Host Community Voices and Community Experiences:
Tanzanian Perspectives on a Teacher Education International Service-Learning Project

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Teacher education programs are increasingly integrating aspects of international service-learning (ISL) into student experience. While studies about teacher-candidate experiences are published, less is known about the effects of these ISL initiatives on the host communities. There is a need to hear from and integrate host community voices into all dimensions of the ISL experiences. We honor the voices of ISL host participants by turning our attention to those involved in an ongoing ISL project in Tanzania. Our analysis is grounded in our experiences as ISL practitioners and teacher educators. We utilize the concepts of Freire and Dewey to provide an understanding of ISL in teacher education that emphasizes how dialogue with host participants increases understanding of local contexts and promotes reciprocity as a form of learning from one another. This study concludes with the implications, both negative and positive, associated with integrating ISL into teacher education programs.

International Service-Learning (ISL) involves the experiential components of community-based service-learning implemented in an international context. ISL programs, which have become prominent across university campuses, are touted for promoting cross-cultural understanding; the values of democracy and civil society; and engaged global citizenship among students participating in these experiential programs. We know a lot about the impact of ISL programs on the students who participate in them, but much less about the communities that host these students. We agree with a range of ISL scholars that the host perspective is an essential voice to be heard and valued, as ISL becomes a widespread global practice (Erasmus, 2011; Kiely & Hartman, 2011; Larsen, 2015; Tonkin, 2011).

This article presents the results of a study about an ISL alternative practicum for Canadian student-teachers that took place in Tanzania. We focus on the views of the teachers, headmaster, and our home-stay host from the Tanzanian community where the Canadian student-teachers were placed during their practicum. Our findings show clearly that despite the good intentions of the student-teachers, ISL project planners and facilitators, many unintended consequences and implications arose from this partnership. Drawing upon the work of John Dewey and Paulo Freire, we argue for ISL partnerships as opportunities for reciprocal learning that support socially just democratic change. Fostering reciprocity in ISL depends on a critical understanding of the local contexts within which ISL takes place, as well as an openness and willingness to engage in authentic dialogue with one another.

In this article, we first provide background information about the Tanzania Project, an ISL alternative practicum for teacher candidates at a Canadian university. We review the small, emerging body of literature on ISL and host communities, and then outline the research methodology for the study. We present our findings and analyze them in light of our theoretical framework, drawing upon the work of Freire and Dewey, with a focus on our findings in relation to different conceptions of reciprocity. In our conclusion, we point to the ways in which this study can inform broad thinking about ISL experiences and the ways these experiences are framed, designed, planned, or implemented in teacher education programs.

Literature Review

Although many scholars have called for research on the actual and potential effects on the communities that host ISL students, we know of no research to date on the impact of ISL teacher education programs on host community members. However, some study abroad and recent ISL scholars have begun to address this gap in the literature and here we summarize the key findings from these studies. Recent empirical research on ISL projects details the economic benefits to the host communities, including stipends to host families, and financial and material donations to the local community and partner organization (Dear & Howard, 2015; Toms Smedley, 2015). This substantiates findings from previous research on the economic contributions that study abroad students bring

to local communities (e.g., Tompson, Beekman, Tompson & Kolbe, 2013).

Existing research demonstrates that ISL projects bring socio-cultural benefits to the local community. Opportunities to engage in cross-cultural learning can produce appreciation of and respect for other cultures (McDonald & Vorstermans, 2015; O'Sullivan & Smaller, 2015), as well as a deeper appreciation for one's own culture and country (Hernández, 2015). Again, this recent research builds upon existing study abroad scholarship on the socio-cultural advantages of hosting study abroad students (e.g., Stephenson, 1999). This and other research points to the real and potential transformative effects of ISL and study abroad programs on local communities (e.g., Shalabi, 2013; Stephenson, 1999).

Other recent ISL research also shows clearly that there are a number of challenges and highly questionable effects of these programs for the host communities. While there are economic benefits, there are also financial and other costs associated with hosting students from abroad, as well as strains on local partner organizations to accommodate growing numbers of ISL students (Baldwin, Mohamed & Tembe, 2015; Hernández, 2015; McDonald & Vorstermans, 2015; O'Sullivan & Smaller, 2015). There is also evidence of ISL projects contributing to cross-cultural misunderstandings, reinforcing negative stereotypes of the Other, and offending local communities through inappropriate behaviors (Arends, 2015; Jorgenson, 2015; Heron, 2015; Larkin, 2015). Again, these ISL findings align with study abroad research that reveals the damaging socio-cultural effects on local communities (Ogden, 2007; Schroeder, Wood, Galiardi, & Koehn, 2009) and problematic missionary tendencies of those who desire to help "poor people" in the Global South (Heron, 2007; Woolf, 2006).

Finally, many studies make recommendations for improving ISL and study abroad programs in order to mitigate the negative effects for the local community and enhance the positive (e.g., Galiardi & Koehn, 2009; Schroeder, et al., 2009; Wood, Banks, Galiardi, Koehn, & Schroeder, 2011). Some ISL researchers have recently developed standards of practice frameworks to ensure ISL projects are ethically informed (Hartman, 2015) and provide reciprocal public benefits for all parties (Duarte, 2015).

Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical framework is drawn from the work of the Brazilian educator, Freire, whose theory of critical consciousness arose out of his literacy work with Brazilian peasants. Freire's theory is based on the need for dialogue between the oppressors who benefit from economic and political powers in society and those who are oppressed. Dialogue and dialogic encounters, according to Freire (1972), are the essence of critical pedagogy and there can be no socially just change without authentic engagement with the Other. The Freirian notion of "conscientization" refers to developing awareness of the social and political contexts about the world as an important step to change. As Freire (1972) explains, "[c]ritical pedagogy involves a constant unveiling of reality, the emergence of consciousness, and critical intervention in reality" (p. 69). The relationship between consciousness and "intervention" is what Freire terms "praxis," the idea that through reflection and action, we can commit ourselves to transforming the world. The individual who is conscientized recognizes his or her place and contribution in the struggle for social justice. Service, in this respect, can be viewed as an intervention, which carries with it the possibility of changing the world.

Freire was influenced by the work of Dewey (1938, 1944). Interestingly, many have traced the theoretical roots of service-learning to Dewey's philosophies of experience, inquiry, and reflection. William M. Plater (2011) outlined ways in which the intellectual foundation for service-learning lies in Dewey's ideas about education as an engaged experience, specifically that learning occurs within the lived experience of communities. Dewey was a philosopher, as well as an educator, who advocated for the quality of experience. Dewey is also known for his ideas about learning by doing; he saw a necessary relationship between the actual experiences and education. Dewey's concept of learning from and through experiences stemmed from the notion that improved understanding emerges from the freedom to explore in situ. In practice, experiential learning and ISL share a premise of learning from experiences that are, ideally, mutually beneficial.

Dewey's and Freire's ideas align with the notion of reciprocity in service-learning and ISL relationships. Tonkin (2011) called for further understanding about reciprocity, noting that "[r]esearch is needed to investigate the ways in which such reciprocity contributes to...outcomes for nongovernmental organization and the communities they serve" (p. 211). Reciprocity, we argue below, can provide a guiding framework by balancing the needs of the students with those in the host communities.

Purpose of the Research

The Tanzania Project, which is the focus of this study, was developed within the teacher education program at a mid-sized university in Ontario, Canada. In Ontario, teachers are required to complete a minimum of 12 weeks of practice teaching to obtain a certificate from the Ontario College of Teachers to work in publicly-funded classrooms.

In addition to traditional placements in Ontario-based classrooms, student-teachers are encouraged to complete an alternative placement. Alternative placements aim to facilitate student understanding of diversity and inclusion in broad facets of education by introducing student-teachers to the ethos of service-learning within local, national, and international communities. The Tanzania Project was designed to fulfill the alternative placement requirement, while working in service with community partners in Tanzania. Each year since its inception in 2010, groups of 6-12 student-teachers have spent approximately six months engaged in the project. Five months were spent preparing for experience in order to spend one month in Tanzania. When in Tanzania, three weeks were spent on a practicum placement where student-teachers taught during the day and worked with community partners at other times. The final week was spent exploring the country. Each student-teacher raised their own funding, although some funding was available through the university for students with financial hardship.

By listening, witnessing, and documenting how the project has evolved from host participants' views, we were afforded a chance to understand how they experienced the project. Specifically, the purpose of this research was to investigate host-community members' experiences of an ISL teacher education program. Three questions guided this research study:

1. What can be uncovered and discovered from host participants' experiences?
2. What values, conflicts, and dilemmas emerge in the nature and evolution of this project?
3. How can this project provide insight for international service-learning projects as part of teacher education programs?

Positionality

The first author of this paper, Michelle Searle, was a lead for the project. Initially, this research was designed to understand how the project was operating from the multiple perspectives of the Canadian student-teachers engaged in the work during the research, alumni student-teachers who were now teaching in a range of contexts, and participants who hosted the student-teachers year after year. Findings from Canadian teachers who were participating in an ISL experience have been published (Searle & Hussain, 2015). Searle's contribution included carrying out data collection and analysis of the findings.

The second author of this paper, Marianne Larsen, brings her background expertise and research on ISL to this study. She has conducted studies about the impact of ISL on Canadian university students in Tanzania (Larsen, 2014) and recently edited a book entitled *International Service Learning: Engaging Host Communities*, which has informed her thinking on the experiences of host community members in ISL partnerships (Larsen, 2015). Larsen has also focused, in her research, on the impact of a Tanzanian ISL program on student participants (Larsen & Gough, 2013; Larsen, 2014).

Methodology

Sondra Cuban and Jeffrey Anderson (2007) recommend that research focused on the impact on communities include a wide range of perspectives that comprise the community -- participants, organizational leaders, residents, and others. In an educational context, this may include the headmaster, teachers, students and/or their families, or other members of the community who are involved with the project. To this end, all of the host participants that Searle interacted with during the course of the ISL project in Tanzania were invited to participate in this research; a total of 5 elected to do so. Some of these community members were involved only during the year of data collection, while others had been involved since the inception of the project 5 years earlier. There were 4 males and 1 female; 2 of the males and the female were teachers in the school, one male was the headmaster of the school, and the other male hosted the group in his home. Both the male headmaster and the male home-stay host were involved since the inception of the project; the duration of the commitment from the teachers ranged from one year to three years. The identifying features of all participants have been removed and pseudonyms have been used in their place.

