Defended subjectivity in service-learning: A psychosocial analysis of students' talk about service-learning in psychology

A thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

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August, 2020

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Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative study was to analyse students' talk about their service-learning experiences in psychology, in South Africa, from a psychosocial perspective. The research aims to identify dominant and subjugated discourses about service-learning in psychology, and to explore why students invest in particular discourses over others. Furthermore, the research aims to explore the intersubjective contexts that mediate students' talk about their service-learning and their emotional investments in the discourses employed in their talk, drawing on the concept of mentalization. Eight psychology students were interviewed toward the end of their participation in a service-learning psychology honours course. Transcripts from the interviews as well as entries from students' reflective journals were analysed using a psychosocial methodology. The key findings from this research point to the ways in which students oscillate between employing two competing sets of discourses about their service-learning. At times, students drew on what I have referred to as a 'discourse of rapture', characterised by fascination with the 'other' and the maintenance of power imbalances. This discourse draws on a liberal traditional discourse of learning and a charity discourse of service-learning. In other parts of their talk, students draw on what I have called a 'discourse of ruptura', characterised by an inward curiosity about the outward fascination with the 'other'. This discourse draws on constructivist accounts of service-learning. Findings suggest that students' emotional investments in discourses of service-learning are mediated by defensive positions caused by the anxieties incurred in service-learning contexts. An important consideration to take forward from this research is the way in which anxieties in service-learning experiences may be contained (or not), and to be aware of the problematic outcomes that may arise from not containing anxieties, such as the perpetuation of prejudicial attitudes and othering. The intersectionality of 'race' and disability in the specific service-learning programme under investigation in this study is an important consideration in

implementing careful supervision of programmes such as this one, so that students' rapture with the 'other' is not compounded and reinforced by the service-learning experience.

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Acknowledgements

The journey to undertake and complete this research was, without a doubt, a collaborative effort. Without the many pillars of support that carried me and this research to completion, the production of this dissertation would not have been possible.

My first vote of endless gratitude is extended to Professor Lisa Saville Young who tirelessly supported me throughout the PhD journey in more ways than she was required to. From rigorously engaging with multiple drafts of chapters and provoking more thoughtful writing on my part to supporting me through some violent episodes of motion sickness on the plane to the UK to present my research at a disability studies conference to inviting me into her home for some pretty amazing spaghetti bolognaise, Lisa has been the picture of a phenomenal supervisor and I will forever be grateful for all she has and continues to teach me. Lisa – you are my academic hero.

This journey would also not have been possible without the support, encouragement and love from my family. To my husband Blaze, thank you for all you have done in support of me finishing this thesis. I would be lost (and malnourished) without you. You have always shown unending interest in my research, even when it made little sense and you have always supported my ambitions even when those made no sense either. Most of all, thank you for teaching me the real meaning of *nur nicht verpassen* and for using this in supporting me in pursuing my PhD. To my parents, thank you for all your support (financially, emotionally, and physically) – without you teaching me about hard work, determination, and the power of getting up early, this journey would still be just an idea. Maxine, your support and encouragement carried me in the toughest of times throughout this journey. The most valuable piece of advice you gave me was “it’s not a ‘race’, it’s a puzzle”. I hope I can be the kind of friend you were to me as you

complete your own PhD journey. Thank you for always being proud of me, even if it was just for writing one paragraph.

Last, but certainly not least, I owe my gratitude to the National Research Foundation for the financial support of this research project as well as for opening up opportunities to present my research at two international conferences. On that note, thank you to all my international colleagues who provided thoughtful feedback on my research and cheerful encouragement and advice about the PhD process.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research is an analysis of honours-level psychology students' talk about service-learning with disabled[1] children and their caregivers in a semi-rural town in Makhanda (formerly, Grahamstown), in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The core focus of this study is developing an understanding of how these particular postgraduate students construct their experiences of service-learning in psychology and also understanding why students construct service-learning in these ways. This is an important study because South Africa is a country with a history of racism, and exclusionary practices continue to be enacted in South African society (Durrheim, Mtose, & Brown, 2011). Service-learning is an academic activity facilitated in higher education spaces and therefore it is important to interrogate service-learning as a practice that occurs within broader exclusionary structures, and that therefore may itself perpetuate practices such as racism and disablism in South African (Watermeyer, 2019).

[1] There is controversy around the labels and terms used to refer to disabled individuals. Specifically, there has been debate around the use of the term 'disabled', as it binds the individual with the disability and is distinctly representative of the medical model of disability (Dunn & Andrews, 2015). Various associations including the American Psychological Association, the American Medical Association, and the American Psychiatric Association advocate for the use of person-first language (person with disabilities) and recommend that writers avoid the use of identity-first language. However, disability advocates have argued that person-first language is unrealistic and unhelpful to the disabled community as individuals cannot be separated from their disability (Collier, 2012). For this reason, Dunn and Andrews (2015) suggest that psychologists (and those writing in the field of psychology and/or disability studies) use identity-first language in their writing, despite prescriptions from the American Psychological Association (APA). However, they suggest that the adoption of identity-first language should occur alongside person-first constructions of disability in order to "address the concerns of disability groups while promoting human dignity and maintaining scientific and professional rigour" (Dunn & Andrews, 2015, p. 255). Within this thesis, I will be using both interchangeably.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the context of this research. Firstly, I discuss the need for service-learning research from a psychosocial perspective; and secondly, I discuss the need for ongoing work on the considerations required for service-learning courses, particularly a course such as the one under investigation (an honours level psychology course on childhood disability and mental health) in this specific South African context. A broad overview of service-learning literature in higher education and in psychology is provided in order to position the current research as well as justify the employment of a psychosocial theoretical framework. The overview of the literature will highlight the shift from a focus on the merits of service-learning to a more critical focus on the practice and outcomes of service-learning. The relevance of this research will be discussed in terms of its usefulness to service-learning facilitators, whether working in the discipline of psychology, the field of disability studies, or in higher education more broadly. This research is particularly relevant to those invested in pedagogical and institutional transformation. Throughout this chapter, key terms and concepts will be introduced, detailing how and why they will be used throughout this thesis. This chapter concludes with an overview of the chapters that follow, essentially outlining the progression of the thesis and highlighting the most significant contributions of each chapter to this thesis.

1.2 Service-learning in Higher Education

Service-learning is a term that has not yet received a unanimously accepted definition internationally but is broadly understood as a collaborative activity that involves working with community needs to a) benefit the community in some way and b) provide a learning opportunity for students (usually in higher education) in line with a current academic curriculum (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). The term community-based service-learning has also been used instead of service-learning (Akhurst, Solomon, Mitchell, & van der Riet, 2016;

Verjee, 2010) to forefront the community's needs (as opposed to positioning service-learning as mostly an academic activity). While this is an important shift in thinking about the purpose and scope of service-learning, most current literature on service-learning assumes the community-based stance and in many instances, refers to the practice only as 'service-learning.' It appears to be internationally understood as something that is necessarily community-based (Stewart & Webster, 2011), regardless of whether it is called community-based service-learning or just service-learning.

Service-learning has progressed as an academic but community-based practice and this progression is reflected in the literature. Much has been written about the merits of service-learning as a tool for transformation in higher education with bold claims made about civic engagement and social responsibility (for example, Bringle & Hatcher, 1995; Flecky, 2011; Giles & Eyler, 1994). However, more recently, the service-learning literature has begun to focus on the ways in which service-learning might fail at that which it purports to drive in terms of student development (Mitchel, 2008; Shaffer, Longo, Manosevitch & Thomas, 2019; Stewart & Webster, 2011). The shifts in the literature on service-learning will be reviewed in detail in the next chapter.

Service-learning in higher education has gained momentum internationally (Stewart & Webster, 2011) and became a tool of interest in South Africa with the recommendations made in the Green Paper on Higher Education transformation (1996) and then the Education white Paper 3 in 1997. This research hopes to contribute to this broad body of knowledge.

1.3 Employing a Psychosocial Framework in Service-Learning Research

The term 'psychosocial' has been used in psychology and other social sciences in a dyadic way to refer to phenomena related to the individual and then also to the social context,

assuming that the individual and the social exist independently of one another but interact with one another. Frosh (2010) notes that this separation of the individual and the social is not uncommon from a traditional psychological perspective that strives to attain scientific standards of understanding phenomena. However, within this thesis, I use the term ‘psychosocial’ to offer an account of both ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ aspects of subjectivity in service-learning , while always acknowledging the ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ as part of the same process (Frosh, 2010). From a psychosocial perspective, individuals are understood as defended subjects (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013); they are products but also production sites of social structures and broader ideologies as well as subjective experiences. This research therefore aims to contribute to psychosocial pedagogical research, a relatively new area of study that aims to understand education and learning as something that involves agency, relations of power, affect and intersubjectivity (Langer, Bunn & Fellows, 2018). This departs from a traditional understanding of learning in which the student is conceptualised as an empty vessel into which knowledge is transmitted. By conceptualising the learning process through a psychosocial lens, a very different understanding of the student and of the learning process can be developed.

Hollway and Jefferson (2013) explain that within a psychosocial framework, the subject is “positioned within the surrounding social discourses but motivated by unconscious investments and defences against anxiety” (p. 72). Frosh (2010) describes psychosocial studies as a method of suturing the individual-social split and argues that the social should not be separated from the individual because the individual does not exist outside of any social context. Clarke (2002) explains that psychosocial research views individuals in such a way that “it does not reduce either to social or psychic” (p. 113) because the two are so closely related that they cannot be conceptualised or analysed separately. Therefore, a psychosocial approach to investigating students’ experiences of service-learning understands

students as 'a whole'; that is, they are seen as both individuals with their own particular subjectivities, but also as part of a broader institution, and as members of other social structures (in relation to gender, culture, 'race', class, able-bodiedness) and as existing within the context of a particular historical background. Langer, Bunn and Fellows (2018) argue that by employing a psychosocial approach which necessarily sees the psychic and the social as inextricably intertwined, a more holistic sense of students' experiences can be created and reflected upon and this is important if we are to unravel a more detailed and authentic account of students' service-learning experiences.

The psychosocial framework for this study draws specifically on discursive social psychology to make sense of the ways in which students construct service-learning by drawing on dominant (and subjugated) discourses. In this study, discourses are defined as systems of meaning-making, which include talk, text, symbols, body language and other sources that allow us to study language in use (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001). Discursive social psychology focuses on the ways in which individuals construct their experiences of reality through language and argues that "language is to be understood as action" (Billig, 2006, p. 17). This suggests that discourse is performative in that it serves a particular role in terms of maintaining or resisting existing power dynamics. This research investigates the dominant discourses that participants draw on (or resist) in constructing their experiences of service-learning in psychology. From a discursive perspective, students' talk about their service-learning experiences is understood as reflective of broader societal, historical, and cultural contexts that make available the discourses in which the participants are engaged, and the various associated subject positions (Wetherell, 2007). Jones (2012, p. 1) defines positioning as "a discursive process through which people negotiate their own and others' identities in interaction by portraying themselves as "characters" in jointly produced narratives". In this study, positioning refers to the construction of identities on behalf of self

and others (including the caregiver, children, lecturer, other students, researcher, and so on) that are loaded with power and meaning.

In relation to discursive work, Wetherell (2003) argues that "people may be socialised in the same broad discursive and cultural community and yet they are not interchangeable in their positioning work" (p. 117). This assertion highlights an important critique of discursive social psychology; it has been criticised for suggesting an 'empty subjectivity' (Wetherell, 2003). While Wetherell (2003) does not advocate for the use of psychoanalysis in qualitative research, her critique of the limitations of discursive social psychology hold weight for setting up psychosocial research as a useful site for addressing some of these limitations, including 'empty subjectivity'. Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 114) have argued that discursive social psychology neglects "individual style and individual psychobiography" which they argue to be important factors in reading and analysing a text. Hollway and Jefferson (2013) have therefore suggested that psychoanalysis be employed alongside discursive social psychology in providing a more holistic account of individual subjectivity. In accounting for unconscious processes including subjectivity, a psychosocial framework frequently draws on psychoanalytic contributions alongside discursive contributions.

The current research will be drawing on contemporary attachment theory (Fraley & Shaver, 2008) and specifically the concept of mentalization (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002) to account for unconscious processes including emotional investments in particular discourses. Accounting for emotional investments or psychological payoffs in employing particular discourses is helpful in understanding why particular discourses are invested in over others and how these investments interact with individual subjectivities. Contemporary attachment theory refers to a body of work that focuses on the relationship between an infant and caregiver and the impact that this relationship has on the infant later in life in terms of

personality development and interpersonal functioning (Fraley & Shaver, 2008). Shaver and Mikulincer (2005) argue that attachment theory is "obviously a psychoanalytic theory" (p. 25) but not all are in agreement with the assertion that attachment theory is psychoanalytic in nature. There have been debates that attachment theory has misappropriated many psychoanalytic concepts (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2005). Nonetheless an integration of attachment theory and psychoanalysis has been the intent of many researchers including Fonagy (2001). Contemporary attachment theory is concerned with the ways in which individuals develop in relation to their caregiver and one of the key concepts used to explain this development is the mental activity of 'mentalizing' (Bateman & Fonagy, 2004).

Mentalizing in this dissertation is understood as an intersubjective mental activity that involves individuals holding in their minds, the minds of others. Mentalizing is a term used by Fonagy et al. (2002) to describe the affect mirroring that initially occurs between infant and caregiver but is an activity that is carried through life allowing individuals to conceptualise the mind of the other whilst also reflecting on their own subjectivity existing as a separate mind. Mentalizing is understood as an activity that contains an emotional component and as something that can be done consciously and explicitly or in more implicit ways. Importantly, mentalizing is an activity in which students may or may not engage during their service-learning experience. Mentalizing can be affected by the intersubjective context in which the individual is operating and in emotionally charged contexts, individuals' mentalizing capacity becomes diminished and causes them to 'go off-line' (Fonagy et al., 2002).

In the context of this research, the concept of mentalizing is used to account for the specific conscious and unconscious emotional investments that students make in particular types of discourses. The investments made by students are argued to be defensive, which indicates a

lapse in mentalizing capacity. Hollway and Jefferson (2013) argue that some discourses are invested in over others for defensive purposes as a way of managing strong emotions. This research is interested in why this defensive investment in particular discourses happens, particularly in relation to intersubjective contexts in service-learning. From a psychosocial perspective, the failure in mentalizing capacity is not necessarily understood as an individual's deficit in ability but rather as something affected by the broader interpersonal and social contexts in which the student exists (Saville Young & Berry, 2016).

This research aims to explore the ways in which affect manifests in students' talk about service-learning with caregivers and their disabled children and how this affect is managed in the talk. This is especially important to do in a course on childhood disability and mental health, to interrogate the role that practices such as service-learning might play in perpetuating disablism (and other exclusionary practices) in South Africa.

1.4 Context of this Research

This research finds its home in Makhanda, Eastern Cape in South Africa. Makhanda, like many other areas in South Africa, is fraught with socioeconomic inequality, which continues to support racial divisions that took root during the apartheid years in South Africa (Watermeyer, 2019). Despite more than twenty years of efforts to redistribute power and resources to previously oppressed and disadvantaged sectors of South African society, South Africa is listed as one of the most unequal societies in the world (World Bank, 2019). Inequality in South Africa occurs on a number of levels and can be enacted through discrimination towards another based on their 'race', socio-economic status, culture, gender and disability, inter alia. One section of the South African population that continues to be disadvantaged in a number of ways, especially with regard to access to resources, is the disabled community. 9.1% of the total population over the age of five for the district under

which Makhanda is listed (Sarah Baartman, formerly Cacadu) is classified as disabled (Statistics South Africa, 2016). This is the third highest percentage of disabled individuals in the Eastern Cape. Of the 9.1% of the population that is disabled in Makhanda, most of this percentage is comprised of Indian/Asian individuals (12.1 %), followed by 'white' individuals (11.9%) and 'black' African Individuals (10.6%), according to Statistics South Africa (2016). However, it is likely that these statistics are an under-representation of the actual number of disabled people in Makhanda.

The local university in Makhanda offers an honours psychology (fourth year) programme where students select electives for their year of study. One of the available electives for students to choose from is a module called 'Childhood Disability and Mental Health'. The course outline for this module is included as Appendix A. This module is a service-learning course designed to provide early intervention and assistance to caregivers of children with physical disabilities in socio-economically disadvantaged areas in Makhanda. The emphasis in the course is on "developing psychosocial understandings of physical disability, mental health, childcare, poverty, service-learning and interrelationships between each of these (Saville Young, 2019, p. 119 – 120). The focus of the course is on understanding the relationship between a child with a disability and their caregiver and the various ways that mental health workers might support this relationship. Furthermore, the course aims to enable students to reflect on the broader social and systemic practices that might further entrench disablism in the community (Saville Young, 2019). The course is facilitated by group discussions in a seminar format alongside weekly home-visits to caregivers and their disabled children. The students' involvement in this service-learning course includes participating in formal lectures while at the same time learning through home-visits to a family/caregiver of a disabled child that has been identified by the local developmental clinic as in need of different types of support. The developmental clinic is run by physiotherapists, occupational

therapists and dieticians from the Department of Health and social workers from the Association for Persons with Physical Disabilities (APD), a local NPO, and assists caregivers with disabled children by providing guidance and home-care programmes designed to improve the quality of care and development for the child. The team of therapists who assist at the developmental clinic are not psychologists and so while the caregivers and children receive input on their physical wellbeing, there is little input on their emotional well-being. This is where the students become useful vectors for facilitating psychological support for the emotional wellbeing of the caregivers and children. The psychology honours students visit the family homes in pairs once a week, for a total of nine weeks, to reinforce their learning in lectures by providing appropriate social support for the caregivers and to interact with the child, assisting caregivers in implementing the home programme recommended for them by a team of therapists from the developmental clinic. The core purpose of the service-learning programme is to provide emotional support to the caregivers while simultaneously facilitating learning for psychology students. While the developmental clinic does much to assist the caregivers in helping the children to progress and develop, more work needs to be done in terms of the physical implementation of the homecare programme provided, and this is where students are helpful in assisting the caregivers to implement the homecare programme. Students are required to read a variety of texts before attending seminars as discussion is a core tool used for reflection and collaboration in preparation for the home-visits. The following extract is taken from the course outline to describe the scope of this service-learning course.

> “The course focuses largely on children with neurodevelopmental disabilities (Cerebral Palsy in particular) living in disadvantaged contexts in and around Makhanda and provides students with an understanding of the impairments that are normally associated with CP as well as the importance of the environment in terms of

> either disabling or enabling daily living. As this is a service-learning course, students will learn from particular children with CP and their caregivers about their unique impairments, their unique environments and the interactions between the two. In considering the environment, attention is paid to the intersection of gender, 'race', poverty and disability. Within this broader context, the course focuses in particular on understanding the caregiver-child relationship and the ways in which lay mental health workers can support this relationship. The challenges that caregivers face, as well as their resourcefulness, is explored with a view to supporting the relationship between the caregiver and local health services. Finally, the course facilitates students' reflections on the ways in which society's disabling prejudices impact on this relationship." (Childhood Disability and Mental Health Course Outline, 2016, p. 2)

This research is part of a broader research project on this service-learning programme, led and facilitated by the lecturer of the Childhood Disability and Mental Health course. Previous research on this particular service-learning programme has focused on the caregivers' experiences of the programme (for example, Saville Young & Berry, 2014). However, the student voice in the experience of the programme has not been emphasised in the existing research. My research therefore aims to bring the student voice to the forefront and to unpack their talk about their experiences of service-learning. This is important in order to understand how the service-learning experience is constructed by students and the extent to which their constructions of service-learning align with the aims of the programme (or not), specifically the aims to improve the mental well-being of the caregivers. In this research, understanding students' role in the service-learning process will be explored through an analysis of their talk about service-learning and how their talk constructs experiences which in turn constructs identities for themselves, the caregivers, the children, their student partners and the course

lecturer. However, before this is undertaken, a consideration of the broader context of this research is necessary to understand the relevance of this service-learning research.

In this research, constructions of service-learning will be understood as existing alongside constructions of 'race' and disability. Of course, these are not the only significant constructions in which power can be imbued or denied. However, as Watermeyer (2019) points out, in higher education especially, "racism and disablism have in common a tendency to provoke a distrust of one's own reality" (p. 76) and, from a psychosocial perspective, this is crucial in understanding students' talk about the constructs of 'race' and disability as mediated by intrapsychic, as well as intersubjective processes. The local context of this research is heavily intertwined with the broader socio-political context of South Africa. It is necessary, especially from a psychosocial perspective, to carefully locate this research within prominent power dimensions in higher education and in the broader South African context. This is because the power dimensions affect discourses that are taken up in describing experiences (such as service-learning) occurring in the current higher education climate.

The university in which the service-learning programme that serves as the focus of this research runs is a public, largely government-funded institution and is one of the smallest (and oldest) higher education institutions in South Africa. The broader higher education context in South Africa is described as being in "a state of crisis" for a number of reasons (Swartz, Ivancheva, Czerniewicz, & Morris, 2019, p. 568). The 'state of crisis' appears to be linked to several tensions that are common in most (if not all) public universities in South Africa. The three main sites of conflict and disruption are based on racial tension, financial tension and pedagogical tension (Swartz et al., 2019). These three sites of tension are arguably the basis for much of the political unrest that pervaded South African universities at

the time of this research. South African public higher education institutions were the sites of a series of student-led protests fuelled by dissatisfaction around the state of access to higher education but also the by prevailing ‘whiteness’ (more on this term later) that characterised many of South Africa’s ‘top’ higher education institutions (Nkomo, 2019). These two primary concerns were marked by the popular ‘hashtags’ used on social media to publicise and spread the movement: #FeesMustFall (in response to financial access issues) and #RhodesMustFall (as a call for transformation and decolonisation in higher education). ‘Race’, as a construct, is pertinent as part of both conversations calling for change.

‘Race’ is a term frequently used throughout this dissertation to refer to social distinctions between those historically classified as ‘white’ or ‘black’. Durrheim et al. (2011) argue that ‘race’ is a construction rather than a concrete category and it will therefore be referred to henceforth as ‘race’ (in scare quotes) to emphasise its existence as a construction. What is also helpful to borrow from Durrheim et al. (2011) is the notion of ‘race trouble’ which they comprehensively define as “a social psychological condition that emerges when the history of racism infiltrates the present to unsettle the social order, arouse conflict of perspectives and create situations that are individually and collectively troubling” (p. 27). This becomes a pertinent issue in later chapters and is therefore useful to define upfront before exploring how students engage in discourses that sometimes leads to ‘race trouble’.

Watermeyer (2019) attributes the core antecedents of the protests to “systemic failures of the post-apartheid government and the slow transformation of higher education” (p. 68). He also argues that the calls for change are largely structured around ‘race’ but also in other areas of exclusionary practices, including disablism in higher education. Service-learning as a pedagogical activity has been employed within a social justice framework internationally to address inequality and the lack of civic-mindedness in graduating students (Clayton, Bringle

& Hatcher, 2013). A social justice framework of service-learning is one that aims to address inequality and discrimination by redistributing power through service. In South Africa, the ideals of using pedagogical tools such as service-learning in order to produce more critical thinkers who are civically responsible sounds particularly attractive given the current climate of South African higher education upon which demands for equality and transformation are being made (Watermeyer, 2019). However, as the literature review in chapter two will further demonstrate, service-learning has been problematised in the literature as an academic activity due to the weak critical reflection on the practice by many service-learning practitioners. Stewart and Webster (2011) argue that there has been a tendency among service-learning practitioners to romanticise the practice and to neglect acknowledging and talking about the 'thorniness' of service-learning, such as when it sometimes does more harm than good for the community members involved. There has, therefore been a move in service-learning research away from identifying and listing the social and pedagogical benefits of the practice (in the interests of furthering the aims of social justice movements), to critically reflecting on "the shadow side of service-learning" (Stewart & Webster, 2011, p. 42) and confronting the difficult psychological spaces that students, facilitators and community members are required to navigate throughout the experiences. These arguments point to the relevance of the current research which joins the limited pocket of research that offers a psychosocial approach to pedagogical research (Clarke, 2002; 2006).

1.5 My Positioning

Locating myself and my own positioning in this research is important to this study as reflexivity in psychosocial research is key to producing authentic conclusions that are co-constructed by the participants and me, with their subjectivities intertwined with mine in producing talk about service-learning. My position as the researcher in the context of this

study is linked to my position as an individual involved in higher education in South Africa as a lecturer having taught in both the public and private sectors. I am an academic with an interest in pedagogical practices, having most recently become intrigued with the move away from traditional models of learning towards more constructivist models of learning. Instructivism, as a traditional model of teaching, has been problematised in the literature, and constructivism is becoming a popular alternative (Porcarro, 2011). Constructivism is concerned with the ways in which students become involved in constructing their own knowledge rather than ingesting knowledge passed down to them from lecturers, considered to be the authority on the subject (instructivism). A colleague has described the shift in the role of the lecturer as one that is no longer 'the sage on the stage' but rather as 'the guide on the side'. I became intrigued with this idea and I became interested in the extent to which service-learning can serve as a vehicle for self-directed or constructivist learning with the lecturer as 'the driving instructor' rather than the chauffeur or driver.

Moreover, my background in psychology fed into my interest in the emotional experiences that service-learning elicits in students and how this might affect their ability to construct their own learning: to change gears on their own, brake when they need to rather than when they are told, to avoid obstacles ahead of them, and to look in the rear-view mirror and reflect when needed. I have lectured psychology at both public and private institutions in South Africa and have become increasingly interested in how we can bring psychology to life within academic spaces and how we can assist students in finding meaning and usefulness in what they learn from academic texts. My interest in service-learning is therefore driven by a core interest in linking practice with theory in the discipline of psychology. It is also important to acknowledge that I am a 'white' female from a middle-class family. These characteristics or sites of interpersonal differences have inevitably influenced my interactions

with participants as well as my interpretations of their talk about service-learning with disabled children. I am not a part of the disabled community and it is important to recognise that I am approaching this research from an able-bodied perspective. Throughout the execution of this study, it has therefore been important to remain mindful of my position in the broader context of the research.

1.6 Areas of Contribution

Psychosocial research is interdisciplinary, and it follows that this research will contribute to several disciplines. This research aims to contribute to three main fields of research (and practice): service-learning in higher education, psychology, and disability studies.

