English school and her new Canadian one: “Yes, I left the familiar for Canada. However, the first memory I have is of feeling completely ‘at home’ and continuing in a school that followed the policy of my English school” (Byers, 1994, p. 110).

Exclusion and exceptionality play an important role in this humanitarian history. As part of the imperial family, the war guests are exceptional children who merit care. Of course, these children are exceptional because others are not. Crucially, Jewish children were not part of the imperial family, were not known through sameness, and did not merit care. In their book None is too Many, Irving Abella and Harold Troper (2012) write that:

Like the other western liberal democracies, Canada cared little and did less...In the prewar years, as the government cemented barriers to immigration, especially of Jews. Immigration authorities barely concealed their contempt for those pleading for rescue. (pp. 280–281)

The ongoing celebration of Canadian benevolence through war guest initiatives is haunted by the absent presences of the children who were not welcome, who did not arrive, and who were not exceptional subjects of care. The war guest program, while not an encounter with racial others, was clearly a racial project. That is, it was a way of constituting imperial whiteness through national benevolence. Exchange programs, many of which followed from war guest relationships, were another route to racial bonding with those considered family through shared whiteness and/or Northerness. Exchange programs both mimic the coming-of-age experience of the Grand Tour by travelling abroad alone, and introduce a new element of travel: a greater desire for cultural difference and for doing.
Exchange Programs: The Shift to Doing

After the Second World War, Branksome Hall’s war guest relationship with Sherborne School became an exchange program. This exchange program between the schools still exists. We see a continuation of beliefs about Grand Tour-style travel in 1932 that flows through exchange programs. For example, Appleby College student John H. Osler’s 1932 written account of Seeing Europe, which I discussed earlier in this chapter, concludes that there would be “far fewer wars” and “less intolerance” if everyone took a trip to Europe that was similar to that of the Appleby School Travel Club. A Branksome Hall publication from 1944 notes the Headmistress’ (Miss Read’s) philosophy about the importance of exchange programs: “one of Miss Read’s pet theories has always been that an international exchange of students would go far toward solving international differences;” the text goes on to state that Miss Read would like to include as many different European school girls as is possible” (“The Branksome Slogan,” 1944, p. 68, italics added). It is important that exchanges have historically been to England, followed by other European countries (particularly France, Spain, and Germany), and then to commonwealth countries (typically Australia). There are two notable differences here from previous forms of travel considered in this chapter. First, in relation to the war guest program, the cultural gap is widened; instead of caring for members of the imperial family from England who speak the same language and have a predominantly shared culture, exchange programs begin to introduce slightly more difference through language and culture, all the while remaining within the European family of nations. Second, in relation to the Grand Tour, we see the beginning of a shift to travel for doing; the primary focus of exchange programs is not to see Europe, but to have the experience of living in a different place and attending a different school. This growing emphasis on doing emerges as a crucial one that leads to programs that do more.
**Gap Year**

The gap year gained prevalence in England and has become increasingly popular in other countries including Canada, the United States, and Australia. Simpson (2005) presents instructive findings from her doctoral study on gap year experiences in her article *Dropping Out or Signing Up? The Professionalisation of Youth Travel*. Simpson (2005) defines a gap year as a program that “can involve any manner of activities, though typically they include periods of work, either paid or voluntary, and often some form of travel” (p. 447). Simpson (2005) notes that gap year programs with a volunteer abroad component comprise a relatively small part of the market but are “highly visible to the public and play an important role in shaping popular understanding of youth travel” (p. 448). Simpson (2005) notes that Prince William’s year-long gap year received prominent press coverage and was a notable moment:

> Prince William’s arrival in Chile represented the pinnacle of institutional acceptability for the gap year. No longer are gap years for rebels, dropouts and “people with nothing better to do”; now they are for hopeful professionals and future kings. (p. 449)

Simpson’s (2005) work suggests that the growing industry of gap year programs provides expanding avenues for “neoliberal self-regulating citizenship” and that these programs continue to evade questions of colonialism (p. 466).

The gap year resonates with the Grand Tour in that it comprises travelling abroad alone (although gap year travel may be coordinated through a non-governmental organization or travel company). The gap year and the Grand Tour also share an overlapping desire for pleasure through an encounter with foreignness that simultaneously aspires towards self-improvement. However, among several differences is an important shift: the gap year
primarily pursues doing. The gap year program with a volunteer abroad focus may engage in this doing through some of the things that Prince William participated in during his gap year, for example, building a school or teaching English in Chile (Harrison, 2011) or doing game conservation work in Africa (Alderson, 2001). In another article, Simpson (2004) notes this link in how “‘development’ is seen as something that can be ‘done,’ and specifically, by non-skilled, but enthusiastic, volunteer-tourists” (p. 685). Along with projects where white child activist figures “free” the children of the Third World, projects Jefferess notes are “self-consolidating” for the Western adult, this shift in youth travel as a way of becoming through doing, rather than seeing, is significant (Jefferess, 2002, p.78). Gap year encounters suggest a neoliberal and governmental logic of fashioning a self through close encounters with racial others. A notable difference between the Grand Tour and the gap year is in the kind of encounter that gap programs seek out. Gap programs, while varied in their destinations, desire an encounter with greater difference than we have seen in previous formations of travel. Finally, Simpson (2005) notes that in Canada, like the United States, the gap year program is structured differently in that it is more institutionalized in formal education, for example, in university courses. I turn to elite school volunteer abroad programs to consider how the gap year concept has become institutionalized at the high school level.

**Elite School Volunteer Abroad Programs**

The elite school volunteer abroad concept shares notable continuities with exchange programs, the gap year program, and the Grand Tour. For example, the volunteer abroad program is similarly a form of leisure travel that is educational and that plays a role in constituting national, classed, and gendered subjects. All four forms of travel – the Grand Tour, exchange programs, the gap year, and volunteer abroad programs – share an emphasis
on pleasure, self-improvement, and the desire to encounter exotic others and landscapes. Like the gap year, the volunteer abroad program predominantly pursues doing, specifically, doing good. Importantly, volunteer abroad programs produce national elite subjects through virtuous action. They facilitate a way for youth of Northern nations to become global citizens by assisting racial others into modernity. While travel programs have long been common in schools, as this chapter suggests, volunteer abroad programs are distinct in that they institutionalize the sale of travel programs and humanitarian activities to students. Accordingly, they institutionalize selling whiteness, and the making of white subjects. I now draw on the contextual information component of this study to describe volunteer abroad programs at several Canadian elite schools as projects of selling whiteness.

Each of the schools that I visited were interested in, as one headmaster told me, “getting students to see past the end of their driveways,” and getting “outside of the bubble” rather than participating in exchange programs that “go from SUV to SUV.” However, schools pursue this in different ways. Boys’ and co-educational schools encourage boys to join by structuring trips around an adventure component such as climbing Mount Kilimanjaro. Co-educational schools in particular offer a range of trips to appeal to “both” genders. The girl-oriented trips tend more toward volunteering, with tourism and adventure in between. These gendered trip structures align with historical continuities; development work tends to be led by white women (Heron, 2007). One program director at a boys’ school noted that it is the volunteering that the boys remember and that has the greatest effect on them, and that adventure is used as character building and a way to get them into the service

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26 Further to Indigenous critiques of gender (such as A. Smith, 2006), I consider the male-female gender binary as a Western heteropatriarchal construct that elides and queers pluralities of gender identities and secures settler colonial projects.
project. She described how the trips abroad are part of an “un-nannying” of the boys whereby they learn to be independent, suggesting continuities with the coming of age tradition of the Grand Tour. That the trips are about making elite, white/Canadian masculinities is suggested by the program director’s emphasis on the dispositions that the boys acquire through the volunteer trips, in particular, greater civility through, for example, sharing and being kinder towards others in the school group. The South Africa volunteer trip that I theorize in chapter six is particularly feminized. While this South African trip includes a technology component, an activity that is particularly popular in the context of volunteer programs at boys’ schools, I found that the technological component had little to do with technology, and was more a mechanism through which to become a caring, nurturing subject by teaching children, suggesting a strong continuity with colonial trajectories of white women development workers (Heron, 2007).

I consider the volunteer abroad program description on St. Andrew’s College’s website for an example of how the language of humanitarian care is deployed in the making of elite leaders:

International service projects allow our students to witness the difficult circumstances many people in this world must live in on a daily basis. It helps young Andreans gain a greater appreciation for the advantages they have, and promotes the self-discovery process necessary for the testing, shaping and building of values and character. If they can develop a greater understanding of the need for equity in our world, perhaps someday, when in the position to do so, they may be motivated to take action toward the achievement of a more just society. (St. Andrew’s College, n.d., no page number)

Separate from the power structures that produce these inequities, and taking up the posture of standing apart, students “witness the difficult circumstances,” recalling S. Razack’s (2007) analysis of how witnessing the atrocities in Rwanda served to confirm the vulnerable, feeling
Canadian subject as part of a national ideology. The humanitarian affective circuit is at work here, and the process of stealing the pain of others is reified and repeated: the bodies and humanity of children of colour are exchanged for elite students’ greater understanding of the need for equity in our world and the enjoyment of students’ greater appreciation for the advantages they have. Taking action is a choice that one may engage or refuse, and other places in the world with difficult circumstances are available as an occasion for reflection and self-discovery. For elites, who, further to Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard’s study (2013), are called to demonstrate their ‘‘good moral character’’ through others (p. 2), volunteer abroad programs have a particular salience in the ongoing making of elite subjectivity.

A. Smith (2013) writes that confessions of privilege become ‘‘rituals’’ and ‘‘political projects themselves’’ (p. 263). She describes how in her experience ‘‘these rituals ultimately reinstatated the white majority subject as the subject capable of self-reflexivity and the colonized/racialized subject as the occasion for self-reflexivity’’ (A. Smith, 2013, p. 264). In the volunteer abroad encounter we are quite plainly in the domain of consumption, of the familiar material and discursive appropriation of value from Natives and the global south. A. Smith (2013) goes on to say that ‘‘although the confessing of privilege is understood to be an antiracist practice, it is ultimately a project premised on white supremacy’’ (p. 265). Leadership is constructed as whiteness through the assisting of racial others into modernity through care. In this way, St. Andrew’s College’s very common conception of volunteer abroad programs for elite student-subjects reproduces white supremacy.

My premise in this thesis, as I noted in chapter three, is that elite schools tend to imagine that volunteer abroad trips, as part of the work of global citizenship, are a form of social justice education. What experiences do elite schools sell as part of their volunteer
Volunteer abroad trips have various names at different schools and can be called international service/international service learning (Appleby College, Branksome Hall, Royal St. George’s College, St. Andrew’s College, Trinity College School, Upper Canada College), international service/outreach (Crescent School), mission/outreach (Ridley College), international partnerships (Havergal College), and global learning (Lakefiled College School). Appendix B shows some of the destinations of the volunteer abroad programs for the ten schools considered in this study. As the destinations change from year to year, I have selected some of the countries visited in recent years (2012–2015). Popular regions include Central and South America (for example, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Peru), and Southern and Eastern Africa (for example, South Africa, Tanzania, and Kenya). A few schools organize trips to northern Native communities in Canada, particularly as a result of critiques of sending students abroad when there are serious social and environmental issues at home of which they are unaware. Many schools offer multiple trips during the winter, spring, and summer breaks. Schools typically try to minimize the number of school days that students miss. Depending on the school, they are offered for students as young as middle school (grades seven and eight). Trips can include fewer than six to more than two-dozen students from one school. It is important to note that the activities of volunteer abroad trips, and the level of emphasis on the volunteer component, varies between schools, as well as between trips at the same school. There is also a significant range in the level of difficulty of the trips, both in terms of physical labour and living conditions, for example, boarding with a family of Indigenous Karen people in a rural village versus staying in luxury tourist accommodations. The average cost of a volunteer trip is $5,000; trips range from
approximately $2,000 to over $6,000. The programs span between one to three weeks, and feature a mixture of volunteer and tourist activities.

There is a wide range in terms of how developed the programs are. It takes administrative commitment and resources to develop a volunteer abroad program. Most programs started as one trip organized by an enthusiastic teacher. Schools with strong program backing for dedicated staff and support roles have been the most successful at building their programs. Some schools, in particular, Havergal College and Appleby College, have been developed through strong board and school leadership support, and integrating volunteer trips into their school brand. Appleby College, for example, in addition to the Ontario Secondary School Diploma (OSSD) and the Appleby Diploma, offers a Global Leadership Diploma that includes an international service learning project in combination with other components. Volunteer abroad programs are becoming increasingly standardized and institutionalized through risk assessment, and student and staff training and debriefing. Training topics ranging from first aid certification to cultural sensitivity. Some schools also have curriculum integration, for example, through a Native Studies course.

Associations and non-governmental organizations play an important role in elite school humanitarianism. The structure of these school-NGO relationships vary. Some schools are more committed to long-term relationships where it might take a decade to create a productive NGO partnership in a particular community, and some work with NGOs that prefer not to return to the same locations so as not to create, as one program director described it, “dependency.” The volunteer trips are led by school faculty and staff members, typically in partnership with NGO staff. Popular partner organizations include Right to Play (see Darnell 2012), Habitat for Humanity (building affordable housing), Operation Wallacea
(volunteer biodiversity and conservation research), Me to We/Free the Children, and Round Square. I briefly explore the later two given how central they are to elite schools.

Me to We describes itself as:

part of a family of organizations, including Free The Children and We Day, that has a shared goal: to empower a generation to shift the world from “me” to “we”—through how we act, how we give, the choices we make on what to buy and what to wear, the media we consume and the experiences with which we choose to engage. (Me to We, n.d., no page number)

Appendix B shows that each of the elite schools in this study has had, or continues to have, some sort of relationship with Me to We/Free the Children, through We Day, fundraising, and/or volunteer trips.27 Round Square, of which, in this study, Lakefield College School and Appleby College are members, is an international association of mostly elite schools that facilitates teacher and student exchanges, student conferences, and international service projects. The board includes Constantine II, Prince of Denmark and (former) King of Greece, and Prince Andrew, Duke of York. Patrons include Craig Kielburger, co-founder of Free the Children and Me to We, and formerly included the late Nelson Mandela. Round Square’s “IDEALS of learning” are internationalism, democracy, environment, adventure, leadership, and service (Round Square, n.d., What We Do, no page number) a philosophy that extends from the co-founder and educational theorist Kurt Hahn who was influential in founding

27 I encountered a range of perspectives and experiences with Me to We volunteer abroad programs. Some program directors were fiercely committed to working with them. Others were critical of their program, noting that the relationship began strong and then deteriorated in terms of service (responding to parents’ emails, etc.) and a deterioration in the facilitation that young volunteer group leaders in the field provide to elite school students. One director noted that, “Free the Children will say they built seventeen schools. So what? It’s just a building. It’s just a room. [Another trip’s] money goes to teacher training or salary. You can teach under a tree. You know what happens to some of these buildings? They’re taken down because they’re not safe. And they think they saved the world.”

27 Membership is by application. Round Square organizes events and offers membership at the regional and international levels. There is also Young Round Square for middle school students. Their website states that “Round Square works with more than a hundred member schools worldwide representing a student capacity in the region of 60,000 and a teacher/management workforce of around 5,000” (Round Square, n.d., Who we are, no page number).
Outward Bound, United World Colleges, and the Duke of Edinburgh Award. The Duke of Edinburgh Award is a program available to youth worldwide aged fourteen to twenty-four and comprises bronze, silver, and gold awards. All of the schools in this study participate in the Duke of Edinburgh Award in some capacity; some schools have a more hands-off approach to students completing it independently, and other schools devote significant staff resources to ensuring that as many students as possible complete the levels. As part of the Appleby College Diploma, for example, each student must complete the Bronze Duke of Edinburgh Award and students are strongly encouraged to complete the Silver and Gold requirements as well” (Appleby College, n.d., Academic Program, no page number). Each level requires the completion of community service hours, and a “residential project” (international service trips sometimes meet this requirement and are designed with this requirement in mind). Finally, the International Baccalaureate program (IB) is an important part of the elite school context; in this study, Branksome Hall, Ridley College, and Upper Canada College offer the IB program. The IB program includes an emphasis on CAS (Creativity, Action, and Service); students are required to complete fifty hours of each activity. International service learning fits into the IB program.\(^{28}\)

It is important to note that local service-learning programs form a crucial secondary tier of humanitarian activity at elite schools. The community service programs are typically integrated into co-curricular programming. They include activities like tutoring students at lower-income public schools, spending time at a seniors’ home, and helping to paint a women’s shelter. As with all students in Ontario, elite school students are required to

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\(^{28}\) Kenway & Fahey (in press) write that, “the IB and Round Square organizations understand themselves as significant regional and global educational actors and encourage students to see themselves as significant actors on a global as well as local stage” (no page number).
volunteer to graduate. The Ontario Ministry of Education’s community service hour requirement for all students who begin secondary school from 1999–2000 onwards states that students “must complete a minimum of 40 hours of community involvement activities as part of the requirements for an Ontario Secondary School Diploma (OSSD)” (Ontario Ministry of Education, n.d., no page number). Elite schools strive, through co-curricular service requirements such as a club or a placement at a community organization for a term, to graduate students who complete far beyond this minimum. The total number of volunteer hours of the graduating class is sometimes announced (and applauded) at the graduation ceremony. While this study considers the Canadian elite school articulation of volunteer abroad programs, it is important to emphasize that this is an international phenomenon. As prevalent as these programs are, it is difficult to precisely quantify humanitarianism at elite schools, even in the context of this study (where not all schools were willing to share data, and schools have different levels of public access to their program information with much of it being posted on school intranets). Schools may send anywhere from a few dozen students to closer to a hundred in a given year. In the last decade, as these programs have grown and become institutionalized, the total participants in independent schools across Canada number in the thousands, a figure that becomes increasingly significant over time and in the context of all of the other Canadian schools, including from public boards, sending students abroad. Additionally, the significance grows when we consider how schools are aligning themselves with volunteer abroad programs in terms of how they conceptualize leadership, excellence, and the type of graduate they wish to produce, as chapter three demonstrated.
Summary

This chapter demonstrated the shift from a focus on seeing to an emphasis on doing that characterizes the chronology of elite school encounters. I have also shown how the present post-humanitarian desire of the elite subject to be good through doing good is institutionalized through volunteer abroad programs at Canadian elite schools. This chronology shows the intensification of a desire to encounter difference, a desire that recalls Mbembe’s (2001) analysis of “the West’s desperate desire to assert its difference from the rest of the world” (p. 2). The volunteer abroad encounter is unique in that the desire is not only to know oneself through the encounter with difference, but also to know oneself as morally excellent through an encounter with difference. The institutionalization of volunteer abroad programs at elite schools follows from the drive to create national leaders that I discussed in chapter three, a history of encounters abroad, and a level of affluence that enables these programs. This institutionalization evidences a level of integration with the humanitarian industrial complex that is unique in relation to public and other independent schools. Additionally, what is institutionalized through these programs is a route to becoming a modern, white subject who comes to know herself through assisting others into modern life. In the following chapter I consider the historical moment of co-education at three elite schools to reveal one final impetus for volunteering abroad: reaching the saturation point of racial diversity behind the ivy.
Chapter 5
Behind the Ivy:
Using Multiculturalism To Sell Whiteness Behind the Ivy

Introduction

The previous chapter offered a chronology of how elite school volunteer abroad programs arrived through other elite school encounters abroad. This chapter analyzes a historical, multicultural encounter: how three boys’ schools responded to increased numbers of East Asian students by transitioning to co-education, a shift that effected a racial balancing of the student demographic through the addition of local, white girls. This analysis adds three important dimensions to my analysis of making elite subjects through the bodies of racial others. First, it demonstrates how it became necessary for three elite schools to venture beyond the ivy to seek out humanitarian encounters. That is, the schools became as multicultural as they could without compromising the elite status of the school. Following the argument in the previous chapter that elite schools need racial strangers for the continual becoming of institutional eliteness, schools had to go elsewhere to find more encounters through which to further consolidate elite status. Second, it shows how elite schools imagined the elite subject, and whom they invited to occupy this position. Third, this chapter reveals the central place of racial logic in securing elite status behind the ivy, and that eliteness and whiteness interlock. Accordingly, I offer that elite schools sell whiteness.

Section one provides some background information about strangers at elite schools. Section two explains the techniques of producing institutional whiteness that I track in this chapter: the somatic norm (Puwar, 2004) and a white habitus (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Section two is a document analysis that maps the multicultural encounter, that is, how three elite
schools strategically used what I discussed in chapter two as *familiar strangers* (local, white girls) and *racial strangers* (international East Asian students, boys and girls)\(^{29}\) to manage whiteness and institutional elite status. I show how recruiting local girls effected what I have explained as a civilizing femininity, that is, how the addition of white girls to the student body modernized institutional space. I consider documents from Ridley College, Lakefield College School, and Appleby College. Section three considers what this analysis reveals about who is invited behind the ivy to be/become the elite subject. Section four theorizes the role of whiteness in securing institutional elite status, and how schools sell whiteness behind the ivy. This chapter uncovers how institutional multiculturalism deploys bodies of color to create the moral distinction of *being good* that legitimates other encounters beyond the ivy.

**Background on Familiar Strangers and Racial Strangers**

This chapter follows the economies of familiar strangers (local, white girls) and racial strangers (in the context of this chapter, I focus on East Asian students). While racial strangers have a place behind the ivy, I suggest that their inclusion is what Nirmal Puwar (2004) calls *differentiated inclusion*. Puwar (2004) uses this term to describe institutional others who share a socioeconomic affinity with historically white and male peers and who come close to the somatic norm, but whose bodies continue to be marked by difference.\(^{30}\) I use the term *familiar strangers* to take up the historical moment when female students were

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29 While Asia is vast and diverse, comprising East, West, South, and Southeast Asia, the elite school documents primarily use *Asia* to signify *East Asia*.

30 This suggests that processes of exclusion are particularly acute for black bodies, those who are most marked by processes of racialization and furthest from the somatic norm, and that (East) Asian bodies may be differently situated in the hierarchy of white supremacy. Later in this chapter I note the relationship between the somatic norm and white habitus, suggesting that a white habitus permits greater proximity to the white somatic norm. This may explain some of the findings of Howard’s (2008) study of elite American schools, and black parents’ investment in their children developing fluency with elite white dispositions at these schools. The question of whether or not black bodies are always excluded remains.
admitted to boys’ schools during the transition to co-education. I offer that those female day students that are read as white have now become institutionally at home. While there is certainly room here to extend this study to track ongoing sexist and patriarchal practices of elite schools, white, female students are no longer strangers. We can gauge this simply through the support programs geared towards international student integration, parallels of which we do not find directed towards female students. There is also the expectation that girls will stay and that international students will go home; from the perspective of advancement, girls are more engaged and important future alumni and donors as part of the school family, whereas international students go back. While the strangerness of female students has subsided and evolved, the strangerness of racial (international East Asian) students is persistent As I explore in the following chapter, institutional belonging is much more fraught for local female students of colour. In contrast, East Asian international students, in being marked through race, ethnic, and language differences, continue to be stranger strangers. It is important to note that international students, or those whose primary residences are in, and/or citizenship documents are from, other countries, are not new arrivals at elite Canadian schools.

For example, an article in Ridley College’s Midsummer 1941 Acta Ridleiana describes a banquet at the St. Catharines’ Rotary International that included eighteen Ridley students, each from a different country, including Japan, India, China, and Trinidad. What is different at this historical point, however, is that all of the international students in the photo appear to be white. For example, the student from Japan is named Douglas Andrew. As the national elite classes have changed, so have international students. Since the 1970s, bodies of colour are increasingly found amongst the student and faculty photos in yearbooks. It is
difficult to chart the histories of Indigenous students. I did find an article in a 1980 school publication, the Branksome Slogan, called “How some Cree People Live: This is a true story written by a Cree Indian,” signed in English and Cree by Queenie R. Moses-Picato in Grade 10.