Interviews took place on the school grounds or at the host's home and lasted 45-60 minutes. The interviews were conducted in English, audio

recorded, and later transcribed. The focus of the questions (see Appendix) was to understand host participants' experiences and perceptions of the project. Although a guiding set of questions was in place, the interviews were semi-structured, with participants' comments sometimes requiring additional clarification around cultural or language issues.

Rich data from host participants provided a quite different perspective from the data collected from the student-teachers and offered important contributions to our understanding of ISL within teacher education.

As the data was collected and later, analyzed, Searle understood that her role as project lead might affect the candor of responses. To counter this, when collecting the data, she assured host participants of anonymity and intentionally sought their candid responses for the sake of improving the project and the partnership. While we cannot guarantee unbiased answers from host participants, the responses seem sufficiently critical and reflective as to suggest that host participants felt safe enough to answer candidly. To mitigate for her biases, Searle enlisted the support of a mentor colleague with expertise in ISL research, who has participated in ISL within the Tanzanian context and has a robust understanding of the nuances of qualitative data.

This inquiry recognizes the difficulty of collecting and analyzing data from host communities in the Global South who are involved in ISL partnerships (Cruz & Giles, 2000; Larkin, Larsen, MacDonald & Smaller, 2015; Schroeder et al., 2009). While the challenges are significant, we believed that convergent analysis of the one-on-one interviews with members from the host community strengthens our ability to understand the host's perspectives about the nature of the project and the relationships formed with the university, as well as the ISL participants. The analysis was inductive, beginning with the data rather than theory and engaging in exploratory questions and understanding of those who are involved with ISL. Our approach provides an ideal framework for analyzing data about participants' thoughts, behaviors, experiences, and observations collected from participants whose involvements spanned multiple years. In preparing this article, each researcher reviewed the data and then discussed the findings with one another to enhance a set of common codes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This collaborative analytic process furthers the reliability of the coding by allowing themes to emerge and then jointly reflecting upon the data in light of these themes (Alfaro & Quezada, 2009).

Findings

This research stands out because five host community members spoke about their experiences and provided suggestions for improving the project. The findings describe relationships and experiences that occurred at a particular point in time. The themes have been clustered here to make sense of the individual dialogues and bring together common threads. We begin by addressing the benefits described by the host participants and then focusing on challenges that host participants described.

Benefits

Host participants identified many benefits from the ISL experience of working with student-teachers. These benefits included: teaching and learning strategies; materials; student enjoyment and bonding; and scholarships. They have been listed here and are described below in the order of the frequency each theme was discussed. A selection of representative quotations has been included to weave the voices of participants through this analysis and illustrate the key themes.

Teaching and learning strategies. Every person interviewed spoke about the enhancement of having teachers visit their school who were specifically trained in pedagogy and passionate about teaching. For example, Dikembe, the most experienced teacher said, "when [student-teachers] come, they teach. Students see new faces and they gain new ideas, they change ideas from them and their method teaching helps us, we teachers." This exchange occurred because the student-teachers were paired with a local teacher working in a shared discipline (e.g., English, Math). The intent of this pairing was to encourage a progression in their work together. For example, student-teachers would have a few days to observe, move to co-teaching, and, depending on the comfort of the host teacher or needs of the class, conduct their own lessons by the end of the placement. This pairing of host and student-teachers enhanced within the specific subject areas, as well as the overall English language instruction. As one host participant stated: "Though [the student-teachers] were teaching here English, we don't have enough teachers for English and science subjects, they helped us for those three weeks, actually [...] I think they helped, that's why the students were so good."

Materials. Host participants spoke positively of receiving additional resources such as books, sporting equipment, water tanks, and bicycles. For example, Hafsa commented, "In the case of

the books, instead of talking and maybe teaching them by using one book or two, we can have more than one so they will read and understand. It would be the easy way, so it's helpful." Although there were text-based resources in the school, these were largely single copies for the teachers when the project was initiated. Over the course of the project, library cupboards were bought and stocked with locally-purchased books based on lists compiled by the teachers and headmaster.

Another benefit described by many participants was the increase in sports materials. A storage room at the school housed the balls, skipping ropes, Frisbees, and other equipment brought from Canada or purchased locally by the student-teachers. As Hafsa explained, "we used to have balls but it was not enough, when you compare it to the students and everyone wants to play, for example for [using] a ball and [for] different activities. So, if there are a lot of balls, [students] can use it to play and practice." Soccer is a national pastime and a much-celebrated event within this rural community. The supply of balls was ample compared to the beginning of the project, but it was still not sufficient for all who wished to experiment with the equipment.