I aim to make a contribution with this research to the discipline of Psychology. Frosh (2018) comments on the traditional stance of psychology and notes that psychoanalysis in particular has a tendency to individualise and sometimes pathologise. Instead, Frosh (2018) advocates a movement away from medicalised models of the individual; a movement away from the reductionism of psychology through using a psychosocial approach. Without abandoning psychoanalysis altogether, Frosh (2018) encourages us to acknowledge the individual as psychosocial, not just as an individual with inner subjectivity, as psychoanalysis would leave us to believe. The place of service-learning in psychology is therefore to create spaces for students' subjectivity to be acknowledged as constructed by both the inner and the outer worlds in which they exist. By approaching a study of service-learning in psychology using a psychosocial approach, students doing service-learning can be understood as psychosocial subjects. This is especially important in South Africa given the current political contexts in South African higher education where constructs such as 'race' and 'disability' are becoming increasingly important in conversations around inequality and justice (Watermeyer, 2019).

This research therefore aims to support the movement away from individualised models of the students towards acknowledging student agency within and alongside political, social and ideological nuances and to contribute towards an understanding of students as psychosocial beings with agency rather than as ‘empty vessels’ waiting to be filled by an academic ‘authority’ such as a lecturer. Service-learning in psychology is a way of increasing access to psychological services for the general population of South Africa. Therefore, there is an argument that more of this is needed in South Africa (Saville Young, 2019). My research will assist in facilitating the development of this kind of less traditional psychological work by showing the kinds of discursive and emotional practices employed by participants (in this case the students).

This research also hopes to contribute to the field of disability studies. Disability studies refers to a field of research concerned with the experience of disability both on an individual level and at a broader societal, political, and ideological level (Society for Disability Studies, 2004). Gitlow and Flecky (2005) locate the usefulness of service-learning in the field of disability studies:

> “Service-learning may be well-suited to disability studies if the experience provides students with the opportunity to partner with persons with disabilities and the disability community to challenge notions of disablement.” (p. 548)

What Gitlow and Flecky (2005) are highlighting in the above quote is the usefulness of service-learning in disability studies in overcoming harmful stereotypes and prejudice that further disables an already marginalised community. In particular, I hope to investigate the extent to which service-learning might address psycho-emotional disablism in South African

communities. Reeve (2006) defines psycho-emotional disablism as the feelings, emotions, and experiences associated with being stared at or patronised as a disabled individual. She writes that, within the psycho-emotional dimension of disablism, people with disabilities often experience a sense of being avoided by able-bodied people. She explains that "the lack of such cultural rules for the interactions between disabled and non-disabled people can lead to anxiety and confusion about how one 'ought' to behave, with the result being avoidance rather than engagement" (Reeve, 2006, p. 99). An analysis of students' talk about service-learning with children with disabilities and their caregivers may provide a deeper understanding of why students invest in discourses that are disabling, why they become emotionally attached to them, and therefore why they are so hard to shift. Watermeyer (2019) has urged higher education research to focus on marginalising practices in South African universities. In this sense, I hope that this research furthers some of the aims of disability studies by enabling a closer examination of psycho-emotional disablism and the ways in which participants confront and challenge this in the context of higher education.

Finally, this research hopes to contribute to the body of knowledge and research on service-learning in higher education in South Africa. With this research, I hope to engage with how students construct their experiences to look at what the social effects of these particular constructions are and what the psychological 'pay off' of these constructions are for the particular students. This research contributes towards the body of knowledge related to service-learning in higher education in South Africa, joining the conversation around transformation and redress in higher education but with a critical psychological lens.

1.7 Structure of Thesis Beyond This Chapter

Chapter two is a review of the recent service-learning literature both internationally and nationally and highlights work that has been done in the areas of service-learning in disability studies and in psychology, in particular. In this chapter I argue that what is notable about the literature reviewed is that the practice of service-learning, and the constructions thereof, have shifted from a romanticised traditional model to a more critical and sometimes self-problematising model that is concerned with power distribution (and redistribution), inequality and social justice (Stewart & Webster, 2011). This chapter reviews different definitions and conceptualisations of service-learning. Within this chapter, service-learning is differentiated from other forms of community-based interactions that students are often involved in such as community engagement and volunteerism and the academic motive is highlighted as a significant component of service-learning.

Within chapter two, I also discuss research that has drawn on the pedagogy of discomfort and Paulo Freire's (1974) concept of ruptura[2] in highlighting the importance of the contextual factors that frame service-learning, especially the large power differentials concerned with 'race' and disability. Beyond discussing the existing literature on international and local service-learning broadly, chapter two also draws attention to literature that focuses on the inner, emotional processes occurring during service-learning in comparison to literature that constructs service-learning as purely a social activity, with a discursive lens. Both schools of thought on service-learning practice are critically described, highlighting the need to explore service-learning as a practice that is more than a combination of the psychological and the

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[2] Ruptura is the original Portuguese term, introduced into the higher education literature by Paulo Freire, and is used to capture the essence of the metaphor rather than an English alternative.

social. The chapter concludes with an examination of service-learning literature that has begun to make a move towards a psychosocial understanding of the student as a defended subject, executing a complex emotional activity in relation to and alongside 'the other', while holding on to the social and ideological contexts that participate in making service-learning a complex emotional activity. The central argument of this chapter is that there is a need for a psychosocial understanding of service-learning, partly in addressing the often-ignored reflexivity that is important in service-learning research but also in overcoming limitations of exclusively social or psychological research on service-learning.

Chapter three maps the theoretical framework for this study, namely a psychosocial framework. The chapter begins by outlining discursive social psychology theoretically to demonstrate the usefulness of this perspective in beginning to develop a psychosocial framework. Drawing on the work of prominent theorists such as Wiggins and Potter (2005) and Wetherell (1998) I argue that individuals draw on dominant discourses to take up subject positions and these subject positions are imbued with power. Sometimes dominant discourses are abandoned, and subject positions are resisted, and different subject positions are taken up. Limitations of this perspective are then outlined to demonstrate the move towards a holistic mapping of subjectivity that incorporates affect alongside social aspects.

In order to account for the affective processes that contribute to a defended subjectivity, I draw on contemporary attachment theory in this psychosocial framework. Mentalization is discussed as a psychoanalytic concept, distinct from, but related to, other psychoanalytic concepts. Broadly, mentalization refers to an individual's capacity to hold in their mind, the mind of the other (Fonagy, 2001). The complexities of mentalization as an intrapsychic but also intersubjective and social concept are discussed in depth in this chapter and the

usefulness of this concept in the field of higher education, and in making sense of students' talk about service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers, in particular is demonstrated.

Chapter four details methodological considerations and processes that guided this study and coheres with the theoretical framework that is mapped out in chapter three. The chapter begins with a broad methodological discussion of psychosocial studies as a distinct discipline and then goes on to detail the ways in which a particular psychosocial methodology was applied in this study. The research design and research questions that guided this study are clearly presented in this chapter. Sampling and recruitment considerations are then explained in terms of decisions taken for this research. Data collection methods are outlined in more detail in chapter four before the data analysis process is described. The data analysis process involved two readings of each piece of text, starting with a discursive reading followed by a more fine-grained psychoanalytic reading of each text. Concentric reflexivity (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010) is outlined as a key analytic tool in the data analysis process. A discussion of the rigour and trustworthiness of this research is also included in this chapter, focusing in particular on constructs of credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability. Lastly, significant ethical considerations for this research study are discussed in terms of how they were addressed.

Following from chapter four's methodological discussions, the findings are presented in the next three chapters. The discursive findings have been split into two sections, each presented in its own chapter in order to represent two different themes in the findings. Chapter five describes two main discourses evident in the data: discourses of liberal traditionalist service-learning and charity discourses. These discourses are broadly represented by a metaphor of

rapture to highlight the ways in which these discourses allow for constructions of service-learning that maintain a fascination with 'the other' with little inward curiosity about one's own role in broader systemic practices that position the self and the other in particular ways within various power dimensions. This chapter argues that drawing on these discourses allows students to construct service-learning in ways that reinforces traditional learning models and methods, on the one hand, and the medical model of disability, on the other. I argue that drawing on these discourses also allows students to take up subject positions that maintain the large power differentials between students and caregivers and their children, particularly with respect to 'race' and disability. These findings suggest that students who take up these discourses construct learning as linear; as something that is purely cognitive. I argue that these discourses feed into medicalised ways of talking about disability.

Chapter six also reports on the discursive reading of the texts. This chapter explores constructions of service-learning in students' talk that broadly draw on constructivist discourses of service-learning, comprised of experiential discourses and affective learning discourses, which allow students to resist large power differentials in the service-learning context. Experiential learning discourses mitigate the othering tendency in students talk, and service-learning is constructed as an emotional activity rather than a cognitive activity. The discourses presented in this chapter are represented by the metaphor 'ruptura', borrowed from Paulo Freire's work to describe an interruption in the status quo where deep learning can be facilitated for the purposes of meaningful personal and social change. I argue that taking up these discourses offers a path for students to resist talking about childhood disability and 'race' in ways that reinforce large power differentials; enabling them to reflect on and therefore mediate their privileged social status. I argue that students do this by positioning themselves as co-creators of the service-learning experience rather than as professionals

whose responsibility it is to “fix” the situation into which they are entering, as part of their service-learning experience.

Findings from the psychoanalytic reading of the interviews of two students who participated in the service-learning programme are presented in chapter seven. The move to a case study approach (focusing on only two participants) in this chapter, is done in order to allow for a deeper interpretation of cases that I chose based on the emotional quality of the talk in order to represent some of the ‘inner’ work that was happening simultaneously to the ‘outer’ talk. This chapter enables a psychosocial approach by creating space for a psychoanalytic reading alongside the previously discussed discursive readings. In line with a psychosocial approach, this chapter adopts the view that students’ talk is defensive and is interested in what their talk might be defending against. The concept of mentalization is employed in this psychoanalytic reading to understand why students invest in particular kinds of talk about service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers. This psychoanalytic reading illuminates moments in students’ talk drawing on the metaphor of ruptura. This metaphor is used to describe moments in students’ talk that facilitated an inward curiosity that, I argue, allowed students to mentally experiment with disrupting the status quo of the power differentials on ‘race’ and disability dimensions, and to interrogate traditional models and understandings of learning and disability. Essentially, I argue that ruptura is a metaphor for moments in participants’ talk where the discourses employed facilitate mentalization. The psychoanalytic reading is also interested in the shifts between moments, described metaphorically as moments of ruptura and moments of rapture, in students’ talk and how these shifts are influenced by intersubjective contexts. I argue that students perform different subject positions for specific, defensive reasons. This chapter draws on concepts from the contemporary attachment literature, such as pretend mode and psychic equivalent mode, to unpack these reasons, and to

produce a psychosocial account of two specific participants' talk about their experiences of service-learning in the context of childhood disability. While chapters five and six describe two contrasting dominant discourses that students employed in their talk with different effects, chapter seven looks more closely at the psychological 'pay off' of employing these two different discourses.

Chapter eight begins by briefly revisiting and summarising the key findings presented in the previous chapters. The key claims made in the previous chapters are then positioned within and aligned alongside current literature about service-learning in psychology and higher education more broadly and in disability studies, reviewed in chapter 2. The theoretical and practical implications of these claims are discussed in terms of future research and practice of service-learning in South Africa. The strengths and limitations of this research are then outlined before final conclusions are discussed. Within this chapter, I also discuss what a psychosocial approach to this research has added but also what it may have missed.

The challenges of service-learning are highlighted in this discussion chapter as a necessity of service-learning, rather than as something to be avoided. I argue that becoming uncomfortable, experiencing anxiety, and turning the critical gaze inward are all opportunities for learning about the other and about the self, which is crucial in the service-learning experience. I conclude that students' anxieties (though often implicated in unhelpful non-mentalizing stances) are necessary in students' experiences of service-learning, especially in the context of learning about psychology and disability. I argue that students' anxieties might be the first (necessary) step towards becoming curious about that anxiety and therefore about the broader contexts that inform responses to prejudice. If, for example, students can become curious about their own fascination with disabled bodies and their anxiety related to guilt and

'white' privilege, the service-learning experience, through moments of ruptura, opens up opportunities to directly confront things like psycho-emotional disablism, 'white' privilege, and prejudice. I argue that learning environments that encourage students to turn inward and lean into their uncomfortable feelings during the experience are essential in facilitating ruptura in service-learning.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter (chapter 1) has broadly mapped out the context of this research and argued for the significance and relevance of the present study. The local context of the research has been described and details of the service-learning programme in question have been discussed in order to bring the current research into focus. Service-learning as an international and local academic practice has been briefly discussed and the development of service-learning from traditional models to more critical models has been emphasised to highlight the broader purpose of service-learning as a collaborative, rather than unilateral, activity between students and community members. In understanding the critical but also emotional nature of service-learning, I argue that the student voice is vital in understanding service-learning experiences and reflecting on the outcomes and implications of service-learning practices in higher education, especially in the fields of disability studies and psychology.

Within this chapter, a psychosocial framework has been proposed to analyse discourses and investments in those discourses about service-learning in the area of childhood disability in South Africa. This framework was selected in order to map the affective components of service-learning in relation to the social components in order to begin to address the paucity of research that acknowledges students as defended subjects, always operating within and because of the social contexts in which they exist. I have argued that this is important because

service-learning, especially in psychology, can be a powerful tool to develop civically responsible professionals. However, in the context of a politically charged higher education context in South Africa, service-learning needs to be managed and understood in light of the shadows of service-learning; that is, the risks, the thorniness and the discomfort that comes with the service-learning experience. With this analysis, I hope to contribute to the fields of psychology (and to the development of psychosocial studies in particular), disability studies, and service-learning research in higher education (also called pedagogical research).

Chapter 2: Service-learning in Higher Education and Psychology: A review of the literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the current and seminal literature on the practice of service-learning in higher education and psychology, in the international and local contexts and highlights trends and conceptual shifts in the practice of service-learning. The chapter begins with a broad review of conceptualisations of service-learning as it is currently understood in terms of why it is used, and how it is different from other forms of learning and other forms of community engagement. The discussion draws on early theoretical contributions from Dewey, Kolb, and Freire and highlights, in particular, why Dewey's theories are predominantly cited in the service-learning literature.

This literature review then tracks the development of service-learning from its early inception based on Dewey's work to its current position in higher education, pulling out some key concepts that are still relevant in the literature today. The review of service-learning literature in this chapter begins broadly and then narrows in focus to highlight the movement in literature from traditional models of service-learning to more critical models of service-learning. Within this chapter, I argue that this movement (from traditional to critical) is particularly important for service-learning in psychology and in disability studies to move away from medicalised models of individuals that tends to be reinforced when traditional models of service-learning are employed (Stewart & Webster, 2011).

The chapter then goes on to review service-learning literature with a social discursive focus to bring to the fore some of the dominant discourses of service-learning in current research and practice. Literature on service-learning that takes a psychoanalytic perspective is then reviewed. The chapter ends with an argument for why bringing together the strengths of both psychoanalytic and discursive perspectives in a psychosocial framework is useful for research on service-learning in psychology and in disability studies.

2.2 The Inception of Service-Learning: What is Still Relevant?

Although the term ‘service-learning’ was only introduced in 1967 at the Southern Region Educational Board (Sigmon, 1990) in the United States of America, theoretical underpinnings of service-learning emerged in the early 1900s with the development of sociopedagogy. Philosopher John Dewey has been described as the “philosophical and pedagogical inspiration for experiential, democratic, and civic education and for service-learning” (Flecky, 2011, p. 38). Giles and Eyler (1994) have argued that Dewey is considered one of the most significant contributors to the development of educational and social philosophy in the 20th century. They, along with others (Livney, 2008; Rodgers, 2002; Saltmarsh, 1996), argued for the usefulness of John Dewey’s early theories regarding the purposes and social implications of learning and education in developing a framework through which service-learning can be understood.

2.2.1 Early theoretical contributions.

Dewey (1916) argued that learning is appropriated through experience, which is inextricably intertwined with thought and reflection. What Dewey wanted to emphasise is that experience is not something that can be considered primarily cognitive. Rather, Dewey (1916)

considered the quality of relationships with other individuals during the learning experience as a more important marker of valuable experience. Dewey (1916) believed that we learn through the consequences of our experiences, rather than from the experiences themselves. He therefore defined thought as the space between the consequences, which one anticipates as a result of a particular action, and the actual consequences of the action.

Evident in his writings is Dewey's conviction that learning needs to be operationalised through action that creates experience because he believed that suppression of action and activity (as in a traditional classroom format) leads to the suppression of creative and meaningful thought processes. This is not to say that random action becomes experience but rather that the thought and reflection attached to the action renders it meaningful, in a way that causes the individual to learn. Reflection is important in how we understand an experience because "when we reflect upon an experience instead of just having it, we inevitably distinguish between our own attitude and the object toward which we sustain the attitude" (Dewey, 1916, p. 173). Reflection is seen as integral to making critical meaning out of an experience with other individuals.

Furthermore, the experience, according to Dewey (1938), relies on the principle of interaction. This is defined as the point of intersection of internal and objective elements that collaboratively form an experience (Giles & Eyler, 1994). In other words, the experience of learning, according to Dewey (1938) can only occur in situations where interactions and transactions are occurring between the learner and the environment. Giles and Eyler (1994) have argued that these principles imply that for students to retain knowledge learned, the knowledge has to be acquired in real-life situations (such as service-learning experiences). With Dewey's principles of experience and reflection in play, Rodgers (2002) notes that

Dewey used the term ‘education’ as a verb rather than a noun to highlight the participatory action required for learning to occur. Dewey went on to argue that the interactional component of experience was instrumental in developing the skills needed by individuals to successfully function in a democracy (Hepburn, Niemi, & Chapman, 2000), which he argued to be an important objective for educational institutions to strive for.

In his writings on the role of community and democracy in education (and vice versa), Dewey was able to contribute significantly to contemporary understandings of education and service-learning in particular. He made strong arguments for the use of education in reforming and overcoming what he termed ‘social ills’. Giles and Eyler (1994) write that, for Dewey, “overcoming social ills through the creation of social intelligence” (p. 81) would be the object of learning in higher education. Educational institutions, according to Dewey, have a responsibility to produce reflective thinkers that would use their learned methods of thinking to overcome ‘social ills’ such as the way in which people with disabilities, and more relevant to this study, in particular disabled children (and their caregivers) are positioned and engaged with in society. Dewey also expressed concern that local communities were being displaced by increasingly impersonal societies and this concern, he predicted, would produce a sense of apathy in society (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008).

Hepburn et al. (2000) suggest that the link between Dewey’s writings on the democratic citizen and the development of service-learning practices lies in the argument that students engaged in service-learning activities are afforded an opportunity to participate in local community affairs and would therefore “become more civically engaged in a democratic society” (p. 617). The social context of learning is therefore deemed as important as the individual processes at play (Reich & Nelson, 2010). Hatcher and Erasmus (2008) elaborate

on the link between Dewey's work and the development of service-learning practices: "The civic outcomes of service-learning resonate with Dewey's emphasis on the responsibility of all citizens to take an active role in their community" (p. 52). The increasing interest in civic responsibility and engaged scholarship, emphasised by Dewey, led to the introduction of service-learning as a pragmatic pedagogy in higher education institutions in the United States.

Dewey continued to make several other valuable philosophical contributions to the concept of learning and the purposes of education but was also influential in the development of the work of theorists such as David Kolb and Paulo Freire. Both of these theorists are frequently cited in service-learning literature (see for example, Cone & Harris, 1996; Eyler, 2002; Flecky 2011; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Saltmarsh, 1996) and can be argued to be instrumental proponents (along with Dewey) in the development of service-learning in higher education institutions.

Kolb's (1984) work in experiential learning theory draws on the work of various prominent theorists including Dewey, Lewin, Piaget, James, Jung, Freire and Rogers in order to create a holistic framework of the experiential learning process. Experiential learning theory rests on six shared assertions among the scholars who were influential in Kolb's work. The first assertion is that learning is a process rather than an outcome: "Education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience... the process and goal of education are one and the same thing" (Dewey, as cited in Kolb & Kolb, 2005, p. 194). Secondly, all learning is considered as 'relearning' in that students' existing knowledge, beliefs and ideas must be integrated into the learning experience. The third assertion is that the learner must be able to negotiate conflict and differences as these are processes that drive the learning experience.

Fourth, is the assertion that learning is an integrated mental and social function, and not just the result of mechanical cognition. Fifth, learning is a process of transactions between the individual and the environment, and learning is not independent of the context in which it occurs. Finally, learning is viewed through a constructivist lens in that “social knowledge is created and recreated in the personal knowledge of the learner” (Dewey, as cited in Kolb & Kolb, 2005, p. 194) as opposed to the transmission model where information is imposed onto learners rather than internalised by the learners (Kolb & Kolb, 2005). Experiential learning theory therefore defines learning as a process that occurs during an experience in which knowledge is created as a result of that experience (Kolb, 1984). What all of these theorists share, is their emphasis on the role of reflection in the learning process. Experience is only educative insofar as the individual has been able to learn from and integrate reflective practice during the experience.

2.2.2 Contemporary conceptualisations of service-learning

Having tracked the early lines of thought that later developed into the practice of service-learning, the discussion now turns to how these lines of thought have been maintained in later and current conceptualisations of service-learning. Kendall (1990) found 147 definitions of service-learning in his review of the literature but Bringle and Hatcher’s (1995) definition of service-learning is one of the most commonly cited definitions in service-learning literature. They understand service-learning as:

> “a credit bearing, educational experience in which students participate in organised service activity that meets identified community needs and reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader

> appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility." (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995, p. 112)

The above definition emphasises two major components of traditional service-learning: an academic component designed to provide a learning experience to students, and an activity in which communities involved in the programme are, in some way, directly benefitted as a result of their interactions with the students. Within this traditional model of service-learning, the relationship between the acts of service and the acts of learning are positioned as equal partners in the conception of service-learning as a pedagogy (Kretchmar, 2001). Camacho (2004) argues that reciprocity is a key process in service-learning, and this is what distinguishes service-learning from charity work and philanthropy. However, she also notes that while the relationships should be and are reciprocal in service-learning, the reciprocity is often asymmetrical, with the served often being positioned as less powerful than the server. Nonetheless, traditional service-learning models tend to emphasise the ubiquitous benefits of service-learning for both the students and the community (Stewart & Webster, 2011). Eyler (2002) notes that service-learning is often cited as useful in a students' development of professional skills and readiness, specifically with regard to factors such as self-efficacy and interpersonal skills. The literature on traditional service-learning models reports on service-learning outcomes such as the improvement of students' professional development, an increased sense of responsibility for the community, increased feelings of connectedness to the community, and increased efficacy as change agents within local communities as a result of participation in service-learning programmes (Gitlow & Flecky, 2005). Therefore, a broad conceptualisation of traditional service-learning necessarily includes a movement towards emotional and social growth (on the part of the students) as a result of the service-learning experience.

Service-learning provides structured opportunities for students to reflect on attitudes and preconceptions about people with whom they are working and is therefore argued to be able to effect an increase in awareness within the students around issues of diversity and existing stereotypes about aspects of the community with which the students are engaged (Greene, 1997). Reflection, as suggested by early theorists such as Dewey and Kolb, is considered to be one of the most important aspects of service-learning practice and is defined as the "intentional consideration of an experience in light of particular learning objectives" (Hatcher & Bringle, 1997, as cited in Bringle, Hatcher, & Muthiah, 2004, p. 39). Through the reflection on experiences involved in service-learning, students are argued to be engaged in a process of moral reasoning (Bringle et al., 2004) because the experiences that students undergo in service-learning bring to the fore both moral questions and moral decisions. The emphasis within the above-mentioned literature is, again, on the positive outcomes that students experience as a result of being engaged in a reflective experience such as service-learning.

Service-learning is understood as a form of community engagement but is different from community service and volunteerism in that although community service is related to volunteer work in a particular community, there is no attachment to a formal curriculum or academic programme (Hepburn, et al., 2000). Kretchmar (2001) also notes that in community service, the premise of the interaction rests on a charity-based model, which creates deficit views of the community in which the volunteers are working. Morton (1997) notes that the problem with charity-based models is that "it too readily becomes an excuse for maintaining laws and social arrangements which ought themselves to be changed in the interests of fair play" (p. 8). Service-learning emphasises equal partnerships and equal exchange in the interactions between the server(s) and those being served where both partners take on

teaching and learning roles (Kretchmar, 2001). Pompa (2002) warns that one of the dangers in service-learning programs is the risk of patronization of individuals in the community. She argues that “in a society replete with hierarchical structures and patriarchal philosophies, service-learning’s potential danger is for it to become the very thing it seeks to eschew” (p. 68). It is crucial, therefore, for service-learning to differentiate itself from volunteerism and community service in order to hold on more tightly to the social justice aims of service-learning.

Although service-learning is conceptualised as a practice distinct from volunteerism, some aspects are shared. Volunteer tourism involves (usually affluent) individuals choosing to visit less fortunate communities for a holiday destination in order to encounter poverty first-hand. By choosing poorer parts of the world to visit for a holiday, the visitors can position themselves as agents of change for the poorer community. Crossley (2012) notes that while the intentions of the visitors might appear noble and philanthropic, this kind of tourism reinforces the ‘othering gaze’. This refers to a practice where community members are perceived and treated as distinctly different from the tourist, usually in a somewhat condescending manner. Volunteer tourism usually occurs in countries other than that in which the tourist resides. There is a body of literature on international service-learning where travel abroad is an important part of the experience that is not included in this review because the service-learning I am interested in does not entail extensive travel. Nevertheless, research on volunteer tourism is considered relevant for thinking about service-learning in this study because South Africa is a highly unequal society, with socioeconomic status frequently marked by geographical location. As a result, service-learning can at times involve travel to a geographical location that is close to where one resides and yet is vastly different, and therefore can be conceptualised as domestic volunteer tourism.