While the local student population certainly includes some bodies of colour, these bodies are not concentrated within the local student demographic, and are also definitely not concentrated at other noticeable sites of the school, such as at the level of school leadership, a space that is almost entirely, if not entirely, white. Having perused dozens of yearbooks from elite schools, a very clear, and unsurprising, pattern emerges as to where one finds a concentration of bodies of colour: within staff (non-faculty positions, particularly in IT, security, cleaning, and kitchen staff), boarding students, and the people that students care for on volunteer abroad trips. Additionally, bodies of colour may be more vulnerable to the disciplinary apparatus of schools.32

**Making Institutional Whiteness: Somatic Norm and White Habitus**

I begin by outlining two techniques for making whiteness. In my discussion of the documents that follow, I show how these techniques are deployed. The first is what Nirmal Puwar (2004) calls the “somatic norm,” that is, the “inside proper” in relation to the outside

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31 *Canadian content* in boarding is desirable. One way through which schools increase these numbers is by admitting hockey players from other provinces. Schools also increase the whiteness of boarding (which is also very desirable) by admitting hockey students from the US and Europe (particularly Scandinavia). Many of these students attend on full or significant scholarships. While this footnote is a fragment that requires further analysis in a future study it is an important corollary to this discussion.

32 For an example of a racialized student who was expelled from the institutional family see the story of Gautam Setia from Appleby College by Laidlaw (2013) ([http://www.torontolife.com/informer/features/2013/07/24/high-timess-at-appleby-college/](http://www.torontolife.com/informer/features/2013/07/24/high-timess-at-appleby-college/)). Gautam, a local student of Sikh heritage, was expelled on the day of his final grade 12 exam (the administration encouraged him to withdraw) “for lighting a bong in his dorm on the night before finals” (no page number). Gautam received his provincial high school diploma (OSSD) but, after paying a total of about $220,000 CAD in school fees was denied the Appleby College Diploma. His parents pursued legal action. The outcome for the other (white, local, male) student has not been made public. Both students were photoshopped out of the school yearbook.
The somatic norm is always gendered. It comprises the white, male bodies that have been historically at home in elite schools, as the histories outlined in chapter one demonstrate. While, as this chapter shows, the somatic norm has some flexibility, there are clear limits. Institutional economies of strangers depend on these limits; these economies fail when there are too many strangers, when white bodies’ mastery of institutional space is threatened by too many others. Elite schools promise this white somatic norm; they sell an educational experience in which one will have predominantly white classmates. What I explore here is the gendering process of this norm. While this norm has always been gendered, one of the things I will explore is what happens to the gendering process.

The second technique for producing institutional whiteness is through a white habitus (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Pierre Bourdieu (1996/1989) defines habitus as “dispositions” that are “embodied” (p. 2). He emphasizes the positions in dispositions. Further to the Oxford English Dictionary, a disposition is a “relative position,” a “natural tendency or bent of the mind, especially in relation to moral or social qualities,” and, in an older definition, a “direction” (“Disposition”). I offer that the production of institutional strangers works as a particular kind of habitus, what Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2006) calls a “white habitus,” “a racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates whites’ racial taste, perceptions, feelings and emotions and their views on racial matters” (p. 104). A white habitus can be acquired by bodies that are white and of colour; it is a socialization process that cultivates an orientation to others, the world, and oneself. This chapter reveals that elite schools sell whiteness through the promise of grooming a white habitus. I now turn to the document analysis to map this process.
Document Analysis: The Multicultural Encounter

At Canadian elite schools the story of multicultural policies originates in economic necessity with the language of economic urgency in the late 80s and 90s. The act of welcoming strangers was, from the beginning, a numbers game that grappled with balancing the books while simultaneously balancing the racial demographic of the student body. This history reveals what is at stake in this numbers game.

Ridley College

The minutes of the December 1994 meeting of the board of governors appendix an article (Pelham, 1993) from The Association of Boarding Schools (TABS) on increasing international student enrollment. The author, Peter Pelham, TABS coordinator of international services, writes of the benefits of international students:

While it’s true that the majority of our foreign students are full-pay (sic), it’s also true that they have chosen our schools over many other options. Recently I suggested to a Wall Street Journal reporter that we should be as proud of enrolling hundreds of Thai students in North American boarding schools as we are of selling Thai Airways a Boeing 747. Both transactions represent victories in competitive marketplaces. And as for the balance of trade, our 4,621 overseas students will contribute over $83 million to the US economy this year. (Pelham, 1993, p. 5, italics added)

Pelham notes that “we should be as proud” of enrolling Thai students “as we are of selling” commercial jets. This comparison suggests that there is something lacking in the level of positive feeling that accompanies enrolling Thai students. In likening Thai students to something valuable, commercial jets, he attempts to confer value on the bodies of Thai students at elite schools. In doing so, he commodifies Thai students’ bodies by referring to Thai student enrollment as a “transaction.” The logic that Thai students have value because their presence points to a meaningful sale is clearly a demeaning one. This thinking
articulates with the larger logic of East Asian student of recruitment presented in this chapter; East Asian bodies are economic resources that schools need. Pelham’s comments indicate a concern about increasing numbers of (South)East Asian students, and how to understand this growing presence, comments and concerns that seem to have been of interest to Ridley’s board of governors.

Similar to Pelham’s comments about Thai students, a related concern about the presence of East Asian bodies surfaces in the minutes of the April 1998 board meeting in which Appendix C, prepared by the director of admissions, shows “current admission statistics” along with two interesting comments from a list of “observations.” The director of admissions notes that “of 44 new student confirmations, 4 are of Asian-ethnicity” and that “of 81 offers outstanding, 17 are to students of Asian ethnicity” (Ridley College, 1998b, no page number). The following bullet points from the “Admission Goals for 1997–1998” within that document provide some further insight into the admissions strategy:

- “reduce Asian visa student content in boarding (92 to 80)”
- “increasing boarding content from Canada, USA, Latin America, Caribbean, Europe”
- “pay a 10% commission to educational consultants who deliver strong students from Latin America and Europe” (no page number)

The objective to “reduce Asian visa content,” meaning people, is a striking one. I did not come across objectives to reduce the numbers of other specific groups. The two points that follow work together as a strategy to accomplish this reduction in East Asian students. Clearly, recruiting East Asian students is not a difficulty. One would imagine that for the business of a school, this would be a good thing. What I wish to emphasize here is the desire,
as well as the initiatives mobilized, to reduce the numbers of East Asian bodies. I am suggesting that we read this desire and these practices as pointing to an anxiety. That is, something became unsettled by the presence of too many East Asian bodies, and the school took steps to re-stabilize that which was off-balance: whiteness. While 10% commissions are now common, this is, in the late 90s, a bold attempt to stem an (over)flow of Asian bodies and re-establish an institutional balance (whiteness) not only by decreasing East Asian recruits but by investing in recruiting within other geographies.

Puwar (2004) theorizes this kind of concern as an anxiety about amplification, an anxiety that is the effect of the arrival of unexpected, dissonant bodies. Puwar (2004) writes that “in encounters where the hitherto outside, in a social/political/psychical sense, is physically on the inside, disorientation and amplification come into play” (p. 34). Writing of black bodies in white institutional spaces, Puwar (2004) notes that:

while “black” bodies are still statistically small in numbers, they are perceived as bodies that disturb the normal institutional landscape. Moreover, their numbers become amplified and they come to threateningly fill the space in much larger numbers than they literally do. (p. 48)

Puwar (2004) goes on to explain that:

There is a terror of numbers, a fear of being swamped. The dread of being displaced from an identity that has placed the white subject as being central to the world propels one to be constantly vigilant as to the activities of the figures that make it uncomfortable to hold on to this position. (p. 49)

I propose that the East Asian body behind the ivy is one such figure. We see in the documents presented throughout this chapter a simultaneous incorporation and expulsion that Ahmed (2000) takes up as integral to the multicultural encounter. The tracking of numbers of East Asian students evidence in the documents considered in this chapter suggest that it is East Asian students who provoke the most anxiety and constitute a particularly challenging
and dissonant institutional stranger. These documents reveal that the anxiety produced by
dissonant bodies that threaten to overwhelm the institution reveals that the somatic norm
must be protected. The surest way to come up against the somatic norm is to go against it.

To illustrate this principle with a personal example, early in my independent school
career my cousin visited me as a guest speaker for one of my classes. From the moment that
reception called my office to inform me that someone had arrived to see me, the
apprehension and anxiety was palpable. Walking down the hall with a tall, assertive, brown,
bearded man wearing a turban was to walk through a different institution. People’s faces
changed. While my own body did not fit with perfect ease in that space, the feeling of the
space changed with the arrival of my more racially marked, male cousin; it was configured
differently.

Returning to the Ridley College documents, the concern about upsetting the somatic
norm is further demonstrated by Appendix A of the minutes from the May 8, 1998 meeting
of the executive committee of the board of directors is the “Gordon Ad Hoc Committee:
Report to the Board of Governors.” This report states that:

The cost of education in Canada continues to rise and the cost of independent
school education is steep. We must find a way to make the Ridley experience
affordable to the broadest spectrum of Canadian families whose children are
deserving of the Ridley opportunity. **We must create the possibility of sustaining Ridley with a primarily Canadian student body into which we can integrate a strong international student component.** Clearly the way forward is to increase substantially the endowment for scholarships and
bursaries and provide the Admission Office with the tools to attract the best
students for the Ridley programme. (Ridley College, 1998b, no page number, bold in original)

While Ridley College first began admitting small numbers of girls in 1973 (Bradley &
Lewis, 2000), the presence of girls takes on a particular and important function here. **Co-**
education is an important strategy through which to broaden and increase Canadian student enrollment. The bolded imperative that students must be predominantly Canadian, a group that is also predominantly white, is an emphatic one (“we must”). While there is evidence from the admissions document previously cited that the school could find East Asian international students to fill spots, the concern here is about the demographic of the school. Something is put at risk in the absence of a primarily Canadian student body: whiteness. This excerpt emphasizes the importance of attracting Canadian students, by making the Ridley experience affordable to a broad spectrum of Canadians, and being able to attract these families in a competitive elite school market.

To put the amplification of numbers and the besieged somatic norm into perspective, the December 9, 1994 minutes of the board of governors’ annual meeting include a breakdown of “Ridley students with home addresses outside of Canada,” listing the top three countries as Hong Kong at 3.9% of the student body, Mexico as 3.0% of the student population, and Bahamas as 2.8% of the student body, with the total percentage of international visa students as 21.2% of the school population, which, according to the accompanying chart of “international students at CAIS schools,” places Ridley in the tenth highest spot on a list of fifteen schools (Ridley College, 1994). We are not talking about a large percentage of East Asian bodies, nor is the percentage drastically greater than that of other groups. This is important to consider alongside the level of emphasis and concern about the besieged somatic norm.

I found only one suggestion about the feeling on campus towards East Asian bodies: a student comment included in the highlights of the “Ridley New Student Survey January ’98” noted, “some students and teachers discriminate against Asians” (Ridley College, 1998a).
Considered together, these archival documents suggest that there is much at stake in getting the balance of whiteness wrong. An admissions report to the 1989 Board of Governors meeting (Ridley College, 1989) notes that, “co-education is considered by most to be a very progressive academic and social arrangement” (no page number). The report goes on to praise the multicultural composition of the boarding population, suggesting that both co-education and racial and cultural diversity render the school modern. However, as this section demonstrates, the balance of whiteness is clearly crucial, and adding racial others only helps to make the school modern as long as the white somatic norm is secure. Overall, girls in boarding are great, and non-Asian girls (the implication being that they are white girls) in boarding are better. This suggests that white femininity is the preferred mechanism to testify to a progressive academic and social arrangement. I now turn to documents from Trinity College School to elaborate on the analysis of how dissonant bodies disrupt the acquisition and selling of a white habitus, and how white girls best secure it.

**Trinity College School**

The Trinity College School (TCS) documents tell a similar story of concern about the racial demographic of the school. Here, co-education emerges as a crucial strategy in expanding student recruitment. What is striking is that co-education and international student recruitment at both Trinity College School and Appleby College emerge together. I propose that this is a strategy to fold more white bodies into the student body, to help re-secure the somatic norm (institutional whiteness) and ease the anxiety and processes of amplification that are produced by international student recruitment.

Co-education at Trinity College School was first considered in 1977, with a co-education committee formed in 1988 (Bradley & Lewis, 2000). A document entitled
“Enrollment at T.C.S. 1986–1987” presents a rosy financial picture of a full school forced to turn away desirable candidates (Trinity College School, n.d.). The student body is comprised of 347 students: 311 from Canada and 36 from 18 countries. The three countries with the most students represented were Trinidad and Tobago (18), the United States (11), and Hong Kong (9). While it is unclear how many of these were students of colour, it is extremely likely, extending from my archival research, that the percentage of bodies of colour within the student population would have been much smaller than today (Trinity College School, n.d.).

A March 28, 1989 “Report: To the Enrollment Management Committee” written by Headmaster Wright outlines “pertinent Admissions/Enrollment issues presented at the I.S.M./N.A.I.S. convention in Chicago earlier this month” (Wright, 1989, covering letter). Wright summarizes lectures about the then “‘baby bust’” and that “boarding schools [are] facing the biggest problem BUT they are mainly marketing problems. Boarding schools must widen their markets and alter their structure: go Co-ed, offer 5 day boarding, encourage more day students” (p. 1, capitalization and italics in original). Summarizing from various presentations, Wright (1989) also wrote about the importance of developing a niche identity (p. 2), and some inconclusive findings about the benefits of co-education for boys (p. 7).

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NAIS is the National Association of Independent Schools, an American nonprofit organization located in Washington, D.C. Their website states that “the association offers research and trend analysis, leadership and governance guidance, and professional development opportunities for school and board leaders” (“About NAIS”). Many Canadian independent schools have a relationship with NAIS and many Canadian independent school teachers and administrators attend NAIS professional development. The only professional development that I attended about race, diversity, and inclusion at independent schools was the excellent NAIS Summer Diversity Institute in 2007 (now the Diversity Leadership Institute). The week-long residential program was facilitated primarily by people of colour and used a critical anti-racism framework. The (much smaller) Canadian organization is CAIS, the Canadian Accredited Independent Schools (www.cais.ca). The two organizations provide different services and have different functions.
A conversation about co-education followed, as outlined in “Co-Education at Trinity College School: A Report to the Executive.” The report notes that there is a declining market for all-boys’ boarding schools (Trinity College, 1990) and that Trinity College School:

is the only Tier I all-boys’ boarding school left in Canada...most of the people who consider our all-boys’ nature as an important selection criteria are from out-of-country. As we have seen, from hard data, being the best all-boys’ school is no longer good enough. The declining selectivity index means that it is becoming harder and harder to maintain quality. (Trinity College, 1990, p. 15)

Similar to Ridley College, there is a concern with ensuring a strong contingent of Canadian students. Added to the shrinking market, the report (Trinity College, 1990) notes that attrition rates are concerning (p. 10), applications are down (p. 9), and the “slipping standards of new entrants” such that “this year, in Grade 9 alone, we will have 4 boys who are re-doing the grade” (p. 10). The report considers testimonials from schools that have become co-ed, as well as those who have elected to remain single-sex, and mentions that two elite northeastern American independent schools, The Lawrenceville School and Deerfield Academy, are now co-ed without having compromised the school in any way (Trinity College, 1990, pp. 1–2).

The report presents several strategies that would enable the school to remain an all-boys’ institution. Similar to Ridley College, we see that global patterns of wealth position East Asian bodies as being in plentiful supply. The first strategy on the list is called “The Asian Solution” and outlines covering a “shortfall in university-bound Canadian boarding boys” by accepting more “boarding Asian boys” and instituting an English as a Second Language (ESL) department and international student program, although this approach “would take us out of the mainstream in the independent school market-place” (Trinity College, 1990, p. 16). Appendix V is “A Statement on Co-Education by the Headmaster to
the Board of Governors” written much earlier by Angus Scott in 1978. In support of co-
education, Scott notes that “if the experience in England holds true for us, the admission of
girls will raise the academic standard” (Scott, 1978, p. 1). This suggests a civilizing effect on
the institution through the addition of girls, here imagined as local, white girls in his
discussion of making national leaders. Scott describes how the makeup of national leaders is
changing:

The reason for the growth of boys’ boarding schools during the nineteenth
century, ours included, was to provide a superior education for the few so that
their graduates could take their places as leaders in the church, the civil and
military services, the professions and the business world. In the nineteenth
century, leaders were men. As we move into the latter part of the twentieth
century, men are no longer the sole leaders. Women are taking their place
with men in all walks of life. (Scott, 1978, p. 2)

Along with the notion of folding different bodies into the leadership of the nation, he notes
that the school will be able to meet admission targets by broadening the applicant base, and
that “co-education will enable us to be more selective in our enrollment” such that “our very
survival may well depend on our becoming a co-educational school” (Scott, 1978, p. 3). This
suggests that changing with the times and becoming more open to others as a virtue is
underpinned by an economic imperative to stay open.

Trinity College School became co-educational in 1990. Trinity College School, like
Ridley College, could have met their quotas by recruiting East Asian students. Instead, they
chose co-education, a move that was destabilizing to much of the alumni base (as the
Appleby documents show, too), and changed the essential brand of the school. The move to
economic prosperity and modernity could be accomplished through the addition of
predominantly white girls to comprise roughly half of the school body. Co-education, in
being linked to modernity, comes to signify institutional goodness. International students, in
signifying diversity, only do so to a precarious point, after which they compromise the modernity of the school. White/local girls are crucial to this racial math. This effect of co-education is one that could not be secured through an influx of East Asian boys and girls as an economic solution. This suggests that co-education deployed a civilizing femininity to establish financial, and moral (through modern), security. In other words, the presence of local, white girls modernizes the school.

This continuing discussion about growing East Asian student enrollment suggests a racial anxiety. The minutes of the November 10, 1992 Enrollment Management Committee Meeting records a board member who:

spoke strongly on behalf of having ESL (English as a Second Language) as an official part of the curriculum. It definitely would be a very positive entity for oriental (sic) recruitment and Mexican recruitment. The ESL could be one of our user fee charges. (Trinity College School, 1992, no page number)

Like many of its peer schools, TCS currently has dedicated ESL teachers and an ESL summer pre-boarding academy for new international students. A January 25, 1994 document entitled “Enrollment and Recruitment Issues at Trinity College School” gestures to some of the anxiety about the numbers of international boarders, many of whom would be of colour. It notes that:

Currently, 28% of our boarders are non-Canadian. We do not see a problem with this number and could see it rising to 33% over the next few years. There would, however, be a problem if we admitted a disproportionate number of one ethnic group or nationality. The tendency in this situation is for the students to find security in numbers and not fully integrate into the life of the School. Besides being socially handicapping, this phenomena (sic) actually acts as a disincentive for other candidates from that country or ethnic background because, in most cases, the parents of these children want full linguistic and cultural assimilation. (Trinity College School, 1994, p. 3)
What is suggested here by the idea that *too many* members of a single group of colour effect a *disincentive* is that there is a particular racial composition that the school and families have in mind, and to skew that is to comprise the eliteness of the school. What gets lost in this familiar conversation about *social handicapping* is how, as one will observe in many elite school dining halls, local, white students have a *tendency to find security in numbers*. The report goes on to say that:

Currently, our largest non-Canadian contingent is our 17 boarding students from Hong Kong. This represents approximately 5% of our boarding population. We think it would be fair to apply a 5% rule to any single foreign nationality and that may pre-empt the dynamics explained in the previous paragraph. Still, everyone should understand that there are more than 17 Asians at TCS, but this reflects the racial mosaic of Canada, not our recruitment initiatives. (Trinity College, School, 1994, p. 3)

This seems to be a response to a general anxiety about the numbers/percentages of Asian bodies. In a document entitled “1997–1998 Demographics at Trinity College School,” a handwritten note signed by the director of admissions, Brian Proctor, notes that

We have been around 30% “Foreign” for the last 15 years. (Since I started in admissions – in fact it was higher before we expanded our day population). Ridley and St. Andrew’s are in excess of 40% foreign what I last checked. (Trinity College School, 1997, no page number)

Again, we see amplification and the anxiety that the somatic norm will come undone.

Demonstrating the simultaneous turning towards (as economic resources) and away from bodies of colour (as that which threatens to overwhelm the institution), the “Enrollment and Recruitment” report goes on to link the presence of bodies of colour with cultural “enrichment” and economic viability:

Rather than looking at ceilings of foreign growth, we should be looking at the great enrichment a diverse student body affords TCS. Although the overwhelming majority of students at Trinity would be Canadian, a multi-
national sprinkling reinforces the “global society” at every level of day-to-day interaction. This is a great strength for our School. We advocate tapping into new markets in Europe, the Middle East, South-East Asia and Latin America, not only for this enrichment factor but, also, to minimize our exposure should one foreign market quickly dry up because of fiscal or political instability. (Trinity College School, 1994, p. 2, italics added)

Multicultural diversity is a great enrichment and a great strength. These advantages, however, only work within a predominantly white student body. As I started to explore above, here the economic imperative of welcoming others becomes a virtue, a making of moral distinction. These documents further demonstrate that a two-pronged strategy of co-education and international student recruitment have been integral to cultivating elite school prosperity, that welcoming different bodies has been accompanied by ambivalence and significant anxiety, and that the presence of local, white girls helps to quell this anxiety.

Tracking the familiar stranger and the racial stranger also reveals the lack of an intersectional lens which omits female students of colour: female international students are never expressly discussed, and local girls seem to be counted as white without considering local girls of colour. The lack of an intersectional analysis in the archival documents considered in this chapter obscures that co-education is about admitting local and predominantly white girls. The effect of co-education is to secure an institutional somatic norm. I now consider how co-education articulated with international student recruitment at Appleby College.

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34 As I suggested in the context of Howard’s (2008) study that tracked the experiences of black parents and the difficulties for black girls in an institutional culture of white normative beauty, race, class, gender, and sexuality uniquely converge on the bodies of girls of colour.
Appleby College

I turn to archival documents from Appleby College to bring further insight into how racial bodies, together with the civilizing effect of white girls, produces the school as modern and *good*. The 1989 “Appleby College Business Plan” by newly appointed Headmaster Guy McLean makes clear the linking of white girlhood with modernity. McLean sets out a vision statement for the then all-boys Appleby College to “be recognized as the best independent school in Canada for developing the overall potential and leadership qualities of each student” and emphasizes “a marked emphasis on global perspectives” and “cultural breadth as one of its hallmarks” (McLean, 1989, p. 3). This was a unique and bold vision at the time. Student exchanges, an international affairs club, and courses on political issues and cultural topics formed part of the “academic objectives and strategies” (McLean, 1989, p. 25). The document goes on to identify the following as one in a list of “significant opportunities: position Appleby as a *modern, vital school unencumbered by the past*[,] taking seriously the concept of the global village and internationalist learning” (McLean, 1989, p. 21, italics added). Again we see how internationalism, and, in particular, welcoming strangers (both white and of colour), becomes a virtue that helps to shore up moral distinction rather than an economic imperative. Co-education and international student recruitment turn out to be instrumental to seizing this opportunity.

One of the “Marketing Objectives and Strategies” is to “attract into Boarding, especially in the last two years, students from outside Ontario and outside Canada” (McLean, 1989, p. 44). Towards the end of the report, McLean cites a Decima (consultancy firm) report and, like Trinity College School, invokes the language of leadership:

Undoubtedly, Appleby can be an excellent school without becoming coeducational, but it is likely to be a shortlived (sic) success. Given Appleby’s
mission and purpose, we will in time become apologists for an educational program which is less than it should be. Decima already tells us that coeducation is a concern. With universities presently enrolling just under fifty percent women, there is no doubt that the steady stream of women into professional life and leadership roles will increase. If we wish to be involved in educating tomorrow’s leaders, we cannot ignore half the talent pool. (McLean, 1989, p. 48)

Both international students (particularly students of colour) and girls (predominantly white and local) help to consolidate “a modern, vital school that is unencumbered by the past” (McLean, 1989, p. 21), although for different reasons. The proximity of the racial stranger secures institutional virtue in a way that co-education cannot. Welcoming the racial other secures a white habitus both through the relation of discursive dominance through which racial bodies are ontologized as strangers to be welcomed, and through the moral virtue of the welcoming.