While sports equipment and books made distinct changes to the learning and activities, there were two additional material items that made a difference to the overall school community: water tanks and bicycles. The school did not have running water because of its rural location. Over the course of three years, water tanks were purchased, stands for the tanks built, and water tanks erected to provide a small amount of water for drinking and washing at the school. Teachers recognized that this water was useful, but at the time of the interviews, the rainy season had not yet brought water to fill the tanks. Another potentially significant contribution was the purchasing of bicycles that were donated to the school to be used by staff to get to and from school. The distance between the school and the community, coupled with a lack of reliable transportation, meant walking long distances. A number of interruptions and complications related to transportation reduced both student and teacher attendance. During the early stages of data collection for this project, the host teachers suggested that bicycles would make it easier for them to attend the school and manage the distance. Arrangements to purchase bicycles were quickly made. Babu stated, "[Bicycles are] a good contribution, because [they] helps the teacher who live very far from the school so

[they're] going to assist us in coming early because we use a lot of time to walk." Host teachers saw the student-teachers as making it easier for them to come to school, conduct their classes, and have basic necessities such as water and transportation. There was an awareness that the materials resulted in positive changes to the school and learning environments.

Enjoyment and bonding. Interactions among the teachers, as well as between the teachers and students, were positive. Hafsa indicated, "I have learned that, is like, it's good to make friends, to help with live with people, so this will help when I go." Friendships established across different cultural groups are part of the human need for connection and a sense of a belonging. In addition, host teachers commented on how positively their students reacted to having the Canadian teachers onsite. For example, Dikembe described, "[the students] are quiet when they stay in the classroom." In addition to learning within the classrooms, there were often small groups working together around the school grounds. As Elimu described, "they are very happy, that's why you hear the students shouting, teacher, teacher, like that, because they see that it is a good thing for them, the different ideas…" There was a collective sense of enjoyment and bonding when everyone worked together.

Importantly, these positive relationships may serve a broader social agenda by educating about empathy, stereotypes, cultural values, beliefs, and norms. As Idi said: "I think that African communities are sometimes portrayed negatively […] outside the African continent and it's true that there is some negative aspects of African communities, but I'm sure there is a lot of positive also." Elimu, elaborated upon this theme:

> Tell them that Tanzania is a good place, that they can be safe when they come here so let them know, don't worry to come to Tanzania. Please motivate them that it is a place where people like other people, they don't segregate or separate peoples just because of their colour.

Scholarships. An earlier cohort of student-teachers, in consultation with the headmaster, discussed how some Tanzanian students could not attend high school because of the fees, which range from $70-$100 depending on the entry year, required materials, exams or uniform costs. While the fees are not expensive by Canadian

standards, these fees are prohibitive for some Tanzanian families. The scholarship program began in 2000 with a small number of students identified and supported to undertake study for one year, and has morphed into more than 100 students who received scholarships for all four years of study. Participants noted the benefits these scholarships provided to these students. Elimu shared a story about a boy who was sponsored by the student-teachers, who "used to be together with the teachers all the time, was given so many things, given shoes, shirt, the whole uniform and the boy passed his examination. Before that, he had a hard life, so he was motivated to come to school every day, just because of your sponsorship." Dikembe commented, "I have experienced that, during these days of your stay, some of the students do not go home early, before time. They keep on coming to school all the time. There are not many truants." In addition to having a positive impact on attendance at school, the scholarships provided motivation for the students. Babu recounted:

> Last year, we had a certain boy … and he use to want to keep quiet, he did not want to communicate to the other students or some of the teachers, maybe he felt shy. It happened when he was communicating with his Canadian teachers. He became happy and I'm sure he was encouraged when he received a certain amount of money as a sponsorship, so he studied hard and he passed the examination in Division I, so he is now selected to join Form V.

Idi also commented about the financial contribution that the student-teachers brought to his community by stating, "they help us in general, they help us, for example, in this school we have some students without funds and due to the Canadian teachers, they can help them with paying the school fees and whatever, some requirements." The scholarships were viewed as helpful by making the school more accessible.

Challenges

Host participants also identified many challenges from the ISL experience. The biggest challenges related to culture included language and communication; unanticipated expectations and issues; systematic conditions and societal norms. They have been listed here and are described below in the order of the frequency each theme was discussed by the host participants, although we recognize that there are overlaps between the categories.

Language and communication. This category encompasses the barriers that exist between host participants and project participants who have different first language skills. For the most part, this ISL project relied on the host participants' communication skills in English. While the Canadian student-teachers were learning Swahili, there was limited time to make much progress. Elimu offered advice about this by stating, "yes, [it would be good to learn] greetings and at least a few words that somebody can speak. So, when you speak Swahili, at least when you go somewhere, you can tell somebody and people cannot cheat you or something." Host participants often acted as mediators and translators. Idi described,

> I am willing to act as a go between for the communication or maybe the other alternative is, maybe if you communicate with them … I think it would help if I know what you are planning. It's not really necessary, it's just, if a problem should arise and I know problems always arise, then it's good if I know what has been going on. So that I can, if you need my intervention anytime, then I know the information to act on.

The hosts identified that the student-teachers would benefit from having their own teachers that speak Swahili with them to increase their language skills before and during the ISL experience.

Although hosts and teachers spent large quantities of time together each day, much of this time was focused on teaching or planning for teaching. During key communication development moments such as meal times or walking to and from school, the groups were kept separate. All host participants agree that there was not enough time to build deep, trusting relationships because of restrictions in time. The two groups of teachers were able to connect over games and some meal-time breaks, but for the most part, no strong connections were made in such limited time and under communication difficulties.