Zahra and McIntosh (2007) have explored the emotional components of volunteer tourism, specifically the way in which the experience has been described as cathartic for the tourist. This description is based on the way in which being confronted with poverty provokes negative emotional reactions in the tourists such as grief and induces tears and the giving away of money in order to assist the community in some way. What volunteer tourism shares with the practice of service-learning is the desire to engage with the community in order to help in some way. Both involve some level of recognition of one's position of power that allows them to offer help, but this also means that both may involve an 'othering gaze'. The community is perceived as distinctly different from the self but both the self and the community are thought to benefit from the engagement. The deep emotional experiences that 'the gazer' (the tourist and the student) undergo are conceptualised as inducing change on a personal level. However, this has been problematised in the literature (Crossley, 2012; Zahra & McIntosh, 2007) because of the ways in which this further entrenches the marginalisation of disadvantaged communities. This is largely attributed to the romanticisation of volunteer tourism as a fulfilling experience that impels one to appreciate what one has in one's own lives. This is not dissimilar to the romanticisation of service-learning that has been characteristic of the traditional model of service-learning. In the traditional model, students are confronted with those less fortunate than them, they provide a service that affords the student a sense of fulfilment and personal growth and the community with which the student engaged is ostensibly left better off because of the engagement (Reich & Nelson, 2010). However, the same issues are raised in both volunteer tourism and service-learning in that there is a lack of critical reflection on what the real outcomes for the community are and whether they really are left better off because of the engagement (Crossley, 2012; Mitchell, 2008).

Having discussed the overlap between service-learning and volunteer tourism, the discussion now turns towards distinguishing service-learning as a practice in higher education. Service-learning provides unique learning opportunities for students that are not explicitly provided in other forms of learning such as didactic or 'chalk and talk' models of learning. Within a traditional service-learning model, students are conceptualised as learning whilst also becoming more civically aware change agents (Reich & Nelson, 2010). Other forms of practice-based learning include cooperative education, field-education, internships, extension service placements, and work-integrated learning (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008). Service-learning is different from these forms of learning because it is linked to a course with the explicit goal of developing community awareness and civic responsibility (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008). In South Africa (and in the United States of America), academic credit is awarded to the students based on the learning that occurs during the community service (facilitated through reflective practices), rather than for simply engaging with the community (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008). While the present discussion has thus far focused on a broad description and discussion of the development of service-learning as a pedagogical practice, the next section draws attention to an important shift in the service-learning literature that has occurred more recently.

2.3 From Traditional to Critical Models of Service-Learning

Within the existing service-learning literature, a clear pattern can be tracked that reflects a distinction between a romanticised, traditional model of service-learning and a more critical and problematised model of service-learning. The focus of this section is to track this movement from traditional to critical models, as has been established in the literature, and how this movement has influenced the practice and conceptualisation of service-learning. The

shift from traditional to critical models of service-learning is largely conceptual rather than chronological.

2.3.1 Traditional models of service-learning.

The theories of the early philosophers mentioned above were instrumental in contributing to the development of later traditional service-learning understandings and practices such as Boyer's (1996) conception of the notion of engaged scholarship, which advocated for the practice of service-learning in higher education. Engaged scholarship is understood as a pedagogy which intricately connects academic agendas with broader societal problems for the benefit of students as well as other community members (Reich & Nelson, 2010). The idea of engaged scholarship took hold in many disciplines including psychology with academics in the field sensing a need for a movement toward teaching students the value of their discipline in the world around them, and how their knowledge can make a difference in local communities. In South Africa, this has been reinforced through the White Paper on the Transformation of Higher Education (1997) in which community engagement, teaching and learning, and research were conceptualised as the three core functions of higher education. To meet the requirements for community engagement, service-learning was proposed as an integral activity in higher education institutions.

In 1996, Irwin Altman, a leader in the environmental psychology movement during the 1960s in North America, published a "landmark article" for service-learning (Reich & Nelson, 2010, p. 137) in which he proposed a traditional model for service-learning in higher education that aimed to link academic and community needs. Altman's (1996) model comprised of 3 pillars including foundational knowledge, professional knowledge, and socially responsive knowledge. Foundational knowledge refers to the primary methods and

content of the discipline as well as cross-disciplinary knowledge. Professional knowledge involves an understanding of how the discipline is applied and practiced (Reich & Nelson, 2010). The third pillar, socially responsive knowledge, had a particular set of goals attached to it. Altman (1996) explains that the aim of the third pillar is to first allow students an opportunity to learn about a particular problem in society and then secondly to experience the problems first-hand. After experiencing the problems first-hand, students are then better prepared to develop skills to address the problem in an active way. The challenge, according to Reich and Nelson (2010) is in replacing the emphasis on foundational knowledge with socially responsive knowledge. Altman (1996) therefore called for curriculum change within psychology teaching practices to include socially responsive knowledge, best achieved through service-learning projects. Reich and Nelson (2010) argue that service-learning became the primary vehicle for achieving the objectives set out by Altman (1996) because of the understanding that students learn more effectively when they can identify meaning and relevance in what they are learning, especially when what they are learning is complex. This idea is an echo of Dewey's philosophy on the principles of learning as it highlights the role of meaning-making during the experience that results in learning on a deeper level.

A subsequent movement occurred in which psychology in the United States began bridging the gap between foundational knowledge and socially responsive knowledge in order to enrich a contextualised understanding of professional knowledge (Reich & Nelson, 2010). Service-learning was introduced in the United States as a method of addressing the changes necessary in the movement toward bridging the academic-civic gap. Psychology, as a discipline, collaborated with Campus Compact, a national coalition with commitment to public purposes in higher education, in order to develop models and practices of service-learning in the United States. The purpose of Campus Compact at the time (mid-1980s) was

to facilitate and support the development of campus-based civic engagement in order to create long-lasting partnerships with communities as well as to promote the development of citizenship skills within students (Campus Compact, 2015). Bringle and Hatcher (1995, 1996, 1999) as well as others (Clary, Snyder, & Stukas, 1998; Kretchmar, 2001; Miller 1969) have been committed to producing research on service-learning projects in the field of psychology in the United States. Findings from these studies indicate that service-learning is particularly useful in developing professionals in the field of psychology because of the tendency that psychology students have in wanting to “give psychology away” (Miller, 1969, p. 1071).

The traditional model of service-learning is represented in the literature in numerous ways. For example, Celio, Durlak and Dymnicki (2011) conducted a metanalysis of 62 studies based on students involved in service-learning programmes. The authors cited the outcomes of these studies as involving gains in students’ attitudes towards themselves, improved attitudes towards learning, an increase in academic performance and civic engagement, and improved social skills. These kinds of findings have fed into what Stewart and Webster (2011) refer to as a romanticised view of service-learning that does not fully take into account the impact of service-learning beyond student ‘gains’. The focus of a traditional and romanticised view of service-learning is on the range of benefits that students gain in terms of their learning by engaging in this kind of experiential learning. Claims are often made about improved civic responsibility and commitment to social justice (Eppler, Ironsmith, Dingle, & Erikson, 2011; Fenzel & Dean, 2011), reductions in negative attitudes towards those with whom they are working (Barney, Corser, & White, 2010), greater sensitivity in students and increased empathy (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008; Wilson, 2011), and stereotype reduction (Connor, 2010a; Wright, Calabrese, & Henry, 2009).

2.3.2 Shifting to a critical model of service-learning.

Traditional service-learning models are criticised for over-emphasising learning objectives of the experience and for neglecting to critically evaluate the outcomes of the experience for all involved. In much of the earlier literature, discussed above, service-learning is positioned as a transformative and progressive practice with numerous benefits that produces critically minded and morally engaged future-professionals. However, much of the literature turns away from a critical reflection on whom service-learning really serves and for what purpose we continue to engage in service-learning. While service-learning may indeed produce numerous benefits for students and communities alike, more contemporary literature has begun to employ a critical gaze at the practice in which the more uncomfortable and "thorny" (Stewart & Webster, 2011, p. 13) aspects of service-learning are interrogated and integrated into our current understandings of service-learning. The 'thorny' aspects referred to by Stewart and Webster (2011) refer to the sometimes hidden and sometimes unintentional but nonetheless insidious outcomes of facilitating a service-learning course, especially with marginalised communities. Connor and Erickson (2017) have warned that poorly implemented service-learning programmes may result in unintended outcomes including an increase in prejudice and negative attitudes towards the community in partnership, thereby leaving the community worse-off than before the contact with service-learning students. Left uninterrogated, service-learning research can misrepresent the practice if positive benefits for students are overemphasised and community outcomes are not closely enough analysed. This has led to a movement in the literature away from writing about service-learning research and practice in a straightforward and uncomplicated way towards a more critical model of service-learning that focuses on the multiple layers of a service-learning programme that affects a number of people in different ways (Stewart & Webster, 2011).

One approach to the critical stance on service-learning is offered by Megan Boler's concept of the pedagogy of discomfort, first introduced in 1999. A pedagogy of discomfort leans in, with curiosity, to experiences and processes that elicit feelings of discomfort in students and advocates the shift into discomfort for meaningful learning to occur (Boler, 1999). This emancipatory pedagogy "invites students to leave behind learned beliefs and habits and enter risky areas of contradictory and ambiguous moral differences" (Zembylas & Boler, 2002, p.2). This pedagogical structure aims to decentre and destabilise the student by experientially and intentionally moving them into uncomfortable spaces so that their core beliefs are challenged, and problematic prejudices are interrupted. Zembylas (2017) argues that within higher education, allowing students opportunities to engage with uncomfortable feelings also provides them with opportunities to challenge their own beliefs and social habits, especially those that contribute to inequality and prejudice. Most significantly, this requires students to allow their feelings of vulnerability to be embraced, rather than avoided and for the self to experience ambiguity during the learning experience (Zembylas, 2017). The intended outcome for the employment of the pedagogy of discomfort is meaningful change that allows students to move past prejudices and problematic belief structures that perpetuate social inequality. In South Africa (and in the discipline of psychology), this is a particularly relevant and important goal because of the historical turmoil that has left a residue of social and economic inequality. Drawing on the pedagogy of discomfort is useful in the context of this research because it highlights the anxieties, tensions, and inherent stress in the service-learning experience, as well as the kinds of relational contexts that foster this discomfort.

The pedagogy of discomfort is underpinned by the early writings of Freire (1974), introduced earlier in this chapter. This is reintroduced here to demonstrate the relevance of Freire's early work in contemporary discussions of critical service-learning. In his conceptions of service-

learning, Freire (1974) draws on critical theory and feminist pedagogy as frameworks through which service-learning can be understood. Essentially, critical theory in education highlights the political and social nature of teaching and learning and positions problem-solving as more important than knowledge consumption (Flecky, 2011). Freire (1974) argued that there is a need to examine educational aspects of privilege and power in service-learning contexts. This becomes particularly relevant when the service-learning programme or activity is occurring in disadvantaged, marginalised, or lower socio-economic status communities (such as in the context of the current study). Freire (1974) advocated the need to give a voice to communities so that it is not simply the learner who is benefitting from the experience, but the community as well. This suggests a need to situate service-learning in context with social issues and challenges, and not to view these as separate from the experience of service-learning. The primary emphasis, for Freire (1974), is on empowering communities and ensuring that community members involved in the project or programme are treated with respect and dignity (Cone & Harris, 1996), rather than as 'tools' in the service-learning process available for students to use and then abandon once the credit has been obtained or the course outcomes achieved. This understanding of service-learning underpins much of the critical model of service-learning and is useful in tracking the distinction between traditional and critical models of service-learning.

The pedagogy of discomfort, as conceptualised by Megan Boler, is not dissimilar from Paulo Freire's concept of ruptura, which he introduced in his spoken book '*We make the road by walking'* (1990), in collaboration with Myles Horton. The concept of ruptura was introduced in a conversation around the role of discomfort and transformation in learning. Freire articulates his thoughts on ruptura in the following extract from his book, edited by Bell, Gaventa, and Peters (1990):

> "I am sure that one of the most tragic illnesses in our society is the bureaucratization of the mind. If you go beyond the previously established patterns, considered as inevitable ones, you lose credibility. In fact, however, there is no creativity without ruptura, without a break from the old, without conflict in which you have to make a decision. I would say there is no human existence without ruptura." (p. 38).

According to Freire, the critical learning that occurs during service-learning cannot happen without some form of disruption and dismantlement of existing beliefs and ideologies. In South Africa the disruption of beliefs about disability, 'race', and class can be argued to be particularly important because of the large inequalities that characterise these dimensions. High levels of inequality have resulted in oppression of various marginalised groups of people that has implications for access to resources such as health care and education. For Freire, disruption meant that previously held beliefs and ways of thinking and feeling about social and political issues were interrupted and interrogated with a critical lens, usually with the outcome of harmful beliefs or stereotypes being transformed in a way that mitigates inequality in society. Freire believed that this disruption (undoing of harmful or unhelpful ideologies) was the basis of human existence, not just a useful concept to draw into service-learning theory on a critical level. Carrick, Himley and Jacobi (2000) have drawn on the concept of ruptura in conceptualising a critical model of service-learning that acknowledges the interpersonal complexities in the service-learning context that can create harmful residual effects for both students and community members as a result of the subjectivities that are interacting within a politically charged context. In justifying their employment of ruptura as central in a critical model of service-learning, Carrick et al. (2000) write that:

> "Recognizing ruptura allows us to resist the master narratives of service-learning, reciprocity, happy endings, and the public discourse of activisms. Representing ruptura through telling and retelling makes visible the ways service-learning is a contested terrain, a complex social, economic, and political field, in which all participants face challenging interpersonal interactions and representational responsibilities. In acknowledging ruptura, we locate these struggles- the ways course rationales interpellate students, the ways students negotiate service-learning assignments, the ways we have to choose which stories to tell - at the heart of the intellectual project of service-learning and critical experiential education." (p. 72)

What Carrick et al. (2000) are essentially saying in the above quote is that using the concept of ruptura offers an opportunity to rethink the construction of service-learning and to conceptualise the practice as something that is complex and messy, and sometimes very uncomfortable for students. However, it is the discomfort itself, or at least the acknowledgement thereof, that allows us to understand service-learning more critically and to think more carefully about the claims made about the benefits of service-learning. The master narratives that Carrick et al. (2000) refer to in the above quote essentially represent traditional models of service-learning that habitually avoid the more uncomfortable aspects of service-learning where 'happy endings' are not achieved, and lives are not necessarily improved. Ruptura as a concept can contribute to a conceptualisation of a critical model of service-learning by acknowledging the service-learning space "as a contested terrain" (p. 72). Importantly, a critical model of service-learning is therefore always intertwined with a political, economic and social context that cannot be ignored for the sake of proving the traditional benefits of service-learning. Rather, what Freire (1990) and Carrick et al. (2000) are arguing is that for students to have a meaningful learning experience and for the service-

learning experience to be truly beneficial to the community, students need to undergo a form of disruption in which their core beliefs are challenged and interrogated for the power dynamics they either reinforce or resist.

Disruption in the form of ruptura is a crucial consideration in the context of this study because of the interest in how students tell their service-learning stories and what these stories do for both the students and the community members (the children and their caregivers). The concept of ruptura nods towards a conceptualisation of critical service-learning (in opposition to traditional service-learning) and a pedagogy of discomfort. Rosenberger (2000) first introduced the term 'critical service-learning' to position service-learning within a social justice framework in which the service component is privileged above the learning component. This is not to say that learning is not valued in this model, but that the learning is a side-effect of what happens in the process of providing service, as well as interrogating the act of providing the service in terms of the power structures and inequalities that necessitated the service in the first place. From a critical perspective, without moments of ruptura, traditional service-learning serves to "mobilize and bolster privileged students to participate in and embrace systems of privilege" (Mitchell, 2008, p. 51). Critical service-learning embraces the concept of ruptura and acknowledges its function in dismantling pre-existing beliefs that reinforce problematic power structures in the service-learning context. Drawing on the concept of ruptura in defining a critical service-learning framework is helpful in demonstrating the unlearning of harmful ideologies and ways of understanding 'race' and disability, for example, among other social constructs that contribute to unhelpful ideologies. For example, Carrick, Himley and Jacobi (2000) have argued that by recognising ruptura in the narratives produced by students about their service-learning experiences, dominant discourses of service-learning as a 'happy-ending experience'

can be resisted and restructured to redefine service-learning as something that is a "contested terrain" (p. 72) with multiple factors (social, economic, and political) simultaneously at play. The concept of ruptura and indeed the practice of recognising ruptura in service-learning narratives is a nod towards a critical model of service-learning that forces students to interrogate their existence within a system that has created a need for the service-learning programme in the first place.

When ruptura (moments signifying a break from the old; a disruption in existing beliefs that causes an inner conflict) is left unacknowledged and uncontained, or when it does not happen at all, the service-learning experience has the potential to become harmful to both students and community members (Carrick et al., 2000). Camacho (2004) notes that one of the risks in service-learning is the development of the "touristic gaze" (p. 31) that students may bring into their interactions with the community. She argues that one of the duties of a service-learning program must be to teach students to recognise their own privilege and to interrogate the power structures that have situated them within their privileged positions. Camacho's (2004) argument is particularly relevant in the context of this research because of what Pratt (1992) calls 'contact zones'. Camacho (2004) succinctly defines Pratt's (1992) concept of 'contact zones' as "the disparate social spaces where authority and hierarchy encounter and engage with the other" (p. 31). Camacho (2004) emphasises that in order to avoid inflicting social violence onto community members, students need to be aware of the ways in which their gazes on the community members are imbued with power. However, this is not an easy task as the power inherent in privileged positions is often based on constructs such as 'race', class, education, socio-economic status, and ability and these constructs are heavily embedded in social structures as well as the discourses that maintain those structures.

Camacho's (2004) research on students' talk about service-learning in disempowered communities illustrates the ways in which the "multiple layers of power relations complicate service-learning interactions" (p. 37), emphasising that service-learning cannot and should not be experienced outside of these power relations. Rather, service-learning is considered reciprocal and helpful (in social justice terms) when students learn to dismantle the power structures that have brought the need for the service-learning program into being, and to move away from talking about the experience in ways that "discursively reif[y] the [participants], inadvertently constructing them as objects of their gazes" (Camacho, 2004, p. 37). This gaze that Camacho highlights can be argued to be understood as an absence of Freire's concept of ruptura, where students are gazing outward rather than 'gazing inward' on their own power-bound ideologies and beliefs that are a part of the context in which the service-learning is occurring rather than outside of or separate from the experience. This conceptualisation of the processes occurring during service-learning is representative of the critical model of service-learning.

When service-learning is framed with a critical model, it is understood that students are not able to leave their own privilege, socio-economic statuses, beliefs, and stereotypes at home when they set out to engage in a service-learning experience. These factors join them in the experience and shape their perspectives of the experience, and until students have critically reflected on how these factors interact with the service-learning context, students have not fully 'done' service-learning (from a critical model perspective). Ruptura, can then be understood as the moments where students become aware of this and turn their gaze inward rather than outward. A gaze 'outward' upon the other has been described by Carrick et al. (2000) as 'rapture' and is conceptualised as something very different from ruptura in which students become fascinated with 'otherness' and engage in a form of touristic gazing that

leads the students away from critical learning and towards volunteer tourism (Crossley, 2012). The idea of the touristic gaze (Camacho, 2004) echoes the concept of rapture in the ways in which students become problematically fascinated by the other, and how this fascination can be potentially harmful to the individuals at which the gaze is being directed. Forbes, Garber, Kensinger, and Slagter (1999) articulate this problematic gaze by arguing that "our goal is to avoid the trap of the cultural safari … [and to] short-circuit the stance of charitable pity that traditional volunteerism often produces" (p. 167). This concern echoes those made by Crossley (2012) in relation to volunteer tourism, discussed earlier in this chapter.

2.3.3 The critical model of service-learning and disability.

The tourist gaze and the concept of rapture is particularly relevant where the service-learning includes the involvement of disabled individuals. The concepts of disablement and disablism are addressed by Gent and Gurecka (2001) who argue that service-learning with disabled people can sometimes create a context in which a disservice is done to the disabled individuals (the community members with whom the students are working). Their argument is based on the premise that service-learning can serve to reinforce harmful stereotypes produced by the media and structural conditions that perpetuate the sense of disablism rather than overcome them (Gent & Gurecka, 2001). Some of the more common stereotypes and assumptions that are made about people with disabilities include the idea that they are broken and need to be fixed, they are victims of their disabilities, they suffer from a poor quality of life, and that they are child-like and should be treated as such (Gent & Gurecka, 2001). Gitlow and Flecky (2005) add that we are moving into a time "when a paradigm shift from a deficit or impairment model to a social model of disability presents an opportunity to change our service approach to health care" (p. 546). This paradigm shift aligns with the pedagogical paradigm shift from traditional models of service-learning to critical models of service-

learning. What both of these shifts share is an attempt to move away from a focus on the individual and to acknowledge the broader contexts that are relevant, albeit uncomfortable for some, in order to holistically and meaningfully interact with others. For students engaged in a service-learning programme with disabled children, this would require an understanding and interrogation of the broader political, social and economic circumstances that have contributed to an individual's experience of disability rather than assuming that the disability alone is the primary root of any suffering.

Several studies have been conducted to assess the way in which students (and their perceptions) are affected by service-learning in the context of disability. Much of the work in this area has been conducted with occupational therapy students in the UK (Gitlow & Flecky, 2005; Greene 1997; and Greene, 1998). These projects exist alongside psychology within a public health care system and they are, therefore, considered useful studies to draw on in framing the context for the present study. Gitlow and Flecky's (2005) as well as McGowan and Blankenship's (1994) findings revealed that the service-learning experience helped students to overcome stereotypes about disabilities. Additional findings in service-learning research in the context of disability include enhanced student awareness of diversity, enhanced awareness of the importance of adapting the environment, both socially and physically, for people with disabilities, and an awareness of the link between course outcomes and service-learning experiences (Gitlow & Flecky, 2005). Qualitative results yielded themes of learning about and defining disability in new ways, awareness of the environment in terms of accessibility, and the role of the student as an advocate for people with disabilities (Gitlow & Flecky, 2005). The final theme noted by Gitlow and Flecky (the advocacy role) reflected an enhanced sense of responsibility on the students' part to promote accessibility services for people with disabilities. This is in alignment with Dewey's ideals

for education in terms of striving for increased social responsibility. However, Greene (1998) found that students participating in a different service-learning project (still in the area of disability) showed a lack of increase in social responsibility as there was no mention of advocacy within the results. He notes that although there was an increase in awareness of social issues faced by the community, it cannot be asserted that service-learning is directly implicated in increased social responsibility. Greene (1998) argues that each service-learning project is connected to a unique set of benefits for both the students and the community members, but these projects need to be evaluated within their own contexts, holding in mind the power dynamics that underpin these programs (Camacho, 2004). Although no increase in social responsibility was found, Greene (1998) notes that there was a noticeable link between the service-learning programmes and the development of empathy in the students, and attributes this to students' ability to increase their interactive reasoning skills. Fleming (1991) agrees, noting that the importance of interactive reasoning is highlighted "in its ability to move beyond the factual and into the implicit to better understand one's disability from his or her view" (as cited in Greene, 1998, p. 40).

Service-learning programmes are therefore obliged to consider the costs to the community in conjunction with the intended benefits and outcomes of the project. However, Mitchell (2008) argues that it is not enough to simply consider these costs, but to set up service-learning programs that actively address them and the power structures that underpin the effects on the community (in line with a critical model of service-learning). Power needs to not only be acknowledged and interrogated but redistributed with the service-learning relationships. Watermeyer (2019) argues that it is especially important to do this in South African higher education institutions where 'race' and disability are still contested spaces marked by inequality, discrimination and prejudice.

The politics of power in service-learning becomes a crucial consideration at this point. Habashy (2018) points out the importance of identifying who has the power and the ability to make decisions in the service-learning, and what this says about the nature of service-learning itself. Habashy (2018) argues that the politics of power is a key consideration in international service-learning, but it is equally relevant in the South African context because of the historical events that set up existing power structures within service-learning relationships, particularly in the context of this service-learning programme. The politics of power is relevant in this context is because "working across different cultures, national borders, and economic levels with university students only amplifies the dynamics of power" (Habashy, 2018, p. 462). According to critical pedagogy theorists, service-learning programmes in this context are therefore best executed within a pedagogy of discomfort where students are moved into states of ruptura*,* and away from states of rapture (Carrick et al., 2000), in order for socially meaningful learning to occur, which does not reinforce existing problematic power structures, but rather interrogates and dismantles them.

This chapter has thus far mapped out the inception of service-learning internationally and locally (in South Africa) and has tracked the movement in the literature from traditional models of service-learning to more critical models of service-learning where concepts such as ruptura (Carrick et al., 2000) and the pedagogy of discomfort (Boler, 1999) have been argued to be more helpful in interrogating the practice of service-learning in order to acknowledge the nuances that makes service-learning a particularly complex academic and social activity. The focus of this chapter now turns toward literature that takes a discursive lens and some of the dominant discourses of service-learning are discussed. Picking up a discursive lens allows an exploration of service-learning in critical and socially nuanced ways. Service-learning is

always enacted through particular discourses and it is important to explore the effects of different discourses on the facilitation of service-learning practice and research in order to illuminate the social, political and cultural systems that implicitly frame service-learning programmes, and therefore students' experiences of those programmes.

2.4 Social Discursive Literature on Service-Learning

Lerman (2007) explains that through a discursive lens, learning can be understood as a social activity that is mediated through social practice, and the meanings that are attached to those practices form students' experiences and perceptions of the learning process. The social (professional development in field of study) and cultural (desirable or necessary pieces of knowledge to be transmitted) purposes of the learning activities are determined by the political, economic, and cultural contexts of the learning institution, and therefore global diversity needs to be taken into account when constructing an understanding of learning through a discursive lens (Lerman, 2007). Literature on the social discursive perspective of higher education and learning will be discussed in this section with a specific focus on dominant discourses of service-learning in psychology and disability in a South African context.

2.4.1 Discursive perspectives on higher education

From a social discursive perspective, part of what is important in the learning process for higher education students is to acquire and master the discourses of their community of practice. Allie et al (2009) argue that authentic learning is achieved when a student has learned to master the discourses of their community and has become adept in the social practices of that community. It is through acquiring the professional discourses and social

practices that meaning is made in the learning process for students. The community referred to here is the professional community into which students aspire to enter upon completion of their studies, in this research context - psychology. These professional and situated discourses available to students are drawn on in students' talk about learning activities such as service-learning (Allie et al., 2009). Just as there are dominant discourses revealed in the literature around higher education teaching and learning practices (Nicoll & Harrison, 2003), so too will specific discourses and discursive practices be influencing the development and delivery of service-learning courses in psychology. A discussion of some of the dominant discourses in higher education is provided later in this section, particularly in relation to service-learning.