**Who Is Invited To Become the Elite Subject?**

I noted earlier that there is an important limit point to the number of racial strangers who can be welcomed before the modernizing effect reverses itself. There is a gap between this limit point and a *full* school (where all of the fee-paying spots have been filled). This gap is filled by local, white girls whose presence achieves a uniquely productive result in terms of modernity. The presence of local girls is crucial in the ongoing consolidation of this modernity by preventing the institution from being overwhelmed by bodies of colour that would compromise institutional whiteness, AND by uniquely embodying whiteness and civility (distinguished from boys’ lower academic performance and histories of violent – sometimes sexually violent – boarding house rituals and hazing practices, called *fagging*)[^35].

[^35]: I am not suggesting that violent and aggressive practices are not prevalent at girls’ schools but am rather pointing to the particular function of these practices at former boys’ schools.
I find it interesting that local, female students are imagined as valuable in being incorporated into the student body as future leaders whereas I did not encounter this language in the context of international students who, instead, continue to reside outside of the somatic norm and the geography of modern, natural, leaders. For example, in the 1989 Appleby business plan, an ambivalence towards “Asia” and “Asian” bodies surfaces: the “situation assessment” notes that the “Middle East (is) tied economically to the West, but Islam makes it a political/cultural wild card” (McLean, 1989, p. 11). Rather than being imagined as leaders, the presence of international students and students of colour function to make the school international, a global village, as part of other initiatives including the academic reforms cited above. Racial others can help secure a white habitus through the multicultural mode of proximity. Local girls, while not all white, are imagined here as white through their *us-ness*, embody the somatic norm and hence the modern subject; they are not marked by racial, ethnic, class, and linguistic difference in the same way. They are, naturally, leaders. This suggests that the white, male somatic norm of these schools had sufficient flexibility to accommodate girls within the frame of leadership. Further, white girls seem to more fully embody the elite subject than students of colour.

Additionally, students of colour have not achieved significant proximity to the somatic norm; in particular, the anxiety around “Asian” bodies is a persistent one. The Ridley official narrative notes that “the extent of the enrollment development did raise some eyebrows among alumni, some of whom suspected a growing imbalance in many areas” (Bradley & Lewis, 2000, p. 358). James Fitzgerald, an alumnus of Upper Canada College, has written a book about the school based on interviews with former students. The stories of violence in this book are disturbing, and surely served to further stifle many schools’
receptiveness towards researchers, me included. Fitzgerald (1996) quotes alumnus Kingsley Graham, identified as a criminal lawyer (he is still practicing at the time of writing), who attended UCC between 1963 and 1970, who had this to say about the changing student demographic at the school:

I like the old-boy network. It works. Sure, UCC is a bastion of privilege and oligarchy, but I’d rather have that edge than not. For my first job as a lawyer, I was hired by a UCC old boy, John Jennings, who is now a judge. I was the only articling applicant who had gone to UCC, which I know was a swing factor in hiring me over other applicants. I don’t feel I have to make any apology for it...I understand an increasing number of visible minorities are getting into UCC. There’s probably a lot of Hong Kong money. Who else can afford $12,500 tuition these days? There is still a WASP power base on Bay Street, but UCC is slowly becoming diluted. If I ever have a kid, they bloody well better well let him in instead of Who Flung Dough. Who does the school get their money from? Guys like me! The old boy system let me in because my Dad went to the school. It should still count for something. If I start to see too many towel-heads and Chinese wandering around the halls of UCC, I’m turning off the tap. I’m dead serious. I believe in looking after my own first. How many Chinese or black friends do I have? Zero. I would stop giving UCC money if I walked in there one day and it looked like a normal high school. I’m too old to care if I make politically incorrect statements. Rich, white males run the world. So what? Somebody’s got to do it. Who is better equipped to do it than us? Can you suggest an alternative that makes sense? You can’t divide up the pie too much because you’ll have too many chiefs and not enough Indians. Some people are just born to be Indians. (Kindle Location 4877–4897)

Fitzgerald (1996) reports an astonishing level of racism that indicates how important the physical composition of the elite school is to those who support it. Graham’s words provide a glimpse into the stakeholder pressures that animate the amplification and anxiety about the somatic norm coming undone. Elite schools are mindful of these risks. Further to the analysis above about co-education as necessary to keep up with educating national leaders whereas international students are taken up as resources, Graham’s quote reveals a related racial logic. Chiefs cease to be Indian because they are leaders; race and indigeneity incarcerate bodies and disqualify them from leadership. Again, these are not the bodies that the school generally
has in mind when imagining, and inviting in, the elite subject. While these views are certainly not shared by all white/Canadian alumni, they nevertheless surface at many elite Canadian schools, and these statements point to a very real underlying anxiety that flows throughout the institutional family and the constraints with which diversity, admissions, and diversity staff work. In Graham’s threat to “turn off the tap” we see part of what is at stake in the admissions documents’ careful cataloguing of “foreign content.”

Making Elite Schools Through Whiteness

Three things are foregrounded by following these institutional strangers. The first is that both types of institutional strangers were/are welcomed as a result of economic necessity. Second, this economic necessity becomes a moral imperative where others are welcomed as an effect of, and to reproduce, virtue. This is a particular multicultural virtue of welcoming strangers that secures a moral distinction from which schools venture beyond the ivy to pursue encounters with other others. Third, both familiar strangers and racial strangers have been historically necessary to secure the eliteness of the school through whiteness. This took place both by admitting female day students to consolidate the somatic norm through the addition of girls to “balance the numbers” against incoming international students of colour, and by securing a white habitus, in this case the racial disposition of welcoming strangers through a multicultural mode of proximity that is crucial to producing virtuous white subjects and institutions.

Racialized bodies are particularly crucial to the making of elite schools. The historical examples in this chapter tracked how East Asian international students are not only important to the schools’ financial viability, but also to achieve the multicultural and global character that secures moral distinction and elite status. By incorporating bodies that are welcomed as
different, the institution absorbs this difference as its own, rendering it multicultural and
global, attributes that are imagined as distinguishing schools from how they were in the past.
It is also clear that compromising the ongoing making of the somatic norm with too many
bodies of colour interferes with the smooth transmission of a white habitus. This suggests
that what elite schools are selling is, in fact, whiteness in general, and a white habitus in
particular. Since welcoming strangers secures a white habitus, the welcoming must continue.
If all of the strangers become at home, the welcoming ends. While the numbers permit some
bodies of colour to become more at home than others, the economies of stranger fetishism do
not flow if strangers cease to be strange.

Some bodies, then, compromise the somatic norm more than others. In the case of
local students of colour who have a well-formed white habitus, particularly through language
and white femininity/masculinity, this institutional absorbing of difference absolves students,
to varying degrees, of that difference. To belong is to become, to some degree, white. This is
where the relationship between the somatic norm and a white habitus is particularly complex:
to belong to the institution through a matching white habitus decreases the dissonance of a
racial body.\textsuperscript{36} For example, during an interview, an elite school teacher of colour recounted
this story about institutional belonging, a racialized Canadian female student, and a scenario
that unfolded with a group of female students while travelling abroad:

They all become white in some ways. They all become one in some ways...At
one point [the students] were all together and there was one student who was

\textsuperscript{36} Puwar (2004) takes this up in terms of “ontological complicity” as a means to “differentiated
inclusion;” minoritized bodies become a part of the institution through “the denial of ‘race,’ gender and class”
which is part of being an insider” and is “embedded in institutional narratives” (p. 119). These bodies, the
“space invaders,” are both insiders and outsiders, those “who are of the world they work in and at the same time
not totally of it,” who have a “social position in occupational space that is tenuous, a contradictory location
marked by dynamics of in/visibility” (p. 58).
Oriental (sic), and there was a guy who was trying to flirt with them or something and he said, “Oh, I'll take the Oriental (sic) one.” And they're all looking around saying, ”Who are you talking about?” They didn't know. So someone else said to this student, “Oh, he's talking about you.” And she was like, ”What! I'm not Oriental (sic).” She didn't even recognize that he was speaking about her. And yeah, maybe she's not Oriental (sic), per se [laughs], but she's clearly not white. I was just surprised that someone wouldn't pick up on that.

We can read this story as a racialized student’s resistance to being hailed according to a racial schema. We can also read how the violence of the heteropatriarchal sexualization of the single body of colour in the group disappears under the cover of whiteness. What I wish to trace here is how this student acquires whiteness through institutional belonging.37 For East Asian international students who are of colour, new English language learners, and who may have very different social interests and tastes, there is an amplified mismatched habitus and somatic dissonance.

For example, during a group conversation on the South Africa trip, on the topic of Chinese boarding students, a white, local student explained that she feels that the boarding population lowers the caliber of the student body, and of the school, and that the administration brings in these students because they are “greedy.” This is a common perception that I have encountered at various schools, one that is most notable towards East Asian students whose bodily dissonance is amplified by comparatively wide gaps in a white habitus compared to, for example, elite German, Russian, Barbadian, and Nigerian students.

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37 Some of the students that I talked to signify this difference through the terms CBC and KBC. CBC means Chinese born Canadian, as in, of Chinese background and born in Canada. KBC means Korean born Canadian, meaning of Korean heritage and born in Canada. These terms are a way of distinguishing East Asian Canadian students from Chinese and Korean international students, an important distinction in the elite school hierarchy and processes of racialization that I describe here.
Some students of colour become white much more easily than others. For example, during an interview with a white teacher who had led a student volunteer group to South Africa, she described her group as, “these white kids, 'cause essentially, and you know, and one Asian.” What I find fascinating is that although the group was comprised of students who were white Canadians (some of whom had non-Canadian citizenship in addition to their Canadian citizenship), East Asian Canadians, and one East Asian international student, only the international student, the only language learner and the student with the least-consolidated white habitus, was seen as being of colour. I documented two occasions in my notes where this teacher described the group according to this same racial logic. We can explain this with the help of Puwar (2004) who traces how “language is one of a range of methods that have been utilized to induce rationality, civility and civilization in foreign bodies” (p. 108). She quotes Frantz Fanon who writes that “The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter – that is, he will come closer to being a real human being – in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language” (Fanon, 1967/1986, p. 18, in Puwar, 2004, p. 108). The East Asian international student, lacking mastery of the English language, has not achieved full civility, whiteness, and membership within the institutional family. She is marked by race whereas the East Asian Canadian student, in this context, is less so, and in this case, is actually unmarked by race (white). As Eve Haque (2012) writes, “language is a significant and constitutive aspect of nation formation” (p. 9).

This logic also coheres for institutional formation. In her discussion of institutional leadership, Puwar (2004) notes that “who is seen to have the right to represent is entangled with who is seen to really belong” (p. 34). Elite schools perform the function of folding bodies into national and institutional belonging, whiteness, and civility. It is those who are at
home *behind the ivy* who are most entitled to lead; they best embody the elite subject. Further, one of the interviews suggests that the right to lead may grant whiteness. An East Asian international student described to me how she felt “more Canadian” after having participated in the South Africa volunteer trip. Demonstrating an astounding knowledge of race for a young student, it was clear that she used humanitarianism strategically as a technology of belonging and whiteness, similar to the way in which she deployed other techniques, such as cultivating friendships with CBC and KBC students, playing a typically Canadian sport, and using skin whiteners.

Of the four co-educational schools I examined as part of the contextual information that is part of this study (the fourth being Lakefield College School), each of them is located outside of a major city. This may have had some bearing on the economic pressures that resulted in the shift from all-boys to co-education. Of the four boys schools, Crescent School, Royal St. George’s College, and Upper Canada College are in Toronto, with St. Andrew’s College being an hour north of the city. Royal St. George’s College is somewhat specialized as a school that is known for its training in choral and instrumental music, and Upper Canada College has what is perhaps the strongest elite school brand in Canada, making it a draw for students. It is notable that I came across no co-educational schools that were previously all-girls. While international student recruitment would be important for all of the schools in this study, and most acutely for the boarding schools, only some schools had to give up sexual regulation (the separation of boys from girls) to maintain *enough* whiteness to retain eliteness.

The strategic use of bodies of colour to consolidate and sell whiteness is what links chapters five and six. Multiculturalism is a mechanism for selling whiteness behind the ivy,
and humanitarianism is a mechanism for selling whiteness beyond the ivy. This continuity between chapters is a crucial one; it reveals that there is a particular racial logic at work in making both the space behind and beyond the ivy, at the same time as the particular racial bodies, that is, East Asian students and black South African children, are deployed differently within the racial economies of moral distinction. This chapter suggests that multicultural initiatives create institutional whiteness and produce institutional goodness. Stated differently, we are white (because we have worked very hard to be/remain white), and this whiteness, that is, our multicultural mode of encounter, shows our goodness. This multicultural virtue is very useful; it authorizes volunteer abroad programs. In addition to schools venturing abroad to seek further encounters with difference and additional ways in which to sell whiteness (at the same time as the encounters with difference behind the ivy continue in the very managed way that I have described here), volunteer abroad programs are enabled by the institutional goodness that multiculturalism secures. As this chapter additionally suggests, and as the next chapter explores, moral distinction helps to make racial hierarchy; we are equipped to help and civilize others because we are properly on the side of whiteness and modernity.
Chapter six considers the role of racial others in making and selling whiteness to produce the global space beyond the ivy. Specifically, this chapter analyzes the volunteer abroad encounter between local and international girls from a Canadian elite school and Zulu children in a South African township. I consider the narratives of teachers and other key adults on the trip as important components that help frame students’ experiences. In this chapter I draw on Chouliaraki’s (2013) method. In her book, *The Ironic Spectator*, Chouliaraki (2013) theorizes different communicative structures of humanitarianism according to particular strategies that she calls *moralization* and *authentication*. Emotion is an important dimension of her analysis. Moral distinction is at the heart of this chapter; the volunteer abroad encounter is an act of *doing good to be good*, and the diverse strategies that I theorize in this chapter help to constitute this moral excellence in the encounter.
This elite school production of moral distinction is a particular route to elite status that is shaped through intensity. Girls develop moral distinction through pleasure, that is, the level of feeling good (whether it is the pleasure of love or outrage) that happens together with doing good. The emotional intensity is facilitated by a fantasy of the humanitarian encounter that is unique to the trip structure. This fantasy is particularly accessible through affluence and a curated educational experience. These conditions enable these big, embodied experiences that are important in making the moral distinction I theorize here. Importantly, this “new emotionality of the self” is a shift away from justice (Chouliaraki, 2013, p. 20). In other words, this volunteer trip is a way of enacting a narrative of: I went all the way from this side of the spectrum (Canada, whiteness, wealth), to all the way on the opposite side of the spectrum (Africa, blackness, poverty), of my own volition, and my overwhelming feelings of love/outrage had an impact on others, and demonstrate my sensitivity and vulnerability, together adding up to making me a good person. The elite school volunteer abroad encounter is structured through stark racial and socioeconomic stratification that produces intense emotional expressions that create a significant opportunity to secure moral distinction.

In section one, I begin by reviewing Chouliaraki’s (2013) notion of the post-humanitarian subject, which I discussed in the first chapter, in relation to my notion of a civilizing femininity, and the neoliberal attributes of elite girls considered in chapter three. The second section analyzes how the volunteer trip itself is set up according to the logic of opposition. Following this are several sections that theorize different dimensions of the encounter; I describe the strategies through which the elite girl fashions herself. I theorize a cluster of grooming strategies and rhetorical, discursive, and emotional structures that
constitute routes to elite status. For example, some of these strategies help to create an intensified fantasy that produce amplified emotional expressions, and others work to emphasize participants’ sense of pleasure and capability and to obscure injustice. The concluding section provides a summary and discusses gaps.

**The Elite Girl**

In chapter four I described the elite subject as an iteration both of the global citizen and the Canadian national subject. I also discussed how this elite subject is consolidated through multicultural, and especially humanitarian, encounters with racial others. Chapter four described the elite girl as the neoliberal *can-do girl* (Anita Harris, 2004), who enacts a civilizing femininity. In this chapter, this gendered, imperial mode of assisting others into modernity is equally evident. Building on chapter one, I explore the making of the elite girl through S. Razack’s (2007) framework of *stealing the pain of others, a* Canadian national “process of consumption” (pp. 375–376, italics in original) in which black bodies are used as a *sentimental resource* (Hartman, 1997) to make the vulnerable, moral, Canadian subject. This process of becoming is a pleasurable one for the subject. As Chouliaraki (2013) has shown, the post-humanitarian subject “situates the pleasures of the self at the heart of moral action” (p. 4), and abandons justice “in favour of a new emotionality of the self” (p. 20).

What I track here are the particular strategies, that is, the rhetorical, discursive, and emotional structures, that students use to fashion themselves as elite girls through the body of the racial other through pleasure.

**Strategies of Opposition: The Trip Structure**

In chapter four I considered *fantasy* as a crucial dimension of the elite school humanitarian encounter. Here, I show how a rhetorical technique used in Grand Tour, a
strategy that Chard (1999) calls opposition and intensification, creates a particular fantasy of the humanitarian encounter. I suggested that this technique is what creates the fantasy of the elite school trip. Recalling Chard’s (1999) notion of opposition as the use of a binary to describe difference the humanitarian fantasy is an intensified version of the Euro-American fantasy of an exotic abroad (Said, 1979): the desire to see (unveil) and master others who are unknown to us (Yeğenoğlu 1998). In this section, I begin by considering how the humanitarian trip itself is structured through the opposition and intensification these scholars theorize. Second, I consider how students conceptualize the space of the school to get some insight into how they imagine going beyond it. Third, I explore one student’s experience of wealth and poverty in South Africa as an illustration of humanitarian becoming.

Students stayed at the homes of local, predominantly white, elite and upper middle class families. Some of these homes were opulent, gated mansions with noticeable security. Each morning, students got themselves ready, had breakfast that may have been prepared by black, female live-in staff, and were driven in luxury cars to an elite school. For many students, this is not all that different from their regular mornings at home, just without the juxtaposition that followed. During the day, the group of students travelled to townships with varying levels of poverty where many local children did not have shoes, could not afford school fees, and largely relied on food served at the school. The opposition was striking.

For example, there was a particular moment each day during the drive from a major city to the students’ volunteer placement in a rural South African township where the bus became eerily silent. It was when we drove through a cemetery in a valley. In my notes, I wrote that this was “a point of anxiety,” “of orientation.” This salience of death, illness, and poverty surfaced throughout the trip which was designed around caring for black South
African children affected by HIV/AIDS, that is, young people who were living with the illness and/or living in non-normative family structures as a result of the death or illness of one or more caregivers. Structuring the trip around poverty and illness is an effective strategy of opposition to produce the difference between the spaces behind and beyond the ivy.

To sharpen this opposition, at night, the Canadian group returned to their host family homes. Many of the students returned home to a room that had been cleaned by black, female live-in staff, had a meal served to them and cleaned up for them, and went out to shop at the mall, attend a cultural event, or go to a barbeque. This is a curated experience that bridges the segregated worlds that Goldberg (2009) describes in *The Threat of Race* where South Africa is:

> a society living so overwhelmingly with death struggling so valiantly to cope with life. Those inhabiting structural whiteness consumed by barbecues and conspicuous consumption while those struggling to survive a system designed for the benefits of structural whiteness attend funerals of family and friends almost daily. (p. 317)

The technique of opposition, deployed through the racial segregation and socioeconomic disparity in South Africa, is itself part of *structural whiteness*. That is, the ability to experience this opposition is an experience of racial power. This opposition is very clearly about bodies, where affluence is white and poverty is black. This opposition was certainly noticeable to the group, although it never explicitly “came up.” One student explained to me that it was only when looking at her photos that she noticed that “we” were white and “they” were black. I return to this idea of the group as white later on.

While South Africa obviously has a middle class, students did not engage much with this group. Their experience took place at two extremes, an experience that is not accessible to Canadian students in middle and lower socioeconomic strata. The reason that this
experience is uniquely available to elite school students is because elite schools have a strong global network of elite families and schools with which to place students. In other words, it takes significant, comparable level of economic, social, and cultural capital to be invited into wealthy families as a partner student suitable for their children. Being a student at Manorwood School grants access to families that are members of a similar school and share a similar social status. This is a significant part of what makes elite education attractive, and marketable, to parents. To have access to this geography of stark opposites is a mark of affluence and power. To be able to participate in a volunteer abroad project that is structured like this, that is, to make moral distinction in this world of striking opposites, is a class project that not everyone can afford. Students are aware that wealth grants them access to educational experiences that are unattainable for public school students at home. In this interview segment, I ask a student to explain what she means when she talks about her school as privileged in relation to public schools:

**Leila:** What does it mean the privilege that people have here? You were talking about the [elite school] bubble.

**Student:** We have opportunities to go to different countries. I don't think schools [in another part of the province] would have those opportunities. We have community partners where we get to go and meet other people from different communities. They don't have that. I'm sure they don't have laptops in their schools. Not Macs like us. The teachers here, I find they care about your learning they want you to come for extra help and some teachers don't care...they're not as passionate, I guess you could say. That's also a privilege for us.

This student demonstrates that her volunteer abroad trip to South Africa is one of several educational experiences that many students at other Canadian schools are unable to buy. It is
notable that it is the first example that she cites to describe what makes her school exceptional.

The fantasy of the humanitarian encounter is mobilized by the idea that the school is separate from the world. Accordingly, the elite school group is positioned as separate from those the encounter in South Africa, even in an experience characterized by close physical contact. I explore the idea of proximity later in this chapter. For now, I offer an example of how this separation worked from my field notes. Following the first day of volunteering with children in a South African township, one of the white Canadian teachers was asked by a white South African women what her impressions were. The teacher responded, “It was shocking but pleasurable.” More than an intellectual state such as surprise, the encounter with poverty as shocking is a visceral response, like electricity passing through the body. The pleasure is an effect of being separate from that which elicits shock, from observing it as an outsider. This separation is necessary in order for the encounter to work. It enables the intensity of emotion that I analyze later, and the pleasure of knowing oneself as sensitive and vulnerable through these emotional states.

This separation that I am describing helps to propel students to seek out ways to “connect with” others behind the ivy. The volunteer abroad trip is one way of doing this. During the interviews, I asked students to select the word from a word bank that I provided (Appendix O) that they felt best described their school. The options were: window, bubble, stage, rainbow, blank page, wall, web, and map. This Canadian student of colour chose *bubble* and *window*, by far the two most popular responses. In this excerpt, the student explains her choice in terms of the very particular ways of becoming that are available to students at her school:
**Student:** *Window* reminds me of a *bubble*, because it's part of a room, but there is a way out to reach out to different people if the door wasn't there. If everyone's in the school in the room and they're trying to let us out a certain way...with certain ways of reaching out. They provide things for us...When I think of a blank page I think of where you can do anything like window art for a window. But I think it's kind of restricted in a way. It's restricted but it also lets us do what we want.

These *certain ways of reaching out* are particular ways of becoming that are available to students. While they are opportunities, they foreclose other avenues for becoming. The humanitarian encounter is one of the mechanisms provided for students as a way of reaching out into the world. This avenue for encountering others offers emotional and discursive structures to become through the bodies of others. Another white Canadian student similarly explained her choice of the word *window* to describe her school:

**Student:** *Window*, because it does give you an opening into another world. It gives you an idea of looking out into the world and being able to see everything. It doesn't mean you have to look out the window. It doesn't mean that you leave the house because of what you've seen out the window. It doesn't mean you get a full view of what's outside.

Here, we see the student deploy the strategy of opposition; *home* is dialectically opposed to the outside, where the outside is *another world*. The space of the school, represented by the house in this description, is a place of power, privilege, and comfort, in that one may simply turn away from the spectacles of the outside world. This resonates with the volunteer trip language used by St. Andrew’s College, which I analyzed earlier, about engaging in social justice as a choice that one may refuse. The fantasy of the elite subject is one in which *home* is extremely safe, comfortable, and protected. This is literal, with some of the mansions in South Africa, which are also part of the space of *home* through shared class power, being
bordered by electric fences. The wall under the ivy is a secure one; in addition to there being only some ways of reaching out, there are only some ways of getting in, as the previous chapter reveals.