There were also communication challenges related to the organization and implementation of the project. For example, Idi described conveying information about the ISL group's arrival with the local school. He suggested, "normally I would tell [the school of the student-teachers' arrival] at least at the beginning of the year, so it, I think now, I know it was unusual for this year, I don't know why it was late, but I

will also formalize that…" Further, when the ISL participants arrived, there were ongoing communication challenges related to their work. Lack of clear and consistent communication created strain about the philanthropic management and resource allocation. As Elimu explained,

> I am not involved in deciding how you spend the money, or where you spend it, but if I know, because sometimes, you know [other people] would come to me and say, oh, you know the group from Canada is trying to involve so and so and I think this person is maybe not trustworthy or something, so sometimes I am involved and then he suggests that maybe I should advise you differently.

Unanticipated expectations and issues. A lot of challenges were related to expectations and issues that arose during the course of the ISL project. Although the project was very similar over several years, there was no evidence that project goals or expectations had been communicated to host participants in preparation for the student-teachers' arrival. Hafsa described, "You know, before, I was not here, it's just my first time to meet you here…I don't know about the last year, so I can't talk about last year." Lack of communication about program goals may have heightened unexpected issues about who the program benefits and in what ways.

There are a variety of ancillary considerations that the student-teachers did not make. Several hosts' opinions concerned the demand for the ISL project to benefit not only the students in the school, but also the teachers and surrounding area. Idi described his perceptions of the limited range of benefits to the program: "Well, maybe to the larger geographical area, [there are] not much [ancillary benefits] … I think really there is little benefit outside the school programs." Babu spoke about the limited benefits for the teachers themselves:

> There are also some teachers who are in the need of learning when they went into the post there, so they always are excluded, not knowing that they also need such sponsorships… I may be in need of being computer literate. After getting that computer, we can at most, take three months.

This raised unexpected issues about the intended and unintended effects of the program and reach of the project. The school was considered the primary beneficiary of the ISL experience, and yet, data from host participants disrupts this assumption. Babu explained, "basically on the side of the teachers, I may say that it's not all that encouraging, [student-teachers] don't do a lot for them." These comments raise questions about the satisfaction of the hosts and the role of supporting the learning of both students and teachers.

Finally, culture and customs regarding dress yield rules of modesty for men, but especially women in Tanzania. For example, women wear skirts or dresses, not trousers, but can wear trousers if their shirts are long. The host leaders raised concern that the student-teachers should dress according to African customs. Understanding societal norms related to dress returns us to the importance of understanding the culture one is immersed in for an ISL experience.

Discussion
Understanding Local Contexts

The findings from this study suggest that there are a number of benefits stemming from this ISL partnership. These included economic contributions of materials such as books and sporting equipment, as well as the scholarships established for the local students. This reflects findings from research about the material benefits for local communities, particularly in resource-poor settings. Host community members in Cynthia Tom Smedley's (2015) study in Costa Rica, for instance, view the economic benefits of participating in ISL projects as being necessary and indispensable for community development. In another ISL study, Cuban community members benefited from the donation of outdoor and sporting equipment (Dear & Howard, 2015), similar to the findings in our study about the distribution of soccer balls. These benefits are not to be under-estimated given that most ISL projects are carried out in Global South countries where economic growth has been limited. This is the case in Tanzania, where economic growth has averaged only about 4% a year from the late 1990s until 2007, which has not been enough to improve the lives of average Tanzanians. The economy has remained overwhelmingly donor-dependent and Tanzania carries an external debt of $7.9 billion. The servicing of this debt absorbs about 40% of total government expenditures. The country's employment rate is 80%, which is relatively high compared to other similar countries. However, 36% of those employed live below the nationally defined poverty line, a sign of low-productivity and lack of good jobs (United Nations, 2013).

Given this economic context, it is understandable that while host participants appreciated the material donations to their school, there were also concerns that these exacerbated inequities. For example, the provision of soccer balls created some tensions around access to and use of the sports equipment. Also, Tanzanian teachers expressed their desire to benefit from financial contributions such as scholarships set up for the students, and the fact that this ISL project focused solely on one school without attending to the needs of the broader community. Joselin Hernández, a Nicaraguan who has facilitated many ISL programs in Nicaragua and Guatemala has also noted this unintended consequence of bringing material donations to host families:

> It is understandable that ISL participants feel thankful for the care they receive from their host families and want to give something back. However, without the right understanding about the social, cultural, and economic context of the community, it is hard to know what the family would really need or appreciate the most. Furthermore, the goal is to create collective benefits in a community and gift giving can also cause tensions among the community members, since only a few families will benefit, while others might end up feeling excluded (Hernández, 2015, p. 151).

This aligns with our findings and speaks to the need for those involved in ISL to develop culturally-specific, localized donation and gift-giving policies.