Nicoll and Harrison (2003) argue that from a discursive perspective, teaching and learning practices are inscribed through dominant discourses around what it means to be a 'good teacher' and what standard of work produced by students is accepted as 'appropriate', drawing on Billig's (2006) work on rhetoric in discourse. From this perspective, students will be constructing their own versions of a 'good teacher' or, of relevance to this research, a 'good mother' or 'normal development' or 'disabled child'. In order for students to create these constructions, they will inadvertently be abandoning versions of these constructions that are in opposition to what they have constructed. In order to construct a version of 'normal development', students are subjugating binary discourses about what they conceive as 'abnormal development'. By investing in particular discourses, Billig (2006) would argue that students are subjugating other discourses. This use of rhetorical devices is important to examine in light of what students are doing through their talk about mental health and children with disabilities and particularly, the learning processes around this context.

Although Nicoll and Harrison (2003) take a more post-structuralist approach in their work, the discursive social psychology perspective is also useful in creating an awareness of the way in which discourse affects teaching and learning processes. Their research was conducted with one of the researcher's courses taught in a higher education institution that was "considered as a site for the institutionalization and inscription of relations and power-knowledge, within which attempts in the construction of particular forms of teaching subjectivity were being made" (Nicoll & Harrison, 2003, p. 24). Furthermore, the authors note that in courses such as psychology, the expectations placed on students are unique to the discipline and speak to a development of a particular professionalism. This requires certain professional discourses to be drawn on in the design and delivery of courses that influence the constructed and constructive nature of talk used by students as well as the development of their identities as members of a student and professional community (Allie et al., 2009). This talk then inevitably affects their own practices as agents in the service-learning programme, and consequently, the type of service received by the community members. The abstracted way in which course outcomes are developed are also somewhat problematic in settings where a diverse student body is participating in the course. By drawing on dominant pedagogical discourses that are generic in nature, the "more dynamic, contingent, and located accounts of professional settings and actions" (p. 27) are subjugated, and students' unique linguistic, educational, socio-economic, and cultural backgrounds are marginalised in favour of striving for 'good teaching practices' (Nicoll & Harrison, 2003). This understanding of the power of discourses is important in moving towards an understanding of the subjectivity in the learning process from a social discursive perspective, and what this does within students' talk about their learning. This research is interested in which discourses students take up in talking about their service-learning experience and what subject positioning this offers for students, lecturers, community partners, and the children.

Allie et al. (2009) write about the construction of the ‘discursive identity’ as part of the learning process in higher education that contributes to students’ developing conceptions of professionalism in their field of study. According to Brown, Reveles, and Kelly (2005), discursive identity demonstrates that the speaker selects discourses to take up in their talk with the expectation that the discourses that they draw on will position them as holding “cultural membership” and as a part of a professional community of practice (p. 783). Students can hold multiple discursive identities simultaneously, and the way in which these identities interact through their discursive practices indicates particular investments that rest on individual subjectivities. At times, students’ developing professional identities will cross boundaries with their personal existing identities (Allie et al., 2009) and this can create psychological tensions and poor performance outcomes for students engaged in service-learning. This echoes Nicolls and Harrison’s (2003) suggestions that students’ diverse backgrounds need to be acknowledged and drawn on in an analysis of their discourses.

Allie et al. (2009) add that students carry agency in that they select the discursive identities that are most congruent with their existing identities, and it is therefore important to hold in mind the interactive effect that professional and personal discursive identities might have on how they think and talk about service-learning practices, and the people involved in those practices. Walker (2001) has demonstrated the way in which investments in particular discursive identities have the ability to reinforce broader ideological and socio-political constructions such as gender. In her study with engineering students, Walker (2001) found that the identities taken up by these students were simultaneously challenging and perpetuating particular conceptions of gender relations and served to reinforce the dominant view that engineering is a male-dominated and male-oriented field. Discourse, in this way,

therefore served the action-oriented function of perpetuating patriarchal structures that informed learning processes and systems in the institution.

2.4.2 Discursive perspectives on service-learning

Mitchell (2008) juxtapositions traditional service-learning models with critical service-learning models and interrogates the discourses that are reinforced by each model. A traditional service-learning model focuses on professional development and emphasizes service but typically neglects issues around inequality. A critical service-learning approach aligns with a pedagogy of discomfort (Boler, 1999) and Freire's concept of ruptura (discussed earlier in this chapter). The emphasis in the critical service-learning model is on social change, social justice, redistribution of power, the development of authentic relationships, and deconstructing systems of power. Within a critical service-learning approach, service-learning as a learning activity becomes "a problem-solving instrument of social and political reform" (Fenwick, 2001, p. 6). Each of these models is informed by and reinforces a particular set of discourses. Traditional service-learning models reinforce discourses of liberal traditional learning, while critical service-learning models reinforce discourses of constructivist learning (Tennant, McMullen, & Kaczynski, 2010).

Liberal traditional learning refers to an understanding of teaching and learning where the teacher holds authority (both disciplinary and pedagogical) in the relationship with the student and is seen as the 'holder' of knowledge, and therefore also the 'holder' of power. The student is conceptualized as an empty vessel waiting for the teacher to impart their knowledge by way of instruction. Students are not seen as being in a position to question the teacher or to comment on the quality of teaching (Tennant et al., 2010). Liberal education is characterized by the acquisition of knowledge that is considered timeless and universal and is

considered as “education for its own sake” (Tennant et al., 2010, p. 122). The emphasis is on acquiring knowledge for the sake of acquiring knowledge rather than for using that knowledge for practical application. Within this model, thought is valued over action and any learning that is done is for the benefit of the individual who is learning. Liberal traditional learning models are heavily imbued with structural power relations in terms of who has access to this method of learning within a particular society, and who is excluded. While these models may not be enacted in contemporary higher education spaces, liberal traditional learning discourses persist where teachers or lecturers are positioned as ‘holding knowledge’ and students are positioned as without that knowledge and as dependent on their lecturers to impart that knowledge through instruction. A liberal traditional discourse of learning implies that students can be excluded from learning by the lecturer and also implies that learning happens in a straightforward, unidirectional way (from lecturer to student) (Tennant et al., 2010). The liberal traditional learning is aligned with a discourse of assessment (Boud, 1999), which “celebrates certainty” (p. 123) and ‘getting the right answer’. Though this is not always a realistic outcome for disciplines in the social sciences such as psychology, liberal traditional discourses of learning persist in higher education ostensibly because they allow the student to be positioned as ‘doing it right’ and therefore acquiring their education successfully and without uncertainty or ambiguity (Tennant et al., 2010).

A constructivist discourse of service-learning (drawn on in the critical service-learning model), embraces the messiness of learning and thrives on doubt and uncertainty. “Such a discourse regards learners as constructing their own cognitive maps, cognitive structures or schemas as a result of their experience” (Tennant et al., 2010, p. 18). Moments of ruptura are welcomed and interrogated for the power structures that need to be dismantled in the interests of social justice within the constructivist discourse of learning. Within this model, experience

is valued as a teacher and the student is afforded more agency in the learning process (with less dependence on one single lecturer to impart their knowledge). Rather, the student is seen as an active agent in knowledge acquisition in that their knowledge of a particular subject or concept can be developed through experience, allowing them to construct their own understandings and own methods of solving problems. Different subject positions are offered in that the teacher is less powerful and the student is more independent. Knowledge is also valued for its practical purposes rather than "education for its own sake" (Tennant et al., 2010, p. 122).

Du Plessis, Koen and Bester (2012) conducted research in a South African context to explore the option of home visits in a faith community as a potentially powerful opportunity for service-learning experiences for psychiatric nursing students. The core themes that emerged from their research emphasise emotion and experience as key features of the service-learning experience from the students' perspective. In framing the usefulness of service-learning in higher education, du Plessis et al. (2012) draw on constructivist discourses of service-learning to demonstrate the learning outcomes, focusing on the emotional changes that students underwent and what these changes allowed them to experience and think about, rather than on whether students 'did service-learning correctly'. The role of the community members is highlighted in talking about the outcomes of this service-learning programme and community members are positioned as teachers, rather than the course lecturers. Students and community members are constructed as co-developers of service-learning outcomes and power relations are more equal than in other traditional modes of learning.

The differentiation of traditional versus critical models (and discourses) of service-learning is not dissimilar to Kahne and Westheimer's (1996) distinctions between the use of charity

discourses versus change discourses in service-learning. While charity discourses invoke relevance to giving, civic duty, and additive experience, change discourses take up a moral position of caring, social reconstruction, and transformative experience. Kahne and Westheimer's (1996) ideas around a charity discourse in service-learning align with Mitchell's (2008) traditional service-learning model, which reinforces a liberal traditional learning discourse (Tennant et al., 2010). Charity discourses are often taken up in work done with disabled individuals where the emphasis is very much on 'doing for' the disabled community rather than on empowerment or social change (Aswegen, 2019). The change discourse of service-learning (Kahne & Westheimer, 1999) is consistent with the critical service-learning model (Mitchell, 2008), which serves to reinforce constructivist discourses (Tennant et al., 2010) of service-learning. My research is interested in the ways in which students might take up or resist these discourses in their talk about service-learning, but also how discourses of learning interact with discourses of disability, and what this interaction does.

According to Brown et al. (2005) students create their identities as students and as participants in service-learning activities through employing dominant discourses in higher education, but also through employing dominant discourses within the context of the service-learning programme. For example, Alexander's (2015) research on service-learning with a disabled community highlights the kinds of dominant discourses that are taken up in service-learning in the context of disability and some of the problems that this might cause for the disabled population. Her research explored the experiences of preservice art teachers from the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) in the United States of America, who were engaged in a service-learning programme that provided services to individuals with developmental disabilities. Engaging in the service-learning programme decreased participants' anxiety

around working with the disabled community and increased participants' leadership abilities. However, Alexander (2015) points out concerns related to social justice in that in order for service-learning programmes to be significant for both the student and the community with which they are working, social justice needs to be fore fronted as a key aim of the service-learning experience. Employing a change discourse can therefore position service-learning as a change agent for marginalized communities rather than simply a learning tool for university students (Alexander, 2015).

Disability in South Africa has been linked to low socio-economic standards and Bantjes, Swartz, Conchar, and Derman (2015) report that 80% of children living with disabilities are from poor or rural areas with limited resources. They also note that cerebral palsy is more prevalent in low- and middle-income countries than in more developed countries. This speaks to the contextual nature of disability in South Africa in particular. This sets up certain power dynamics as students working with the children and caregivers in this service-learning programme are typically from much more privileged and socio-economically stable households than the participants.

Lerman (2007) notes that the structure of the discourses that individuals use has the power to position others as either more or less powerful than the speaker. The discourses drawn on can then serve to further reinforce or subjugate inherent power dynamics at play during the service-learning process. As each student is unique in the set of subjectivities and discursive identities that they bring with them into the service-learning setting, the ways in which particular sets of discourses are drawn on will therefore be positioned slightly differently to one another. In this way, not only are students drawing on particular sets of discourses, as influenced by their own situated discursive identities, that are different from the community

in which they are working but may be different from each other as well. The student body at Rhodes University is diverse and variance in socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds is therefore generally high.

Discursive social psychology sees social practices as permeated by power and knowledge (Lerman, 2007). Service-learning as a social and interactive learning activity can therefore be considered to be tacitly influenced by underlying ideological processes that reflect certain power dynamics. These power dynamics, through a discursive social psychology lens, are reflected through and within talk that students use to describe their experiences of working with children with disabilities.

The social discursive perspective on service-learning emphasizes power relations inherent in social and institutional structures that frame the service-learning practice. It also allows a closer inspection of the role of dominant discourses of service-learning in maintaining or challenging those power relations. The effects of employing particular discourses of service-learning affects the extent to which a service-learning programme can be beneficial to both students and community members, or alternatively inflict further harm by maintaining or reinforcing problematic or oppressive power structures. The literature discussed above usefully focuses on broader power structures in the social realm but little consideration is afforded to inner psychic processes that may be interacting with outer processes mediated by those power structures. Psychoanalytic perspectives on service-learning offer a different view on the processes at play in this kind of educational space. Literature that takes a psychoanalytic stance on higher education and service-learning in particular is useful to explore in addressing the inner psychic processes experienced by students during service-

learning and in framing the need for a more balanced, psychosocial perspective on service-learning as a practice.

2.5 Psychoanalytic Perspectives of Higher Education Learning

Eyler (2002) argues that "reflection is the hyphen in service-learning" (p. 35) and foregrounds the ways in which Dewey and Kolb emphasised that reflection is a fundamental component of learning. Dewey (1934) wrote that "emotion is the moving and cementing force. It selects what is congruous and dyes what it selected with its colour, thereby giving qualitative unity to material externally disparate and dissimilar" (p. 42). Emotion is therefore positioned as a precursor or a trigger for reflection and reason, which appears to be the goal. If emotion is seen as a trigger for reflection rather than suffused with reflection, then these are positioned as two separate processes. This understanding has been pervasive in consequent research perspectives and emotion has largely been separated from reflection or subjugated in its role in the learning process (for example, Eyler & Giles, 1999; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Hefferman, 2001). Within the cited research, emotion is often hinted at but is not acknowledged as playing a crucial role in reflection and learning.

Felten, Gilchrist and Darby (2006) have therefore called for a more inclusive definition of reflection that acknowledges the role of emotion in the learning process, particularly in the context of service-learning practices. "If emotion always is a part of any learning process, it likely plays especially significant roles in the learning equations that link service to academic objectives" (Felten et al., 2006, p. 42). They argue that facilitation of reflective spaces should provide an opportunity to allow emotion to surface as it forms an essential component of reflection. Felten et al. (2006) suggest, from personal communications, that Professor Piepmeier's work in service-learning most effectively echoes their argument. She encourages

her students to use their anger or other strong emotions to help them to reflect on their experiences in service-learning. She encourages them to do this by asking questions such as 'What would the women at the shelter think about this?' I argue that by doing this, she is encouraging students to hold the other's mind in mind and is essentially facilitating mentalizing opportunities for her students. One way in which she encourages her students to reflect and pay explicit attention to emotion in their reflection processes is to have the students complete journaling assignments. Others such as Eyler (2002) have also encouraged their students to use journals in facilitating reflective processes.

The arguments made by Felten et al. (2006) highlight the paucity of literature that acknowledges emotion as an important part of reflection, and consequently, the learning process. This argument is particularly important in light of general intended outcomes of service-learning in producing socially responsible and civically engaged citizens but "by ignoring emotions that exist and shape learning, we threaten to shirk our responsibility as educators and to limit the potential for real academic learning" (Felten et al. 2006, p. 43). Felten et al. (2006) further highlight the need for service-learning research to find ways to study emotion and cognition in innovative ways that do not subjugate the role of emotion in the reflection process. Psychoanalytic perspectives on service-learning have contributed significantly with respect to focusing on the emotional work of learning.

Literature on psychoanalytic perspectives on service-learning in particular is sparse but Bibby (2011) eloquently proposes that psychoanalysis is an attractive perspective for thinking about and practicing higher education because of what it uniquely offers:

> “It can provide sets of metaphors and give attention to the difficult bits: the fears and anxieties, the fantasies and desires, the loves and hates, the less than rational and the strange logics of our passions and our unconsciouses. It enables, indeed it requires, us to say the unsayable, to experience what it feels like to utter the forbidden words, and to know that the unbearable feelings are in us as they are in others.” (p. 3)

What is unique about the psychoanalytic perspective on higher education and learning according to Bibby (2011) is parts of the learning experience that, in traditional perspectives, have been ignored or ‘unseen’. Applying the interests of psychoanalysis (such as fears, anxieties, fantasies and desires) to the context of higher education allows a different perspective of the processes occurring during learning at the higher education level. Hunt and West (2009) argue that psychoanalysis allows us to better understand the unconscious processes in learning by conceptualising learning as something that is both cognitive and emotional. Acknowledging the sometimes-unconscious emotional aspects of learning offers a more holistic understanding that recognises the importance of selfhood in educational experiences.

Bibby (2011) usefully goes on to delineate three common psychodynamic principles that can be broadly applied in higher education, despite tensions and debates within the fractured schools of thought in psychoanalysis. The first common principle is that individuals all possess a dynamic unconscious, and this cannot be directly accessed or fully known by the individual or the other. Secondly, individuals are inherently defensive, and can therefore be understood as ‘defended subjects.’ The third common principle is that our unconscious does not exist or function independently of the outer world. Bibby (2011) therefore argues that we are psychosocial beings, rather than purely psychic beings operating in a world waiting to be

affected by our defences. Cultural meanings are inscribed into our psychic processes, especially within a culture of higher education.

Lapping (2011) has drawn on Bernstein's work in writing about psychic defences in institutional contexts such as higher education to demonstrate the usefulness and application of psychoanalysis in this context. What is significant about Lapping's (2011) argument is that psychic defences are conceptualised as always related to power. According to her, psychic defences act as mechanisms to naturalise power relations, and to reduce anxiety evoked in response to the arbitrary nature of some power relations. Arbitrarily assigned power relations can exist between individuals and also between an individual and an institutional structure, but in both cases the power relations have the power to provoke anxiety in individuals. Individuals can employ psychic defence mechanisms to imagine the power relations as natural and logical in order to sidestep the anxiety experienced by being a part of the power relationship. Lapping (2011) argues that psychic defences are necessary in higher education institutions in order to hide (from ourselves and others) contradictions and dilemmas that arise in relation to the self in the face of new experiences (such as service-learning), in order to protect our sense of identity. When we are faced with new forms of knowledge, our identity can become threatened if that new information presents contradictions and inconsistencies. Psychic defences provide an escape from this threat to our identity and allow us to hold on to a sense of a consistent identity. Psychic defences therefore play a significant role in how we construct and interact with the world around us. However, Lapping (2011) emphasises that psychic defences are not exclusively an inner psychic process but are influenced by the context in which they occur. When conflicts are contained, the need for psychic defences is mitigated. This research is interested in how students contain their

anxieties and other difficult emotions during service-learning, which is mediated in part through the institutional context.

Karagiannopoulou (2011) notes that the academic demands that are characteristic of higher education institutions often cause an increase in anxiety in students, especially in “intensive learning situations” (p. 5). She argues, however, that when students discover difficult emotions in relation to others during learning such as their own helplessness or position of power, this can lead to creativity and an integration of the self. In this sense, relationships in learning are highlighted as key in creating contexts in which students can learn beyond rote styles where the goal is knowledge acquisition without truly integrating this knowledge into one’s sense of self. When students continuously face uncertainty in their learning experiences and begin to become comfortable with not having the answers readily at hand, they are able to develop a more integrated self (Karagiannopoulou, 2011). This is particularly important in disciplines such as psychology where students are required to develop “more sophisticated conceptions of knowledge” (Karagiannopoulou, 2011, p. 6). However, Coren (1997) notes that students often become ambivalent towards learning when they are faced with learning situations that illuminate students’ own insecurities, narcissism or fear of failure and the learning experience can instead prompt students to turn away from the intended learning outcomes in order to avoid the anxiety that arises in situations of doubt or ambiguity. Psychoanalytic perspectives on higher education and learning (especially service-learning which is often characterised by uncertainty and ‘not knowing’) therefore highlight the significant role played by emotion in learning, even if this is not always within the learner’s awareness.

Drawing on a psychoanalytic model to provide a perspective on higher education allows us to "interrogate what happens inside us, at the emotional level, and how these processes in turn profoundly influence and shape collective action within society" (Watermeyer, 2006, p. 31). It is helpful to talk about and think about higher education in terms of its social structure and function, but psychoanalysis offers insights into the processes driving our intersubjective interactions that are not easily recognised at face value. Importantly, our intersubjective interactions are informed by our own inner psychic processes, but these are also often tied up in the intersectionality of 'race', class and disability in higher education institutions (Watermeyer, 2006). In South Africa, historically individuals who are 'black' were (and often still are) subjected to differential treatment based on their racial profile. Higher education institutions are most accessible to English-speaking, 'white', middle-class, able-bodied students in South Africa and while some redress has been attempted in the form of transformation of higher education institutions in South Africa, inequality is still rife within many of them (Watermeyer, 2006). The power structures in place interact with students' identities in ways that are either in concordance with their sense of selves or create anxiety, inner conflict and tension in relation to their own identity. In attempting to then unpack students' subjectivity in learning practices such as service-learning, the role of institutional power structures informed by 'race', disability and class have to be seen as relevant in how students manage their own anxieties in learning experiences (or not). In exploring the intersectionality of 'race' and disability in higher education institutions, Watermeyer (2019) has argued that institutions often employ what he refers to as 'race-based logic' when faced with challenges related to disability. Using arguments around 'race' as a means of access to particular resources can be seen as a psychic defence mechanism that allows the complexities of disability to be avoided. It is important to interrogate the ways in which 'race' intersects with class and disability in higher education institutions.

Reeve (2006) argues that over and above the structural dimension of disablism, the psycho-emotional dimension prevents people with disabilities from fully participating in society as effectively as those without disabilities. The psycho-emotional dimension is directly linked to cultural representations of disability and the obvious absence of disabled bodies in the media and is fluid in terms of how it is affected by time and place. Reeve (2006) writes that, within the psycho-emotional dimension of disablism, people with disabilities often experience a sense of being avoided by able-bodied people. She explains that "the lack of such cultural rules for the interactions between disabled and non-disabled people can lead to anxiety and confusion about how one 'ought' to behave, with the result being avoidance rather than engagement" (Reeve, 2006, p. 99). Reeve's argument suggests that working with children with disabilities may create a context that is marked by intense anxiety because of the differences in ability between students and children, and a sense of uncertainty about how to navigate this context. This research is interested in how students describe navigating this context.

Watermeyer (2006) usefully highlights how psychoanalytic thinking is an appropriate model within the field of disability studies: "More traditional sociological approaches to disability may, on their own, lack some articulation of the more intrinsic human origins of oppression; it is in this area that a critical psychoanalytic approach to interrogating social phenomena finds an eloquent and often dramatically enlightening voice" (p. 31). This argument is highly relevant in the context of this research in applying an understanding of this service-learning programme that acknowledges systems of oppression that exist in the social context of the programme. This is important for several reasons in terms of the ways in which students confront socio-historical racism and oppression, psycho-emotional disablism, and classism,

all of which are written into South African society and embedded in systems of learning (higher education) and in service (clinics and hospitals). Watermeyer (2006) argues that the oppression of disabled people occurs not only at a societal level, but on a personal level as well, and psychoanalysis is a useful model in circumscribing this activity. Psychoanalysis is particularly useful in addressing questions relevant to the current research such as “what emotional payoff is achieved by non-disabled persons’ involvement in ‘altruistic’ disability-related work?” and “what is the origin of excessive emotional energy (be it sadistic, fearful, or kind) evoked by images of disability?” (Marks, 1999, cited in Watermeyer, 2006, p. 32).

The link between psycho-emotional disablism and reflection in service-learning is rooted in the kinds of deep personal changes that students may need to confront during service-learning. “Reflective thinking is always more or less troublesome because it involves overcoming the inertia that inclines one to accept suggestions at their face value; it involves willingness to endure a condition of mental unrest and disturbance” (Dewey, 1910, p. 13). This quote speaks to the useful link between service-learning and disability, and points to the relevance of this research in exploring how students make meaning of these experiences. Psychoanalytic views on higher education, learning and specifically service-learning are useful in accounting for the emotional aspects of subjectivity in these contexts.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed service-learning literature from a number of angles beginning with a discussion of the theoretical roots of service-learning and how service-learning is distinct from other forms of experiential learning such as volunteerism or community service. The chapter then examined the distinctions between traditional and critical models of service-learning and argued that the critical model is particularly relevant for this research in

recognising the intersectionality of ‘race’, disability and class in higher education spaces. Importantly, within a critical model, Freire’s concept of ruptura was highlighted as a useful concept in understanding the necessity of uncomfortable experiences during service-learning. This argument is supported by Boler’s (1999) pedagogy of discomfort which was also discussed in this section. The chapter then provided an overview of a discursive perspective of service-learning before providing an overview of psychoanalytic literature on service-learning. While discursive approaches have been useful in highlighting the social, political and cultural structures that inform the dominant discourses and power dynamics of service-learning, discursive social psychology has been criticised for presenting an incomplete model of subjectivity that does not adequately account for unconscious processes (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013) and student agency in the service-learning process. In the literature reviewed, psychoanalytic perspectives have addressed the ways in which unconscious processes play out in service-learning contexts with particular emphasis on the role and influence of anxieties and identity conflicts during learning experiences.

However, psychoanalytic perspectives too are limited in their scope in exploring service-learning holistically. Although psychoanalysis as a field has moved towards recognising social contributions in psychic processes, traditionally psychoanalytic perspectives have tended to over individualise the service-learning process and pathologize individuals with limited consideration of the power relations and social structures in which the individuals exist, and in which service-learning occurs. There is therefore a need for a model of understanding and exploring service-learning that can simultaneously account for the complex inner and outer processes that constitute the service-learning experience. A psychosocial model is therefore argued to be a valuable tool in bringing the strengths of both

discursive and psychoanalytic perspectives together as each perspective is useful in addressing the limitations of the other.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the psychosocial theoretical framework adopted for this research, review some of the psychosocial research conducted on service-learning, and explicate the key concepts associated with the constituents of this psychosocial framework that draws on contributions from discursive social psychology and the concept of mentalization from contemporary attachment theory.

Psychosocial research has been approached from various angles, drawing on various schools of thought to account for the psychic and social mediators of talk. I have selected discursive social psychology and a psychoanalytic approach, drawing specifically on the concept of mentalization, as part of a psychosocial framework to conduct this research on service-learning in psychology. Each field has strengths in terms of what it has added to the literature on service-learning in psychology, but also limitations. Drawn together in a psychosocial framework, each is enhanced by the other in accounting for both ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ processes occurring during service-learning without reducing the ‘inner’ and the ‘outer’ to two separate sites of study. As Clarke (2006) succinctly argues, “neither sociology nor psychoanalysis provides a better explanation of the world than the other, but together they provide a deeper understanding of the social world” (p. 1154).

This chapter begins with some important theoretical considerations from the field of psychosocial studies before unpacking the specific key concepts that were used in this research from both discursive social psychology and psychoanalysis, specifically contemporary attachment theory.