The teachers addressed this opposition structure of the trip using the language of poverty in our regular meetings in South Africa to try to help students to be self-reflective, a concept that I take up in the next section. How did students take up this trip structure of opposition? Some students certainly expressed discomfort with the juxtapositions that they were presented with. In an interview, one white Canadian student described this experience of driving with her host family:

**Student:** Driving to school it felt like we were inside and they were on the outside, and we were protected from it all by being in the car. It also kinda felt like they, especially when people would come up and knock on the window trying to sell [her exchange partner’s] dad something and he would ignore them, there was a lot of ignoring going on of the people on the streets.

What I am interested in here is the ability to experience this opposition, to be on the other side of a car window, and to feel disorientation, conflict, or confusion, as well as to feel protected. These feelings were not taken up with students as an expression of race and class power. This opposition, then, is part of the bubble, not a transcending of it.

Importantly, this trip structure must feel authentic to the participants. In their study of French reality tours to poor communities in the global south, Cravatte and Chabloz (2008) write that “there were some emotional stakes for [the travellers] to want to perceive their experiences as authentic” (p. 385). Cravatte and Chabloz (2008) demonstrate that if the experience feels staged, or if it fails to meet the travellers’ expectations of what life in the community is really like, participants express dissatisfaction. In the context of the South
Africa trip, the big, embodied experience of the elite school humanitarian fantasy does not work without real poverty. One cannot feel good and become good through helping others if no help is needed. A structure of opposition requires two binaries to work. I now shift from opposition as trip structure to explore how students deployed opposition and intensification as rhetorical strategies.

**Strategies of Opposition and Intensification: Poverty**

This section builds on the previous one by adding the rhetorical strategy of intensification. Chard (1999) describes intensification as a way of talking about two geographies through a shared attribute; one geography is made distinct from the other because it displays this attribute more intensely. Many students described the relationship between Canada and South Africa using both opposition and intensification. Making South Africa through opposition and intensification enables the big, embodied emotion responses that I map throughout this chapter.

This interview excerpt from an interview with a Canadian student of colour deploys both strategies together to describe poverty in a Canadian city in comparison with a South African city:

**Leila:** Do you have anything to add about your impressions of South Africa? About [city name]?

**Student:** I find that there was extremes (sic). Extreme poverty where [the school] was and then you get the huge mansions in [the city] where we stayed. It was a big jump to go from one place to another. And just driving through it, it was pretty extreme across the road when we were driving on the highway – on one side of the highway was more industrial. Then you get – what [her host family’s mother] calls them ‘squatter homes’ – you get the really poor and the really rich. [The Canadian city where the student lives] and Canada I find is
more gradual, I guess you could stay. You get some people who have a lot of money, but you have people who have a lot, but not as much as the rich people, and not as poor as the poor people. I wrote this in my journal – even the homeless [in her Canadian city] are so privileged and they don't even know it – people here have heaters on the sidewalk – they don't have that in South Africa – their life is so much worse than being homeless here…I always knew that I was a lot more privileged than most people, but going there and seeing them wear the same clothes everyday, and to see them with no shoes and stuff like that, like, I have a ton of shoes. I take stuff like that for granted. That made me realize more about stuff like that.

This student deploys the rhetorical strategy of opposition in three ways. First, the student describes the difference between the township geography and the host family geography by describing it as “a big jump.” In light of the trip structure that I described in the previous section, it is not surprising that this student, in engaging very little with a South African middle class, found the binary opposition to be an intensified one, quite unlike the “gradual” gradation of wealth with which she describes Canada. Secondly, she describes South Africa as without a middle class. Thirdly, the student downplays poverty in Canada, describing Canadian homeless people as “privileged.” Finally, the student compares the already intensely stratified South African geography with a flattened Canadian socioeconomic binary. This technique produces South Africa as both in opposition to Canada, and a place that is made different through intensified poverty. We can see the student’s use of intensification in the words that I have italicized: extreme, really, huge, and so much more.

The effect of this rhetorical strategy is significant. It enables feelings of gratitude and produces Canada as innocent. In the interview excerpt above, the student expresses a new understanding of her level of privilege, and while she stops short of saying that she is
fortunate, instead using the phrase “stuff like that” three times instead of being specific, and more revealing, about what she means, we get the sense that the “realiz(ing) more” that she mentions is a new appreciation of “stuff” that she has. I consider gratitude an important political emotion that has notable moralizing effects. That is, travellers’ gratitude, as a form of pleasure in one’s structural power, obscures the ongoing violence perpetuated by the Canadian nation-state at home and abroad, and legitimates a moral self who knows herself as good through her sensitivity. This is the archetypal vulnerable Canadian subject that S. Razack (2007) describes, and that I discussed in chapter one. It is also linked to commodification and consumption. Jefferess writes that “‘voluntourism’ reinforces, and is an example of, a consumer-capitalism culture that focuses on the needs and interests of the most privileged,” and that, as Mahrouse (2010, p. 181) points out, participants feel “gratitude for the ability to consume” (Jefferess, 2012, p. 23).

What is unique about this experience is that it is a curated, educational experience designed to intensify a binary, and an emotional response to that binary. In other words, the dual rhetorical strategy of opposition and intensification produces an intensified emotional response to what this student called “extreme” stratification and poverty. This is not to deny or downplay the stark inequities in South Africa. Rather, my objective is to demonstrate the political effects of students’ rhetorical strategies. A crucial effect of the strategy of opposition and intensification is what Chouliaraki describes as “a new emotionality of the self” (p. 20), one that abandons justice. In this interview excerpt, there is no move to interrogate injustice, or to orient the self towards justice. The move is to orient the self towards the self. Poverty becomes not having “stuff” that we feel fortunate to have. In the example presented here, the
racial other plays a crucial role in consolidating the subjectivity that the elite girl fashions for herself.

**Authenticity and Proximity**

Chouliaraki (2013) notes that the shift away from justice is a shift towards *authenticity*. She defines *authenticity* according to each context in which she analyzes it, for example, in terms of how communicative structures, such as humanitarian appeals, represent suffering as true. Following from the mention of authenticity earlier in this chapter, I elaborate on this concept here in relation to the idea of *proximity*. In another of her books, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*, Chouliaraki (2006) analyzes proximity as a technique used by media to visualize suffering and “close the moral distance” between spectator and sufferer (p. 42). The volunteer abroad encounter similarly moves to close this moral distance by closing the physical distance. It is this proximity that effects authenticity, that is, the belief that one is really encountering poverty. Building on Mbembe’s (2001) analysis that I discussed in chapter three, the *proximity* here is a specific one; it is the desire to encounter Africa and Africans as that which is the furthest point from civilization and modernity, to embrace a landscape and people who are “the very figure of the ‘strange’” (p. 3). I now turn to theorizing how proximity, that is, contact with the *bodies* of humanitarian strangers, effects an intensification, and produces feelings of having acquired some truth about South Africa, that is, authentic knowledge.

Physical contact was a crucial component throughout the trip. It was a feminized, nurturing sort of contact, with the elite school group holding children’s hands and walking around the township school, hugging, small children sitting in their laps while reading, colouring together, cuddling and carrying smaller children around for hours, and playing
clapping games together. The technology component of teaching computer skills to children was more about physical proximity than technology. The students sat with the children, or stood behind them, leaning over them, guiding their hands on the mouse, and assisting them to press buttons on the keyboard.

Most students described their impact in terms of “connecting” with the children. One student described their work this way: “It was more like building a connection and the games were the method to do that.” Feeling a connection facilitated a knowing that the group was accomplishing something. Using proximity to create this feeling of connection is integral to the trip feeling authentic to the students, an authenticity that is important in securing the elite girl. One director described the importance of creating an authentic trip this way:

**Volunteer Abroad Program Director:** Students want opportunities for meaningful service. If they end up doing something that is make-work or not directly benefitting people they tend to be more jaded. My challenge is to provide these. This is one of the reasons that the Costa Rica trip works; the students work very hard but they can see results of their labour. It improves their self-confidence and facilitates so much personal growth. It’s one reason why teachers love going on these trips: they get to see students’ worlds expand.

While this program director is talking about “see(ing) the results of their labour” in terms of building physical structures, I am suggesting that the feeling of connection that physical proximity creates is a way of “see(ing) the results of their labour.” The purpose of the humanitarian encounter, then, is for students to *feel* that they have made an impact. This feeling can be enough to create the moral virtue that is produced by *making a difference.* Creating a feeling of impact is crucial to designing a trip that feels authentic, and that is well liked. In this way, Indigenous bodies and landscapes are the occasion for reflection on one’s
capability. Accordingly the feeling of having made an impact is more important than any actual impact. What fails if the encounter does not feel meaningful? Upon arrival in South Africa we discovered that the group would have only seven days of volunteering at the school. When we learned this, one of the teachers remarked that, “The time is very short. It’s not very long to feel that...,” her voice trailing off. What is at stake here?

The Canadian teachers and NGO staff in South Africa had many conversations about how to put together an experience that was meaningful for the group, one that would give them the impression that they had done something meaningful. It seemed that many, if not all, of the activities were designed according to the needs of the elite school group. One of the teachers, for example, remarked that the activities that the group led at the schools made the time go faster for her. These activities also produced tangible artifacts that gave the Canadian group a feeling of impact and accomplishment, even when the activity was perhaps not the best fit for the children. For example, one of the art projects resulted in a considerable mess with chairs covered in goop, a pile of leftover materials in the center of a room, and paint on the local children's’ clothes. While the paint was washable, how much water is available for washing a very limited supply of clothing, how easy is access to water, and how available are family members to wash clothes? This village, like so many others in rural South African townships, is in need of basic infrastructure including water pipelines.

Another example of how focused the encounter is on producing the elite self is found in the responses of the local teachers at the school. Although an NGO staff member asked the Canadian group to try not to disrupt daily activities or make the children feel that they are on show, the presence of the volunteer group at the township school was clearly quite disruptive to teachers and students. I recorded in my notes that teachers were visibly frustrated and
annoyed with having their lessons completely upset for a series of days by the presence of (yet another) group of visitors. For the most part, the Manorwood group did not, however, seem to take much notice or to mind. What mattered was that the Canadian group was having an enjoyable experience.

**I Learned About Different Cultures**

Some of this enjoyment happened through the rubric of cultural learning. Framing their experience in terms of *learning about different cultures* worked to prove that the experience was an authentic one. Extending from global feminism, this section offers a few examples to explore how much of what Manorwood students learned about *Zulu culture* simultaneously obscured and consolidated the racial logic of the humanitarian structure of care. The Manorwood group travelled in a van driven by two (consecutive) drivers. The first was a Zulu man. The driver for the second part of the trip was a white South African man who owned a tour company that assisted in the design of the group’s leisure activities. This driver narrated much of the drive over a microphone and engaged in extensive conversations with the teachers explaining the surroundings. What I found most disturbing about the latter driver, for reasons explained below, was that he was a former educator. Interestingly, the teachers engaged much more extensively with the white driver, even learning about circular Zulu homes from him rather than from the Zulu driver who lived in one.

The group participated in a township tour led by a black South African guide. The guide gave an overview of the apartheid government’s limitations on and absence of funding for infrastructure in black communities, with a particular emphasis on institutionalizing inequities in education. For example, our tour guide talked about how the Bantu Education Act of 1953 legislated a grossly inferior education for black students. The guide explained
that, during this lack of state support during apartheid, there was no money for black communities to independently finance the building of schools. During the past two decades since the end of apartheid, black communities have been building infrastructure, including education, often from nothing. These moments that provided glimpses into structural injustice were subsumed within a greater narrative that positioned elite/white South Africa as civilized and advanced by virtue of their own will and determination, and black South Africa as inherently and hopelessly backward. For example, the white South African driver praised the NGO that Manorwood was volunteering for saying that it was a white-led organization and that black NGOs “can’t get it right:” they arrive late, don’t know how to run organizations, and don’t care. He described black workers on his farm as similarly inherently lazy:

**South African Driver:** *I have one* that works well but another that if you lend him money won't show up the next day and doesn't work Mondays either. As long as he has enough to eat and drink, or rather drink and eat, he's okay. There’s no understanding of the harder you work the better you do. It comes straight from the top, from Zuma. We'll always be a Third World country with people living in Fifth World conditions.

The deeply unsettling language of ownership of black bodies receded to the background through cultural learning. That is, this racial story can be read as a cultural narrative that tells about differences in work ethic. The racial logic that flows through this story persisted even to the level of organizing the animal kingdoms. During a safari the group learned the difference between the “white rhino” and the “black rhino.” There is no colour difference. Rather, the phrase “white rhino” is derived from “wide-lipped rhino.” The other rhino is, of course, the black rhino. The same white driver described the difference in terms of white and
black people: the baby white rhinos travel in front of their mother, just as “we” push a baby in a pram in front, and the baby black rhinos run behind, similar to how black South African mothers carry babies on their backs.

A poignant example of cultural learning was a home visit to a home in a poor, black community as part of the township tour. We walked into a traditional home with a dirt floor and stood as a group facing a mother and her two kids, while they sat on the floor. Our group asked questions, which were addressed and responded to, via the tour guide’s translation. Before we left, I asked the guide if the family had any questions for us. They were shy and wanted to know where we were from. I felt angry to be part of a group going into someone’s home to gaze upon how they live while the family did not even know where we were from. I wondered how many white/Northern people had visited that home and what the children read about themselves in the faces of the foreigners who looked upon them. In seeking to grasp some essential truth about poverty through proximity, we end up with the consumption of the spectacle of poverty. This spectacle functioned to reinforce the linking of blackness with poverty, and the need for white leadership and assistance. The Manorwood students were not provided with another perspective or a critique. Without an understanding of the context of settler colonialism and apartheid, a biological determinism is reinforced. Poverty, disease, corruption, disorganization, and laziness become black. Black bodies and spaces, rather than national structures, are broken. This enchanted “cultural learning” fits handily with South African white supremacy and the civilizational thinking of global feminism.

It is important to note that the elite school teacher of colour had very different experiences about South African cultural learning than those of the white teachers on her trip, as this story of hers suggests:
Teacher: I'll tell you of an experience that surprised me and shocked me and showed me that, wow, I do have another way of seeing things. Maybe I'm too sensitive but I'm not sure. We were in Johannesburg and we went to visit a private [elite] school there because two of our students were doing an exchange there. And one of the geography teachers invited us into her classroom and she was talking about the history of South Africa. And she was speaking about it and she was talking about the whites and the coloured and how everything evolved and a student walked in, a Zulu student, and she walked in late. So, she says to her, “Where were you? Were you counting your cows?” Yeah. My mouth was on the floor. I was shocked. And the student laughed, I guess she's used to it, and the teacher said, “Oh, tell them about your cows.” I think it was cows or goats or something. And the teacher was talking about how that's her, what's it called, you know when you get married and they give you –

Leila: Dowry?

Teacher: Yeah, dowry. Like, oh, how you're worth this many goats or this many cows. And then the teacher made a joke, oh maybe you're worth more now because you're educated. But she was trying to explain the differences, in her mind, she was trying to explain the differences in culture, right, and how the student was worth this much, and how another culture might value that in a different way. I was not impressed. To say the least. I was shocked at that. And, ah, I was just floored. So, afterwards I went to speak to [the other Canadian teacher] about it at some point and he wasn’t as shocked as I was. He felt that she wasn't being derogatory to some extent but to me it was a very derogatory comment to make and to call someone out in that way. And [the Canadian teacher] even said to me, and this is [sighs/laughs] he said to me, “Well, it's like her making a joke about a student and her cell phone, if she brought her cell phone in.” And I thought, no it's not. But what a great chance to talk to the students and debrief. Think about if they noticed it and if they
thought that experience was in any way derogatory. We didn't get that chance. Because I'm not sure how [the other teacher] felt about that.

In this story, in the absence of any follow-up conversation with the students, civilizational thinking passes as cultural learning. That is, the scenario between the teacher and student becomes a story about dowries as an interesting cultural difference, rather than an example of overt racial exclusion and differential treatment in the classroom. Certainly, in this context, cultural learning is more pleasurable than a racial critique that would have been what Ahmed (2010) has described as a killjoy move. At the same time, this story suggests that by not embodying the normative orientation towards strangers, the teacher of colour is a “space invader,” Puwar’s (2004) term for those racialized bodies whose presence disturbs.

The next section considers further strategies for keeping pleasure intact.

**The Can-Do Girl: Capability and Enchantment**

This section builds on the analysis of impact from the previous section and considers the particular role of gender. Capability is purposefully manufactured through the NGO relationship, and proximity and authenticity are crucial components in producing capability. I had a conversation with the founder of an African NGO from a different country who hosts elite school groups to participate in projects such as building desks for rural, underfunded, schools. His staff prepares wood cutouts for students to assemble with hammers and nails. However, students do not typically have the skills to put together stable and sturdy desks, and the NGO staff have quietly visited the school at night, before the celebratory unveiling of the finished desks, and re-hammered the furniture. The teachers and students attribute this successful project to their individual and group efforts when other hands have been active in the background to make white/Northern capability work. Masking the labour that happens in
the background enables enchantment (Cravatte & Chabloz, 2008), specifically, “‘the transactional euphoria’ in the encounter” (Winkin, 1996, in Cravatte & Chabloz, 2008, p. 240). Through this enchantment, the (black) labour required to stage the work of humanitarian care vanishes, and the story of white capability unfolds unimpeded.

This enchantment certainly threads through the South African encounter. There were a few days when an intense rainstorm lashed the city and outlying areas. On one of these mornings, the cliff-side roads were dangerous and the teachers were not certain if they would be able to make the trip to the school. When the bus arrived, a teacher announced, “We have a bus. Let’s go do good work.” During the drive, the water was pooling on the highway and there seemed to be a considerable risk of water planing. The tension was palpable and I was very uncomfortable with the decision to proceed. I wondered about the pressure on the Zulu driver, charged with the safe transport of a group of foreigners. I wrote in my notes, “They blindly believe in the good that they're doing.” Here, again, racial bodies are the materials used to manufacture white capability, pleasure, and moral standing. The work of ensuring that hierarchical relations say out of the frame is crucial to making the encounter work. In this example, enchantment helps to make the civilizing femininity of a caring self who leads through assisting others into modernity.

Making an Impact

We can think of the concern about the group’s impact, lack of impact, or unfinished impact, as mitigated by the notion of care. Even where no evidence of “building capability” can be found, microcare produces some impact and thus gives meaning to the encounter. During a conversation with a white Canadian teacher about an activity at a township school
that was about playing games rather than computer training, the teacher noted that she did not feel that playing games made a significant impact:

**Canadian Teacher:** We didn't effectively, in a long way, improve their ability, or build their capability, in any way. I don't think we did. However. On the plus side. If we brought a little joy to them, a little affection to them, an interest in them, we listened to them, we gave them our undivided attention for eight [seven] days, and made them feel special, then maybe that's enough. But I have mixed feelings about that one. In the short-term, I think it was powerful. But in the long-term, I'm not so sure.

The good feelings around the humanitarian relation of care (we felt good because we cared for them, and, as one student remarked, working on the computers together to teach them helped the kids to “feel better”), are “powerful.” An impact has been made. When asked if she ever had any doubts about the work that they were doing, another student answered this way:

**Student:** Yeah, a few times. Am I going to be forgotten? Are they going to remember me, if I come back next year? Are they going to remember the things we taught them on the computer? It kinda made me question how big of a difference we were actually making, but.

**Leila:** And what would it mean to you if they forgot?

**Student:** It would be sad. Because I want so much for them to remember me and to feel like I made a big difference in their life. I guess, hopefully, if they didn't, I'd probably [nervous laugh] try to come to terms with it, and be like, they didn't remember me personally but they took away something whether it was like a skill or a way…[trails off]

This student emphasizes how impact is contingent on the children’s feelings towards the elite school group. It is not quite enough to have imparted a skill; it is the *feelings* that make the
work meaningful. Importantly, these feelings are imagined as simple and genuine. While it was a lovely gesture for the children to make cards addressed to each of the volunteers on our final day, the Manorwood students did not seem to pause to question how and why this may have been facilitated by NGO staff, and how it may relate to the list of desired items that is circulated to foreign guests and that was shared with the teachers. Certainly, the teachers on this trip, myself included, were not convinced of any meaningful impact. Much of the labor of the project was actually about managing the power dynamics of the encounter.

**Flattening Asymmetrical Relations of Power**

**We Have so Much to Learn From Them**

This expression of reciprocity is a move to flatten the power disparities between the elite school group and the children they met by positioning one’s self as a student rather than a person in a position of dominance. It is a technique of staking out moral standing through what Mahrouse (2011) terms *reconciling privilege* and *reconciling inequality*. *Reconciling privilege* is accomplished by not flaunting differences in wealth. This emerged in the humanitarian encounter with children at the school being briefed by the NGO in not asking their visitors for anything. The Manorwood group was told that, “We explained to them that there is no expectation that people will be donors and we briefed everyone that it is not that kind of visit.” Still, being asked for parting gifts unsettled Manorwood students.

One child told the elite school students that it was her birthday. The teachers reinforced to the group that it was important not to give gifts (small artifacts for crafts are okay, such as balloons), because, as one teacher told the group, “we don’t want to be seen as just giving stuff to them.” To reduce the relation of care to a consumer exchange would obstruct the impact of the group’s presence, and be embarrassing by revealing the truth of the
encounter. Wealth is, however, clearly what these communities need, and what makes foreigners’ presence an alluring one.

The encounter obscures disparities in wealth. Mahrouse (2011) notes that “there is also a redemptive element to this kind of response (Roman, 1997) insofar as in having to adapt to less comfortable conditions than they are accustomed to, the participants believe that are sacrificing some of their privilege” (p. 381). Further, as Nadine Gordimer (1984) has written, “there is no moral authority like that of sacrifice” (p. 13). As we know from Hartman (1997), there can be pleasure in moral authority. There was certainly the feeling that the Manorwood students were making a significant sacrifice by “giving up” their vacation and sacrificing comforts to spend time in townships. Further, Mahrouse (2011) explains that in this “shallow understanding of the relations of privilege” that “what matters is not that inequalities exist, but that the inequalities are not flaunted” (p. 381).

Part of this discourse is the notion of reciprocity. One teacher explained that, "instead of saying if you have a lot, you must give — that was the message fifteen years ago. Now it's we have so much to learn." Mahrouse (2011) notes that there is a reversal at work in such statements whereby:

the relationships between the people from the global North and those from the global South are discursively leveled insofar as such responses effectively highlight gaps on both sides: *we do not have some things, while they do not have others.* (p. 383, italics in original)

Reciprocity was emphasized through the relation of care: we cared for them and taught them things about us, and we learned so much from them, perhaps more than they learned from us. One white Canadian teacher emphasized in an interview that the volunteer trip was not the same as an international service learning trip because it was about reciprocity. She explained
that, “I would say that I don't see reciprocity as giving and receiving exactly the same thing. Because people, depending on their context, what they're offering, in terms of skill or content, it’s different.” An innocence is evoked by this more-or-less equitable exchange. Pratt’s (1992) notion of “anti-conquest” is also helpful to understand, as S. Razack (2004) describes it, the simultaneous proclaiming of innocence and asserting of hegemony (p. 145). Mahrouse (2011) explains that:

> the sentiment is that *while we have wealth, they have what truly matters: hope, understanding, and community.* In highlighting the prevalence of this discourse, I am proposing that there is a fantasy at play (Roman, 1997) that not only enables the Northerner to reconcile the inequality they see, but more importantly, as Pratt’s (1992) work shows, also enables them to reconstitute themselves as innocent. (p. 384, italics in original)

Finally, as many have written (Ahmed, 2004; Heron, 2007; Mahrouse, 2011; Roman, 2003; A. Smith, 2013), “confessing” or declaring white privilege can work to secure it by imagining that relations of injustice are brought to equality by stating that they exist, in an attempt to consolidate a subjectivity through investments in social justice. Acknowledging and minimizing economic disparities through the language of reciprocity asserts white power. Minimizing disparities further obscures the civilizing nature of this work since it creates the illusion of a “common ground” from which “partnerships” and equitable exchanges are made. This ground is, clearly, a fertile one upon which to create moral virtue.