Furthermore, our findings illustrate the need to understand the challenges that teachers in Tanzania face in their work. For example, teachers' pay remains low at approximately $30 (USD)/day and working conditions are unstable (UNESCO, 2014b). Large class sizes, lack of classroom resources, inadequate training, job instability, and low pay have created very difficult working conditions for Tanzanian teachers. To a large extent, this is due to increases in net enrolment over the past 15 years in response to Education for All (EFA) goals. While thousands of classrooms have been built to accommodate new students, there are not enough teachers or materials to support this rapid expansion (World Bank, 2010). For example, in 2014, there were an average of 43 pupils per teacher in each Tanzanian primary classroom (UNESCO, 2014a). Moreover, only 3.5% of all Grade 6 Tanzanian pupils had sole use of a reading textbook, making it very difficult

for teachers to teach effectively (UNESCO, 2014b). Thus, while the idea having one book per student is a worthy goal, it is unsurprising that there was only one book shared among 2-3 students in the school where our study took place. As Dikembe described, "there are many schools, and they are getting just a little funds for [special books...teaching materials], for buying books, they don't have enough." This speaks to the awareness that although the student-teachers bring materials, there are never enough and a lack of certainty about when or if there will be more.

As noted above, resources have not been available to meet the needs of the expanding educational system. Student- teachers travelled to Tanzania with multiple materials which were used during their placement and donated to the teachers and school. However, there was little critical reflection among the student-teachers about the particular challenges of teaching in resource-poor communities, although some expressed a desire in wanting to learn about this. Yet, by bringing materials with them and modeling the use of these materials, they are undermining this goal, potentially reinforcing dynamics of privilege and power and exacerbating inequities as noted above (Camacho, 2004; Hernández, 2015).

There was also a sense among host participants that the Canadians were unaware of the particular challenges associated with teacher shortages and the lack of trained teachers in Tanzania. One teacher at school had retired more than a decade earlier but continued to teach because of the lack of qualified teachers and his sense of commitment to his home community. Many teachers at the host school did not have formal teaching qualifications and spoke openly about how challenging it was to learn to teach. Babu described the difficult process of becoming a teacher: "To get teachers, is not a job, it's not a matter of one day or two days. It takes time, one or two years, three years, taking three years to make a teacher and a diploma, two years. How can we have enough teachers?" Hafsa explained the difficulties of teaching without formal preparation: "I use to watch and sometimes I see on that TV sometimes they show how to teach students, so the students ask questions and teachers answer them and I get some experience and ideas in that way." This host teacher was waiting for the opportunity to attend a Tanzanian college of education to learn how to teach, and despite not possessing pedagogical knowledge, she was expected to teach and prepare her own students for the national examinations.

In response to these problems, many have called for increasing the numbers of trained and qualified teachers in the country. In 2012, the qualified: teacher ratio was 1:124, far below the recommended ratio of 1:25 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012). In 2013, almost 50,000 additional teachers were needed for secondary and high schools, and more than 150,000 were needed for primary schools (Education International, 2013). Looking forward, UNESCO (2014b) claims that Tanzania needs to recruit at least 406,600 new teachers by 2030 to meet projected EFA goals (Citizen Reporter, 2014).

There is also a need to improve the quality of pre-service teacher education, which includes Grade A Teaching Certificate courses for pre-primary and primary school teachers, and Diploma in Education courses for secondary school teachers. Grade A certificate teachers are expected to teach all subjects at primary school level including subjects they have not studied, or those which they failed in the "O" level examinations. Consequently, their knowledge base is poor. Moreover, the teacher education curriculum compels students to study subjects which they have no interest in or ability, and there is little emphasis on the quality and variety of teaching methods (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001; UNESCO, 2014b). Specifically, Fran Vavrus, Matthew Thomas & Leslie Bartlett (2011) summarized why so few Tanzanian teachers use learner-centered pedagogies in their teaching. These factors include an emphasis in Tanzanian classrooms and in teacher education programs on the "technical rationality" approach, based on the behaviorist view of teaching and learning; and the lack of classroom experience among teacher education tutors and university faculty. This helps to explain why participants in our study spoke about the benefits of learning new student-centered pedagogy from the student-teachers.

Reciprocity: Learning from One Another

Our findings also show that both the Tanzanian teachers and Canadian student-teachers had the opportunity to learn from one another. As noted above, Tanzanian teachers commented upon the pedagogical strategies that they learned from the Canadian student-teachers. Babu commented, "what we learn from the [student-teachers], we see the different techniques of teaching, the teaching methods they have." Host participants recognized that the project provided an opportunity for professional exchange. As Hafsa explained, it is good to have the student-teachers "because it trains us on how to understand more things that we didn't know before, like teaching skills, some ideas, we

have learned different ideas... it gives me more experience."

The student-teachers also benefited from the exchange, gaining knowledge about teaching and learning strategies when working with linguistically different populations (i.e. non-native speakers of English). As Elimu described, "[we are] sharing advice to speak slowly, repeat, and write on board so students can understand." Host teachers also suggested using many examples, such as pictures, drawings and written words in their teaching. However, these findings and Michelle J. Searle's and Alicia Hussain's (2015) previous research on the same program would suggest that there is room for improvement in terms of student-teacher understandings about the relationships between teaching and culture in the Tanzanian context.