3.2 Conceptualising a Psychosocial Theoretical Framework

Psychosocial studies refers to a field that is considered interdisciplinary in its inception and application (Frosh, 2003). Saville Young (2019) has argued that psychosocial studies is particularly useful to the discipline of psychology in transcending the limits of traditional psychological approaches in order to conceptualise subjectivity in a more integrated and holistic way. Clarke (2006) explains that psychosocial research views individuals in such a way that "it does not reduce either to social or psychic" (p. 113) because the two are so closely related that they cannot be conceptualised or analysed separately. Therefore, the psychosocial approach within this research is applied in a way that formulates an understanding of students as 'a whole'; that is, they are seen as both individuals with their own particular subjectivities and capacities for mentalizing, that are produced within a broader institution, and as members of social structures, and as existing within a particular historical context.

Hollway and Jefferson (2013) explain that within a psychosocial framework, the subject is "positioned within the surrounding social discourses but motivated by unconscious investments and defences against anxiety" (p. 72). It is argued that by employing a psychosocial approach which necessarily sees the psychic and the social as inextricably intertwined, a more holistic sense of the individual is created and reflected upon (Frosh, 2003). However, the field of psychosocial studies is not without its own tensions and different perspectives; different psychosocial researchers have employed contributions from slightly different fields in building explanations of the social alongside the psychic. For example, Hollway and Jefferson (2013) use Kleinian psychoanalytic contributions to frame the inner psychic processes occurring during interactions, drawing specifically on concepts such as 'splitting' and 'defended subjects.'

Wetherell (2005) has offered criticisms in this regard and argues that it is not useful to psychoanalyse the individual to the extent that Hollway and Jefferson (2005) suggest is necessary. She argues that it is important to acknowledge explicitly, the discursive contexts in which we place our participants, and to think about the effect that this has on the kinds of things that are said (and not said) during the interview. She uses the example of asking a participant to agree to a follow-up interview, a method often employed in psychosocial research. This creates an impression that something about the first interview was not clear, or that the interviewer aims to determine whether the participant was lying or confused about particular events. This immediately sets up a kind of position or subject identity of a participant who is immoral or incoherent, or even a liar.

While these suggestions may not be immediately or explicitly true for every interview situation, or for interview situations created in this research, Wetherell (2005) does make an important contribution in alerting the researcher to the ways in which participants attend to a particular audience. It is therefore not necessary, according to Wetherell (2005), or in fact, useful, to over-individualise the participant's accounts through the analysis but rather to actively interrogate the situations in which those accounts were produced. To over-emphasise the individual psychic processes that are produced through (and produce) talk, is to return to the social-psychological dualism that psychosocial research has so intently attempted to avoid (Wetherell, 2005).

Unlike Hollway and Jefferson (2013), Langer et al. (2018) use Lacanian Psychoanalysis to contribute a psychoanalytic lens to their psychosocial framework identifying discourses of higher education and examining students' investments in these discourses. Clarke (2006) employs psychoanalytic sociology, drawing on Freud's early psychoanalytic work and the broader field of constructionist sociology to conduct psychosocial research while Saville

Young and Frosh (2010) have employed Lacanian theoretical concepts alongside discursive social psychology in their psychosocial analysis of texts on brothering. Billig (2006) has argued that within a psychosocial framework, it is useful to draw on a reworked understanding of the Freudian concept of repression in dialogue. He argues that it is helpful to view repression as "socially produced and openly observable" (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010, p. 514), rather than something that is located within and belongs to the individual. Repression is significant in conversation because, from a psychosocial perspective, what is not said can be as significant as what is said. This is an important contribution to psychosocial research because of the way in which psychoanalytic threads are woven through a discursive interpretation of texts.

Conversation holds a repressive component, and this is argued to be a useful intersection between psychoanalysis and discursive social psychology. Billig (2006) does consider the limitations of both schools of thoughts, in that discursive social psychology is primarily concerned with what is said rather than what is not said. He adds that psychoanalysis needs to broaden its view of repression as something that is socially produced and enabled rather than an inner function of the individual. Billig (2006) contributes some useful considerations but his views do depart from psychosocial work to a certain extent in that he still focuses more heavily on the outer world and on socially produced language than on unconscious processes occurring during (and producing) talk.

While an in-depth explication of each of these different theoretical stances is out of the scope of this chapter, what is important to note is that there are various ways in which one can employ a psychosocial framework in research. This chapter will now turn to briefly review psychosocial research on service-learning.

3.3 Psychosocial Pedagogical Research in Service-Learning

As already described, a psychosocial approach accounts for individuals by understanding subjectivity as something that is simultaneously social, moulded by the outside world, and psychic, developed through inner unconscious processes beginning at birth (Frosh, 2003). This is a useful approach to studying contexts in higher education because "student engagement, progression and achievement are undoubtedly psychosocial matters insofar as psychological and intellectual development occurs within an intersubjective network" (Langer, Bunn & Fellows, 2018, p. 3). A psychosocial approach offers a view of the student that accounts for agency and subjectivity within social, cultural and political systems that the define the context of research. Examining agency from a psychosocial perspective involves accounting for the influences of power, emotion, knowledge and intersubjectivity (Langer et al., 2018).

Langer et al. (2018) have reported on their exploration of a psychosocial pedagogy with final-year students in a higher education institution. Their research explored the student experience of higher education contexts drawing on four master Lacanian discourses of higher education – master, university, hysteric, and analyst discourses. Each of these discourses produce different kinds of agency and subject positions in students. The master discourse is one of the most prevalent in higher education and positions the lecturer as the expert and the student as subservient, a slave to the master's (lecturer's) demands and wishes. The university discourse (also largely prevalent in higher education contexts) refers to matters related to the bureaucratic structure of the higher education institution and includes the monitoring of attendance through class registers, deadlines, assessment policies and so on, often creating fear and anxiety in students for fear of 'breaking the rules'. Student agency is retained within these bureaucratic parameters in the university discourse as students tend toward strategic and

rote learning rather than creative learning in order to meet university requirements. Langer. et al. (2018) propose that the hysteric and the analyst discourses have more potential than the other two discourses to develop student agency, but these discourses are often abandoned or marginalised in higher education contexts. The hysteric and the analyst discourses build a critical model of student engagement which is less common in higher education than institutional stakeholders would like. Langer et al. (2018) note that students oscillate between different discourses depending on their desires and ambitions but also depending on their social circumstances (for example, class).

In higher education contexts, student agency is often spoken about in terms of 'the student journey' but this is problematic as it ignores privilege and class (something that a psychosocial approach interrogates as part of one's agency) and assumes that learning is straightforward and is acquired incrementally as the student progresses through each year of their degree (Langer et al., 2018). This implies minimal student agency as the journey is directed and steered by the 'master' or the lecturer and does not prepare the student to struggle or to fail (Langer et al., 2018). Students can be conceptualised as 'split subjects' from a psychosocial perspective, as individuals who are positioned as both consumer/customer and scholars/engaged citizens. Institutional pressures to both produce and consume knowledge creates conflicting identities in students. Langer et al. (2018) argue that what this shows is that talking about 'the student journey' is not helpful nor accurate as it is not unidirectional and often changes in line with identity shifts in students. A psychosocial pedagogical framework acknowledges these shifts as linked to student agency and student agency is mediated through particular discourses of higher education.

Ringrose (2007) has employed a psychosocial approach to analyse students' negotiations of 'black' feminist intersectionality discourses in women's studies" (p. 264). Specifically, she was interested in the ways in which students engage with discursive complexities in 'black' feminist intersectional frameworks and how students negotiate the sometimes-contradictory discourses offered in this context. Through using a psychosocial framework, Ringrose (2007) examined how students' agency is influenced by power and difference. Using psychoanalysis as part of the psychosocial framework that she applied, allowed an understanding of how discursive contradictions in the learning spaces (classrooms) can create "intersubjective psychical conflicts" (p. 265) that are sometimes outside of individuals' awareness (Ringrose, 2007). Ringrose (2007) notes that the oscillation between different subject positions offered by competing discourses is in itself a process of learning and a psychosocial approach provides the framework for mapping this. In addition, a psychosocial framework draws in a recognition of broader structural contexts that are useful in examining intersectionality in the higher education space specifically because it locates conflict simultaneously within and outside of the individual.

Saville Young (2019) has examined the ways in which a psychosocial framework is specifically useful in the discipline of psychology when undertaking pedagogical research in a South African higher education context where intersectionality is important to interrogate. In analysing the same service-learning course that is the focus of the study by applying a psychosocial framework, Saville Young (2019, p. 124) highlights some of the "defensive blind spots" or challenges that can emerge in service-learning. One of these blind spots involves the tendency to emphasise psychological support over practical assistance (such as driving caregivers to the local hospitals) to the community members, which in hindsight was revealed to be psychologically supportive in its own way. This blind spot highlighted the

need to examine class differences at play in this service-learning context in order to re-imagine the kinds of support students can offer to the community. Another challenge or blind spot lay in the 'messiness' of the service-learning course, referring to the students expressing that they felt overwhelmed by what was required of them. Drawing on psychoanalytic perspectives of this response (as part of a psychosocial framework), Saville Young (2019) notes that vulnerability and uncertainty in learning is an expected response to being confronted with knowledge and experiences that may threaten students' identities and sense of self. Saville Young (2019) argues that the use of a psychosocial framework in a service-learning context in a highly unequal society such as South Africa offers space to explore the structural power dynamics that are at play amidst students' anxieties and fears resulting in the 'messiness' inherent in service-learning.

This brief review of psychosocial research on service-learning in higher education, demonstrates that each approach offers unique contributions, drawing on different theories to account for a 'psychosocial' understanding of subjectivity. For this research, mentalization was selected for its ability to account for both the 'inner' and the 'outer' without necessarily separating these as two different realms. The concept of mentalization is used alongside discursive social psychology which offers contributions particularly relevant to how psychology is made relevant through the negotiation of available discourses in certain contexts. The key contributions to this research from discursive social psychology and psychoanalysis, with a specific focus on the concept of mentalization, will now be detailed in order to thicken the description of the particular theoretical framework used in this research.

3.4 Key Contributions from Discursive Social Psychology

This research draws on discursive social psychology within a broader psychosocial framework that aims to interpret individuals' accounts in a holistic manner. Discursive social psychology is a domain of study in which discourse is the primary interest of researchers and analysts. Rather than being interested in the thought processes behind language and other modes of communication, discursive social psychology is interested in what discourse does in our interactions with others (Potter, 2012). Discursive social psychologists argue that discourse is a medium for action and it is therefore in the study of discourse that we are able to understand human action (or inaction) in particular social settings. Wooffitt (2005) concisely defines the scope of discursive social psychology as an approach that "seeks to analyse reports of mental states, and discourse in which mental states become relevant, as social actions oriented to interactional and inferential concerns" (p. 113). Applying this emphasis to this study of a service-learning programme, it is argued that examining the ways in which participants report on their own and others' mental states during service-learning is done within the institutional and social contexts in which they are being talked about.

3.4.1 Key tenets of discursive social psychology.

Discursive social psychology is an eclectic yet rigorous theory of analysing talk and texts that draws on various approaches including discourse analysis, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, rhetoric, and post-structuralism. The development of discursive social psychology as an independent theory and method is historically rooted in seminal conversations between theorists such as Wetherell (1998) and Schegloff (1997) and in contributions from philosophers such as Wittgenstein (1953) (Weatherall, 2016). These early

conversations are important in situating discursive social psychology as a useful tool with distinct characteristics; that is, that discourse is viewed as constructed and constructive, situated, and action-oriented (Potter & Edwards, 2001). Potter (2012) later added that discourse is also produced as psychological. Each of these four characteristics will now be discussed in more detail alongside key concepts in discursive social psychology including interpretive repertoires, subject positioning, and ideological dilemmas.

In discursive social psychology, discourse is understood as both constructed and constructive by drawing on a wide range of linguistic resources such as grammar, word choice, repertories and common conversational practices (Potter, 2012). Individuals construct their versions of their psychological worlds and social organisations using these resources in particular ways in order to do particular things. Discursive social psychology is interested in the ways in which people construct their worlds and what these constructions allow the speaker to do. One of the ways in which people build these constructions is through the use of interpretive repertoires. An interpretive repertoire refers to a set of idioms, categories or terms that are conceptually related and can be organized around a metaphor (Potter, 2012). Wetherell and Potter (1988) describe interpretive repertoires as 'building blocks' that individuals use in constructing versioned accounts of the world around them. Interpretive repertoires can often be identified in figures of speech and metaphors. When competing interpretive repertoires are drawn upon in conversation, the inconsistency in the constructions being made may result in what Billig (1996) refers to as an ideological dilemma. An ideological dilemma refers to competing ideologies (which can be enacted through the employment of interpretive repertoires) held by the speaker or enabled by a particular discourse. Ideological dilemmas (and the ways in which individuals attempt to negotiate these) are considered useful sites for

examination of individuals' talk to interrogate the rich complexities of the discourses being employed (Billig, 1996).

Discourse is viewed as situated in three different ways. First, discourse is situated sequentially in that discourses are "located in time, orienting to what has just happened and building an environment for what happens next" (Potter, 2012, p. 11). This means that discourse is produced in a particular sequence as a conversation about service-learning in psychology unfolds, for example. Secondly, discourse is situated institutionally. Institutions house particular identities which influence the ways in which discourse is used in everyday situations. Actions of others are understood in relation to those identities. Discourse is therefore situated institutionally in the ways in which psychological matters are given relevance and are constructed in relation to the goals and ideologies of the institution (Potter, 2012). In the context of this research, this refers to the ways in which students make sense of and construct their service-learning experience in terms of the goals of the academic institution (university) through which the service-learning is facilitated. One of the primary goals of an academic institution would be student learning and so students may construct their service-learning experience with this context in mind and therefore construct service-learning as either a successful or unsuccessful learning activity. Third, discourse and action are situated rhetorically. Discursive social psychology is interested in the ways in which constructions can sometimes be built in ways that manage any attempts from the listener to undermine them or produce alternatives (Potter, 2012). Discourse is situated in that it is occasioned; that is, talk is positioned within and oriented to particular contextual and sequential interactions (Wooffit, 2005). For this reason, discursive social psychology does not view behaviours and attitudes as separate. Rather, attitudes are constructed through and

within behaviour located in the particular versioned discourses used during the behaviour (Wiggins & Potter, 2007).

Discourse is action-oriented in that language and institutional practices are understood as action whose purpose is to ‘do something’. Discursive social psychology is interested in how this action is done through discourse rather than understanding discourse as representative of mental states (Potter, 2012). For example, power may be reproduced through discourse and social interactions, whether this is intended by the speakers or not. By speaking about what is ‘good’, there must be some understanding or conceptualisation (sometimes implicit and repressed) of what is ‘bad’. Positioning service-learning as good or successful for one’s learning, for example, would therefore be considered an act of repressing a construction of service-learning as bad or unsuccessful. In drawing on concepts such as repression, it is important to acknowledge that this signals a move into psychoanalytic territory.

However, Billig (2006) conceptualizes repression somewhat differently to psychoanalytic thinkers, as he understands this as something that happens through language, rather than before or behind the language. In other words, the repression is a linguistic activity, rather than an inner psychic process informing the construction of talk. When individuals employ particular discourses, they are inadvertently subjugating others (Billig, 2006) and this is viewed as action through language. Potter and Edwards (2001) further this explanation in stating that “claims and descriptions that are offered in talk are often designed to counter potential alternative versions and resist attempts (perhaps actual, perhaps potential) to disqualify them as false, partial, or interested” (p. 104). Discourse is therefore argued to be action-oriented in that talk is considered to be performative. Discursive social psychology sees language as action which serves to further perpetuate or undermine particular ideological

practices and patterns. Ways of talking about particular events or experiences are therefore methods for getting things done; language serves an instrumental and action-based purpose (Potter & Edwards, 2001). When students talk about their service-learning experiences, it is therefore important to explore what students are 'getting done' through their language and employment of particular discourses and to investigate what purpose their employment of those discourses serves.

Subject positioning is a key concept in discursive social psychology as a demonstration of the actionable nature of discourse, specifically in relation to power. Subject positioning refers to the ways in which the self and others are afforded power or particular identities within a discourse. O'Doherty and Davidson (2010) explain that "individuals occupy different subject positions at different times and draw on, construct, and shift between different subject positions in their everyday lives, and even in the course of particular conversations, dependent on context and discursive purpose" (p. 224 – 225). This means that subject positions are fluid and individuals can shift between different subject positions depending on the discourses they employ in their talk. Different discourses also offer different subject positions for individuals in a social context (O'Doherty & Davidson, 2010) and in this way, discourse is understood as action-based (Potter, 2012).

Discourse is produced as psychological, from a discursive social psychology perspective, in that individuals can construct events or others either subjectively (as primarily psychological) or objectively (as independent of an individual's psychology) (Potter, 2012). In analyzing descriptions produced by individuals in their talk, Edwards (2007) therefore distinguishes between 'subject side' and 'object side' in examining the constructions built in the descriptions. For example, an individual can construct an event, idea or another individual in

different ways by using either subject-side or object-side descriptions. The event could be described objectively without reference to inner mental states (object side descriptions) or it could be described in terms of how it was experienced by the speaker, referring to attitudes and emotions in relation to the event (subject-side) (Edwards, 2007).

Discursive social psychology is decidedly anti-cognitivist in its approach to examining text and talk and in this way, challenges dominant traditional approaches of psychology that foreground thought as a precursor to behaviour and talk. Discursive social psychology views talk as the appropriate object of study in psychological research as opposed to cognitive structures that inform talk (Wiggins & Potter, 2005). At the forefront of the anti-cognitivist stance of discursive social psychology is Rom Harré (1989) who argues that selves cannot be reasonably viewed as theoretical mental phenomena that can be described in terms of the cognitions individuals put forward through talk. Rather, he argued that it is more useful to examine the occasioned way in which the self is constructed through discourse (both verbal and non-verbal language) and thereby brought into being. Harré's arguments were largely influenced by the later writings of Wittgenstein (1953) whose philosophies emphasised the social processes that drive the construction of particular versioned forms of language through talk, and the ways in which these processes and broader structures can constrain or enable an individual's use of language in interactional contexts.

Disability studies has been particularly adept at exploring how broader structures influence the employment of certain discourses, and one of the aims of disability studies is to "make explicit the discourses that reproduce disability as an oppressive category. One such discourse is that of the normal/abnormal, in which deviations from the statistical mean of human ability or appearance are construed as monstrous or deeply pathological" (Grue, 2011,

p. 535). These discourses are socially available in certain contexts, but in other contexts, such as higher education, discourses around disability as 'monstrous' or 'deeply pathological' are not acceptable and are therefore abandoned in favour of discourses that align with more politically correct modes of thinking. The focus in discursive social psychology is therefore on the way in which cognitions are constructed as social entities at particular points in time and in particular settings, rather than as implicit psychological processes.

Discursive social psychology essentially respecifies the way in which cognition is understood and takes an anti-cognitivist stance in its analytic procedures. Wooffitt (2005) notes that reflections on cognition are embedded in talk and social life and argues that from a discursive social psychology perspective, analysis of talk should primarily pay attention to ways in which participants assign relevance to and invoke cognitive structures as opposed to treating cognition as a primary site for research endeavours. Traditional psychology, from a cognitivist position, views language as a window into underlying mental processes and cognitions. Discursive social psychology challenges traditional views by examining discourse in an attempt to "show how descriptions and reports have been constructed to perform interactional or interpersonal functions" (p.115) thereby studying what participants do with language rather than what is 'revealed' through language (Wooffitt, 2005). Talk about inner states and cognitions are therefore treated as activities rather than representational forms. This view of cognition highlights a primary characteristic of discursive social psychology that views discourse as action-oriented (Potter & Edwards, 2001).

A defining feature of discursive social psychology, that distinguishes it from conversation analysis and makes it a particularly useful methodology for this research, is that it focuses on and acknowledges the importance of ideological structures constructed through and within

talk. Discursive social psychology holds a strong focus on ideological patterns that inform the construction of particular discourses, and how these ideological patterns are reproduced through talk. This has been influential in discussions around core theoretical principles that guide research practices in discursive social psychology. Shakespeare (2006) argues that a focus on how ideological patterns are reproduced through talk is a particularly relevant consideration for disability studies because of the linguistic implications of constructions of disability in talk, and how these speak to broader ideological structures holding common understandings of disability. Wetherell, Stiven, and Potter (1987) argue that language-in-use is the best way to unpack practical ideologies (later termed interpretive repertoires). One of the aims of discursive social psychology in the context of this research is therefore to unpack the practical ideologies that inform the construction of particular discourses around service-learning about childhood disability within psychology.

3.4.2 Limitations of discursive social psychology.

This discussion has thus far outlined the important theoretical underpinnings of discursive social psychology and why this is useful in making sense of students' talk about service-learning in the context of childhood disabilities. However, discursive social psychology has been critiqued in terms of several limitations. Kitzinger (2006) has critiqued discursive social psychology because of its lack of research programmes that can be considered as rigorous based on the argument that discursive social psychology is primarily concerned with ontological discussions around the constructed and constructive nature of cognitions that are positioned as relevant through their action in talk. Iverson (2016) furthers this by arguing that "the aim of showing that psychological issues are best understood as social actions severely constrains discursive psychology's appeals to broader projects" (p. 39). This concern is

specifically located within relativist versus realist arguments but the primary concern emerging from this critique is the way in which discursive social psychology has been critiqued for lack of rigour in research practices.

Wiggins and Potter (2007) add that discursive social psychology is not an appropriate method to use in a 'toolbox' fashion in that it cannot be sensibly used to answer questions in a psychologically traditional way. In addition to this, the ideological underpinnings and implications within the participants' social context are foregrounded in analytic procedures. Wetherell (2007) adds that discursive social psychology offers a theory of language and discourse and is not necessarily a comprehensive or appropriate theory of psychology. She argues that to assume otherwise would be undemocratic because of the way in which the analyst imposes their viewpoint and privileges this viewpoint over the participants' viewpoints. There is therefore a risk of epistemic confusion, and this has been the basis of one of the primary critiques offered by conversation analysts. However, Wiggins and Potter (2007) argue that discursive social psychology still offers valuable insights and is useful in explicating discursive practices in a detailed and ideologically meaningful way. This is most successfully achieved if the analyst is focused in presenting participants' constructions and versioned accounts of their experiences without adding their own ontological claims into the interpretation (Wetherell, 2007).

Billig (2006) points out another limitation of discursive social psychology in that it is a method of foregrounding significant ideological practices and implications through analysing discourse, but he also argues that what is left unsaid can be as ideologically important as that which is specified or implied through talk. The turn to affect (Wetherell, 2014) therefore becomes important in this shift in thinking and reflects a critique of reducing everything to

language. Billig (2006) therefore calls for a need to examine what he refers to as a "socially reproduced unconsciousness" (p. 17). Billig (2006) further argues that language can serve two purposes - expression but also repression. In this way, Billig (2006) is highlighting the role that the unconscious (not a dynamic unconscious but rather that which we are not conscious of) plays in investments individuals make in certain discourses and criticises discursive social psychology for ignoring this. From Billig's (2006) point of view, repression and expression are understood as equally important activities that operate through language within ideological frameworks. In other words, expression as well as repression are socially practiced activities enacted through discourse, and Billig (2006) is not interested in looking beyond language. He argues that it is important to focus on what is repressed as well as what is expressed in order to holistically construct an understanding of participants' narratives. Billig (2006) argues that repression should not be thought of as an internal process separate from social interactions because repression is enacted through and within social interactions and discourse. In this way, Billig (2006) disagrees with psychoanalytic thinkers about the definition of the unconscious. He therefore calls for a more integrated approach to studying and analysing discourse that goes beyond an analysis of what is said to one that includes a description of the ideological patterns inherent in what is not said, in what is repressed.

Billig's (2006) account implies a notion that has become a site of contestation for Wetherell. This is because it has been argued by constructionists such as Chodorow (1999) that cultural and personal meanings are separable entities. This argument has led to work that emphasises the distinction between what is said through text, and the meaning behind the text. Internal worlds have been described as something different to the actions created through language and Wetherell (2007) problematises this notion by arguing that "psycho-discursive practices are not necessarily mysterious or necessarily expressive outpourings of deep inner psyche"

(p. 676). Rather, Wetherell (2007) argues that psychoanalytic concepts such as repression are enacted through talk and meaning is made through and during talk, not separately from talk. Nevertheless, discursive social psychology has been criticised for an over-emphasis on cultural and social meaning-making processes that are positioned as different to and occurring separately from inner psychic processes, or rather for the assertion that these inner psychic worlds are only assigned relevance and meaning through talk (Wetherell, 2007). The imposition of ideological significance in discursive practices has left little room for focus on processes that are not necessarily immediately implicated through talk. Explorations of why individuals invest in particular discursive practices needs more attention in the analysis process, and I argue that concepts such as mentalization are useful to account for these investments.

Hollway and Jefferson (2005) challenge the degree of agency afforded to the individual in discursive work and argue against an approach that is heavily mired by determinism which does not leave much room for the influence of the unconscious and also implies that humans are always rational beings that make decisions based on logic and sound cognitive processes. Therefore, the authors argue that it is more useful to talk about investments (an idea grounded in psychoanalysis) made in discourses rather than choice because people do not always actively choose to draw on certain discourses. Often this is done without rational decision-making processes. Hollway and Jefferson (2005) have therefore privileged the unconscious processes that are reflected and produced through talk and use psychoanalytic tools to explain these processes. In so doing, Hollway and Jefferson (2005) have essentially offered a crucial criticism of discursive social psychology for undermining an individualized psychological view of people. They argue that within a psychosocial analysis, it is useful to think about "unconscious intersubjectivity to theorise the effect of the research relationship(s) on the production and analysis of data" (Hollway & Jefferson, 2005, p. 151). In this way, there is an

assumption of a life beyond the account presented in the text, and it is the researcher's job, according to Hollway and Jefferson (2005) to explore this because the ways in which people construct their accounts tell us something important about internal conflicts not immediately accessible to the researcher purely through the text.

It is argued that discursive social psychology is limited particularly in its heavy emphasis on social processes and interactions through language as the primary site for analysis but pays less attention to subjective processes that may be co-occurring with individuals' directions of investment in particular discourses. This research argues that, drawing on psychoanalytic principles alongside discursive work, within a psychosocial framework, would contribute a more holistic and detailed understanding of the processes occurring during talk about service-learning. In particular, I argue that a focus on processes such as mentalizing would add valuable insight into students' investments in particular discourses and the role of inter-subjectivities during social interactions that may affect the way students talk about and position others involved in the service-learning programme such as the children or caregivers with whom they are working.