**Emotional Intensity**

I now turn to the emotional structures of the volunteer abroad encounter. In this section I consider love followed by two specific expressions of outrage.
Love / I Made An Impact

Following from Mahrouse’s (forthcoming) article about a higher education student group’s volunteer trip to Nicaragua, I take up love as an expression of emotional intensity. As I explored in chapter four, Mahrouse (forthcoming) theorizes this intensified expression of love as a structure that was common in the Grand Tour narrative. The love that I theorize here is both the love expressed by students for the children, and the students’ feelings about the love that they felt the children expressed for them. Both of these expressions are taken as testifying to the impact that the group made. One white Canadian student said, “I felt really good about that...to see how much love they have for us and to know they really want us there.”

On our last day, as the bus was leaving the school and the kids were running up to the fence and waving, a white Canadian teacher on board yelled, “Stop! Stop the bus!” She told the Manorwood group to look back at the kids waving their hands and clamoring at the fence, and to take a photo to remember this moment. Everyone snapped their photos and the bus pulled away, the students sniffling throughout the ride back. This is the making of the intensified moral position of the elite girl through vulnerability, which is imagined as a uniquely Canadian attribute: imagining a Canadian “vulnerability to pain” (S. Razack, 2007, p. 382) sustains the myth of a national sensitivity and unique ability to feel for others. This is a crucial mechanism in the making of a civilizing femininity; the girl discovers her caring nature through the bodies of black children. One Canadian student of colour describes the lovability this way, gesturing to a somewhat consumptive relation:

**Leila:** What does it feel like knowing that you're wanted there?

**Student:** It's a warm fuzzy feeling. [laughter]
**Leila**: So it's a good feeling.

**Student**: It's a very good feeling. It's not something that you always stumble on...in a bad way of saying it, it's a slight, I guess inherently without realizing it, it's kind of like an ego booster but most people, and I think most people that went on this trip, it's a feeling of acceptance and you're loved by someone that you barely even know.

I asked a white Canadian what her thoughts were on a thank-you card that one of the Manorwood students had received from a child at the school. She replied emotionally, holding back tears:

**Student**: I love that letter so much. It teared me up. It made me tear up the first time I saw it. [pause]

**Leila**: What does it mean to you when you tear up?

**Student**: It's so nice to know that we made a difference in some way, shape, or form. [pause] Every time I see the letters I got from the kids I feel this swell of love toward all of them.

Rather than interrogate sincerity, I wish to emphasize how feelings of love work as an circuit here to create the surface of the body of the humanitarian subject, again using the racial stranger as material for making the white/Northern subject. Further, following Mahrouse (forthcoming), expressions of love minimize asymmetrical power relations. Mahrouse (forthcoming) writes that, “feelings and expressions of love helped the students to imagine themselves and the world they inhabit as less unequal and divided” (p. 8). This works as a powerful affirmation in consolidating a civilizing femininity, goodness, and emotional vulnerability. Paradoxically, I offer that this move to flatten an unequal power relationship facilitates the assertion of a capable self. The intensity of emotion that I consider here worked through both love and outrage.
Outrage / I Am Lucky to Live in Canada

A number of elite school program directors reported that one of the benefits of the volunteer abroad encounter is that students learn to appreciate how lucky they are to live in Canada. Part of the learning that takes place is well-captured by the words of a white South African owner of an artisan NGO we visited that provides employment for poor, black women: “however shitty your life is when you come here you realize your life is so blessed. I have been through shitty times but I can get in a shower.”

The superiority of Canada in relation to South Africa emerged in a disciplinary way in the context of students’ experiences with their host families: Canadian students imagined that they were imparting a superior civility in general, and a civilizing femininity in particular. For example, the Manorwood group discussed during the trip how they were modeling for elite South African students (particularly elite black students) how they should be more engaged in volunteering in townships. Some participants also insisted on clearing the table after dinner because that was “the Canadian” way, rather than allowing live-in staff to do these chores. At the same time, many students talked about live-in help that they have at home. One white Canadian student described an example of a moment when she felt surprised to encounter more racism in her South African host family then she had expected:

Student: When we were walking in the mall – oh – it wasn't just towards African Americans (sic). It was towards all races. We were walking in the mall and we saw this couple and it was an Asian man and a white girl and our hosts kind of were just like, “Oh! Did you see that couple? It's so weird; it's an Asian and a white girl that's so gross!” So many of our friends have mixed parents and so many of our friends our mixed and that's not weird to us at all. And they kept going on about, “We would never marry someone from a different race that would be disgusting.” That really, really shocked me.
Canada is imagined as more evolved than white South Africa, and white supremacy at home is elided through the mythology of multicultural equality. Through a refined moral character and a Canadian sensitivity, students were outraged by inequality. Enchantment permitted this outrage to flow by keeping Canadian white supremacy securely in the background.

There was one particularly classic moment of civilizing femininity, that is, of the making of a white/Canadian feminine subject who civilizes racial strangers. The group met with a seventy-year-old male Zulu chief in the same rural township where they were volunteering at the school. We visited the chief in the yard of his very modest home (this was framed as a cultural tradition that visitors present themselves to the chief), and he was enthusiastic and heartfelt about sharing some of his life experiences with the group. There was a tinge of sadness in his telling of a life where he never had an opportunity to travel abroad, unlike the students, and he emphasized his hope that the elite school group’s experiences in the township would have an enduring effect and propel them along life trajectories marked by a deep commitment to social justice, an expansion of Mandela’s work throughout the world. The chief recounted to the students stories about life during and after apartheid, and his hopes for the fifty or so children he has with four wives. This is where the tone within the group abruptly changed. Afterwards, the students thanked the chief for meeting with them, and we began walking back to the school.

During this walk, students talked amongst themselves, and with me and the teachers, about how appalled they were that the chief was polygamous. Many of the students expressed indignation. Whereas many of the moments in which students encountered social injustice towards black South Africans did not evoke an angry response, the encounter with polygamy was one of the most salient expressions of moral indignation on the part of the
students. In fact, a visit to a museum that tells the story of land appropriation by white South Africans and the razing of black communities (within the very place where the group’s hotel was located) was described by most of the students as boring. One girl said that she fought to stay awake during the museum visit, and a few noted that they would rather have had more time at the market to buy souvenirs.

One student later explained to me her feelings towards the Zulu chief saying that she “wanted to slap him in the face.” The outrage, predictably, was about the chief’s allegedly savage treatment of women and children. Some students were angry that they were spending their time helping to take care of the chief’s children at the NGO, and that he was recklessly draining government and NGO resources. The moral outrage of the student who felt entitled to discipline the chief is the archetypal move to a civilizing femininity: non-heteronormative family structures and sexual practices are deemed backward, unrelated to patriarchal power at home, and that which calls for intervention from a white/Northern girl who knows better.

**Outrage / White South Africans Are Oppressed**

In the absence of structural racism and colonial and apartheid continuities, some participants expressed outrage that their white South Africans friends “are not free.” The following excerpt from an interview with a white Canadian teacher was certainly a challenging moment for me as a researcher:

**Canadian Teacher**: The thing I didn't understand before I got there, and this is my opinion, is that the only people who aren't free now are the whites. Because they live in cages, they live in fenced-in homes, they live inside their cars and they live inside safe malls. But apart from that they are not free, they can't walk the street in front of their houses. So it is very interesting for me that while apartheid has ended and the whites still have the money, they are
not free. And yet I would argue that the blacks physically have more freedom
than the whites. They can go anywhere they want to. And they do. When
you're walking on the sidewalk you pass them. But the whites are not on the
sidewalks and that's even in established neighbourhoods so, that for me was
like, oh my God, I had never, yeah. And I think for me it was profound.

Participants again learned about the post-apartheid oppression of white South Africans
during conversations with host families about affirmative action university admissions at
South African universities. Manorwood students found it unfair that black South Africans
could gain acceptance into university with a 60% average, which is lower than for other
groups. They expressed outrage that their host students spent so much time studying and
were extremely worried about being accepted into university, and were investigating
studying abroad in case their applications at home were unsuccessful.

Again, unsurprisingly, a structural and historical analysis is lacking. It is interesting to
read this alongside Gaztambide-Fernández’s (2009) observation about legacy admissions
policies at elite schools whereby children of alumni, particularly extremely wealthy alumni
and prominent donors, are given preference in the admissions process, is instructive here. He
notes that:

like colleges and universities, elite boarding schools justify legacy practices as
an issue of loyalty and financial savvy. Yet we rarely ask how sustaining loyal
alumni may be undemocratic, or what social logic undergirds legacy as a
smart financial practice. Indeed, legacy practices have rarely been challenged
publicly, even though it is the oldest and most commonly practiced form of
affirmative action on behalf of wealthy elites. (p. 9)

Elite school students are well versed in practices of affirmative action, just in a different
direction. In this example, reversing the flow felt like an injustice. The students raised this
university admission policy in a group meeting and there was a missed opportunity to discuss
not only language, particularly in the South African context (students were uncomfortable talking about students who are black, and with using that word, sometimes saying “African American” instead), and the historical context of affirmative action policies. One student summarized what she learned about South African history this way in our interview: “I’m not necessarily one for history. I got the sense that there were issues recently surrounding politics and the apartheid. I got that sense. I knew that it was mostly better now.”

Students also learned how difficult it is for their wealthy/white South African host families to live behind electric fences and keep funds outside the country and other passports, because, as one South African host parent noted, “it’s in the back of our minds that we may need to leave in a moment’s notice.” When asked why they stay, one mom replied, “we know we can’t live like this anywhere else.” There were also the frustrations with, as one white school administrator at the South African host school described it, around 6% of the country paying 100% of the taxes, and paying 40% income tax, combined with costs for private schools because of the poor state of government education, private healthcare, and home security. I heard about resentment towards government corruption and “black diamonds,” a term for wealthy, corrupt, African National Congress (ANC) officials. Some parents also expressed a feeling that the current ANC government is more corrupt, or at least more openly corrupt, than the apartheid government. The enchanting story of white South African oppression, and the moral outrage of the Canadian school group, secures the pleasure of white moral authority.

**Moral Distinction**

This assertion of *doing good* was clear in moments such as when the group met a Canadian tourist who asked what we were doing in South Africa. One of the teachers
responded, “We are working in the townships,” a move that staked out a moral distinction that was distinct from simply travelling, touring, or even volunteering. This technique of deploying generosity to obscure privilege was also mobilized in the context of gifts. One of the teachers continually congratulated the students on their generosity in using the money given to them by their parents to buy a considerable number of gifts for their friends and family, particularly in buying gifts at NGOs that the group visited which raise money, for example, for people living with HIV/AIDS. In being good consumers and feeling good about the gifts that they are bringing home, the Manorwood students are interpellated as good humanitarians, generous people, and, at times, activists and partners in development.

Here, I wish to supplement this discussion by considering the ethics of wealthy groups dropping in to “experience” poverty, and then leaving, a phenomenon that is gaining increasing popularity, including through poverty tourism within South Africa. For example, an article in The Guardian highlights one white South African family’s sojourn in a poor, black community near their home:

Julian and Ena Hewitt, both 34, and their daughters Julia, four, and Jessica, two, left their four-bedroom house, livestock and swimming pool in a gated community to move just seven miles (12km) down the road into a 3m x 3m (10ft x 10 ft) shack with no electricity, a communal water tap and a pit toilet. They stayed there a month, living on 3,000 rand (£189), the average income of a black family, and blogged the experience. (D. Smith, 2013, no page number)

One blogger from the website Africa is a Country which describes the website’s work as to “deliberately challenge and destabilize received wisdom about the African continent and its people in Western media” (Africa is a Country, n.d., no page number), calls this family’s sojourn “standard fare in an era of ubuntu” (the Zulu philosophy that “I am because we are”):

the problem lies not on the terrain of the structural, but rather in the subjectivities of South Africa’s residents. If only people – and by this, they
always mean white people – would acquire that magical disposition called empathy, everything would be fine. This sentiment, while surely well intended, is ultimately a symptom of white narcissism. (Levenson, 2013, no page number)

It is the making of these subjectivities through enchantment that obscures the background. It is important to note that the historic events of the Marikana strike and the police shooting of 34 workers protesting working conditions at Lonmin’s platinum mine, which took place while we were in South Africa, were largely omitted with the students. The opportunity to address Canadian involvement in questionable mining practices in South Africa and our national complicity in violence, as well as apartheid continuities with the Sharpeville massacre, and other police shootings elsewhere, were also left untouched. To foreground these conversations would certainly shift the flow of capability and impact, and especially pleasure. Such a background would not be an easy one against which to create leaders.

Civilizing Femininity and the Can-Do Girl

At the center of the processes of becoming elite in this chapter is the idea of gaining independence. I theorize gaining independence as a pleasurable feeling of empowerment. Gaining independence was a way to stay centered in the making of the self through pleasurable emotions, rather than, for example, being focused on justice. Roughly half of the students on the trip listed as one of their responses to the question of why they are going to South Africa, or what they hope to gain, as “independence,” or “a sense of independence and confidence” (no multiple choice responses or word banks were provided for these questions).

There is a logic of commodification and consumption here, in becoming independent through the bodies of racial others. This logic was more explicit for one white Canadian student who expressed her desire to participate in the trip in these terms:
Leila: You also said you chose South Africa because you liked the sound of it being community service-based. What did you like about that? What attracted you to community service?

Student: Honestly, part of it is that I knew I needed 40 hours to graduate.

Leila: You didn't have it.

Student: No, but I do now.

Leila: How many hours did this trip count for?

Student: I don't know. I know I had 14 before.

Leila: And are you doing the Duke of Edinburgh [Award]?

Student: Yes.

Leila: Will you use this trip for the gold [or] silver?

Student: I don't know yet.

Leila: But it will be used for something.

Student: Yes.

It is notable that while this trip is largely framed in terms of gaining independence, this student seems to be hand-held by the school, a relationship that is likely structural, that is, common to other students, rather than individual. I found in conversations with volunteer program directors that some provide significant support for students to complete these programs, including the Duke of Edinburgh Award, and others are extremely critical of this sort of handholding.

Returning to the South Africa group, many students expressed in their written reflections and interviews a desire to become independent from their family by travelling without family members, something most students had never done, and having a formative
experience that did not include their family. At the same time, many students expressed the importance to them (and their parents) of travelling in the safety of a school group, on an established, annual trip, and with peers from home (as opposed to an individual exchange program). One student was proud to be the first person in her family to travel to a country in Africa. Her large extended family gathered at her home to celebrate her return and to hear stories about “Africa.” This return suggests continuities with European forms of imperial travel. As Grewal (1996) writes, “‘home’ is a crucial category within European travel because it is the space of return and of consolidation of the Self enabled by the encounter with the ‘Other’” (p. 6). This student’s narrative suggests that the return home and the stories she told were an important part of a particular, pleasurable process of becoming independent.

I was surprised by how dominant this narrative of independence turned out to be in South Africa, particularly given how structured the experience was and how the students were catered to, including private cars and drivers. One particularly important mechanism for stretching and securing students’ independence was through bungee jumping. In one of their very few interactions with black men, the girls completed a training session and were escorted to the jump-off point, from which they leapt. This experience was the subject of countless photos and videos, many of which were shared with family members at home, and viewed repeatedly by the group. When I asked why this particular activity appealed to them there, the students agreed that it was special because of the remarkable height of this particular jump. It seemed, too, that this jump uniquely brought an independent self into relief, as the images showed, falling through the sky against an African landscape. This making of an independent, empowered, gendered self through a racial encounter abroad is one that follows a clear colonial trajectory, as shown by the scholarship of Cook (2005),
Grewal (1996), Heron (2007), N. Razack (2003), and others. I offer that these activities, however, such as travelling without one’s family and bungee jumping, do not suffice to make the elite girl. This chapter demonstrates that the humanitarian component is crucial to this process of becoming.

How did the actual work of volunteering, then, consolidate the elite girl through a sense of *gaining independence*? While the computer training at the school was officially about *building local capability*, much of the feeling of capability that was being manufactured was that of the elite school group, again creating more pleasurable feelings, and securing the focus on the self. In a conversation with the staff member who runs the computer program at the school throughout the year, I discovered that she had already taught the children all of the tasks that the elite school group had “taught” to the same group. It did not seem that the teachers, the school, or the school program director were aware of this. It was not, however, a difficult thing to discover through conversation. In this way, a story about children learning computer skills over a number of weeks with a local teacher (who had received training in advance), becomes a narrative about a Canadian elite school group visiting for seven days and experiencing astonishing mutual capability.

The elite school students were amazed by the capability that they witnessed in the children. I was continually struck by the elite school group’s pleasant, that is, pleasurable, surprise at the children’s ability to learn very basic tasks such as using a mouse. Rather than pointing to a questioning of their assumptions, the capability of the children was taken as something wondrous, a magical effect of their presence. This capability functioned to consolidate the elite school group’s sense of self, and collective, as capable. In this example,
the humanitarian strangers are teleologically *coming along* through technology, an improvement that testifies to the (white) leadership capabilities of the girls through care.

In terms of community impact, significant attention was given to what was referred to as the “sustainability” of the volunteer project where evidence of sustainability is taken to signify that the interaction is innocent, meaningful, and socially just. In this way, the group has cared properly for others because their work is not a one-off project. While this relationship is imagined as equally made and cared for, some bodies are left behind and remain year after year to host different guests. While the elite school’s work in that community is ongoing, the idea of continuity and solidarity as sending different bodies each year is a problematic one. For example, the elder sister of one of the elite school girls had gone on this trip a few years ago. The elder sister asked her younger sister, now returning to the same place, to look for a South African girl she met at the school. The girl was found and asked if she remembered the elder sister. The local girl responded that she did. This was taken as a sign of care and impact. In fact, this story was told repeatedly, in various contexts, each time with a sense of accomplishment and pride. One of the white Canadian teachers remarked, “You actually came back. There's something in this for you.” But it was not, obviously, the same person that returned. Later, the child at the school, hearing the name of the elder sister, asked who that was. She asked again. No reply came. No one in the group seemed to notice her confusion, or to question if her initial remembering may have been elicited to please the guests, or if the question had been difficult to understand across different linguistic registers. Rather, this anecdote about “coming back” was taken up as proof of the sustainability and the sustained care of the Canadian student, the elite school, and, to some extent, of Canada as a caring collective.
That capability was integral to how the group imagined, and enjoyed, their work was made clear during planning sessions for a presentation at their school following their return. The group decided to put together a linear narrative to describe their trip that traced feeling helpless when they first arrived, to finding a surprising capability in the children. One white Canadian student spoke of a young girl who approached her at the school and said simply, “I’m hungry.” The elite school student described her feelings of speechlessness and helplessness. She did not know what to say or do, and it shook her initial resolve that she could do so much for these children. It is not clear if this young child’s daily reality was one of hunger, if she simply was looking for the afternoon snack that the school provides, or both. It is also not clear what this student imagined that she would be able do for the children. What is clear is that what is a very quotidian reality for many children was shocking to a white Canadian student, and that it unsettled her idea of herself as an agent of care at the same time as it helped to form a vulnerable, caring, Canadian femininity. The personal anecdotes in the group’s speech about children’s capabilities were taken up as learning experiences for the group about how gifted these young people are, rather than as a reflection of how impoverished the group’s expectations were about them. The narrative ended with “the complexity” of the children’s lives being much greater than the elite school group had imagined, and how one must work with families and communities to make a meaningful impact.

How did students make sense of their capability? As an effect of processes of enchantment, and lacking a framework with which to perceive structural whiteness, who it serves, and who serves it, some students had a peculiar, although unsurprising, meritocratic view of the impact of their humanitarian care, likely facilitated in part by school marketing
pieces about how the Canadian students’ (civilizing) presence helps children affected by HIV/AIDS to develop into responsible South African citizens. One white Canadian student reported a feeling of satisfaction at having been “a role model” for black South African students by showing “that it’s important to have an education and to have goals and to work for something and to have hope and challenge yourself and push yourself:”

**Leila:** You mentioned “role model.” What are you role modeling for kids? How do you think of it?

**Student:** It’s mostly behaviour. How you act towards others and respecting each other. And for the [black] students in South Africa I feel like I was trying to show that it's important to have an education and to have goals and to work for something and to have hope and to challenge yourself and push yourself. Well, actually, I guess I do that for anyone, but I felt that those were more important to stress. Just that anything's possible and to really try.

**Leila:** Why is it more important there?

**Student:** I just feel like they don't hear that enough or I got that feeling. Especially when we talked to the chief at the village and how he was like, “I've stayed here my whole life, you guys are so lucky, you get to travel, I haven't seen anywhere but this place,” I just felt they weren't really pushing people to get, to try to get out but then help. I don't know. I don't know if it's just where we were just ‘cause they're so young but maybe if we went to the high schools, with the older kids, maybe they are pushing them to go out and make a difference.

Severed from the background of structural inequality, “making a difference” is seen as a responsibility unrelated to systemic privilege. Without any context of the people and place upon which they gaze, “getting out” and “helping” is an individualist, neoliberal enterprise, a personal, entrepreneurial drive to act upon the world as empowered white/Northern girls and
leaders, hallmarks of a civilizing femininity. This worldview works to conceal the structural advantages (citizenship, economic, educational) that enable the student herself to travel and engage in a humanitarian encounter. Inequities recede to the background to foreground capability. In being a role model for others, this student strives to improve others through the moral virtue of a civilizing femininity, that is, she becomes morally virtuous, and a leader, by assisting racial children into modernity. The white Canadian student went on to explain about her first day volunteering at the township school that:

 **Student**: when we did our introduction and we had to say who we are and what we want to be and [Manorwood] girls were saying that we want to be doctors, just showing them we have dreams and they should have dreams as well. Just showing them it's possible.

In this quote, structural educational and economic disadvantages are a problem to be overcome with enthusiasm (Simpson, 2004). An article published in Al-Jazeera about youth joblessness in South Africa (Kharsany, 2013) cites various studies and individuals to note that stark, ongoing inequities in education reproduce social inequities, fewer students are achieving international benchmarks in 2011 than in 2006, there is an unemployment rate of 70.9% for people aged 14–34, and that unemployment results in families being unable to pay children’s school fees. Clearly, much of this background is obscured for this student, whose views were shared by others, and an opportunity for learning is elided. At the same time, leadership as whiteness is secured.

**Spending Moral Capital**

We can think of the process of consolidating moral distinction that I demonstrate throughout this chapter as way of acquiring moral capital. This capital was spent in various ways. The Canadian group spent a total of seven days interacting with children at a township
school, collected a significant number of service hours required to complete the Ontario Secondary School Diploma (OSSD), hours which also qualify them for a Duke of Edinburgh Award. That the students were savvy about how their volunteer experiences opened doors for them, beyond their university applications, is suggested in the joking manner in which they talked about their luggage, crammed with souvenirs and gifts for friends and family.

Standing in line at the airport check-in line on the way home, other passengers expressed their exasperation at how long the line was taking to move and how the size and number of pieces of the students’ luggage was slowing everything down. One man commented to his companion, with laughter, that one of the student’s duffel bags “is bigger than she is.” I saw almost no one else in line with the volume of luggage of the students. I wrote in my notes, “This is what doing good looks like? :).” One of the teachers spoke to the group about “talking up” customs, and the students had a conversation saying how it is acceptable to be over the luggage weight limit because they were volunteering. Their view was reinforced by one of the teachers who, when asked what the group was doing in South Africa, would reply, “We’ve been working in the townships,” an astonishing move to re-secure and mobilize moral capital.

**Summary and Gaps**

The discourses presented in this chapter are conflicting. Students are positioned as in reciprocal relationships with their South African peers at the same time that they are imagined as uniquely equipped to help civilize and rescue them. There are five strands that emerge in this chapter that I would like to emphasize.