This exchange of teaching strategies resonates as one of the greatest benefits about the project. In many ways, we see these examples as evidence of reciprocal learning that took place during the ISL project. Reciprocity is considered a core concept in international and community service-learning, and many authors have developed different conceptions of reciprocity to inform service-learning research and programming (e.g., Dostillo, Brackman, Edwards, Harrison, Kliewer, & Clayton, 2012; Henry & Breyfogle, 2006). In their conceptual analysis, Lina D. Dostillo and colleagues (2012) show that there are three distinct, but related, orientations to reciprocity. The exchange and influence approaches characterized most of the examples of reciprocity in our study. In the exchange approach, participants give and receive something from the others that they would not otherwise have (Dostillio et al., 2012). Exchange reciprocity is therefore the interchange of benefits, resources or actions. Thus, the Tanzanian teachers spoke about the material, social and cultural benefits of hosting the student-teachers, as well as the pedagogical learning that took place during the internship through, for example, the practice of pairing student-teachers with their Tanzanian host teachers. Although not the focus of our study, previous research on the same program by Searle and Hussain (2015) suggests that the student-teachers also benefited in terms of developing skills and awareness to teach in intercultural settings.

Dostillo and colleagues (2012) note that while exchange-based reciprocity seeks equitable exchange, it can be maintained in inequitable conditions. The conditions that characterize relations between privileged student-teachers who have the resources and time to come to

Tanzania to provide "service" to schools in a country where the average monthly salary is $550 USD (http://www.salaryexplorer.com) are inequitable from the start. An assumption underlying many ISL and voluntourism programs is that students can enact their altruistic desires to help the poor and unfortunate of the world (Woolf, 2006). This speaks to the inequitable foundations upon which many of these programs are based and related assumption that host communities benefit more from these interactions then do the students who come to serve.

This leads us to the second conceptualization of reciprocity outlined by Dostillo and colleagues (2012): the influence approach. The influence approach posits that the processes and/or outcomes of ISL collaboration are iteratively changed as a result of being influenced by the participants and their contributed ways of knowing and doing. Reciprocity is understood as a relational connection, informed by personal, social, and environmental contexts. We see some evidence of this in our study, which showed that interactions among the host teachers, student-teachers, and the Tanzanian students helped to build empathy, compassion, and knowledge through shared experiences. The host community, for example, wanted to encourage a better understanding of the Tanzanian society by breaking down negative stereotypes and accentuating the positive aspects of their country. As Hafsa stated, "I think travelling outside of one's country and meeting people from other cultures is always a learning experience, always there is something that you can learn from living within a different culture."

Dostillo and colleagues (2012) propose a third approach to understanding reciprocity and this they term the generativity approach. Through collaborative relationships, participants become or produce something new together that would not have existed otherwise. This approach may involve the transformation of individual ways of knowing and being, or the actual system of which the relationship is a part. This relational conception is also advanced by John Saltmarsh, Matt Hartley, and Patti Clayton (2009) who claim that reciprocity:

> Signals an epistemological shift that values not only expert knowledge that is rationale, analytic, and positivist, but also values a different kind of rationality that is more relational, localized, and contextual and favors mutual deference between lay persons and academics. Knowledge generation is a process of co-creation, breaking down the distinctions between knowledge producers and knowledge consumers (p. 9-10).

This focus on a relational type of reciprocity developed through collaboration and shared knowledge aligns with our theoretical framework. In opposition to the static psychological theory of stimulus-response whereby an individual such as the ISL student provides service (stimulus) to the host community, which elicits a response and in turn influences further stimuli, Dewey argued for a relational approach that places attention on how activity (rather than an entity) is influenced by and influences the context of the activity. In other words, Dewey shifted the predominant understanding in psychology from one that viewed separate entities influencing one another (e.g., influence reciprocity), to an approach centering on how individuals co-evolve in relation to one another and their surrounding environment. Dewey's work helps us to see how reciprocity can be enacted through ISL, breaking down the barriers between the server (student) and the served (host community). Dewey suggests that we replace our static, dualistic thinking with a view that emphasizes mutuality and coordination (Henry & Breyfogle, 2006), reflecting the generativity approach to reciprocity. Central to generative reciprocity is the idea that all participants will be changed through the process of engaging in service-learning partnerships. Learning, according to Dewey (1938) emerges from opportunities to participate in engaged experiences. Similarly, Freire (1972) argued that social change cannot exist without an authentic engagement with the Other. This involves honest, trusting and open dialogue through which perceptions of the Other shifts and we come to understand how we are all implicated in perpetuating social injustices, as well as how we can work together to ameliorate them. Participants in our study spoke about the lack of clear and timely communication, as well as time, which made it difficult to establish deep and trusting relationships. This alerts us to areas where there is room for improvement, not only in terms of enhancing communication between host community members and ISL students, but also with respect to improving communication pathways between Tanzanian community members and the ISL project planners in Canada.

In this light, we can understand why the Tanzanian teachers valued opportunities to develop friendships with the student-teachers, bond, and enjoy one another's company. They also wanted further opportunities for relationship-building, and expressed a desire for

the Canadian student-teachers to become ambassadors, sharing their lived experiences in Tanzania with others to lead to greater global understanding and creation of a more socially just world. They saw themselves as playing a crucial role in these processes as co-educators and co-learners with the student-teachers, both on the path to greater awareness about one another and their own selves as teachers in very different socio-cultural contexts.