3.5 Mentalization Within a Psychosocial Theoretical Framework

The theoretical concept that is drawn on to account for psychoanalytic processes in students' talk about service-learning, as part of the psychosocial framework that guides this study, is mentalization. This section explicates the concept of mentalization from a theoretical perspective, detailing how mentalization is positioned within the field of psychoanalysis, and more specifically, within contemporary attachment theory. Mentalization is discussed as a psychoanalytic concept distinct from but related to other psychoanalytic concepts. This

section further demonstrates the usefulness of this concept in the field of higher education, and in making sense of students' talk about service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers, in particular in order to account for both inner and outer processes during service-learning. The concept of mentalization and its origins are given attention, and a rationale is provided for its use in researching service-learning in a South African context where the intersectionality of 'race', class and disability are significant in institutional and social practices. The section concludes with some considerations of the limitations of the psychoanalytic school of thinking as it applies to mentalization in the context of this study, demonstrating the usefulness of this concept within a broader psychosocial framework, rather than a conceptual tool used only to emphasise the psyche.

Mentalizing is understood as an emotional act of affording a mental quality or ascribing mental states and cognitive operations to the self and to others (Fonagy et al., 2002). We perform this activity in relation to others in the ways in which we attempt to understand and attach meaning to their behaviour. Allen and Fonagy (2006) therefore define mentalizing as "imaginatively perceiving and interpreting behaviour as conjoined with intentional mental states" (p. 7). Before discussing the complexities of this concept in detail, mentalization as a concept will first be situated within its developmental history in the field of psychoanalysis and contemporary attachment theory.

3.5.1 Mentalization and psychoanalysis.

Freud's influence in the development of psychoanalysis laid down the roots for the way in which psychoanalysis developed as a field and is understood and used today. Contemporary understandings of psychoanalysis have developed significantly since Freud's assertions around the pervasiveness of sexual repression in individual suffering. However, according to

Elliot (2002), more “recent psychoanalytic accounts converge on the point that modern social conditions drive a wedge between self and others, generating in turn a waning in social ties and commitment to political and public life” (p. 26). The emphasis is on the importance of social relationships in relation to one’s subjectivity. This focus on intersubjectivity marked a move in psychoanalysis from Freud’s ideas around sexual repression as the basis of unconscious drives to an interpersonal and relational focus between individuals (Elliot, 2002). Fonagy et al. (2002) note that along with these shifts in thinking in the psychoanalytic field, there are traces of a concept similar to mentalization that point to early consideration of the kinds of mental activity that we now understand as mentalizing. Freud’s concept of “Bindung” or linking suggested that individuals employed particular psychic ways of making sense of experiences, and sometimes these psychic ways of working things out fails, and this failure to effectively make sense of experiences results in suffering (Fonagy et al., 2002). This early concept of Bindung overlaps with the concept of mentalization, and its fluidity insofar as sometimes individuals are able to mentalize their experiences, but in some cases, this activity is abandoned.

The term ‘mentalization’ was originally coined by French psychoanalysts such as Luquet (1987) and Marty (1990) and has been developed as a concept in developmental psychology since the early 1980s through active research programmes (Fonagy, 2006). Marty (1990) saw mentalization as a “protective buffer in the preconscious system that prevents progressive disorganization” (Fonagy et al., 2002, p. 28). The concept of mentalization developed into something that accounted for relational and affective aspects of behaviour interpretation and was not limited by age or task factors (Fonagy, 2001). While the processes that became known as mentalization had been thought about and written about for some time in the various schools of psychoanalytic thought, the concept of mentalization serves as a

conceptual bridge between various modes of thinking and theories such as attachment theory, developmental psychopathology, affect regulation, and psychoanalysis (Bouchard et al., 2008). Mentalization has been a particularly helpful conceptual tool in contemporary attachment theory, particularly in relation to the more complex processes of mentalization such as reflectiveness (Bouchard et al., 2008). Mentalizing is a process closely linked with attachment in that "a caregiver's mindfulness about a child's mental state appears as a key mediator of the transmission of attachment" (Bouchard et al., 2008, p. 48), and the security of this attachment is a precursor to the quality of mentalization employed by adults. This research argues that mentalization is a useful tool outside of the clinical context and can be applied when making sense of students' talk about service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers.

3.5.2 Mentalization as a conceptual tool.

Within the context of this study, mentalizing is drawn on as a conceptual tool in conducting research on service-learning, and specifically for accounting for psychological investments in discourses employed in students' talk about service-learning with disabled children. Mentalizing is broadly understood as an interactive, imaginative activity in which we are able to hold our own mental states in mind at the same time that we are holding others' states of mind in mind, and ascribing meaning to observable behaviours (Fonagy et al., 2002). Allen and Fonagy (2006) define the concept of mentalizing as "a form of mostly preconscious imaginative mental activity, namely, perceiving and interpreting human behaviour in terms of intentional mental states (e.g. needs, desires, feelings, beliefs, goals, purposes, and reasons" (p. 54). A key component of mentalizing is an awareness of the imaginative aspects involved in mentalizing and understanding and accepting that one can never truly know the mind of another (Allen & Fonagy, 2006). Understanding one's own mental state requires a similar

level of imaginative activity, especially when dealing with circumstances that are emotionally charged (Allen & Fonagy, 2006) such as service-learning with disabled children. Allen and Fonagy (2006) argue that the term ‘mentalizing’ should be privileged over the term ‘mentalization’ to highlight the notion that it is an activity; something that we do (or fail to do).

Infants engage in processes that reflect an awareness and response to emotion directed toward them and are able to perceive dyadic (the self and other) relationships from early on in life (Fonagy et al., 2002). Later, infants develop the ability to engage in joint attention in which the infant is able to gain and sustain its caregiver’s attention and direct it to a point of attention of interest to the infant. Joint attention provides an opportunity for emotional exchanges to occur between infant and caregiver and it is therefore argued that joint attention is a foundational mechanism for the development of mentalizing (Fonagy et al., 2002) This capacity to hold another’s mind in mind develops throughout the child’s life and becomes refined as a skill used in their own emotional growth. Mentalizing is a skill that can be practiced and developed.

Individuals therefore have different levels of capacity with regard to mentalizing and this skill is partially dependent on the individual’s developmental history, and partially dependent on the climate of the relational context (in the case of this research, the interview relationship). Trauma in early attachment stages and adverse childhood conditions can undermine an individual’s ability to mentalize. When this ability is undermined or underdeveloped, it can result in mindblindness whereby the individual is oblivious to their own and others’ mental states or a distortion in reading those mental states (Fonagy et al., 2002). Examples of these kinds of distortion are exemplified in states of teleological thinking,

psychic equivalence and pretend mode, which are considered to be states of pre-mentalization, often employed when mentalization has been abandoned, or in children, before mentalization has begun to develop (Allen & Fonagy, 2006; Hagelquist, 2017).

Teleological thinking is an early skill that precedes mentalization and can be seen in infants from as early as nine months old. This mode of thinking is characterized by an ability to attribute goals to others, not as something mentally linked with intention, but rather observable physical behaviour. In other words, individuals link the physical actions of others with perceived intentions (Allen & Fonagy, 2006). In this form of thinking, "mental states are expressed in targeted actions rather than words or thoughts" (Hagelquist, 2017, p. 55). Children who engage in teleological thinking might understand a hug as motivated by genuine care, and the absence of a hug might then be understood as a lack of caring (Fonagy et al., 2002).

While teleological thinking is developed first, psychic equivalence and pretend modes develop almost simultaneously, according to Hagelquist (2017). In pretend mode, the mental state and reality appear to be disconnected, and while it may seem as if the individual is mentalizing, an emotional resonance is lacking in their talk (Hagelquist, 2017). This form of toying with reality, that on the surface looks like mentalization, is referred to as 'bullshitting' by Bateman and Fonagy (2004). This form of thinking is often characterized with clichés or psychobabble as the individual intellectualizes and speaks with certainty. True mentalization is characterized by an acknowledgement and awareness that we can never truly know the mind of another person, and there is always a degree of uncertainty when we try to make sense of and hold in mind the others' (and our own) mind (Hagelquist, 2017). Psychic equivalence, on the other hand, is characterized by an acceptance of mental states as reality.

In this mode, the inner world and the outer world are perceived as the same thing, where it is accepted that one's mental state is a reflection of reality (Hagelquist, 2017). Mental states are understood as reality and truth, rather than representations of reality, and alternative perspectives are abandoned. This often leads to employment of generalized statements such as "she's a bad person" as one's own opinions become prioritized over alternative perspectives (Hagelquist, 2017).

Mentalization is a mental activity which is susceptible to intense emotions and stress. Mentalization failure can occur in times of emotion-laden situations or perceived threat and leads to an abandonment of focus on the mental states of the self and others (Bateman & Fonagy, 2004). Trauma or neglect in early childhood can affect mentalization skills later in life, but even individuals who have not experienced trauma or neglect in their childhoods are likely to experience situations characterized by high emotional intensity where they lose perspective on the states of their own and others' minds (Hagelquist, 2017). Students involved in the service-learning programme under investigation for this study may be confronting disability in children for the first time or experiencing and observing a different and potentially uncomfortable and stressful economic situation. The context of the interactions that take place in this research offers many opportunities for intense emotional experiences as students enter into an unfamiliar context, which they may find troubling, especially in talking about their experiences of service-learning with disabled children with me as the interviewer.

This is a key consideration in using mentalizing as a conceptual tool in this study as students' anxieties about stressors involved in service-learning in the context of childhood disability in an economically disadvantaged community may influence their relational ability to mentalize

their experiences, emotions, and beliefs during the interviews and as they are writing in their reflective journals. The danger of abandoning mentalization is the shift to prementalizing modes such as psychic equivalence or pretend modes of thinking. One is not able to fully balance all dimensions of mentalizing all of the time, but this research is particularly interested in which contexts students are able to balance these dimensions in their talk about service-learning with disabled children, and what this balance allows students to do.

3.5.3 Dimensions of mentalization.

Mentalizing is a complex activity and is not a uniform concept for each individual or situation. Hagelquist (2017) suggests that there are four dimensions of mentalization, each of which ideally needs to be in balance. Imbalances within these dimensions indicates a failure to mentalize and can, at the extreme end, be characterized in mental illnesses such as borderline personality disorder. The four dimensions are as follows:

1. Implicit (automatic)/explicit (controlled)
2. Self/other
3. Cognitive/affective
4. Inner-focused/outer-focused

Mentalizing can occur both explicitly (through thinking and talking about our own and others' mental states) and implicitly (attending to mental states beyond words). Explicit mentalizing is developed and enacted through a production of narratives in that stories are created in order to map out the development and interpretation of certain mental states. Implicit mentalization is much more elusive than explicit mentalizing and occurs in an automatic fashion without the individual intentionally trying to do it. Allen and Fonagy

(2006) explicate the conceptual difference between implicit and explicit mentalizing in noting that "when we mentalize explicitly, we do so consciously and deliberately; when we mentalize implicitly, we do so intuitively, procedurally, automatically, and non-consciously" (p. 10). Implicit mentalizing, according to Hagelquist (2017), is our dominant mode of mentalizing, and when we experience a lapse in understanding others' or our own behaviours, we move toward more controlled, explicit mentalizing. Explicit mentalizing requires language, effort, and reflection and is intentional and conscious (Hagelquist, 2017).

The dynamic between implicit and explicit mentalizing should be conceptualised as existing on a continuum in that one can move from implicit to explicit mentalizing processes in a gradual way through talk (for example, during the interviews with each participant) and also through development (Allen & Fonagy, 2006). Implicit mentalizing can refer to an automatic function that does not need considerable amounts of thought or deliberation, for example turn-taking in conversation. Implicit mentalizing is something that can occur without conscious effort being exerted into its employment in interaction. However, implicit mentalizing remains an elusive concept, precisely because it is not a conscious action. Allen and Fonagy (2006) argue that implicit mentalizing becomes even more elusive when one is implicitly mentalizing about oneself because implicit mentalizing is largely unreflective. Rather, Allen and Fonagy (2006) argue that implicit mentalizing is pre-reflective in that it refers to an emotional and agentive recognition of the self.

Fonagy et al. (2002) introduced the concept of mentalized affectivity to highlight the ways in which our sense of self is suffused with emotion. Implicit mentalizing therefore serves the function of self-regulation "which entails identifying, modulating, and expressing affects - the latter not just outwardly to others but also inwardly, to oneself" (Allen and Fonagy, 2006,

p. 11). Implicit mentalization therefore affords the individual with a sense of what it feels like to be them at that point in time. In the context of this study, implicit mentalizing would refer to students being emotionally aware of what it feels like to be them while they are reflecting on and talking about service-learning activities with disabled children. This kind of subjectivity means that each student's sense of what it feels like to be engaged in service-learning will therefore be unique and unlike each other's sense of what this feels like, affected by their own developmental histories as well as the immediate research context and interpersonal relations this context offers.

The second dimension focuses on an individual's ability to simultaneously reflect on our own minds as well as the minds of others (Hagelquist, 2017). Exclusive focus on either our own mental states or on others' mental states creates an imbalance in this dimension. When one is able to be simultaneously aware of one's own mental state and others' mental states, then an optimal balance in this dimension of mentalizing has been achieved (Hagelquist, 2017). This is particularly important in the context of this study as students may be inclined to focus on the mental state of the caregivers or children rather than their own as they describe 'the other' because the nature of the interaction is such that they are aiming to learn about their experiences as caregivers and as children with disabilities. However, this would create an imbalance in this dimension and students would not be experiencing optimal mentalization as they are failing to reflect on or be curious about their own mental state at the same time, and to be aware of the interrelatedness of the states of mind of the other and the self.

The third dimension in which individuals mentalize is the cognitive/affective dimension. This dimension deals with the individual's ability to draw on a balance of cognitive processes as well as affective processes, striking a balance between emotion and reason in thinking about

their own and others' mental states and behaviours: "Ideally, mentalization integrates assumptions, thoughts, goals, and other cognitive mental states with feelings, desires, needs and other affective mental states" (Hagelquist, 2017, p. 22 – 23). Narcissists typically experience an imbalance due to their preference for an inner focus in which they are preoccupied with what others think of them.

It is important for students participating in this research to be holding in mind both their thoughts and assumptions about caregivers and their children, as well as their own emotional experiences of working with the caregivers and the children in order to optimally mentalize the experience. An imbalance would occur if the student attempts to ignore emotional aspects of the experience and instead tries to rationalize and intellectualise their experience through their talk (caused by a perception of service-learning as an academic, rather than emotional activity), or if on the other hand they abandon their focus on cognitive processes and hold only the emotion-based mental states in mind when talking about their experiences. The research context may cause students to feel that they need to 'say the right thing' or produce a particular version of themselves to me as the interviewer and in doing so, may experience an imbalance in the cognitive/affective dimension in that the affective is overshadowed by the cognitive as students become concerned with what I think of them or how I interpret what they say because their talk is being used for research purposes.

The final dimension proposed by Hagelquist (2017), is the ability to balance an inner-focus with an outer-focus in that the amount of attention that is paid to the inner mental states of the self and others is equivalent to the amount of attention paid to physical and visual modes such as body language, facial cues, and signals from interpersonal contexts. This ties into the point made in the previous paragraph that the research context may introduce an imbalance as

students are aware that what they say is being used for research purposes. The relational and social context is therefore important to consider when employing mentalization as a conceptual tool in a research context. This dimension of balancing inner- and outer-foci refers also to the ways in which students' body language and facial cues can be used as part of the interpretation of their mentalizing capacity alongside their talk. Analysing this dimension also allows a focus on the social and interpersonal context of individuals' abilities to mentalize, rather than exclusively on inner processes as the cues that individuals may pay attention to in interview contexts are socially mediated and cannot exist independently of the other.

3.5.4 The functions of mentalization.

According to Hagelquist (2017), there are several key reasons why it is important to mentalize. Firstly, by mentalizing our own feelings, thoughts, assumptions, and beliefs, we are able to understand the link between those feelings or thoughts and our behaviour. In this way, we foster a sense of control over our own actions and develop a sense of self-awareness and identity. Secondly, when we mentalize, we are able to build and sustain meaningful relationships with others as we are able to take on their perspective and remain curious about the state of their mind in relation to our own. When we mentalize, we are also developing skills that help us to regulate our emotions, and overall assist us in functioning (Hagelquist, 2017).

Mentalizing, according to Allen and Fonagy (2006), holds intrinsic as well as instrumental values. Effective and smooth social interactions are facilitated by an ability to hold others' mental states in mind, and these interactions are further streamlined by our ability to critically reflect on our own mental states particularly to the extent that it is useful in problem-solving,

especially when the individual is explicitly mentalizing. Being able to anticipate others' responses is a useful social tool in that it enables us to interact effectively and allows for more effective reciprocal communication (Allen & Fonagy, 2006; Fonagy et al., 2002). Conversation is understood as collaborative and improvement in communication would be valuable for relationships. In the context of this research, this would mean that my own capacity for mentalizing also affects the relationship with the participant and therefore their capacity to mentalize. Furthermore, a student who is mentalizing within their role in the service-learning programme would have improved relationships with the caregiver, the child, the supervisor(s), and their student partner with whom they are working for the duration of their involvement in service-learning, and this in turn would facilitate more meaningful learning.

The emphasis here is not on influencing others or accurately predicting behavioural outcomes, but rather working toward a shared sense of how the interaction might collaboratively move forward in a cooperative and reciprocal manner (Allen & Fonagy, 2006) and this meaning-making process is particularly important for professional development as future-psychologists. The instrumental value of mentalizing therefore lies in its capacity to produce open-mindedness and an ability to take in other perspectives. This capacity for self-reflection means that the individual is engaged with a possibility of being persuaded into better ways of thinking and interpreting events around them. Through interactive relationships that successfully facilitate mentalizing, individuals are able to grow and learn in critically reflective ways (Allen & Fonagy, 2006). Mentalizing therefore encourages the development of meaningful connections between internal and external worlds as a result of the sense of openness that is facilitated through holding in mind the mind of the other (Fonagy et al., 2002). This is particularly important in the context of service-learning in that

students who are mentalizing will be creating deeper connections with others in a more meaningful way. This may be useful in addressing the problematic risk within service-learning highlighted by Blouin and Perry (2009) of students entering communities, extracting what they need in order to reach particular learning outcomes, and then leaving the community abruptly in no better shape than they had been before.

Another factor of instrumental value that is produced through mentalizing is the ability to distinguish between appearance and reality (Fonagy et al., 2002). Through mentalizing, individuals are able to acknowledge that their perceptions of a particular experience or phenomenon are not necessarily aligned with the reality of the experience or phenomenon (Fonagy et al., 2002). Apart from the instrumental value of facilitating and employing mentalizing, there is also an intrinsic value that is significant in that it highlights that we do not always mentalize in order to achieve particular benefits, but because we simply "thrive on meeting of minds" (Allen & Fonagy, 2006, p. 21). Allen and Fonagy (2006) emphasise the intrinsic value of mentalizing in terms of the importance of intersubjectivity (beginning with joint attention in infancy and progressing to more complex relationships and intimacy in adulthood). However, the intrinsic value of mentalizing can also extend to the development of a positive view of oneself in terms of the capacity to view oneself in a compassionate and loving way. Allen and Fonagy (2006) liken this view to a process of bonding with oneself as an infant would bond with a caregiver within a secure attachment relationship. This view of oneself is a holistic one, acknowledging all that we love about ourselves but also all that we do not. This is particularly relevant in a service-learning experience because, as Hinshelwood (2009) argues, learning is stressful, in part because it requires one to confront deep changes within the self, and this can produce defensive processes if the stress produces anxiety that reaches a certain threshold.

3.5.5 Relationship between mentalizing and reflective function.

While reflective function (RF) and mentalization often point to similar psychic processes, it is important to note that they are not necessarily interchangeable terms. RF is understood as a process of mentalization, rather than another term for mentalization (Fonagy et al., 2002). Fonagy et al. (2002) use the term ‘reflective function’ to operationalize an individual’s capacity to mentalize. Therefore, RF is a term not to be used interchangeably with mentalization but should rather be understood as a process crucial to the development and activation of mentalization. Mentalization is a term that has been used in both psychoanalytic and cognitive psychology and contains self-reflective as well as interactional dynamics in that the individual distinguishes inner realities from outer realities, “pretend from ‘real’ modes of functioning, intra-personal mental and emotional processes from interpersonal communications” (Fonagy et al., 1998, p. 4). RF refers to an individual’s capacity to hold in mind their own mental states as well as others’ mental states in order to construct a realistic model or understanding of why we and others behave, think and feel in particular ways (Bouchard et al., 2008).

RF, as a process of mentalizing, is also not equivalent to introspection despite their apparent similarities. Whereas mentalizing refers to an individual’s capacity to make sense and meaning of their own and others’ behaviour, this process can be somewhat automatic and unconscious in that self-organisation is shaped outside of the individual’s awareness. Introspection refers to an individual’s mental states in terms of their consciousness. In other words, self-organisation is shaped in introspection as it is in mentalizing but produces a more conscious impact (Fonagy et al., 1998). The terms RF and introspection should not, therefore,

be used interchangeably to refer to a single process (Fonagy et al., 2002). This research is more concerned with the unconscious processes that are occurring during service-learning.

RF, and mentalization, should not be understood as something that happens within an individual, independently of relational contexts. Fonagy et al. (1998) offer an explanation of dynamic skills theory and its usefulness in considering the functionality of mentalizing. According to this theory, individuals do not maintain a consistent level of reflection across all contexts and may become more reflective in some contexts over others (Fonagy et al., 2002). Dynamic skills theory "depicts development as a person's elaboration of progressively more complex control systems (skills)" (p. 6), one of which is reflective function. Therefore, this is a useful theory in framing an understanding of students' situational reflections of service-learning in both their interviews and their reflective journals. Dynamic skills theory would argue that students' levels of reflective functioning would be different when talking about their experiences in an interview to how they talk about the same experiences at home with their families. This research is interested in questions around whether or not students' subjective experiences of service-learning might also change depending on the context in which they are reflecting on it. This is key for this research as it points towards the usefulness in understanding the relational contexts in service-learning that facilitate mentalizing processes, and which shut it down.

3.5.6 Mentalizing and epistemic trust.

Another process of mentalizing, known as epistemic trust, is argued to be particularly useful for this research. Fonagy and Allison (2014) define epistemic trust as "an individual's willingness to consider new knowledge from another person as trustworthy, generalizable, and relevant to the self" (p.4). Hagelquist (2017) adds that there is an element of confidence

that others genuinely mean well and have something useful and relevant to teach us. Early failure to mentalize or trauma and neglect affects one's ability to develop epistemic trust in others. While epistemic trust is a concept that is usually applied in clinical contexts (Hagelquist, 2017), this concept will be used in this research to ask certain questions of the data in exploring students' talk about service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers, specifically because the core focus of epistemic trust is on learning from others, and trusting that what we learn from others is relevant and useful to us.

In some cases, it is necessary for individuals to feel that there is a good relationship with another individual before they can develop epistemic trust within that relationship (Hagelquist, 2017). Some of the questions that this poses for this research are whether the relationship between the caregiver and student is a primary factor in the interpersonal context that affects a student's capacity to mentalize when doing service-learning with disabled children? If the student does not develop a sense that the caregiver has something relevant to teach them, or that this new knowledge or information is trustworthy, will this affect the quality of learning taking place during the interactions between caregivers and students? The capacity of students to develop epistemic trust within their interpersonal contexts during the course of their participation in service-learning is impacted by each student's personal experiences and patterns of attachment. Fonagy and Allison (2014) explain that "secure attachment helps create a benign condition for the relaxation of epistemic vigilance" (p. 5). More secure individuals are less defensive and more open to learning and accepting new knowledge, but this is not something that is necessarily bound by individual factors, and certain contexts in which individuals experience lower levels of anxiety also have a role to play in the relaxation of epistemic vigilance.

Kruglanski (1989), in exploring defensiveness in relation to epistemic trust, proposed the concept of epistemic freezing, which is characterized by the way in which individuals tend to defend existing knowledge, regardless of whether the existing knowledge is correct or useful. In this way, epistemic freezing demonstrates a form of mentalization failure that is particularly useful to observe in the context of this study. Students' existing knowledge structures may be challenged in the context of socio-economic disadvantage and disability, and it is useful to explore the conditions that foster epistemic freezing, and which conditions allow for epistemic trust. Challenging knowledge structures and developing open-mindedness in students is key for overcoming or at least addressing implicit and explicit prejudices such as disablism, racism, and classism.

Fonagy and Higgit (2007) define prejudice as the act of judging "without adequate knowledge or examination or to come to a premature conclusion" (p. 63). Drawing conclusions without adequate knowledge can therefore be linked to the abovementioned concept of epistemic freezing. As epistemic freezing is understood as a defensive tactic (Fonagy & Allison, 2014), so too can prejudice be understood as a "self-protective function" (Fonagy & Higgit, 2007, p. 65). Prejudice serves the purpose of maintaining or restoring balance or internal equilibrium when the individual is faced with a threat or a form of conflict (Fonagy & Higgit, 2007). In this way, prejudice could be understood as the expression of defensive modes of thinking, characteristic of a failure to mentalize, or epistemic freezing, and a signal of 'clinging on' to parts of the self that the individual is not ready to let go of. Hinshelwood's (2009) argument becomes important here again in that stress in the learning context can produce defensiveness in ways that promote the maintenance of certain beliefs and prejudices for protective reasons.

Fonagy and Allison (2014) use the term ‘epistemic superhighway’ to refer to the capacity for open-mindedness and curiosity in learning from others and from social experience. They note that the epistemic superhighway is less efficient in individuals with insecure attachment because of the limited capacity to mentalize. In this way, mentalizing is seen as a mediator in facilitating the development of epistemic trust, which enables more socially and personally meaningful learning. “Having the experience of our subjectivity being understood is the necessary key to open us up to learning that has the potential to change our perception of the social world” (Fonagy & Allison, 2014, p. 34). This kind of learning echoes the aims of service-learning and aligns with Dewey’s visions for education and experiential learning in that the learning shifts something personal in the learner, and this shift is socially as well as personally beneficial. However, the relational contexts in which epistemic trust is demonstrated holds equal value, and it is therefore important to determine which relational contexts and relationships increase the capacity for epistemic trust.