The first is that, as chapter four revealed in the context of multicultural strangers at home, racial strangers in general, and in the context of this chapter, black children in
particular, are crucial to the making of elite girls. This chapter has shown how the student fashions an elite subject position through the body of the humanitarian stranger. I demonstrated how the intensified fantasy of the elite school humanitarian encounter is facilitated through the techniques of opposition and intensification. I have also shown how this particular fantasy is what distinguishes the process of becoming an elite subject. Importantly, the racial bodies that are deployed as routes to moral distinction are those of black children. Mbembe’s (2001) argument that Africa functions in the Western imaginary as “absolute otherness” (p. 2) and as “close[r] to being human” (p. 2) suggests something about the specificity of this humanitarian encounter. That is, the strategies of opposition and intensification, as well as the making of authenticity through proximity, uniquely converge with the Western imperial formulation of Africa. Africa, in offering a distinct opportunity for big, embodied emotional experiences, offers an accelerated route to moral distinction. Second, by following the making of moral distinction it is clear that a particular civilizing femininity is consolidated through the relation of care. At stake in the humanitarian relation of care is securing an elite subjectivity through a particular moral standing that is unavailable through other racial strangers or other processes of becoming. The lack of a structural analysis of power, a hallmark of global feminism, facilitates the civilizational thinking of this mode of white, virtuous femininity. The third strand that emerges in this chapter is that familiar multicultural strangers prop up the humanitarian encounter abroad and are an important part of the background of this humanitarian encounter. These relationships with the South African elite work to reproduce, extend, and secure an elite transnational network. One Canadian student of colour described this comfortable familiarity of class power across racial difference:
**Canadian Student**: I guess with the host family we had a lot in common, just cause like I went to a private school, she went to a private school, so, we were able to relate, she didn't look at us any different, we were kinda like the same people, we were lucky enough to have amazing experiences.

These familiar stranger relationships extend what Jefferess (2012) calls the “material comfort” of home promised by some voluntourism programs (p. 23).

Fourth, this encounter helps produce the moral distinction that secures the ivy-covering of elite status. By placing the humanitarian encounter alongside the multicultural encounter, it is clear that strangers are crucial to making elite schools and subjects in various modes, throughout institutional life, as well as historically. Fifth, intensified emotion and enchantment covered moments of disconnect and discomfort that were opportunities for critical engagement. Through moves to pleasure and ease in particular, many opportunities to take up racial power were elided. During a conversation with one student of colour I asked her about race and she described some observations and how they made her uncomfortable:

**Leila**: Did you learn anything about race during your experience abroad?

**Student**: I guess one thing I wrote in my journal…I don't know. But like, our host family was Indian but all of the other host families were white and a lot of the girls at the school were white. I don't think I ever saw a black girl in their private school but then again I didn't see the whole school, I didn't see the whole population of the school. And then…so I feel like there's still that tension. Between like white and black in South Africa...When we were driving around I saw like – I don't want to say that this is the truth, it's just something I noticed. Yeah, I wrote about it in my journal because it was just like so weird. All of the construction workers and all of the labour workers that we saw on the street were all black. And then people working in the mall would be like mostly white. We went to the McDonalds over there. It was like
all white. That's like the biggest racial thing I saw...could be a coincidence, too. We just went to one mall and one McDonalds. It could have been just at that construction site...I mean I don't know enough background but I just think that everyone should have the same opportunities and have the same resources and I don't know whether certain groups don't and others do. Like, I don't know enough to say that. But it just seemed like they didn't. They were just like, “Oh you guys are meant for work.” I don't know [emphatic]. That's just my opinion.

Leila: Do you think others felt some discomfort?

Student: I don't know. We never really talked about it. Religion and race are always really touchy subjects to talk to people about. And that's just something I noticed on my own and wanted to keep to myself.

Not only was this student not provided with any historical or analytical tools to make sense of what she saw, but the conditions for questions and discussion were not in place. While this student may engage this observation on her own, and it may yield important insights for her, in the context of an educational trip, an important and challenging moment was sidestepped.

A white Canadian student felt something of structural whiteness but was not provided with the tools to grapple with it. In her interview she spoke of the discomfort driving with her white South African host family, and of the relation to homeless black people asking for money as the car stopped at stoplights, a relation that felt different than in her home city in Canada:

Student: I got the sense that it was like the people on the outside, there was a big separation between the homeless people and the people driving around in the cars, I got the sense that you don't really cross that line. ‘Cause it can be kinda dangerous.

Leila: What’s the danger?
Student: I don’t really know. I just got that sense. That there’s a division.

Brief instances like this one are largely lost in a much larger travel narrative comprising shopping, visiting a game reserve, bungee jumping, and barbecues. Enchantment was a powerful mediator of stark inequities and served to secure the pleasure of playtime with the South African elite.

In its totality, this chapter suggests that girls of the ruling class may have more room to be dominant than we thought through encounters to help racial others. That is, further to Cook’s (2005) study, girls may be allowed to be more like men in the interest of the colonial project than we had realized, and at a younger age than we had realized. In her book *Black Body*, Radhika Mohanram (1999) shows how Victorian, “feminine women as a category are coopted [into] Britain’s imperialistic venture” (p. 167). This chapter shows how the current iteration of a colonial feminine subject is sent out to master how to direct racial others, a practice that is not only taking place at a younger age than ever before, but one that is also institutionalized at the site of the school. What does this mean for the pedagogical interest that I expressed at the beginning of this study? The final chapter presents a summary, conclusions, implications, and future directions.
Chapter 7
Summary, Reflections, and Implications

This thesis moved through different geographies and moments in time to tell a story about the racialized and gendered routes to elite status for young people at Canadian schools. This final chapter gathers together the previous chapters to offer an overview, and to suggest what we might consider from here. The first section is a summary of the thesis. I begin by reviewing the research questions that I set out at the beginning of the study, and how I answered each question. I then move into a summary of each chapter to show what each step of the analysis reveals to us about the process of becoming elite. Second two discusses the implications of the findings that I summarized. My hope in this study has been to further anti-racist education. Accordingly, in this section I consider what these findings mean for anti-racist education. The third section reflects on common resistances that I have encountered to the findings. Section four considers the dangling ends of the thesis, that is, the gaps within this study that call for further analysis in the future.

Summary

This study opened with the objective of critically examining the making of the elite subject at Canadian elite schools. The project pursued three questions. The first was: who is the elite subject that students are called to become? I analyzed colonial trajectories, the humanitarian industrial complex, global citizenship discourse, and the chronology of Canadian elite school encounters to uncover how young elite students are called to become modern subjects in our intensified neoliberal and racially structured moment. That is, I demonstrated how students through assisting racial others into modernity enables students to become modern; accordingly, these encounters with racial others are crucial to the making of
elites and they are organized as projects of doing good. The second question was: how do schools secure elite status? To answer this, I theorized a historical moment when elite status was threatened at three elite Canadian schools as a result of the unsettling of the racial balance of the student body. I showed the moves that the schools made to re-stabilize elite status and whiteness through the addition of white, local girls to the student body. This chapter showed how multicultural logic reinforces whiteness, and how reaching the saturation point of institutional diversity helped compel schools to seek out additional encounters by venturing beyond the ivy, a reaching that is authorized by the institutional goodness that diversity confers. The third question was: how do students take up this elite subject position at the site of the elite school? I showed the rhetorical, discursive, and emotional structures that are routes through which students have big, emotional experiences. These experiences are very effective at securing students’ moral distinction as global citizens that care for black children, a relation that I have shown to be a governmental one.

In presenting and analyzing texts, interviews, and observations through a critical race feminist lens, I have shown the central role of whiteness in making elite status through multiculturalism and humanitarianism. The first chapter theorized the elite school and canvassed the sparse literature on the production of elite subjectivity at the site of the school. Chapter two discussed the framework of multicultural and humanitarian modes of proximity, and explained the design of the study. In chapter three I analyzed the making of the elite subject, explaining Oriental and African discourses and the role of fantasy and desire in the encounter with racial others. Chapter four is a chronology of elite school encounters that demonstrates the continuities and discontinuities between the Grand Tour of the 19th century and later forms of travel. I considered Inuit scholarship students Sam and Ben who stayed at
Lakefield College School as part of an experiment in civilization, the hosting of war guests as reinscribing a white, imperial family, and exchange programs that developed out of the war guests programs as signaling a continuing commitment to institutional encounters with difference. I then theorized how the gap year industry demonstrates a further intensification of the desire for encountering difference abroad, and how this desire is institutionalized through volunteer abroad programs at Canadian elite schools. Chapter five considered the historical moment of co-education at Ridley College, Trinity College School, and Appleby College, and how a racial anxiety about increasing numbers of East Asian international students helped form the impetus for co-education. While each school could have met their quotas by filling their spots with East Asian boys, this would have compromised the whiteness, and hence the eliteness, of the school. I illustrated how this dual admission strategy secured whiteness in two ways, first by adding local (predominantly white) girls, and second, through strengthening the impulse of tolerance, a white disposition of welcoming others through difference (girls and international students). I show how a saturation point of difference was reached behind the ivy, and how this helped compel schools to go outside in order to seek out further encounters with difference, a venturing that was enabled by the institutional goodness of diversity. I considered two technologies of whiteness, the somatic norm (Puwar, 2004) and a white habitus (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Through an analysis of archival texts, I emphasized how the schools deployed a multicultural logic to sell whiteness. While encounters with racial difference at the school are ongoing, the volunteer abroad encounter offers an additional and uniquely salient encounter with racial strangers to further constitute moral distinction and elite status. Chapter six theorizes a South Africa volunteer trip and the selling of whiteness through encounters beyond the ivy. I consider the
humanitarian mode of proximity through a group of students from an elite girls’ school during their three-week volunteer trip in South Africa. I theorize various micropractices through which girls constitute elite subjectivity through the bodies of black children as a route to moral distinction.

Implications

This study offers that, on the whole, elite school humanitarianism is facilitated by multiculturalism, and that multicultural and humanitarian practices and programs sell whiteness. Further, this thesis suggests that volunteer abroad programs help to extend and secure the humanitarian industrial complex and reinforce global white supremacy. Given these findings, what are the implications of this study? In revealing the racial premise that lies at the center of the volunteer abroad encounter, I confront whether or not such programs should continue. Volunteer abroad programs tend to be imagined by elite schools as a form of social justice education, one that helps form global citizens and leaders. For example, the St. Andrew’s College website that I discussed in chapter four indicates that “international service projects” enable students to “develop a greater understanding of the need for equity in our world” so that students “may be motivated to take action toward the achievement of a more just society” (n.d., no page number). This study has analyzed the volunteer abroad encounter as a form of humanitarianism, an analysis that demonstrates that volunteer abroad programs are fundamentally at odds with social justice education. It would seem, then, that they should not continue. While I do not advocate volunteer abroad programs as the solution to anything, it is important to emphasize that simply staying home is not the answer, either. I agree with Mahrouse (2007, forthcoming), Heron (2007), Darnell (2007, 2012), and Ahmed (2000) that “avoiding the encounter does not help Westerners move away from our dominant
positions” (Mahrouse, 2007, p. 259). It would be easy to create a position of moral virtue and innocence through staying home, and we might imagine elite students describing their local encounters in university application letters in the place of letters describing participants’ volunteer abroad experiences. Darnell (2007) notes that it is not a question of a simple binary of going or not going abroad since this "does little to attend to the global inequalities” of these programs (p. 296). As chapter five on multiculturalism suggests, schools have other, well-established pathways for pursuing the same racial fantasies of becoming elite, as we see in the volunteer abroad programs. “We Day” and local humanitarian initiatives come to mind here. This thesis suggests that the racial route to elite status is deeply institutionalized and structural. The structural dimension to this production and accumulation of material, social, and cultural capital through the bodies of racial others weaves through the entire schooling experience. Accordingly, simply staying home does not abolish these exploitative economies; it simply re-routes them. I cautiously suggest, however, that staying home is nevertheless important because the encounter with difference abroad has long been a crucial site for the formation of elite status, not least because it requires considerable financial resources. There is a slim chance that eliminating this one site that is specific to elites, may have a destabilizing effect that compels elite schools to consider the source of their special status. It is at least clear that fixing and improving volunteer abroad trips by adding components of critical thinking will do little to disturb their overriding purpose, which is to solidify elite students’ sense of racial and thus moral superiority. If the girls who went to South Africa had learned about the history of apartheid beforehand, would they have been able to go into black townships so unselfconsciously superior? Can we teach elite girls about their own historical implication in underdeveloping Africa and still take them on trips there to help Africans?
This study suggests that, as pernicious as the impulse to moral superiority is, critically educated students are likely to experience cognitive dissonance and moral discomfort volunteering abroad. We can certainly hope so.

**Resistance**

When I present these findings and implications at conferences, I sometimes encounter resistance from educators. In this section I discuss three common forms that this resistance takes. First, educators sometimes feel that this study does not apply in the context of their own schools. Program directors might say that, “our programs aren’t like the ones that you describe. Our school is different. We have excellent training workshops for our volunteer abroad programs.” Sometimes educators assert, “but we have curriculum integration,” or “our trip leaders have expertise in this area,” “or “our students and teachers aren’t like the ones that you describe.” Other educators argue that the findings do not apply because their students are not seeking to help others, but are rather simply trying to build their resumes. In light of these assertions, I offer a few questions for educators to consider. To start, is the logic of white dominance institutionalized at the school? To assess this we might consider what the school leadership looks like, what the somatic norm of the school is, what excellence looks and sounds like, and how the school’s global citizen or leader is imagined in terms of embodiment. Second, what are the effects of multicultural and volunteer abroad programs? Do the multicultural initiatives re-center whiteness? Do they commodify difference for consumption and the making of personal and/or institutional gain (such as social capital or moral distinction)? Do the volunteer abroad programs emphasize the “new emotionality of the self” (Chouliaraki, 2013), that is, does the encounter abroad orient students towards themselves, and emphasize their sensitivity and feelings, with limited
engagement with social, political, historical, and geographic contexts and the humanity of others? How much does the volunteer abroad encounter reveal about the West’s complicity in the underdevelopment of the non-West?

A second resistance that I sometimes encounter is that volunteer abroad programs are simply too valuable for elite school students to consider abandoning them. While I have discussed in the previous section why I think that volunteer abroad programs should not continue, I wish to speak to this argument on the terrain of logic through which it is articulated. I suggest that volunteer abroad programs ultimately fail elite school students. By encouraging students to feel for others in very particular ways, different ways of feeling remain largely unfelt and unexplored. What other feelings remain hidden? What other ways of feeling and being are possible? Audre Lorde (1984) writes that, “it is true that in america (sic) white people, by and large, have more time and space to afford the luxury of scrutinizing their emotions” (p. 171). It is also true that, as Andrea Smith (2013) makes clear, reflecting on and confessing one’s privilege does not take us to transformation. Taking emotion as a starting point, I wish to emphasize that the humanitarian structure of care does not enable access to the depth and range of feelings that animate, for example, feminist subjectivities. Reflecting on “the role of emotions in the politicization of subjects” (p. 171), Ahmed (2004) traces her “coming into being as a feminist” through anger, pain, love, wonder, surprise, joy, and hope (p. 171). I suggest that the care, feeling fortunate, pleasure, outrage, and other feelings that I explored in the humanitarian encounter, fail to access the depth of feeling that is available to students, and that opens the door to other kinds of political subjectivities.
A third response that I have encountered when presenting these findings is, “But what should we do?” This thesis has questioned the impetus to do by showing how the desire to fix and improve is an imperially cultivated one that helps to secure, rather than subvert, historical and structural power inequities. This study suggests that this impetus is a pernicious one. While we risk echoing the politically conservative move to care less about others, I suggest that we interject some pause into the rush to go out and do, as Ahmed (2012) advises with respect to racism. Accordingly, and as I discussed in the previous section, we can start by being with the discomfort of not going out and doing. I now turn to the loose ends in this study.

**Gaps in this Study**

There are several areas that call for further analysis in my future work. I begin with two, overlapping areas. The first is how the girls of colour in this study, specifically, in the South Africa encounter, managed their subject positions in a project of whiteness. Certainly, the participants of colour in this study have expressed feelings and observations that seem differently attuned to the role of race in structuring the volunteer abroad encounter. For example, I noted that the East Asian international student described feeling “more Canadian” as a result of her volunteer abroad experience. I also noted that it was a student of colour who described troubling observations about race in South Africa that she “wanted to keep to [her]self.” I demonstrated that the teacher of colour had unique observations about race in the South African elite school classroom that were not shared by her white colleagues. There is more here to theorize, however, in terms of what it means to be a person of colour who engages in the racial micropractices of humanitarianism. For example, was this process of becoming elite through the bodies of other racial others more difficult for racialized subjects
than these vignettes capture? Indeed, for all the participants, were there moments of
dissonance, fragments of rupture that I did not capture, but that may have emerged with
different methodologies?

This dimension dovetails with the second opportunity for further critical analysis. In
theorizing the volunteer abroad encounter as a particularly compelling route to elite status, I
emphasized how this encounter enables participants of colour to become further enfolded
within institutional and national whiteness by taking part in the racial practices of
humanitarianism. That is, throughout this study I have emphasized the role of whiteness in
making elite status, and there are moments where I could better theorize affluence and the
difference that it makes in the encounters that I analyze. While the chapter on
multiculturalism suggests that affluence does not suffice to grant East Asian international
students full membership within the elite school family, the chapter on the humanitarian
encounter suggests that it is affluence that enables students of colour to enter into the racial
practice of humanitarianism and not see themselves in those who they encounter. Wealth
insulates all of the students and assists everyone, including students of colour, to make their
journey into whiteness. This is an important point to emphasize, particularly since, as I have
shown, elite schools tend to imagine that the relation of care permits students to transcend
differences in wealth. Rather, as I am suggesting here, affluence facilitates racial hierarchy
and dehumanization in the encounter. The fantasy of proximity that I describe in chapter six
helps participants to obscure that the humanity of the racial other goes missing in the
encounter. The interlocking dimension of race and affluence that I describe here also
suggests a need for greater nuance in theorizing the particular way in which Africa and
Africans are encountered by non-black racial others. Throughout this study I have grappled
with the complexities of an interlocking approach to theorizing power. Reflecting on the study as a whole helps reveal moments where particular threads of the race, gender, and class matrix call to be brought to the forefront of the analysis. The elite status of the students, that is, wealth, is one dimension that might be further theorized in the processes of becoming that I describe throughout this thesis.

Neoliberalism is a third dimension that calls to be deepened in future analysis. While I have emphasized neoliberal micropractices of fashioning a self, the macro components of neoliberalism are only hinted at within this study. For example, the neoliberal structural adjustment programs that serve the interests of globally northern countries and continue to decimate countries in the global south form a crucial condition of possibility for the volunteer abroad encounter. This thesis might better emphasize the structures of neoliberalism and their link with humanitarianism.

More information about how students prepared for their volunteer abroad trip would also enhance this study. Such a focus would include both how the school as a whole prepares students through formal curriculum and programs (such as literature courses and local service learning placements), the training process that students undertook as a group in the months leading up to the trip, and activities that students undertook individually. I would pursue the question: how were the girls prepared in advance to encounter South Africa, and how did they encounter it before they got there? While I have significant data about this process, I was not able to incorporate it into the project at this stage because I found the scope of the study to be rather large as it is. Going forward with the framework that I developed in this thesis, I will be able to theorize additional data that did not find its way into these pages. For example, the pre-trip reflection asked participants how they prepared for the South Africa
trip, and I addressed this topic in many of the interviews. Additionally, I have field notes from the group training meetings, which I took part in.

Finally, there is a methodological consideration that may be helpful for other researchers. In chapter six I tried to layer the data so that I was analyzing various sources of data together. While my approach to participant observation was to be as unobtrusive as possible, I have come to see that I could have given greater emphasis to the participant component of this dimension of the study. Specifically, it would have enriched the study to know more about how participants theorized some of the vignettes that I describe using my field notes. While I asked participants about these moments during interviews, oftentimes they did not elicit very detailed responses. A better approach may have been to work with the teachers and students to give prompts for journaling in the field. These students were very accustomed to journaling at school, and spent copious amounts of time each night in South Africa journaling about their experiences. I feel that it would have been fruitful, both for the study, and for the students, for me to identify these salient moments in the field, to ask students to write about them while we were away, and for students to share these journal responses with me before we returned to Canada. I also like the idea of giving participants the opportunity to record for their future selves a reflection on a difficult, or complex, moment. This would be different from a lot of the journaling that students did which tended to focus on recording everything that they did in a day. This greater emphasis on my role as participant might also have entailed me journaling on these topics in the field, too, and perhaps sharing something from my reflections with the students during or at the end of the trip, or following the interviews at home, even if I only shared questions that I had about
each scenario. There is a lot here to think through but I feel that this is an important methodological avenue to develop for future field research.

If we believe that we share a common humanity, then we must consider how we dehumanize others even as, and especially when, we imagine that we are helping them.
References


## Appendix A

### Elite Canadian Independent Schools Studied:

#### Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>City, Province</th>
<th>Stated Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Single-Sex/Co-Ed</th>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Day/Boarding</th>
<th>IB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appleby College</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Oakville, Ontario</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Co-Ed*</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branksome Hall</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>IB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crescent School</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>3-12</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havergal College</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakefield College School</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Lakefield, Ontario</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Co-Ed*</td>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley College</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>St. Catharines, Ontario</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Co-Ed*</td>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>IB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal St. George’s College</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>3-12</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew’s College</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Aurora, Ontario</td>
<td>Non-Denominational Christian</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>5-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity College School</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Port Hope, Ontario</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Co-Ed*</td>
<td>5-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Canada College</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>Day &amp; Boarding</td>
<td>IB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The co-ed schools listed were previously all-boys’ schools
Appendix B
Elite Canadian Independent Schools Studied:
International Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Round Square (RS)</th>
<th>Me to We relationship (MTW)*</th>
<th>Duke of Edinburgh (DOE)</th>
<th>Recent volunteer abroad trips</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appleby College</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Belize, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Ghana, Panama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branksome Hall</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Cambodia, Costa Rica, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crescent School</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Cambodia, India, Nicaragua, South Africa, Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havergal College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Dominican Republic, Ghana, Nicaragua, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakefield College School</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Cambodia, Honduras, India, Kenya, Peru, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Jamaica, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal St. George’s College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Tanzania, Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew’s College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Brazil, Chile, Kenya, Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity College School</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Ecuador, Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Canada College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MTW</td>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>China, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Peru, Thailand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Me to We relationships can include trips, We Day, student groups, and/or fundraising
Appendix C

Previous Participant Recruitment Email Sent Via the Volunteer Abroad Program Department at Manorwood School

Dear Manorwood students, faculty, staff, alum, and friends,

I am writing to invite you to participate in a 60-75 minute interview about the South Africa excursion that you participated in through your school. I am a PhD student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto and for part of the thesis component of my degree I have partnered with Manorwood School to conduct a case study of current and previous South Africa trips.

I am interested in your reflections about your experiences in South Africa to understand the impact that your travel may have had on your identity. I am particularly interested in what you may have experienced and learned about nationality, gender, and race during your trip to South Africa.

While no compensation is being provided for participation in this study, the interview process sometimes provides individuals with greater insight and critical understanding of their experiences. In addition, the information collected for this project may assist educators, researchers, parents, and students to better understand what students learn through international development volunteer tourism and the impact of these programs.

The interview will be booked at your convenience and conducted in person or by phone. If you are interested in participating in this study or if you have questions about participating in this study, please contact me at leila.angod@utoronto.ca or [phone number].

Sincerely,

Leila Angod
Doctoral Student
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
Appendix D

Information and Consent and Assent Form:
Manorwood Parents and Students
(Current South Africa Trip Participants)

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism:
Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

Dear (name/s of parent/s / legal guardian/s) and (name of student),

I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto and am working under the supervision of Professor Sherene Razack (sherene.razack@utoronto.ca). For part of the thesis component of my degree requirement I have partnered with Manorwood School to conduct a case study of the South Africa trip.

The objective of the study is to understand how volunteering and traveling abroad shapes students’ identities. I am particularly interested in what students learn about nationality, gender, and race through their experiences in South Africa. Generally, my study is about the possibilities and limitations of high school international development programs.