Examining ISL through the lens of Freire's and Dewey's work allows us to see the potential for deeper and more complex understanding of one another through dialogue and relationship building, and the potential that these will contribute to democratic change in society. Dewey argued that all knowledge is social knowledge developed through experience and relationships with others. Democracy, according to Dewey (1944), is a form of associated living, whereby people come together to problem-solve and enhance their mutual experience of living in community. Similarly, Freire claimed that dialogue and relationships were central to critical pedagogy and that democratic social change depends on authentic engagement with the Other. Generative forms of reciprocity reflect Frierian and Deweyan ideas about the potential of lived ISL experience and engagement with one another to contribute to socially just, democratic change.

Conclusion

Our study set out to understand how host participants experienced an ISL project that involved Canadian student-teachers participating in an alternative teaching practicum in Tanzania. Although a small case study, this research contributes to the emerging body of published literature on the host community perspective of ISL programs. Specifically, this study points to many of the implications, both negative and positive, associated with integrating ISL into teacher education programs. For the host community, benefits span new teaching and learning strategies, receiving materials, seeing increased student enjoyment and cross-cultural bonding, scholarships for the Tanzanian students, and emerging friendships with the student-teachers. Yet, while benefits abound, this study has also found that there were some unexpected challenges associated with the project. These include students' lack of knowledge concerning the local Tanzanian socio-economic and educational contexts, communication problems, and unintended consequences of supporting students in the school through material donations and scholarships without attending to

the needs of the teachers or wider community. Such challenges, which were articulated by the host community participants in our study, point to the ways in which this (and other) ISL teacher-education practicum placements can be improved in order to take into account the needs and experiences of the local, host community.

One of the aims of our study was to investigate how this particular ISL project could provide insight for other ISL projects as part of teacher education programs. Here we outline some areas for improvement that encompass pre-departure activities, ongoing communication, and nurturing relationships post-experience. Prior to departure, ISL student-teachers (and project planners/facilitators) need to be aware of the broader socio-cultural, economic, and historical contexts of the society where overseas service placements take place. Therefore, it is well-worth considering the inclusion of background information about the history of the host country, as well as specific information about the nature of teaching in that country, and challenges teachers face. This information can unfold in dialogue between the student-teachers and program planners, as well as with the host participants to further encourage cross-cultural understanding and appreciation. Together, all participants can work collaboratively to identify meaningful ways for everyone to be involved in planning and learning from the ISL experience.

Above all, before, during and after the ISL experience, there needs to be explicit and ongoing opportunities for host teachers and student-teachers to engage in authentic relationship building and shared reflection. This requires an open-mind, trust, sufficient time, and on-the-ground strategies to enhance opportunities for honest dialogue. Communication difficulties need to be addressed. For example, student-teachers need better preparation to learn the local language (Swahili) and also need to receive pre-departure training about effective modes of cross-cultural communication and awareness about local cultural norms and values. Shared opportunities for critical reflection to understand interconnections between the working lives of teachers in Canada and Tanzania need to be embedded in the project structure. Viewing the host-teachers as co-educators is central to developing reciprocal relationships. This entails providing opportunities for host teachers to work together with student-teachers to share and enhance understanding of culturally-specific pedagogic practices and challenges Tanzanian teachers face. Attention should also be paid to

sustaining the relationships developed during the ISL experience after the Canadian student-teachers have gone home. If relationships are sustained and Canadian student-teachers act as ambassadors upon their return, as one of our participants suggested, sharing their new knowledge and insights about teaching in Tanzania, this may contribute not only to socially just democratic change in Tanzania and Canada, but also lasting change within each individual participant.

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Appendix

Host Participant Interview Protocol

1. Could you tell me a bit about your background?
   a. Previous education and training in education?
   b. Current role at the school?
   c. Experience with the project/student-teachers coming here?

2. What changes have you see with the Tanzania Project from the University over time?
   a. With relation to the local students?
   b. In connection to the local teachers or the student-teachers?
   c. As it shapes the school community?
   d. In the broader community?

3. What benefits or values do you see in the Tanzania Project?
   a. To the students or host teachers?
   b. For the student-teachers?
   c. In the school or broader community?
   d. In the broader global community?

4. What kind of challenges have you experienced or perceived as a result of the Tanzania Project?
    a. With logistical issues (e.g., transportation, housing, meals, supplies)?
    b. Communication (e.g., language access/barriers pre/onsite/post)?
    c. About cultural understandings (race, class, norms, values)?
    d. In terms of economics (hardships from strain of hosting/community perceptions/gifts)?
5. How can we improve the Tanzania Project ISL process and onsite experience?
    a. What advice do you have for project facilitators as they are preparing student-teachers?
    b. What advice would you offer for the student teachers?
    c. Could you make suggestions about our time on site?
    d. Do you have any ideas for how to follow up once we leave here?
    e. Can you offer recommendations for strengthening relationships between the project group and host teachers/students or the host community?