3.5.7 Epistemic trust and mentalization in service-learning.

Epistemic trust is therefore argued to be a particularly useful and relevant concept to draw on when considering the conditions under which students do or do not mentalize in their talk about service-learning with disabled children because of the specific focus on social learning that epistemic trust holds on to. In this sense, it is useful to explore the conditions under which students seem to develop epistemic trust, and in which cases this is difficult for them. It is useful to note the factors that may impede the development of good relationships between students and caregivers, such as language differences, prejudice, privilege, and power, which would in turn impede the students’ ability to mentalize in those relationships, and therefore their capacity to develop epistemic trust.

Although this chapter argues that mentalizing is a useful concept in making sense of students' talk about service-learning with disabled children, and that the capacity to mentalize may be positively influential in students' learning and understanding of others' experiences, Allen and Fonagy (2006) note that "possessing the capacity to mentalize neither guarantees that it will be used to serve pro-social ends nor assures protection from malign interpersonal influence" (p. 76). In this way, it is important to consider the kinds of relational contexts that allow students to mentalize and to become aware of which relational contexts result in the abandonment of mentalization in service-learning.

Livney's (2009) work with teenage students holds value for the present research in the way in which it situates mentalization as a useful tool in service-learning. Livney (2009) suggests that when students mentalize their experiences of service-learning, they are able to better understand and learn about themselves as well as others. When reflection is infused with emotion, students are able to learn in more meaningful ways. In this way, Livney (2009) argues that service-learning and mentalizing complement each other, and notes that:

> "the programs of SL provide an existing infrastructure for education that impels the student towards gut-level experience, which, as Dewey notes, is always social in nature. In its focus on community, it provides an agar for students to learn about a developmentally more complex form of dyadic and triadic functioning, about people who are different from them and their early caregivers, but who will make up their extended communities as they grow older. Working within the framework of such a program, the concepts of mentalization provide a theoretical grounding for thinking about ways of extending the developmental goals begun in early childhood into adolescence, and hopefully beyond." (p. 211)

Mentalization is therefore argued to be a useful concept in understanding the unconscious processes occurring during the service-learning experience and understanding the relational contexts that are important in the service-learning experience, but also the individual subjectivities that individuals bring to the relational contexts that form part of their service-learning experience.

3.5.8 Limitations of using mentalizing as a conceptual tool in service-learning research.

This chapter has thus far emphasized the usefulness of the concept of mentalizing within the context of this research, highlighting the ways in which it can be used to unpack inner processes occurring during service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers. At this point, it is also necessary to consider the limitations and criticisms of a psychoanalytic perspective of the human experience, and the implications these limitations have for this research. It is important to note that the concept of mentalizing has traditionally been used as a clinical tool to understand attachment relationships and also to treat borderline personality disorder (Allen & Fonagy, 2006). There are questions in applying this tool to a context for which it was not originally intended, such as in the analysis of students' talk about service-learning with disabled children. Some theoretical considerations and concepts have been stretched to apply to the context of this study. This may be a limiting factor in that the concepts were originally developed in a therapeutic setting between therapist and patient, rather than between student and caregiver or student and supervisor. The relationships in the former are different to the latter, and this is an important consideration when exploring the usefulness and applicability of mentalizing in the service-learning context.

From a macro perspective on psychoanalysis, Frosh and Baraitser (2008) note that the psychoanalytic approach typically individualizes the human experience, with more focus on inner realities than outer influences. For this reason, psychoanalysis is often rejected and resisted by social constructionists because of the individualistic and deterministic assumptions that underpin a psychoanalytic understanding of inner states. Furthermore, psychoanalysis typically adopts a top-down perspective that positions the analyst as the expert, but Billig (1996) argues that it is not useful to analyse a subject in ways that suggest that the analyst knows the subject better than the subject knows themselves. While the concept of mentalizing does hold on to the notion that when we are truly mentalizing, there is a degree of uncertainty about the other's mind and we cannot ever truly know another's mind, this is sometimes lost in an analytic relationship and it is therefore important to keep in mind the psychoanalytic home of the concept of mentalizing in order to be aware of individualizing tendencies that are marked in psychoanalysis. This will be addressed in this research through the use of field notes, mapping out the intersubjective exchanges in terms of my own thoughts, feelings and possible projections (discussed in detail in the next chapter) but also by noting that mentalizing is a social concept as well, influenced by the social context of the interview as well as the institutional context holding both the students' service-learning experiences and this research.

Billig (2006) also notes that a common focus of psychoanalytic approaches is on what is left unsaid in talk, and what is said is usually understood as an expression of inner experiences with little emphasis placed on the role of broader socio-cultural influences in producing this talk. Hollway (2006a) therefore argues for the need to acknowledge the "material conditions and discourses" (p. 467) that bi-directionally interact with an individual's defences, anxieties, and capacity to mentalize. Psychoanalysis tends to view the inner self as something that

exists in and of itself; as something separate from outer social relations. Wetherell (2003) notes that psychoanalytic approaches are typically premised on the psychological-social dualism, and psychological structures are understood as static and resistant to transformation produced from interaction with outer social relations or practices. Furthermore, psychological structures are understood as embedded in early development patterns and social relations and patterns are seen as separate to inner psychic processes (Wetherell, 2003). Much of the work done in psychoanalysis is premised on an individual's developmental history, and these assumptions about human development position human motivation and behaviour as somewhat predictable. Wetherell (2003) sees this perspective as over-deterministic, and non-holistic. Employing mentalization as a concept in this research allows for a dual focus on the outer processes occurring alongside the inner processes in order to create a more holistic interpretation of what is happening during the interviews and in students' talk.

Psychoanalytic approaches generally do not see the inner and outer worlds as co-determinants but rather highlight the structures and development of the inner world. These considerations are the premise for the development and employment of a psychosocial approach in the analysis of talk, in order to draw on the useful contributions of psychoanalysis while still holding on to the important considerations and understandings brought to the framework by discursive social psychology. In conducting this research, discursive social psychology is drawn on to explore discourses employed by students in their talk about service-learning. This investigation is taken further by employing the concept of mentalization to explore why students invest in particular discourses and how this is both a personal and social process affected by the intersubjective relationship of the interview context, the students' (and my) own developmental histories and the broader social context in which the research and the service-learning took place. Drawing exclusively on a psychoanalytic approach or only on the

concept of mentalizing would result in the development of an incomplete and non-holistic understanding of students and their experiences of service-learning with disabled children (Hollway & Jefferson, 2005).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical considerations that are key in the employment of this psychosocial theoretical framework amidst the range of available ways in which a psychosocial framework can be constructed and deployed. Psychosocial research has been described as a method that draws on theoretical constructions of social processes and psychoanalytic processes that can be used in understanding everyday behavior. This understanding transcends traditional psychological views of the individual that separates the social from the individual, but rather views outer and inner processes as two sides of the same coin.

Though there are several ways in which this can be theoretically approached, this research employs contributions specifically from discursive social psychology and the concept of mentalization for the ways in which these two fields can work in tandem to produce a holistic account of a student producing narratives about service-learning with disabled children without over-individualising or pathologizing the student. The important discursive concepts that this chapter has described include interpretive repertoires, subject positions, and ideological dilemmas alongside the core tenets of discursive social psychology, namely that discourse is action-oriented, constructed and constructive, situated, and produced as psychological (Potter, 2012).

The concept of mentalization was explicated in terms of how it is situated in relation to psychoanalysis and used as a conceptual tool in service-learning research. The dimensions and functions of mentalization were described and epistemic trust was discussed as an important application of the concept of mentalization in service-learning research. Limitations of both discursive social psychology as well as the concept of mentalization were discussed in this chapter.

From a psychosocial perspective, students' narratives are understood as something that is constituted by their relational contexts through subjective meaning-making processes. In resisting the social-psychological dualism, an argument is born that sees service-learning as neither an individual process experienced by students, nor one that is solely constituted in the social realm. Rather, the experience of service-learning with caregivers and their children with disabilities is something that is constructed through powerful discourses. Specific investments and symbolic representations of these discourses are brought into being through relationships marked by intersubjectivities, which students encounter throughout the learning process.

Therefore, when students talk about their experiences of being involved in a service-learning programme, they are reflecting on themselves as individuals that possess unique subjectivities, but those subjectivities are produced by, and also embedded within, particular social contexts. Discursive social psychology is drawn on within this psychosocial framework, in order to pay attention to the broader sociocultural contexts that condition the ways in which students construct their experiences in their talk about service-learning. Students' experiences of service-learning are therefore socially constructed and are understood as reflective of broader societal, historical, economical, and cultural contexts that mould the discourses in which the

participants invest, and also the ways in which students position themselves in relation to these discourses. Childhood disability is embedded within powerful discourses (Bywaters, Ali, Fazil, Wallace, & Singh, 2003; Gent & Gurecka, 2001), and this research seeks to interrogate how these discourses and subject positions are reconstituted through students' talk about their experiences of being engaged in service-learning and how this positions them, the course lecturer, the community partners, the caregivers, and the children. The accessibility of these discourses is bound by and mediated through cultural and socio-historical contexts but also by students' desires, wishes, fantasies, and anxieties, as well as my own (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010). Furthermore, the relational contexts of service-learning and of the interview situation are significant in terms of the ways in which discourses are drawn on and legitimised or disavowed. The following chapter builds on this chapter by demonstrating the methodological application of the theoretical framework selected for this research.

Chapter 4: A Psychosocial Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has highlighted the theoretical scope of the major constituents of psychosocial research: discursive social psychology and psychoanalysis. This chapter aims to demonstrate the synergies between these two fields of thought in a way that encapsulates the core tenets of psychosocial research when applied as a methodological framework, but also the tensions within the field of psychosocial studies and how these have been addressed within research contexts. Frosh (2010) describes psychosocial studies as a method of suturing the individual-social split and argues that the social should not be separated from the individual because the individual does not exist outside of any social context. Frosh and Baraitser (2008) add that, in light of this, "contemporary psychosocial studies…focus on conceptualising and researching a type of subject which is both social and psychological, which is constituted in and through its social formations, yet is still granted agency and internality" (p. 196). What this foregrounds, is a movement to traverse the traditional social-psychological dualism that has dominated psychology for decades. Frosh and Baraitser (2008) argue that it is for this reason that the field of research should not be written as psycho-social research, but rather as (the unhyphenated version of) psychosocial research as this emphasizes the notion that there is no clear split or divide between the 'psycho' and the 'social', or inner and outer worlds but rather that the two exist within and because of each other. This chapter outlines the methodological procedures chosen in suturing the inner and outer worlds in the data collection and analysis of participants' accounts of their experiences of service-learning with children with disabilities. The psychosocial theoretical framework has already been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will demonstrate how this framework was applied as a qualitative methodology in this study. A psychosocial framework

was selected in order to offer new ways to understand defended subjectivity in service-learning.

4.2 Research Design

This research employs a particular qualitative research design using interviews and reflective journals. A qualitative research design supports the exploration of service-learning from a psychosocial angle with the aim of investigating which discourses students are investing in when they talk about service-learning within psychology and in the area of childhood disability (in a specific South African community) and why. In other words, a qualitative research design allowed for an exploration of what discourses students draw on in their talk about service-learning and what constructions of, and subject positioning in, service-learning this offers. A qualitative research design also facilitates the exploration of meaning from a psychoanalytic perspective. This research is also interested in why students invest in these discourses and aims to explore what psychological payoffs the emotional investments in particular discourses of service-learning offer for students.

4.3 Research Questions

The following research questions were constructed to guide this psychosocial study, focusing on both discursive considerations alongside psychoanalytic aspects in order to explore service-learning in this context.

How do psychology students construct their experiences of service-learning for this particular course on childhood disability and mental health, and why do they invest emotionally in these constructions?

- What discourses are psychology students drawing on in their talk about service-learning for this particular course on childhood disability and mental health?
- What subject positioning do these discourses offer for students, children, caregivers, community partners, and lecturers to take up and/or resist?
- Why do students invest emotionally in discourses and what psychological payoffs are students experiencing as a result of their investment in those discourses?
- Which relational contexts in service-learning provide opportunities for containment of emotional experiences so that mentalization is facilitated, and which contexts produce defensiveness and mindblindness?

The above research question (and sub-questions) were addressed using methodological considerations which will now be discussed in detail.

4.4 Sampling and Recruitment Strategies

For this research, non-probability sampling was most appropriate as this is a qualitative design. Qualitative research designs involve participants that are not randomly selected but are selected based on particular criteria. The particular non-probability sampling method that was used was purposive sampling. Participants were purposively selected based on their participation in the Childhood Disability and Mental Health (CDMH) course, an elective course for a psychology honours programme offered at Rhodes University. The details of this course are unpacked in greater detail in chapter one and the course outline is presented in

Appendix A. Seventeen students signed up for the course in the year that the data for this thesis was collected.

Recruitment took place approximately eight weeks before the course started, at the end of the second term of the academic year. This was strategically timed so that students could think about whether or not they would like to participate in the study before the introduction of distractions and potential anxieties associated with the examination period and mid-year break. A short meeting was called by the lecturer of the course (via e-mail lists) inviting all students who had signed up for the course to attend in order to meet the course lecturer and hear about the opportunity to participate in this research. Once the lecturer had introduced herself to the students and discussed the scope of the course briefly, she left the meeting while I, as the researcher, spoke with the group alone. The lecturer was not present for the presentation of the research as I wanted to avoid construing the research as a necessary part of their participation in the course which would have compromised the voluntary nature of their consent.

The group of potential participants was addressed verbally, outlining the scope of the study and what participation would involve, should any member of the group volunteer to take part in the research. A typed document that served as a recruitment letter was also provided to each student reiterating the information that was relayed verbally (Appendix B). A list was available for students to write their details on for those who wanted to sign up immediately, but interested students were also invited to e-mail the researcher should they wish to participate and were assured that participation was entirely voluntary and would not affect their course mark in any way. All ethical concerns were clearly described in the recruitment letter for participants to read (these are described in detail toward the end of this chapter).

Six (out of 17) students expressed interest in participating and filled in their details on a list made available at the meeting, and two others responded a few days later via e-mail after some more careful thought about their participation in the research. Psychosocial research calls for a relatively small sample size because of the richness and depth of the data that are collected (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Therefore, all eight students that responded to the recruitment process were selected as participants in the research, with no rigid inclusion criteria other than the requirement of their full participation in the course.

4.5. Participants

Table 1 is a representation of the demographic characteristics of the participants. This information was collected through administering a brief biographical questionnaire to all participants (Appendix C). Participants ranged in age from 22 to 26 years and were all female. Four participants were 'white', two were 'coloured' and two 'black'. All except one student stated having had experience with disability, though none had any disabilities themselves, and all indicated that they were middle class. The population consists only of females, even though the honours class did include a small number of males. This is not surprising given that psychology as a profession is dominated mostly by females in South Africa (Skinner & Louw, 2009). While this may limit the diversity of responses in terms of potential gender differences in service-learning experiences, subjectivity is not defined by gender/sex only and other differences between students such as race provides for a degree of diversity. Having a racially diverse sample is valuable in examining how the intersectionality between class and race affects students' emotional investments in particular discourses, as subjectivity is understood to be located within broader social structures but also within one's own developmental history.

	Participant [3]	'Race' (as self-identified)	Age in years	Self identifying gender	Experience with disability	Socio-economic status (Self-defined) (High/Low/Middle)
1	Mandy	'White'	26	Female	Yes – at previous community engagement experience	Middle
2	Jane	'White'	22	Female	Yes - unspecified	Middle
3	Kanyabu	'Black'	22	Female	Yes – volunteer in community service programme	Middle
4	Sharmaine	'Coloured'	22	Female	No	Middle
5	Candice	'Coloured'	22	Female	Yes – community service and extended family members	Middle
6	Nandi	'Black'	24	Female	Yes – previous community	Middle

[3] Participants' names have been changed to protect their identity

					service programme	
7	Anna	'White'	26	Female	Yes – best friend's sister and preschool she worked at	Middle
8	Alison	'White'	25	Female	Yes – previous community engagement experiences	Middle

Table 1. Demographic information of participants

4.6 Data Collection

Data were collected in two phases for this research (referred to as Phase A and Phase B). Phase A involved the collection of entries into participants' reflective journals which were kept from the beginning of their service-learning engagement. Phase B involved two face-to-face interviews with each participant toward the end of their service-learning engagement. Each phase is described in more detail below.

4.6.1 Phase A of data collection: Reflective journals.

The first phase of the data collection process involved asking each participant to engage in reflective writing around their experiences (but also expectations and assumptions) of the service-learning course. Reflective journals were chosen as a method of data collection

because of the types of reflection that writing can facilitate, without the same tensions and anxieties present in the intersubjective exchange of an interview. The relational considerations associated with the interview situation will be further explicated in the discussion of Phase B of data collection.

Eyler (2002) suggests that reflection should take place in three stages – before, during, and after engaging in service-learning activities. Before service-learning, in what she calls the 'pre-reflective' stage, students should be encouraged to engage in some sort of critical thought process around their expectations and goals. In the pre-reflective stage, students have the opportunity to examine and interrogate their existing assumptions about the specific community they will be engaged with and about service-learning. The surfacing of these assumptions can highlight conflicts and prejudices that students will need to work through during the learning process. Eyler (2002) suggests asking students to write a letter to themselves in the form of a goal statement in terms of what they hope to gain from their involvement in the service-learning programme. In this letter, students can also explore what they expect to see or hope to learn in their visits with the families. This letter is then to be kept by the course lecturer (or in the case of this research, the researcher), and opened only at the end of the course to stimulate thinking around how and why perceptions and expectations changed over the course of engagement in service-learning activities.

Eyler's (2002) considerations were used in this research to structure the journal questions and reflection process. In this research, students were asked to write themselves a letter as part of their first entry in the reflective journal and this letter was kept sealed until the first interview. The letter was collected through Google Docs in the first week's journal entry section and was stored in the researcher's Google Drive automatically. The letters were not opened or

read at this stage by anyone, including the researcher. The participants were encouraged (but not coerced) to read these letters after the first interview and to then offer verbal reflections on this during the second interview. The letters were given to the participants at the end of the first interview so that they could take their time in reflecting on what they wrote through reading the letter several weeks after it had been written, in their own time and at their own pace. The participants were then asked to reflect on this during the second interview to stimulate awareness of shifts in their thinking and discrepancies between what they expected and what they experienced.

Eyler's (2002) second stage of reflection involves keeping a reflective journal for the duration of engagement with service-learning activities. Bringle and Hatcher (1999) argue that it is important to make it clear to the students why they are doing certain activities or providing particular services, and what benefits this has in terms of their learning. This was described to the students in the following blurb that appeared at the beginning of their reflective journal series:

> "The purpose of writing entries into this journal is two-fold. Writing and responding to the structured questions within this journal will allow you to engage in deep and active thinking about your experiences of service-learning with your allocated family. Reflection and active thought are key components of service-learning in ensuring that the experience has made some difference in how you think about children with disabilities, and those who care for them. Your responses in this journal will be used for research purposes only with your express consent and will be analysed (using a psychosocial framework) alongside the interviews which will take place toward the end of the course, should you consent to participating in both phases of the research.

> You don't need to worry about correct spelling or grammar. Rather write as openly and honestly as possible, reflecting on both positive as well as negative things that occurred for you during the course of your service-learning experience. There is no 'right answer' to any of these questions, and you are encouraged to write about your experiences 'as is', whether you think that these are good or bad. Try to use examples where you can throughout the journal and as far as possible, explain your reactions and feelings towards particular examples of whatever experience you are describing. You will be able to access a copy of this journal should you wish to draw on some of these reflections in your final reflective essay."

Bringle and Hatcher (1999) suggest that reflective journals can be assigned and used in different ways including key phrase journals, double-entry journals, critical incident journals, three-part journals, and directed writing. The data collection approach for this research was influenced by the critical incident journal. In this format, students are required to reflect on particular events and experiences as they arise in the course and to reflect on their reactions to those incidents. Specific prompts are designed to initiate reflective thinking in which students are encouraged to explore how the incident made them feel, and to explore their thoughts around the incident. They can also be encouraged to reflect on how they might react or respond to a similar situation in the future (Bringle & Hatcher, 1999).

Gibbs (1998) suggests using a reflective cycle to prompt reflective thinking in students through a reflective journal. The following steps are highlighted as useful in the reflective process for service-learning, and these steps were implemented through the design of the reflective questions provided in the online journals in this research.

1. Description of incident/experience/event (what happened?)

2. Feelings about experience (what were you thinking and feeling?)

3. Evaluation of experience (What was good and bad about the experience?)

4. Analysis of experience (What sense can you make of the situation?)

5. Conclusions about experience, and reactions to experience (What else could you have done?)

6. Action plan (If it arose again, what would you do?)

The types of questions that were designed for this research were based on Gibbs' (1998) recommendations for facilitating reflection in a cyclical manner. It is important to encourage students to reflect on the positive and negative aspects of service-learning, and for the students to feel that it is acceptable to do so. Without this acknowledgement of students' reflective capacities, the aims of the research in terms of analysing their talk psychoanalytically may have been flouted if students did not feel that they could honestly reflect on their experiences. Students may feel that being honest about a negative experience may reflect badly on them as students or indicate that it was the student that had done something wrong to cause the negative experience or unpleasant feelings. Honest reflection is essential for future planning, both for the overall service-learning course, but also for the student's future responses to similar situations. The structured questions therefore also needed to take this into account and attempt to prompt honest responses and reflections rather than produce something that the student thinks is acceptable and favourable.

The reflective journals were provided to the students online through Google Docs with structured questions to guide their writing processes. The questions for each week were released at the beginning of the relevant week. Releasing the questions one week at a time broke up the eight-week journal into smaller chunks that students could engage with one at a

time, in a more manageable format. Releasing the questions all at once for all eight weeks may have given the impression that writing in the journal was going to be a daunting and time-consuming task. Eyler (2002) argues that reflective journals are more useful and effective when structured questions are provided “so that the student pushes beyond mere description to identifying questions to pursue and connections between the course of study and the community experience” (p. 528).

Open-ended, structured questions were provided, as well as an unstructured space in each weekly section for students to write about things that may not have pertained specifically to any of the questions provided. In terms of the structured questions, Eyler (2002) suggests asking questions that prompt the students to describe their experience, discuss what it means, identify the next steps to be taken in response to that experience, and reflect on their discussions with other students around difficult and enjoyable experiences. These recommendations were considered alongside Gibbs’ (1998) suggestions for the kinds of questions that a reflective journal should include. Unstructured journals can produce summaries or logs of events rather than critical engagement with and reflection on those events (Bringle & Hatcher, 1999) and it is therefore important to introduce a structured space within the reflective journal to prompt engaged and active reflective thinking. The questions that were used in the journal are provided in Appendix D. Students were encouraged to begin using their reflective journals from as early as their first engagement with the course, even before their first visit with their allocated families in order to record presumptions, expectations, anxieties, and hopes for their engagement with the families. They were encouraged to write in their journals as often as they felt was necessary in order to meaningfully reflect on their experiences, and thoughts and feelings about those experiences.

4.6.2 Phase B of data collection: Individual interviews.

A standard data collection procedure in psychosocial research is the engagement with participants in individual interviews (Hollway & Jefferson, 2005). Each participant was interviewed twice toward the end of the service-learning programme (in the last two weeks of the course). The reason that the interviews were conducted at the end of the programme was because the research is specifically interested in understanding how the emotional experiences and processes that students underwent during the service-learning programme are constructed in students' talk. Conducting interviews towards the end of their experiences allowed for students to experience service-learning for several weeks before being asked to reflect on their experiences in the interview. The interviews would also be a chance for both the participant and researcher to unpack particularly interesting or salient features of the reflective journal (in the event that the participant consented to the use of their reflective journal for research purposes). The interviews were conducted approximately a week apart to allow the participants and the researcher time to reflect on the first interview and note things that were unsaid but needed to be said, or to reflect on new thoughts and feelings since the last interview. Conducting a second interview allows the participant time to reflect on the first interview and to clarify anything that might have been confusing, ambiguous or vague in the first interview. Hollway and Jefferson (2013) suggest that interviews should be conducted a week apart to allow enough time for the participant to reflect but also for the researcher to read over the transcripts of the first interview and identify "contradictions, inconsistencies, avoidances, and changes of emotional tone" (p. 40).

Toward the beginning of the third-last week of the course (one week before data collection was to begin), participants were contacted by the researcher via e-mail in which they were asked to provide options for a suitable time for their interview to be conducted. Students had

provided both their e-mail addresses and cellular phone numbers during the recruitment stage so that they could be easily contacted to set up interviews. Participants were also provided with the researcher's e-mail address and cellular phone number in the event that they had questions that needed to be answered or concerns that needed to be addressed. Permission to access and read the journals was discussed and obtained in the first interview session, apart from two students who preferred not to release their journals for research purposes (Alison and Kanyabu). It was optional for students to participate in the form of the reflective journal as well as an interview. They could choose to participate in both the interviews and journals, or only one of those (or none). The interviews all took place in a pre-booked seminar room in the Psychology Department at the university at which the students were registered and all interviews were tape-recorded with the prior permission of the participants.

The first interview was an unstructured interview that used the Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) method. Free association involves eliciting unstructured narratives from the participant (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013) by asking broad open-ended questions such as 'can you tell me what it has been like to participate in the service-learning programme?' When the participant is encouraged to say whatever comes to their mind, they produce a narrative "that is not structured according to conscious logic, but according to unconscious logic; that is, the associations follow pathways defined by emotional motivations, rather than rational intentions" (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013, p. 34). This technique further probes the participant for authentic experience and emotion rather than a rational response that feels like 'the right answer' in accordance with learning that has taken place during the course. Clinical techniques of clarifying and paraphrasing were also used, and the participants' responses were probed to explore motives and their interpretations of experiences (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010) in order to allow the participants space to actively reflect on their experiences

and feelings about those experiences. This was important especially for this research as I was interested in participants' mentalizing capacity during the interview as an indicator of defensiveness in response to anxiety, and the extent to which the interview context possibly influenced this. The interview schedule that guided the interviews is included as Appendix E.