To learn more about students’ perspectives I am inviting each of the girls as well as faculty members to participate in this project through a written reflection, a post-trip 60-75 minute interview, sharing personal journals and/or photographs, and by granting me permission to observe their daily volunteer and tourist activities throughout the South Africa trip. I will shadow the group as a participant observer and take notes on my own experiences and those of students and staff who choose to participate in the study.

No compensation will be provided for participation in this study. However, the information collected for this project may assist educators, researchers, parents, and students to better understand what students learn through international development volunteer tourism and the impact of these programs.

If you and your daughter agree for her to participate, please read the attached Consent and Assent Forms, return one signed copy to me, and keep one copy for your records.

If you have any questions, or would like further information about this project and your participation, please contact me. If you have questions regarding your/your daughter’s rights as a participant, please contact the University of Toronto’s Ethics Review Office at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Sincerely,

Leila Angod
Parent/Legal Guardian Consent Form

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism:
Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

I agree for [student’s first and last name] to participate in the doctoral student research project about international development volunteer tourism conducted by Leila Angod (principal investigator) in the department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. [Student’s first name to be used for the remainder of the letter] will participate in the following:

1. A written reflection - This will be disseminated on the plane ride to South Africa. The questions will center on students’ expectations about their trip.

2. A 60-75 minute post-trip interview - This will be conducted in person or by phone and will be scheduled at [student’s name] convenience in [date range]. The call will be recorded and transcribed. Questions will focus on students’ experiences.

3. Participant observation - The principal investigator will shadow the group throughout their activities in [city name]. Staff and students who agree to be part of the study will be observed as they go about their daily activities outlined in the trip itinerary. I agree for the principal investigator to observe my daughter’s volunteer and tourist activities and for the principal investigator to record written notes of observations throughout. Any conversations the principal investigator might be included in the data collection. I understand that the principal investigator will not take photographs or audio/audio-visual recordings as part of the research.

4. Personal journals and/or photographs - When we return from South Africa my daughter will be invited to share any journals and/or photographs from her trip to be included as part of this study if she wishes to do so. She is also invited to permit journals and photographs of other participants that mention or show her to be used for the research; if [student’s name] does not agree, the principal investigator will not include in the data any images or writing submitted by other participants that reference [student’s name]. The photographs will not be published in any report or shown in any presentation. Rather, they will be analyzed as data.

[Student’s name] is under no obligation to participate in this project. Participation is voluntary and students and faculty can participate in the trip without participating in the research. The principal investigator will respect the wishes of those who wish to participate and those who might not wish to participate. Choosing not to participate in this study will not affect academic grades or relationships at Manorwood. [Student’s name] may refuse to
answer any questions, to stop an interview at any time, or to withdraw from the study by notifying the principal investigator or either of the trip leaders orally or in writing and without negative consequences.

The principal investigator will respect privacy and confidentiality to the extent permitted by law. If [student’s name] experiences any emotional distress or upset during an interview or conversation the principal investigator may contact a trip leader to speak with my daughter and offer support. Manorwood will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be named in any report, presentation, or publication which may result from this study. The school will be referred to as an all-girls’ school located in a major Canadian city. Similarly, participants will be given pseudonyms for any report, presentation, or publication that comes out of this study and they will not be identified. The principal investigator will endeavor to conceal other personal characteristics and details about participants which could reveal their identities. However, there are limits to the degree of confidentiality that can be provided and it is possible that the identity of the school, and of the participants, might still be known by some. Because the total population of students on the trip is [...] this may create limits to confidentiality in the sense that participants might be recognizable in reports.

Interview recordings, transcriptions, photographs, and notes, as well as participant observation notes, will be accessible to the principal investigator and graduate supervisor only. The information collected in this study will not be made available to Manorwood School, or any other individuals or organizations. Rather, overall, thematic findings from the study will be shared with the board, staff, and Principal of Manorwood School. No individual responses or observations of students or staff will be shared with Manorwood or any other party. As per University of Toronto requirements, the data collected will be kept on an encrypted portable USB key and forms will be stored in a locked cabinet. No information will be released or printed that may disclose any personal identity and all research data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the project.

No compensation will be provided in return for participation in this study. [Student’s name] may or may not benefit directly from the project in terms of depth of reflection about her experiences, and the information gained may assist the understanding and development of international development volunteer tourism at the secondary school level. The principal investigator will debrief the group as a whole and my daughter may choose to withdraw from the study following the debriefing by notifying the principal investigator or either of the faculty trip leaders. Participants will receive a one-page summary of the findings and the full thesis will be available upon request.

In addition to this research project, the principal investigator, as a consultant, is conducting pre-trip and post-trip surveys for Manorwood School to ask staff and student participants in all 2012 global excursions about their experiences. Unlike the doctoral study, the objective of the survey is not to understand students’ identities but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of the global excursion programs against program goals. Staff and students have been informed that these are two separate roles played by the principal investigator and that these are separate data sets. The survey data is for Manorwood and will be handed over to them; it will not be used for this doctoral research study. The South Africa study is for the doctoral
project; it will not be shared with the school.

I understand what this study involves and have had the opportunity for my questions to be answered. I have been given a copy of this consent form. I agree for my daughter to participate in the following aspects of the study:

A pre-trip written reflection

Name (print): ____________________________________________

Name (sign): ____________________________________________

Date: ___________________________________________________

A post-trip interview that is audio recorded

Name (sign): ____________________________________________

An observation in South Africa

Name (sign): ____________________________________________

To share personal journals and/or photographs from the trip. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ____________________________________________

To include in the study third-party journals and/or photographs belonging to other participants that show images of or mention (student’s name). The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ____________________________________________
Student Assent Form

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism: Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

I agree to participate in the case study about South Africa conducted by Leila Angod (principal investigator) in the department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. I will participate in the following:

1. A written reflection - This will be handed out on the plane ride to South Africa. The questions will center on students’ expectations about their trip.

2. A 60-75 minute post-trip interview - This will be conducted in-person or by phone in [date range] and scheduled at my convenience. The call will be recorded and transcribed (converted into text), and the questions will focus on experiences that stand out for me from the trip, and what I learned about myself and others.

3. A 3-week participant observation in South Africa - The principal investigator will shadow the group throughout our activities in [city name]. Me and the others who agree to be part of the study will be observed as we go about our daily activities described in the trip itinerary. The principal investigator will observe my volunteer, tourist, and educational activities and record written notes of her observations as we go. She will not take photographs or audio/audio-visual recordings as part of the research.

4. Journals and/or photographs - When we return from South Africa I will be invited to share any journals and/or photographs from my trip to be included as part of this study if I wish. I am also invited to allow journals and photographs of other participants that mention or show me to be used for the research; if I do not agree, the principal investigator will not include in the data any images or writing submitted by other participants that reference me. The photographs will not be published in any report or shown in any presentation. Rather, they will be analyzed as data.

I am not required to participate in this project. Participation is voluntary and students and faculty can participate in the trip without participating in the research. The principal investigator will respect the wishes of those who wish to participate and those who might not wish to participate. Choosing not to participate in this study will not affect my academic grades or relationships at Manorwood. I may refuse to answer any interview questions, to stop an interview at any time, or to drop out of the study by notifying the principal investigator or my trip leaders orally or in writing (email) and without negative consequences.

The principal investigator will respect privacy and confidentiality to the extent permitted by law. If I feel upset by any questions on the reflection exercise or during an interview the principal investigator may contact a trip leader to speak with me and offer support. Manorwood School will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be named in any report,
presentation, or publication which may result from this study. The school will be referred to as an all-girls’ school located in a major Canadian city. Participants, including me, will also be given pseudonyms (fictional/false names) for any report, presentation, or publication that comes out of this study and we will not be identified. The principal investigator will aim to conceal other personal characteristics and details about me and the others in this study to help keep our identities hidden. This confidentiality is normal in research to respect people’s privacy. However, there are limits to the degree of confidentiality that can be provided and it is possible that the identity of the school, and of me and the others participating in the study, might still be known by some people. Because the total population of students on the trip is [omitted], this may create limits to confidentiality in the sense that participants might be recognizable in reports.

Interview recordings, transcriptions, photographs, and notes, including participant observation notes, will be accessible to the principal investigator and graduate supervisor only. The information collected in this study (interviews and notes about activities in South Africa) will not be given or shown to anyone at Manorwood School, or any other individual or organization. Instead, only the main findings and themes from the study will be shared with the board, staff, and Principal of Manorwood School. This means that no one at Manorwood will see what I said in the interviews or read notes about my personal experiences in South Africa. The data collected will be kept on an encrypted USB key and any forms will be stored in a locked cabinet. No information will be released or printed that may reveal any personal identity, and all research information will be destroyed five years after the project is finished.

I will not receive any money or gifts for participating in this study and while I may not benefit directly from this research, the information collected may give me a better understanding of my own experiences and help others with the understanding and development of secondary school global excursion programs. The principal investigator will meet with the group to conduct a debriefing and I may withdraw from the study after the debriefing by emailing or speaking to the principal investigator or one of the trip leaders. I will be provided with a one-page summary of the findings of this study and the full thesis will be available upon request.

In addition to this research project, the principal investigator, as a consultant, is conducting pre-trip and post-trip surveys for Manorwood; she is surveying staff and student participants of all 2012 global excursions to ask them about their experiences. Unlike the doctoral study explained here, the objective of that survey is not to understand students’ identities but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of the global excursion programs against program goals. These are two separate roles played by the principal investigator and that these are separate data sets. The survey data is for Manorwood and will be handed over to them; it will not be used for this doctoral research study. The South Africa study is for the doctoral project; it will not be shared with the school.

I understand what this study involves and have had the opportunity for my questions to be answered. I have been given a copy of this consent form. I agree to participate in the following aspects of the study:
A pre-trip written reflection

Name (print): ________________________________________________

Name (sign): ________________________________________________

Date: _______________________________________________________

A post-trip interview that is audio recorded

Name (sign): ________________________________________________

An observation in South Africa

Name (sign): ________________________________________________

To share personal journals and/or photographs from the trip. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ________________________________________________

To include in the study third-party journals and/or photographs belonging to other participants that show images of or mention me. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ________________________________________________
Appendix E

Information and Consent Form:
Manorwood Faculty
(Current South Africa Trip Participants)

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism:
Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

Dear (name of faculty member),

I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto and am working under the supervision of Professor Sherene Razack (sherene.razack@utoronto.ca). For the thesis component of my degree requirement I have partnered with Manorwood School to conduct a case study of the South Africa trip.

The objective of the study is to understand how volunteering and traveling abroad shapes students’ identities. I am particularly interested in what students learn about nationality, gender, and race through their experiences in South Africa. Generally, my study is about the limitations and possibilities of high school international development programs. Your experiences and observations while leading this trip are an important piece of the overall picture of the students’ experiences, as well as how the program works.

To learn more about students’ perspectives I am inviting each of the ten girls as well as both faculty members to participate in this project through a written reflection, a 60-75 minute interview, sharing personal journals and/or photographs, and by granting me permission to observe your daily volunteer and tourist activities throughout the South Africa trip. I will shadow the group as a participant observer and take notes on my own experiences and those of students and staff who choose to participate in the study.

No compensation will be provided for participation in this study. However, the information collected for this project may assist educators, researchers, parents, and students to better understand what students learn through international development volunteer tourism and the impact of these programs.

If you agree to participate, please read the attached Consent Form, return one signed copy to me, and keep one copy for your records.

If you have any questions, or would like further information about this project and your participation, please contact me. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant, please contact the University of Toronto’s Ethics Review Office at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Sincerely,
Faculty Consent Form

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism:
Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

I agree to participate in the case study about South Africa conducted by Leila Angod (principal investigator) in the department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. I will participate in the following:

1. A written reflection - This will be handed out on the plane ride to South Africa. The questions will center on my expectations about the trip.

2. A 60-75 minute post-trip interview - This will be conducted in-person or by phone in September/October and scheduled at my convenience. The call will be recorded and transcribed and the questions will focus on experiences that stand out for me from the trip, and what I learned about myself and others.

3. A 3-week participant observation in South Africa - The principal investigator will shadow the group throughout our activities in [city name]. Participants in the study will be observed as we go about our daily activities described in the trip itinerary. The principal investigator will observe my volunteer, tourist, and educational activities and record written notes of her observations as we go. She will not take photographs or audio/audio-visual recordings as part of the research.

4. Journals and/or photographs - When we return from South Africa I will be invited to share any journals and/or photographs from my trip to be included as part of this study if I wish. I am also invited to allow journals and photographs of other participants that mention or show me to be used for the research; if I do not agree, the principal investigator will not include in the data any images or writing submitted by other participants that reference me. The photographs will not be published in any report or shown in any presentation. Rather, they will be analyzed as data.

I am not required to participate in this project. Participation is voluntary and students and faculty can participate in the trip without participating in the research. The principal investigator will respect the wishes of those who wish to participate and those who might not wish to participate. Choosing not to participate in this study will not affect my relationships at Manorwood. I may refuse to answer any interview questions, to stop an interview at any
time, or to drop out of the study by notifying the principal investigator orally or in writing (email) and without negative consequences.

The principal investigator will respect my privacy and confidentiality to the extent permitted by law. Manorwood School will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be named in any report, presentation, or publication which may result from this study. The school will be referred to as an all-girls’ school located in a major Canadian city. Participants will also be given pseudonyms for any report, presentation, or publication that comes out of this study and we will not be identified. The principal investigator will aim to conceal other personal characteristics and details about me and the others in this study to help keep our identities hidden. This confidentiality is normal in research to respect people’s privacy. However, there are limits to the degree of confidentiality that can be provided and it is possible that the identity of the school, and of me and the others participating in the study, might still be known by some people. Because the total population of students on the trip is [omitted], this may create limits to confidentiality in the sense that participants might be recognizable in reports.

Interview recordings, transcriptions, photographs, and notes, including participant observation notes, will be accessible to the principal investigator and graduate supervisor only. The information collected in this study (interviews and notes about activities in South Africa) will not be given or shown to anyone at Manorwood or any other individual or organization. Instead, only the main findings and themes from the study will be shared with the board, staff, and Principal of Manorwood School. This means that no one at Manorwood will see what I said in the interviews or read notes about my personal experiences in South Africa. The data collected will be kept on an encrypted USB key and any forms will be stored in a locked cabinet. No information will be released or printed that may reveal any personal identity, and all research information will be destroyed five years after the project is finished.

I will not receive any money or gifts for participating in this study and while I may not benefit directly from this research, the information collected may give me a better understanding of my own experiences and help others with the understanding and development of secondary school global excursion programs. The principal investigator will meet with the group to conduct a debriefing and I may withdraw from the study after the debriefing by emailing or speaking to the principal investigator. I will be provided with a one-page summary of the findings of this study and the full thesis will be available upon request.

In addition to this research project, the principal investigator, as a consultant, is conducting pre-trip and post-trip surveys for Manorwood School; she is surveying staff and student participants of all 2012 global excursions to ask them about their experiences. Unlike the doctoral study explained here, the objective of that survey is not to understand students’ identities but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of the global excursion programs against program goals. These are two separate roles played by the principal investigator and that these are separate data sets. The survey data is for Manorwood and will be handed over to them; it will not be used for this doctoral research study. The South Africa study is for the
doctoral project; it will not be shared with the school.

I understand what this study involves and have had the opportunity for my questions to be answered. I have been given a copy of this consent form. I agree to participate in the following aspects of the study:

A pre-trip written reflection

Name (print): ______________________________________________

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

Date: _____________________________________________________

A post-trip interview that is audio recorded

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

An observation in South Africa

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

To share personal journals and/or photographs from the trip. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

To include in the study third-party journals and/or photographs belonging to other participants that show my images or mention me. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ______________________________________________
Appendix F

Information and Consent and Assent Form:
Manorwood Parents and Students
(Previous South Africa Trip Participants)

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism:
Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

Dear (name/s of parent/s / legal guardian/s) and (name of student),

I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto and am working under the supervision of Professor Sherene Razack (sherene.razack@utoronto.ca). For the thesis component of my degree requirement I have partnered with Manorwood School to conduct a case study of the current and previous participants in the South Africa global excursion.

The objective of the study is to understand how volunteering and traveling abroad shapes students’ identities. I am particularly interested in what students learn about nationality, gender, and race through their experiences in South Africa. Generally, my study is about the possibilities and limitations of high school international development programs.

To learn more about students’ perspectives I am inviting former participants to take part in this project through a post-trip 60-75 minute interview and to share personal journals and photographs from the trip.

No compensation will be provided for participation in this study. However, the information collected for this project may assist educators, researchers, parents, and students to better understand what students learn through international development volunteer tourism and the impact of these programs.

If you and your daughter agree for her to participate, please read the attached Consent and Assent Forms, return one signed copy to me, and keep one copy for your records.

If you have any questions, or would like further information about this project and your participation, please contact me. If you have questions regarding your/your daughter’s rights as a participant, please contact the University of Toronto’s Ethics Review Office at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Sincerely,

Leila Angod
Doctoral Student
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
Parent/Legal Guardian Consent Form

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism: Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

I agree for [student’s first and last name] to participate in the doctoral student research project about international development volunteer tourism conducted by Leila Angod (principal investigator) in the department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. ([Student’s first name] to be used for the remainder of the letter) will participate in the following:

1. A 60-75 minute interview - This will be conducted in person or by phone and will be scheduled at [student’s name] convenience. The call will be recorded and transcribed. Questions will focus on students’ experiences.

2. Journals and/or photographs - My daughter is invited to share any journals and/or photographs from her trip to be included as part of this study if she wishes to do so. She is also invited to permit journals and photographs of other participants that mention or show her to be used for the research; if [student’s name] does not agree, the principal investigator will not include in the data any images or writing submitted by other participants that reference [student’s name]. The photographs will not be published in any report or shown in any presentation. Rather, they will be analyzed as data.

[Student’s name] is under no obligation to participate in this project. Participation is voluntary. The principal investigator will respect the wishes of those who wish to participate and those who might not wish to participate. Choosing not to participate in this study will not affect academic grades or relationships at Manorwood. [Student’s name] may refuse to answer any questions, to stop an interview at any time, or to withdraw from the study by notifying the principal investigator orally or in writing and without negative consequences.

The principal investigator will respect privacy and confidentiality to the extent permitted by law. Manorwood School will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be named in any report, presentation, or publication which may result from this study. The school will be referred to as an all-girls’ school located in a major Canadian city. Similarly, each participant will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be identified in any report, presentation, or publication which may result from this study. The principal investigator will endeavour to conceal other personal characteristics and details about participants which could reveal their identities. However, there are limits to the degree of confidentiality that can be provided and it is possible that the identity of the school, and of the participants, might still be known by some. Because the total population of students and staff who have attended these trips is limited, this may create limits to confidentiality in the sense that participants might be recognizable in reports.
Interview recordings, transcriptions, photographs, and notes will be accessible to the principal investigator and graduate supervisor only. The information collected in this study will not be made available to Manorwood or any other individuals or organizations. Rather, overall, thematic findings from the study will be shared with the board, staff, and Principal of Manorwood School. No individual responses or observations of students or staff will be shared with Manorwood or any other party. As per University of Toronto requirements, the data collected will be kept on an encrypted portable USB key and forms will be stored in a locked cabinet. No information will be released or printed that may disclose any personal identity and all research data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the project.

No compensation will be provided in return for participation in this study. [Student’s name] may or may not benefit directly from the project in terms of depth of reflection about her experiences, and the information gained may assist the understanding and development of international development volunteer tourism at the secondary school level. The principal investigator will email participants to set up a debriefing by phone or in person. My daughter may choose to withdraw from the study following the debriefing by notifying the principal investigator. Participants will receive a one-page summary of the findings and the full thesis will be available upon request.

In addition to this research project, the principal investigator, as a consultant, is conducting pre-trip and post-trip surveys for Manorwood School to ask staff and student participants in all 2012 global excursions about their experiences. Unlike the doctoral study, the objective of the survey is not to understand students’ identities but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of the global excursion programs against program goals. Staff and students have been informed that these are two separate roles played by the principal investigator and that these are separate data sets. The survey data is for Manorwood and will be handed over to them; it will not be used for this doctoral research study. The South Africa study is for the doctoral project; it will not be shared with the school.

I understand what this study involves and have had the opportunity for my questions to be answered. I have been given a copy of this consent form. I agree for my daughter to participate in the following aspects of the study:

An interview that is audio recorded

Name (print): _____________________________________________
Name (sign): _____________________________________________
Date: ___________________________________________________

To share personal journals and/or photographs from the trip. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): _____________________________________________

To include in the study third-party journals and/or photographs belonging to other
participants that show images of or mention (student’s name). The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ______________________________________________________
Student Assent Form

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism: Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

I agree to participate in the case study about South Africa conducted by Leila Angod (principal investigator) in the department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. I will participate in the following:

1. A 60-75 minute interview - This will be conducted in-person or by phone and scheduled at my convenience. The call will be recorded and transcribed (converted into text), and the questions will focus on experiences that stand out for me from the trip, and what I learned about myself and others.

2. Journals and/or photographs - I am invited to share any journals and/or photographs from my trip to be included as part of this study if I wish. I am also invited to allow journals and photographs of other participants that mention or show me to be used for the research; if I do not agree, the principal investigator will not include in the data any images or writing submitted by other participants that reference me. The photographs will not be published in any report or shown in any presentation. Rather, they will be analyzed as data.

3. I am not required to participate in this project. Participation is voluntary and students and faculty can participate in the trip without participating in the research. The principal investigator will respect the wishes of those who wish to participate and those who might not wish to participate. Choosing not to participate in this study will not affect my academic grades or relationships at Manorwood. I may refuse to answer any interview questions, to stop an interview at any time, or to drop out of the study by notifying the principal investigator orally or in writing (email) and without negative consequences.

The principal investigator will respect my privacy and confidentiality to the extent permitted by law. If I am a current Manorwood student and I feel upset by any questions on the reflection exercise or during an interview the principal investigator may contact a school counsellor to speak with me and offer support. Any report, presentation, or publication that comes out of this study will not name Manorwood School. Instead, the school will have a pseudonym (fictional/false name). The school will be referred to as an all-girls’ school located in a major Canadian city. Participants will also be given pseudonyms (fictional/false names) for any report, presentation, or publication that comes out of this study and will not be identified. The principal investigator will aim to conceal other personal characteristics and details about me and the others in this study to help keep our identities hidden. This confidentiality is normal in research to respect people’s privacy. However, there are limits to the degree of confidentiality that can be provided and it is possible that the identity of the school, and of me and the others participating in the study, might still be known by some people. Because the total population of students and staff who have attended this trips is limited, this may create limits to confidentiality in the sense that participants might be recognizable in reports.
Interview recordings, transcriptions, photographs, and notes will be accessible to the principal investigator and graduate supervisor only. The information collected in this study will not be given or shown to anyone at Manorwood or any other individual or organization. Instead, only the main findings and themes from the study will be shared with the board, staff, and Principal of Manorwood School. This means that no one at Manorwood will see what I said in the interviews or read notes about my personal experiences in South Africa. The data collected will be kept on an encrypted USB key and any forms will be stored in a locked cabinet. No information will be released or printed that may reveal any personal identity, and all research information will be destroyed five years after the project is finished.

I will not receive any money or gifts for participating in this study and while I may not benefit directly from this research, the information collected may give me a better understanding of my own experiences and help others with the understanding and development of secondary school global excursion programs. The principal investigator will email me to set up a debriefing in person or by phone and I may withdraw from the study after the debriefing by emailing or speaking to the principal investigator. I will be provided with a one-page summary of the findings of this study and the full thesis will be available upon request.

In addition to this research project, the principal investigator, as a consultant, is conducting pre-trip and post-trip surveys for Manorwood School; she is interviewing staff and student participants of all 2012 global excursions to ask them about their experiences. Unlike the doctoral study explained here, the objective of that survey is not to understand students’ identities but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of the global excursion programs against program goals. These are two separate roles played by the principal investigator and that these are separate data sets. The survey data is for Manorwood and will be handed over to them; it will not be used for this doctoral research study. The South Africa study is for the doctoral project; it will not be shared with the school.

I understand what this study involves and have had the opportunity for my questions to be answered. I have been given a copy of this consent form. I agree to participate in the following aspects of the study:
An interview that is audio recorded

Name (print): ______________________________________________

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

Date: ________________________________________________

To share personal journals and/or photographs from the trip. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

To include in the study third-party journals and/or photographs belonging to other participants that show images of or mention me. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ______________________________________________
Appendix G

Information and Consent Form:
Manorwood Faculty
(Previous South Africa Trip Participants)

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism:
Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

Dear (name of faculty member),

I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto and am working under the supervision of Professor Sherene Razack. For the thesis component of my degree requirement I have partnered with Manorwood School to conduct a case study of the South Africa trip.

The objective of the study is to understand how volunteering and traveling abroad shapes students’ identities. I am particularly interested in what students learn about nationality, gender, and race through their experiences in South Africa. Generally, my study is about the limitations and possibilities of high school international development programs. Your experiences and observations while leading this trip are an important piece of the overall picture of the students’ experiences, as well as how the program works.

To learn more about students’ perspectives I am inviting former participants to take part in this project through a post-trip 60-75 minute interview and to share personal journals and photographs from the trip.

No compensation will be provided for participation in this study. However, the information collected for this project may assist educators, researchers, parents, and students to better understand what students learn through international development volunteer tourism and the impact of these programs.

If you agree to participate, please read the attached Consent Form, return one signed copy to me, and keep one copy for your records.

If you have any questions, or would like further information about this project and your participation, please contact me. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant, please contact the University of Toronto’s Ethics Review Office at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Sincerely,

Leila Angod
Doctoral Student
Faculty Consent Form

Secondary School International Development Volunteer Tourism: Perceptions of Canadian Identity, Race, and Gender

I agree to participate in the case study about South Africa conducted by Leila Angod (principal investigator) in the department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. I will participate in the following:

1. A 60-75 minute interview - This will be conducted in-person or by phone and scheduled at my convenience. The call will be recorded and transcribed and the questions will focus on experiences that stand out for me from the trip, and what I learned about myself and others.

2. Journals and/or photographs - I am invited to share any journals and/or photographs from my trip to be included as part of this study if I wish. I am also invited to allow journals and photographs of other participants that mention or show me to be used for the research; if I do not agree, the principal investigator will not include in the data any images or writing submitted by other participants that reference me. The photographs will not be published in any report or shown in any presentation. Rather, they will be analyzed as data.

I am not required to participate in this project. Participation is voluntary and students and faculty can participate in the trip without participating in the research. The principal investigator will respect the wishes of those who wish to participate and those who might not wish to participate. Choosing not to participate in this study will not affect my relationships at Manorwood. I may refuse to answer any interview questions, to stop an interview at any time, or to drop out of the study by notifying the principal investigator orally or in writing (email) and without negative consequences.

The principal investigator will respect my privacy and confidentiality to the extent permitted by law. Manorwood School will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be named in any report, presentation, or publication which may result from this study. The school will be referred to as an all-girls’ school located in a major Canadian city. Participants will also be given pseudonyms for any report, presentation, or publication that comes out of this study and we will not be identified. The principal investigator will aim to conceal other personal characteristics and details about participants in this study to help keep our identities hidden. This confidentiality is normal in research to respect people’s privacy. However, there are limits to the degree of confidentiality that can be provided and it is possible that the identity of the school, and of participants in the study, might still be known by some people. Because the total population of students and staff who have attended this trips is limited, this may create limits to confidentiality in the sense that participants might be recognizable in reports.
Interview recordings, transcriptions, photographs, and notes will be accessible to the principal investigator and graduate supervisor only. The information collected in this study (interviews and notes about activities in South Africa) will not be given or shown to anyone at Manorwood School or any other individual or organization. Instead, only the main findings and themes from the study will be shared with the board, staff, and Principal of Manorwood School. This means that no one at Manorwood School will see what I said in the interviews or read notes about my personal experiences in South Africa. The data collected will be kept on an encrypted USB key and any forms will be stored in a locked cabinet. No information will be released or printed that may reveal any personal identity, and all research information will be destroyed five years after the project is finished.

I will not receive any money or gifts for participating in this study and that while I may not benefit directly from this research, the information collected may give me a better understanding of my own experiences and help others with the understanding and development of secondary school global excursion programs. The principal investigator will email me to schedule a debriefing and I may withdraw from the study after the debriefing by emailing or speaking to the principal investigator. I will be provided with a one-page summary of the findings of this study and the full thesis will be available upon request.

In addition to this research project, the principal investigator, as a consultant, is conducting pre-trip and post-trip surveys for Manorwood; she is surveying staff and student participants of all 2012 global excursions to ask them about their experiences. Unlike the doctoral study explained here, the objective of that survey is not to understand students’ identities but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of the global excursion programs against program goals. These are two separate roles played by the principal investigator and these are separate data sets. The survey data is for Manorwood and will be handed over to them; it will not be used for this doctoral research study. The South Africa study is for the doctoral project; it will not be shared with the school.

I understand what this study involves and have had the opportunity for my questions to be answered. I have been given a copy of this consent form. I agree to participate in the following aspects of the study:

An interview that is audio recorded

Name (print): ______________________________________________

Name (sign): ______________________________________________

Date: _____________________________________________________

To share personal journals and/or photographs from the trip. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): ______________________________________________
To include in the study third-party journals and/or photographs belonging to other participants that show my images or mention me. The photographs are for data analysis only and will not be published or shown in any presentation.

Name (sign): _______________________________________________
A Pre-Reflection Reflection

This reflection is an instrument to open conversations. It has two purposes: for us to get to know each other a bit better, and for you to provide me with a glimpse of how you're approaching this trip in terms of hopes, feelings, and motivations.

You might find that this reflection assists you to understand and articulate some of your thoughts as we begin this journey. For me, creating the questions helped me to uncover my own interests and ideas about this trip, and I hope that as you read through this reflection you'll get somewhat of a sense of me and what I find interesting.

I invite you to see this reflection as a conversation between us. During the three weeks that we are travelling together I am enthusiastically available to provide my answers to these questions to you during our conversations, as well as to answer any other questions that you may have. And if your answers change, or you think of something else that you'd like to talk about, I would love to hear your ideas. I'll be on email throughout the trip in case you'd rather write me about something related to your experiences. You'll find my email address on previous group emails.

Turning to the 8 questions in this reflection, what are the "right" answers? The right answers are usually the ones that first come to mind. They are the thoughts that get through before your mind starts to filter, rationalize, and doubt. These pages are a space to brainstorm, jot down words and images that pop into your mind, sketch diagrams, and share not only answers but also any questions that ay come up for you. And, as always, if there is something that you'd prefer not to answer, do leave it blank.

You're welcome to discuss your responses with a friend if you like. And do wave me over if you have any questions.

Happy flying,
Leila
1. Tell me about your interests. For example, what do you enjoy doing? Perhaps you have accomplishments in a particular area that you're especially proud of that you'd like to share? Or topics that you enjoy watching movies about or reading up on? Or maybe you have a really clear sense of what your life purpose is? Nothing is too big or too small to include here.

2. Describe your family's ethnic background. Think of languages spoken, cultural traditions, countries where family members immigrated from, etc. Is your ethnic heritage central to who you are? Explain.

3. Do you think of yourself as belong to a particular race? yes / no

Explain your response. If you responded "yes," in your own words what racial group(s) do you think of yourself as belonging to? (Don't worry about using "the wrong" name for a particular racial group. Just use whatever words/categories you feel are right.)

4. Describe 1 or 2 things that you are most looking forward to on this trip.

5. Why did you choose to participate in the global excursion program, and why did you choose to visit South Africa in particular?

6. Did you do any preparation for this trip beyond the group meetings? Are there particular movies, books, photographs, websites, etc. that you reviewed beforehand? Or people that you spoke with?

8. What do you hope to gain from this experience?
Appendix I
Script for the Township School

Translated into and delivered in Zulu by an NGO staff member.

Visiting us along with the Manorwood group is Leila Angod, a university student from Toronto, Canada. It is her first time in South Africa and she is very happy to be at the school and to spend some time together with you. Leila is doing a project about the Manorwood group to understand what they learn from their experiences in South Africa. She will write a book about this topic. Leila will observe the Manorwood students as they work with us and she will take notes about their activities with you. She will not record your names or any personal information about you. It is your choice to be observed or not. If you choose not to be observed, that is perfectly okay with me, [school name], Leila, and the Manorwood group. You will do exactly the same activities, except that Leila will not take notes about the Manorwood students’ interactions with you. If you do not want to be observed or decide later that you don’t want to be observed, or if at any time you feel uncomfortable about what I have described, or if you have questions, please come see me or Leila at any time. We are both very happy to talk with you.
Appendix J
Participant Observation Matrix

**Direct Observation**

These comprise both the jotted notes taken during the observation and the full field notes written, later that day following the observation. The jotted notes are meant to jog my memory for the later full field notes.

I aim to:

Record as many details as possible.

Use direct quotes and refrain from paraphrasing and summarizing.

Record events in the order they occur.

Things to pay attention to: dialogue accessories (nonverbal, props, tone, speed, volume, gestures); the physical surroundings; individuals’ age/sex/race/stature/dress; group interactions; interactions with others; small talk; schedules; routines; activities; goals; analogies; tools, and pedagogy.

**Inference**

This is my interpretation of the direct observation.

**Analytic**

Neuman & Robson (2009) describe these notes as “systematic digressions into theory” (p. 284).

Here I will use the concepts from my theoretical framework, adding further theoretical concepts as necessitated by the observations.

**Personal**

My interactions with group members and others, ethical issues as they emerge, feelings, reflections, questions that emerge, etc.

(Based on Neuman & Robson, 2009).
Appendix K
Interview Protocol: Students
(Current South Africa Trip Participants)

Guiding research question: How do secondary school development voluntourism encounters abroad produce first world subjectivities?

1. Describe the transition of coming back to Canada, to your family and friends, and to school.

2. When people ask you how your trip was, how do you summarize your three weeks of experiences?

3. Are you completing the Duke of Edinburgh Award? Will your South Africa trip be used as part of the Duke of Ed requirements?

4. Describe your trip using up to three highlights from your experiences.

5. How do you think South Africa is different from Canada?

6. Using the word bank provided (#1), which word do you feel best describes Manorwood? AND/OR I’ve heard some of the girls in the group describe Manorwood as “a bubble.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.

7. What are your impressions of South Africa?

8. What are your impressions of your host family?

9. Did you experience any moments of discomfort during your stay with your host family?

10. What impact, if any, did the two-week host family experience have on you? What impact, if any, do you feel that your presence had on your host family?

11. Tell me how you felt when our van drove away from your host family at the local school.

12. What are the most significant things that you learned about the history of South Africa?

13. Let’s talk about your response to question 3 on the pre-trip reflection that I handed out at the airport before we arrived in South Africa. Has your experience changed how you think about yourself in terms of race? Did you experience or think about race differently when you moved between the local school, the centers, your host family, and [city name]? Has the way you think about others in terms of race
changed?

14. In your pre-trip reflection said that you wanted to take part in this trip because of X. Do you feel that the trip fulfilled your desire for X? Were there things that you gained from this trip that you didn’t expect?

15. Did you bungee jump off in [city name]? Tell me about that.

16. Can you think of one child in particular at one of the centers that you developed a relationship with? Tell me about him/her.

17. How would you describe the similarities and differences between you and this child?

18. Have a look at this photo (#1) for a few moments. When you’re ready, tell me what thoughts come to mind.

19. Are there 1 or two pictures that you have of your trip that you particularly love? Maybe ones that you’ve posted on Facebook? Tell me about them.

20. Tell me how you felt on the last day at the afternoon ark when our van drove away and all of the kids were lined up against the fence alongside the road.

21. Did you keep a journal? Why? Were there any moments or questions that you really struggled with in your journal that you’d like to tell me about? I understand if you prefer to keep those parts of your journal private.

22. Was there a moment on the trip when you felt fortunate?

23. Did your experiences in South Africa reveal to you anything about poverty that you hadn’t reflected on before?

24. Have a look at this photo (#2) for a few moments. When you’re ready, tell me if you can identify this object, and what thoughts come to mind when you contemplate the photo.

25. Tell me about the souvenirs that you took home. Which do you use/enjoy most?

26. Describe the impact that you felt you had [at the morning school] and [at the afternoon school]. Compare the impact that you had at [each school]. Do you feel that you made a greater impact at one versus the other? Explain.

27. Add any participant-specific questions here.

28. Describe the overall impact that you felt you made by going to South Africa.

29. Using the word bank provided (#2), which phrase do you feel best describes the impact that you had during your trip?
30. This is a write-up about the trip from Manorwood’s website. Read it over and tell me what you think about it. Are there any parts that you would re-write? If so, please write your version of any sentences you would change here (provide pen and paper).

31. Was there anything that surprised you about your host family? About [the schools]? About Zulu culture? About South African culture?

32. Was there ever a moment when you had doubts about the volunteer work or the trip in general?

33. Can you think of a moment when you felt like you “fit in?” And like you didn’t “fit in?”

34. Using the word bank provided (#3), which word best describes how you generally felt about the children [at the schools]? Your feelings may have changed over the course of our stay – please describe this if it did.

35. Does the idea of “global citizenship” mean anything different to you now? On a scale from 0 to 10 with 0 being the lowest and 10 the highest, how would you rate your level of global citizenship before and after your trip?

36. Do you feel differently about yourself as a Canadian/other nationality citizen? Has your idea of what it means to be Canadian/other nationality changed? Explain.

37. Is there anything that you would have liked to do on this trip that you didn’t get to do?

38. What advice do you have to students who will participate in next year’s trip?

39. Is there anything that you’d like to add to what we’ve discussed?

40. Do you have any questions?
Appendix L

Interview Protocol: Faculty

(Current South Africa Trip Participants)

Faculty Interview Questions

Guiding research question: How do secondary school development voluntourism encounters abroad produce first world subjectivities?

1. Describe the transition of coming back to Canada, to your family and friends, and to school.

2. When people ask you how your trip was, how do you summarize your three weeks of experiences?

3. Describe your trip using up to three highlights from your experiences.

4. What are your impressions of South Africa?

5. Did you experience any moments of discomfort during your stay at [name of accommodation]?

6. Do you feel that the exchange component of the trip was valuable for Manorwood students and their host families? Explain.

7. What are the most significant things that you learned about the history of South Africa?

8. Let’s talk about your response to question 3 on the pre-trip reflection that I handed out at the airport before we arrived in South Africa. Has your experience changed how you think about yourself in terms of race? Did you experience or think about race differently when you moved between [the private school and the volunteer schools], the host family, and Cape Town? Has the way you think about others in terms of race changed?

9. See questions 4 and 8. In your pre-trip reflection said that you wanted to take part in this trip because of X. Do you feel that the trip fulfilled your desire for X? Where there things that you gained from this trip that you didn’t expect?

10. What was the impact of students on host families and vice versa?

11. Can you think of one child in particular at one of the centers that you developed a relationship with? Tell me about him/her.

12. How would you describe the similarities and differences between you and this child?
13. Have a look at this photo (#1) for a few moments. When you’re ready, tell me what thoughts come to mind.

14. Are there 1 or two pictures that you have of your trip that you particularly love? Tell me about them.

15. Tell me how you felt on the last day at the afternoon center when our van drove away and all of the kids were lined up against the fence alongside the road.

16. Did you keep a journal? Why? Were there any moments or questions that you really struggled with in your journal that you’d like to tell me about? I understand if you prefer to keep those parts of your journal private.

17. Was there a moment on the trip when you felt fortunate? Explain.

18. Did your experiences in South Africa reveal to you anything about poverty that you hadn’t reflected on before?

19. Have a look at this photo (#2) for a few moments. When you’re ready, what thoughts come to mind when you contemplate the photo?

20. Tell me about the souvenirs that you took home. Which do you use/enjoy most?

21. Describe the impact that you felt you had at the morning center and the afternoon center. Compare the impact that you had at each center. Do you feel that you made a greater impact at one versus the other? Explain.

22. Describe the overall impact that you feel that the group made by going to South Africa.

23. This is a write-up about the trip from Manorwood’s website. Read it over and tell me what you think about it. I’ve highlighted the portion that summarizes the work that the group did. Do you feel that this is a good depiction of the trip? Are there any parts that you would re-write? If so, please write your version of any sentences you would change here (provide pen and paper).

24. Was there anything that surprised you about the host families? About the host school? About the arks? About Zulu culture? About South African culture?

25. Was there ever a moment when you had doubts about the volunteer work or the trip in general?

26. Can you think of a moment when you felt like you “fit in?” And like you didn’t “fit in?”

27. Using the word bank provided (#3), which word best describes how you generally felt
about the children [at the volunteer schools?] Your feelings may have changed over the course of our stay - please describe this if it did.

28. Does the idea of “global citizenship” mean anything different to you now? On a scale from 0 to 10 with 0 being the lowest and 10 the highest, how would you rate your level of global citizenship before and after your trip?

29. Do you feel differently about yourself as a Canadian citizen? Has your idea of what it means to be Canadian changed? Explain.

30. Is there anything that you would have liked to do on this trip that you didn’t get to do?

31. Any advice for next year’s students and faculty?

32. What would you change for next year’s trip?

33. Is there anything that you’d like to add to what we’ve discussed?

34. Do you have any questions?
Appendix M
Interview Protocol: Students
(Previous South Africa Trip Participants)

**Background**
1. Tell me a bit about what you’re doing now.
2. How old are you?
3. What is your nationality?
4. Where did you go to high school?
5. Why did you/your parents choose that school?
6. At what grade did you begin attending that school?
7. Why did you/your parents choose an all-girls’/all-boys’/co-ed school?
8. Describe one thing that you loved about going to school there, and one thing that you found challenging.
9. Tell me a bit about your academic and extra-curricular interests at the time. How have these evolved?
10. For international boarding students: where did you go to school previously?; where is “home?”; why did you choose to study in Canada? what was it like when you first arrived at your high school? how did that experience evolve?

**Motivations and Pre-Conceptions**
1. Tell me about the trip/s you participated in and why you chose it/them.
2. Describe the trip. What was the purpose of the trip? What were you doing there?

**Experiences**
1. What were your impressions when you arrived in the country you were visiting? Was it what you expected? Why/why not?
2. What were your first impressions of the people? Did your impressions change over time?
3. What were your impressions of your host family? Were they what you expected? Did anything surprise you about the household?
4. Can you recall a moment when you felt like you “fit in” there? And can you recall a moment when you felt like you didn’t “fit in?”
5. Can you think of a moment when you felt uncomfortable during the project? Please describe the situation in as much detail as you can.
6. Many students who participate in global excursions talk about the importance of forming
relationships. What kinds of relationships did you develop with your host family? With students at the partner school? With the children [at the volunteer school]? With staff members [at the volunteer school]? With other students? With your teachers?

7. Describe how you think others saw you during your travels. Think of the students at the volunteer placement, your host families, staff, etc. If you can think of a particular instance when it became clear to you that others saw you in a way that is different from the way that you see yourself, please describe the situation.

8. Was there ever a moment when you had questions about the volunteer work that you were doing or you weren’t sure if this was the work that you should be doing?

9. Take a few moments to think of an experience that you had on your trip that stands out as one of the best. Please describe it in as much detail as you can.

10. What was most difficult thing about your trip?

11. What is the greatest contribution that you made during your stay abroad?

12. What is most rewarding thing about your trip?

13. Would you do the trip over again?

14. Do you think that the trip changed you in any way? Did it make any lasting impression, good or bad?

15. Would you recommend the trip to other students? What advice do you have for students on next year’s trip?

16. Would you like to go on another international service project? Where?

**Canadian Identity, Gender, and Race**

1. What was it like to work and live with people who spoke a different language and/or were from a different culture? What were your strategies? Were your strategies successful? How do you know?

2. Has this trip changed your idea of what it means to be a young woman at home or abroad?

3. Did you learn anything about race during your experience abroad, either through personal experience or observation? Please explain.

4. Now that you’ve returned from your trip, do you feel differently about yourself as a Canadian? Has your idea of what it means to be Canadian changed?

**Global Citizenship**

1. What does global citizenship mean to you?

2. Looking back, after your experience abroad, how would you rate your level of global citizenship before the trip and after the trip on a scale of 0 to 10? Why?

3. On the same scale, how would you score your host family as global citizens? And the staff and children who you volunteered with? Explain.
Closing

1. Is there anything that you would have liked to do on this trip that you didn’t get to do?
2. Is there anything you’d like to add to what we’ve discussed?
3. Do you have any questions?
Appendix N
Interview Protocol: Faculty
(Previous South Africa Trip Participants)

**Background**
1. Can you tell me a bit about your background as an educator?
2. How long have you worked at your school?
3. Why did you choose your school?
4. Are you an independent school graduate?
5. What do you feel are the advantages and disadvantages of an all-girls’ education?
6. Tell me about one thing that you love about your school and one thing that you find challenging.

**Motivations and Pre-Conceptions**
1. Why do you want to take part in a global excursion?
2. Why did you choose the South Africa trip?
3. What did the trip involve? What was your purpose there? What work did you do?

**Experiences**
1. What were your impressions when you arrived in [city name]? Was it what you expected? Why/why not?
2. What were your first impressions of South Africans? Did your impressions change over time?
3. Can you recall a moment when you felt like you “fit in” in [city name]? And can you recall a moment when you felt like you didn’t “fit in?”
4. Can you think of a moment when you felt uncomfortable in [city name]? Please describe the situation in as much detail as you can.
5. Many Manorwood students who participate in global excursions talk about the importance of forming relationships. What kinds of relationships did you observe students developing their your host families? With students at the partner school? With the children at [the volunteer schools]? With staff members at [the volunteer schools]? With other students from your school? With the teachers from your schools?
6. Describe how you think others saw you during your travels. Think of the students at the volunteer school, your host families, staff, etc. If you can think of a particular instance when it became clear to you that others saw you in a way that is different from the way that you see yourself, please describe the situation.
7. Was there ever a moment when you had questions about the volunteer work that you were
doing or you weren’t sure if this was the work that you should be doing?

8. Take a few moments to think of an experience that you had in South Africa that stands out as one of the best. Please describe it in as much detail as you can.

9. What was most difficult thing about your trip?

10. What is the greatest contribution that the group made during your stay in South Africa?

11. What is most rewarding thing about your trip?

12. Would you do the trip over again?

13. Do you think that the trip changed you in any way?

14. Would you recommend the trip to other faculty members? What advice do you have for faculty members on next year’s trip?

13. Would you like to go on another global excursion? Where?

**Canadian Identity, Gender, and Race**

1. What was it like to work and live with people who spoke a different language and/or were from a different culture? What were your strategies? Were your strategies successful? How do you know?

2. Has this trip changed your idea of what it means to be a young woman at home or abroad?

3. In a pre-trip lecture at Manorwood, a guest speaker talked about race and apartheid. How do you define racism? Did you learn anything about race during your experience abroad, either through personal experience or observation? Please explain.

4. Now that you’ve returned from your trip, do you feel differently about yourself as a Canadian? Has your idea of what it means to be Canadian changed?

**Global Citizenship**

1. How do you define global citizenship?

2. After your experience in South Africa, how would you rate your level of global citizenship on a scale of 0 to 10? Why?

3. On the same scale, how would you score your host family as global citizens? And the staff and children at [the volunteer schools]? Explain.

**Closing**

1. Is there anything that you would have liked to do on this trip that you didn’t get to do?

2. Is there anything you’d like to add to what we’ve discussed?

Do you have any questions?
Appendix O
Interview Protocol Word Banks

Word Bank #1

window

bubble

stage

rainbow

blank page

wall

web

map
Word Bank #2

making a difference               helping others

teaching technology               making friends

becoming independent              uplifting others

learning about myself             connecting with others

broader view of the world         greater appreciation of cultures
<table>
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<th>Word Bank #3</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>happiness</td>
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