Before conducting the first interview, the participants' reflective journals were read carefully (by the researcher), and key themes or interesting ideas and experiences within each case were noted for potential further discussion during the interview. This was only done if the participant had given their express permission for their journal to be used for research purposes, through an informed consent document (Appendix F). These themes were revisited or reintroduced into the conversation with participants to prompt students to reflect and talk through their reflections at times where participants did not immediately offer new thoughts or lines of conversation. The participants all had access to electronic copies of their reflective journals as well, and they were invited to read over their responses before the first interview as a way of reconnecting with particular events or experiences, and the emotions and thought processes attached to them. The first interview with most participants lasted around an hour. The second interview was a follow-up of the first interview and served as an opportunity to address pertinent unanswered questions and to encourage the participant to clarify or elaborate on key threads picked up in the first interview (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013), as well as to respond to and reflect on the letters that they had written to themselves before the course had started. The second interview therefore followed a semi-structured approach and the interview schedule for the second interview depended on the outcome of the first interview, as well as new incidents that were recorded in the reflective journal between the two interviews. The second interview with the participants was generally shorter than the first, around 20 to 30 minutes.

Interviews were transcribed by a paid professional transcriber as soon after they were conducted as possible. Gee (1991) and Jefferson (1984) offer conventions for transcribing interviews so that hesitations, pauses, crying, laughing, changes in tone, false starts, overlapping of responses, and interruptions are all recorded, and these conventions were employed in the transcription process. This foregrounds the binocular approach to the data and offers a text that is rich with meaning and not necessarily bound by things that are revealed through spoken words. This means that non-verbal communication is valued as part of the transcription process, just as it is valued in the analytical process, specifically for the psychoanalytic reading where what is not said is just as important as what is said. Recording these constituents also emphasised the co-construction of the narratives and illuminated my role as an interviewer and researcher.

Detailed field notes were also kept to record my own feelings, thoughts, and fantasies as the researcher and analyst before and after the data collection process, and during the analytic process as well. The notes included my observations of the participants' interactions with me as the interviewer (with a history of a student-lecturer relationship), and also my personal feelings about the interview and the participants. In particular, it was important for me to acknowledge some of the anxieties and frustrations I had experienced with the population from which the sample was selected due to difficult challenges I faced while teaching this class earlier in the year that data were collected. More about this dynamic is explicated in a later section of this chapter. Acknowledging my own thoughts and feelings about the population was done in the interest of acknowledging my role as a co-constructor of the narratives produced during the interview but also the interpretations made during analytic readings of the texts. Psychosocial research is concerned with the ways in which the researcher/interviewer brings particular subjectivities to the interview situation and

contributes to a particular relational climate in which participants are required to respond in ways that represent a coherent self. Researcher subjectivity can be usefully acknowledged within an analytic process by drawing on the Lacanian concept of deferred meaning which suggests that "any interpretation is always and already within a set of assumptions that can be deconstructed to unravel the position from which the analyst is speaking" (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010, p. 515). This lends itself to a particular type of analysis that pursues transparency regarding the researcher's role and influence in the construction of 'knowledge' about a particular phenomenon.

Another very important reason that field notes were included as a site of data collection is the documentation of the psychoanalytic notions of transference and countertransference in the interview context, both of which are important to analyse in psychosocial research (Frosh & Saville Young, 2013). Parker (2010) notes that there are various versions of transference but the psychosocial version focuses on the intersubjective nature of transference. The term 'transference' in psychosocial research therefore refers to the ways in which the personal historical relationships of a research participant can be unconsciously replicated in the interview context. The researcher may then respond to this by drawing on their own past relationships, thereby introducing countertransference into the interview situation. Hollway (2016) argues that these dynamics are significant in psychosocial research and can be used to understand social phenomena on a deeper level. Transference and countertransference can expand the reflexivity of the researcher in qualitative research and these phenomena are therefore useful to document and analyse in psychosocial research (Hollway, 2016). The way in which this is documented is through making and analysing extensive field notes during and after the interviews with each participant. Noting transferences and countertransferences is done through recording the researcher's own thoughts, emotional responses and fantasies in

relation to the participants and these are then made sense of using psychoanalytic language (Hollway, 2016). This is important work to do in order to cast light on blind spots in the research and also to unpick which interpretations belong to me as the researcher (evident in my own countertransference) and which interactions are reflective of raw emotional responses from the participations (Hollway, 2016). Acknowledging transference and countertransference increases my own reflective capacity as a researcher, allowing me to reflect on the entanglement of my feelings with those of the participants, which leads us to co-produce particular narratives about service-learning.

4.7. Data Analysis

The analytic process used in this research is a psychosocial reading of texts collected (transcribed interviews and reflective journal entries). A psychosocial reading broadly involves a systematic discursive analysis (described below) of texts in order to identify dominant (and subjugated) discourses of service-learning and the different subject positions offered by these discourses, and then a psychoanalytic reading (drawing on the concept of mentalization) in order to account for students' emotional investments in the discourses used in the texts.

The analytic process began with a psychosocial reading of the journal entries, and then of the interview transcripts. While the interviews were transcribed as soon after each interview as possible, the transcripts were only analysed after the journal entries had undergone a psychosocial reading. The reason for conducting the analysis in this order was to gain a clear sense of chronological shifts in thinking (and not thinking) about this particular service-learning experience as the course progressed and the students were learning within and

without traditional learning spaces. Reading the texts in this order also allowed for discrepancies to be noted between things said (and not said) in the interviews and what had been recorded in the reflective journal. Patterns and recurring discourses or metaphors were also searched for across both texts for each participant. In addition to analysing texts based on interviews and reflective journals, the analysis also drew on my field notes (which were made during and after each interview) noting my own sense of how the interview went and any interesting moments that occurred or any contradictions, awkward moments, long silences and so on that occurred during the interviews. Before beginning the interviews, I also collected biographical data from the participants at the beginning of the initial interview with each participant in order to later assist in the analysis with building thick descriptions of each participant's subjective experiences.

Wetherell (2005) writes about the relational contexts present in interviews in particular and argues that it is important to acknowledge the discursive context in which researchers put their participants. Interviews place a kind of pressure on the participants to account for who they are and why they behave as they do or believe and think the things they do. This pressure comes from a sense of needing to produce a satisfactory account of these personal motives and ways of being and doing. For this reason, the interview transcript cannot be analysed separately from or without consideration of the interview context and the ways in which this influences how and what the participant says in producing a narrative that strives to represent a coherent subjectivity. There is a discursive reciprocity that unfolds in interview contexts with a kind of 'give-and –take' movement between interviewer and participant that needs close attention in the analytic process as it is through this intersubjective discursive oscillation that narratives are co-produced (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010).

A psychosocial understanding of the narratives produced must therefore be grounded in this dynamic, relational context. This highlights what Saville Young and Frosh (2010, p. 514) call the “conditionality of interpretations”, emphasising the heavy influence that the interviewer and the relational context of the interview has on the production of particular narratives, or the repression of ‘disallowed’ narratives that would fracture the presentation of a coherent self. Keeping extensive field notes was therefore important in order to attempt to document the research relationship that framed the interviews and to include these observations in the analysis so that my influence as a researcher could be mapped against which narratives were encouraged and which may have been disallowed. Keeping detailed field notes also allowed for the tracking of countertransference in the analytic process. A psychosocial analysis is therefore intricate and multi-layered, and a systematic approach is helpful in ensuring that such a complex analysis is performed carefully and methodically. Concentric reflexivity is one such approach that was used to structure the analytic process in this psychosocial reading.

4.7.1 Concentric reflexivity.

The technique, first outline by Saville Young and Frosh (2010) called concentric reflexivity, is one that lends itself to a coherent and thorough psychosocial analysis of the data. Concentric reflexivity is a method of analysis in which the constituents of the psychosocial framework are foregrounded in different but overlapping stages of the analysis, in a concentric fashion, in order to produce an integrated analysis that remains centred around text (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010). The interplay of the concentric circles foregrounds the ways in which what is said and what is not said interact to produce meaningful interpretations of the participant’s experiences.

The first layer of analysis, conducted for each text, is a process in which the text is read in search of discourses and associated subject positions that are taken up or abandoned in the narrative. Of particular interest, are the recurring discourses and metaphors that are used, and how what (within the interview context) is allowed to be said and what is not allowed to be said is bound by these recurring discourses. This reading was interested in the discourses drawn on to construct service-learning. The following analytic questions were drawn on in this stage of the analysis:

- Which discourses appear to be dominant in students' talk about their service-learning experiences on this course?
- What kinds of subject positions do students construct in talking about their service-learning on this course? How are the children with disabilities positioned? How are caregivers positioned? How are other students positioned?
- What might these subject positions tell us about the kinds of discourses that students are drawing on?

The second layer of analysis involved an examination of students' investments in particular discourses and producing a more symbolic understanding (focusing on both conscious and unconscious aspects) of the interpersonal nature of the talk produced throughout the interview. This involved analysing not only the students' emotional investments in their talk, but also the ways in which this talk was co-constructed with the interviewer and influenced by my own emotional investments. Researcher reflexivity is therefore a salient feature of the psychosocial approach as the researcher's own subjectivity is considered as highly involved in the production of the narratives (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010).

This second reading is concerned with what is said during the interview (and written in the journal entries) but also what has been left unsaid or is present within non-linguistic cues such as laughing, long pauses or avoidance of direct questions. What is left unsaid can be interpreted as significant within the intersubjective exchange between participant and researcher especially if participants seem to hold back from saying something in particular or if something is communicated in ways other than language (such as nervous laughter). Within this layer, psychoanalytic concepts are applied to assist in meaning-making. In this analysis, the concept of mentalizing was used to account for inner psychic processes occurring during the interview, as indicated by these non-verbal cues. A lapse in mentalizing might be evident if a participant's talk does not echo their body language or other non-linguistic cues, especially if they are pseudomentalizing. Field notes were drawn on in this reading to map out moments in between talk that appear significant to the researcher in terms of what is being communicated (or at least interpreted). Both linguistic and non-linguistic cues can be interpreted in terms of whether a participant seems to be mentalizing (non-defensive) or not (defensive) and this assists in accounting for why students are emotionally investing in one discourse over another in their talk pointing to particular defences.

The kinds of analytic questions that underpinned this layer of analysis are as follows:

Why are some discourses taken up and others disavowed? What might the participant be defending against?

What might this indicate about the participants' unconscious investments in particular discourses?

What kinds of broader socio-historical relational contexts do students talk about that have enabled mentalizing/a less defensive stance? Which contexts seem to shut mentalizing down, suggesting defensiveness?
Which kinds of relational contexts produce defensive processes in students' talk and which promote reflective functioning? What role does the interviewer play in creating this intersubjective exchange within the interview context?

The psychoanalytic analysis requires a fine-grained reading of the texts which is much more in depth than the discursive reading conducted earlier in the analytic process. For this reason, two cases were selected for a fine-grained reading in order to apply a psychoanalytic lens to the data collected. Selecting only two cases allowed for a much deeper reading to be conducted as more time and more careful interpretation could be invested into two cases rather than attempting to apply this to all cases, which may have reduced the quality of the psychoanalytic reading. Following Frosh and Saville Young's (2013) lead, after the discursive analysis of all the data was conducted to identify dominant discourses of service-learning and different subject positions offered by these discourses, psychoanalytic interpretive strategies were applied to selected texts (either from the interviews or reflective journals) in order to "thicken the discursive reading of the text" (p. 119).

What is important to consider when employing the technique of concentric reflexivity is that

> "concentric reflexivity is always unfinished because we can never reach a point where we are able to stand outside of assumptions and knowledge; therefore, the end point is not so much the outcome as the process of engaging in these reflexive interpretations and movements." (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010, p. 519)

This suggests that my own subjectivities as researcher and analyst are heavily implicated in the analysis and interpretations produced, and it is imperative that this was acknowledged and engaged with throughout the process. The influence of my own subjectivities has implications for the validity of this research, which is addressed in the next section. The acknowledgement of my own subjectivities reinforces the notion that subjectivities are co-constructed within and across the concentric layers and are not located within one particular phase of the process. Rather, it is understood as a fluid construct that emerges through the analysis.

4.8 Rigour and Trustworthiness of Methodological Selections

Issues around reliability and validity are not readily codified in qualitative research because of the value placed on subjectivity but also because qualitative research is not measurable in the same ways that quantitative research is. Reliability and validity are therefore constructs that tend to be reserved for quantitative research (Shenton, 2004). Guba's (1981, as cited in Shenton, 2004) constructs of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, are preferred terms when analysing the trustworthiness of this qualitative research.

4.8.1 Credibility.

Ensuring credibility in qualitative research (rather than internal validity) is intended to be an attempt to show that an authentic picture of service-learning on this course has been presented. This is a difficult construct to apply when using concentric reflexivity because the analysis produced can only represent a true picture from my own position, and not an organically true picture of this group of students' experiences of service-learning.

Furthermore, because the analysis as well as the narratives are co-constructed, it is not feasible to claim that the analysis produced a true account of the experiences recounted in the narratives. It is more useful to talk about the credibility of this research in terms of the way in which it has followed rigorous analytic steps in order to uphold psychosocial research ideals. One way in which credibility can be pursued in qualitative research, according to Shenton (2004) is through the adoption of research methods that are well established in qualitative investigation. Psychosocial studies is a relatively new discipline within psychology, and it is difficult to claim that it is one that is well-established. However, much work has been done, particularly by Hollway and Jefferson (2005, 2013) to establish common methodological principles and understandings, and work has been done by Saville Young and Frosh (2010, 2013) to outline procedural analytic methods for analysing data within a psychosocial framework. This project adhered to commonly used methods in psychosocial work and followed procedural guidelines set out by Saville Young and Frosh (2010) in the analysis. Methodological considerations such as sample size and interview methods were based on Hollway and Jefferson's (2013) recommendations that reflect commonly used psychosocial practices.

Another way in which credibility can be pursued is in developing familiarity with the participants and the culture of the organisation from which the participants will be drawn (Shenton, 2004). This contributes towards credibility in qualitative research because of the ways in which familiarity influences a researcher's involvement in the research process. Prolonged engagement with participants and with the organisation can contribute towards increased trust between the parties as well as a more thorough understanding of the organisation on the part of the researcher. In terms of the establishment of a sense of familiarity with the culture of participating organisations, it is useful to acknowledge that I

have been a student at this institution since my first undergraduate year, and also completed my honours and master's degrees at this institution. I did not participate in a service-learning programme such this one but did have other opportunities to become involved in service-learning practical programmes while I was completing my honours degree. I had also had contact with the participants before the recruitment process had begun, in other capacities. I had taught some of the participants in their second year of psychology, as an undergraduate lecturer. In the year that the data were collected, I had also presented seminars to most of the participants on research methodology and had engaged with them within a lecturer-student relationship. I had also been responsible for marking their assignments linked to this research course and providing feedback on these assignments. I am aware that there were tensions present concerning this course as many of the participating students had struggled with the assignment and had also not been fully engaged in seminar activities, resulting in my own frustration with some of them as a lecturer. This created a sense of anxiety (for me) in terms of how the students would respond to me as a researcher, and whether they would withhold certain things because of the strained dynamic that I had sensed after the series of seminars that I taught. However, the final course mark had been allocated and examination written (for my course) before data were collected so I did not feel that any of the participants had agreed to participate in the research due to a perceived sense of pressure related to their connection to my course.

I had also interacted with some of the honours students in a different capacity in that many of the honours students had been hired as tutors in the department, and I had been contracted to train the tutors. This was a positive experience overall and was not overcome with power dynamics (from my perspective) but rather a collaborative collegial attitude toward each other. These dynamics are all important to take into account when assessing the credibility of

the research as Shenton (2004) warns that "investigators may become so immersed in the culture under scrutiny that their professional judgements are influenced" (p. 65). This highlights the importance of acknowledging my position and pre-judgements in relation to the participants and the ways in which this may have built implicit power dynamics that played out in our intersubjective exchanges. This in itself had created a particular relational context that may have facilitated or shut down the students' abilities (and, indeed, my own) to mentalize or to talk freely and openly about their experiences during the interviews. These considerations are all important parts of psychosocial research and any contextual or relational factors such as these were included in the field notes kept during and after the interview process to be included in the analyses.

Triangulation was used in this research in that data were collected through interview material as well as through reflective journals. Shenton (2004) acknowledges that "the use of different methods in concert compensates for their individual limitations and exploits their respective benefits" (p. 65). Drawing on material from the reflective journals as part of the analytic process removes some of the relational concerns that arise in interviews as the intersubjective exchange is minimal in comparison to interviews. Including reflexive journals as part of the data set enabled me, to an extent, to see how much of what was constructed in the interview was influenced by me as a researcher and what was being produced independently of my physical presence. However, students were aware that their journals would be read and analysed by the same person interviewing them and this may have coloured their responses to a certain degree, both in the journals and in the interview setting. Using two different sources for data collection also allows for a level of corroboration to be achieved, or alternatively, an opportunity to attempt to identify or account for discrepancies held in data collected from two different sources.

4.8.2 Transferability.

Where quantitative research is concerned with external validity and generalisability, qualitative work focuses more on the construct of transferability. Generalisability is achieved when the results of a study can be applied to the broader population (Shenton, 2004). In qualitative research (including this study), because the sample sizes are much smaller, it is not realistic or valid to claim that findings from this research can be applied to the wider population. Rather, the aim is for the findings to be transferable to similar contexts. It is therefore important to provide sufficient information about the specific context of the research and the participants in order to provide some sort of indication of how similar this context might be to others, and whether findings from this context are useful in others. The kind of information that is important for this contextualisation includes the number and types of participants, length and number of data collection sessions, time period for data collection, context and geographical location, types of data collection methods employed and number of organisations involved in research (Shenton, 2004). These considerations have been clearly indicated in this chapter, and in doing so, the construct of transferability has been addressed. This research might be transferable to other contexts in South Africa where intersubjective exchanges in service-learning programmes are underpinned by similar socio-historical, economic and political contexts, especially where power distribution is noticeably unequal.

4.8.3 Dependability.

The construct of dependability is a term that is deemed more useful than the positivist construct of reliability (Shenton, 2004). It is not useful in qualitative research to attempt to show that if the methods and techniques used in this research were repeated with the same participants, that similar results would be obtained because of the changing nature of psychological phenomena, and because of the particular subjectivities that the researcher injects into the construction of data and consequent analysis of data. There are close links between dependability and credibility and working to ensure one usually achieves the objectives of the other to a certain extent. Dependability is more concerned with reporting processes in detail so that future researchers can repeat this same work if necessary. Credibility is concerned with the extent to which these details reflect best practice from a qualitative and psychosocial perspective (in the context of this research).

It is useful, according to Shenton (2004) to describe in detail the research design and how it was practically implemented, the finer operational details of how data were gathered, and a reflective evaluation of the project overall (Shenton, 2004). The first two considerations were addressed in detail in this chapter, and a broader reflection of the overall project is included in the conclusion chapter.

4.8.4 Confirmability.

Objectivity is not a concern of psychosocial research because of the necessary examination and acknowledgement of the role of the interviewer/analyst in the construction of narratives and meaning. Confirmability is therefore a more useful construct to address in psychosocial research, particularly because triangulation can be used as a method to shift (not remove) the distance between researcher and data. Confirmability refers to the extent to which the research study's findings can be attributed to what participants have actually communicated

rather than to the researcher's own biases and interpretations. Confirmability is also used in qualitative research to "extend the confidence that the results would be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers" (Forero et al., 2018, p. 3). Shenton (2004) argues that one way in which confirmability can be achieved in qualitative research is for the researcher to openly discuss and address their own predispositions and beliefs. Certain methodological decisions and actions were taken in this data collection procedure that influenced the type of data produced. It is important that the rationale for all decisions taken be clearly explained and identified. As far as possible, this chapter has attempted to detail these kinds of decisions and presumptions. The reflective commentary that is important for credibility is useful in interrogating presumptions made by the researcher, and this reflective commentary was drawn on consistently throughout the analytic process. Shenton (2004, p. 72) notes that "detailed methodological description enables the reader to determine how far the data and constructs emerging from it may be accepted." This chapter has attempted to uphold this principle in the interests of producing a trustworthy analysis. Further considerations of this nature are addressed in the reflective evaluation included in the conclusion chapter.

4.9 Ethics

Ethical clearance to proceed with the research was gained well in advance of the recruitment process from the university's Research Proposal Ethical Review Committee (Appendix G). Permission from gatekeepers was also gained from the Heads of Department (incoming and outgoing), the Course Coordinator of the psychology honours class, and the Registrar of the university before participants were contacted.

Before data were collected for research purposes, all ethical concerns were also cleared with the participants of this research. This included ensuring that participants were aware that their

participation was voluntary, that they would remain anonymous in the final write-up of the results (and in any future publications based on this research), and that all information provided would remain confidential. No transcripts of interviews or entries into the reflective journals were accessible to anyone other than me as the researcher and these records were kept in a password-protected folder on my personal computer. Anonymity was ensured by changing the names of participants and the families with which they worked as well as omitting or changing details that might clearly identify them in their true identities. No intentional deception was required for this study and so participants were protected from this ethical concern.

Participants were also assured (through an informed consent document – see Appendix H) that, as students of the course, their participation in the research attached to the course would have no bearing on any assessment of their engagement with the course. Participants were also free to withdraw from the data collection process, and from the research in general, at any point. The lecturer was not present for the presentation of the research as we wanted to avoid construing the research as a necessary part of their participation in the course, and to reinforce the fact that the research was something separate from the course.

The data were collected from two different sources: collecting entries into reflective journals and conducting unstructured interviews. Informed consent to use the journal entries for research purposes was gained from the participants toward the end of the course, around the same time as the informed consent to use the interview transcripts for research purposes was gained. This was done so that participants did not feel bound by constraints imposed by the research in terms of what they felt they could or could not write in their journals. It also

allowed the participants an opportunity to first engage with the reflective questions before deciding whether they were comfortable with their entries being used for research purposes.

A separate informed consent document (Appendix F) was drawn up for the use of their reflective journals. This document was different to and separate from the informed consent document for the interviews. This was done to reinforce the voluntary nature of the research in the event that students no longer wanted to be interviewed. The reflective journal consent document was signed by all participants before the course began so that they could begin writing in their journals from the first day of the course. The informed consent document for the interviews (Appendix H) was administered immediately before the interviews began, toward the end of the service-learning component of the course.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological procedures that were followed for this psychosocial study. This chapter began with an outline of the overall research design of this study: a psychosocial qualitative approach using interviews and the contents of reflective journals as sites of data collection. The research questions and aims were then presented, followed by a detailed discussion of the sampling strategies and nature of the participants of this study. A brief demographic overview of the participants was also provided in order to further contextualise the findings that will be discussed in the next three chapters. The procedures of data collection and data analysis were explicitly discussed along with ethical considerations and ways in which the quality of the research was maintained. The analytic procedures outlined in this chapter were applied to the data collected in order to produce the findings presented in the following three chapters.

Chapter 5: Service-learning as 'Rapture'

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from a discursive reading of students' talk about their service-learning experiences for a course on childhood disability and mental health. The discursive findings from the psychosocial analysis of the interview transcripts and reflective journals have been split into two sections, each presented in its own chapter. This first findings chapter explores how liberal traditionalist discourses and charity discourses of service-learning are taken up by students in their talk on their experiences of service-learning. These two discourses, along with smaller, less dominant discourses, of service-learning are grouped by one metaphor – 'rapture'. The term rapture refers to a capturing of one's own fascination with the other and is marked by an outward gaze and a positioning of the caregivers and children, participating in the service-learning programme, as the primary site for service-learning. This term originates from a paper published by Carrick, Himley and Jacobi (2000) in which the authors analyse students' journals reflecting on a service-learning experience.

While the main theoretical metaphor in this paper is based on Paulo Freire's concept of 'ruptura' (which is used in the next chapter), one student from Carrick et al's (2000) study writes in their reflective journal: "In many ways my journey reveals as fascination, a rapture with the stories the site had to tell" (p. 70). The metaphor of rapture is therefore borrowed in this analysis of students' talk about service-learning to represent a collection of discourses that facilitate fascination with the other; and that allow service-learning to rest on an outward gaze (from the students to the caregivers). The rapture metaphor is used in this research

within a different context to that explored in Carrick et al.'s (2000) research, specifically a South African context where the focus of the rapture during service-learning in this psychology course is underpinned by salient social, historical and political nuances in relation to disability specifically. The high levels of inequality in South Africa, and in this particular service-learning context with caregivers and children with disabilities, are sites for fascination with the other (rapture) to develop and this can potentially result in harmful consequences for the community with whom the students are working. Understanding the rapture metaphor within this particular South African context is therefore important in order to usefully analyse the outcomes of discourses that make up the rapture metaphor.

Liberal traditional discourses and charity discourses are collated under the same metaphor of 'rapture' because what these two discourses share is talk that positions students as different from the 'other' in terms of the kinds of power students and caregivers hold (or not). The talk employing discourses of liberal traditionalist learning, and charity discourses of service-learning works to maintain the power difference between caregivers and students, and disabled children and students but also to maintain traditional power structures inherent in learning structures that position the student as 'unknowing' and waiting for learning to happen by someone else's volition. This chapter argues that while power structures are maintained by these discourses, an ideological dilemma arises in which the student simultaneously holds on to and relinquishes power as a result of their simultaneous role of learner and service provider. This chapter also shows how the employment of particular discourses of service-learning positions the caregivers and the children as the point of focus for a 'successful' learning experience, and how this influences power dynamics in the student-caregiver relationship.

5.2 Constructions of Service-Learning Drawing on a Liberal Traditional Discourse

As discussed in the literature review, the liberal traditional discourse of learning (and service-learning in particular) refers to a construction of service-learning as something formulaic, with a right and a wrong process. Within this discourse, learning is something passed down to a student by someone more knowledgeable than the student. Liberal traditional discourses of learning reinforce constructions of service-learning as linear, cognitive, and action-based, and any other 'messier' activities are constructed as something different from learning. Tennant et al. (2010) explain that liberal traditional education (which is propelled by liberal traditional learning) is "education for its own sake – a quest for knowledge for what it is rather than for what it does" (p. 15). Knowledge is therefore sought out for the purposes of self-betterment rather than for use in solving social problems outside of the self. This discourse captures the fascination with the 'other' as a site of knowledge acquisition, knowledge that is constructed as acquired in a linear and cognitive way. Within the liberal traditionalist discourse of service-learning, assessment, procedure and authority are emphasised as important components of the learning structure (Tennant et al., 2010). The three constructions of service-learning that are made possible by the liberal traditional discourse within the findings are service-learning as linear, service-learning as cognitive and service-learning as 'doing' rather than 'being'. Each of these will be described in turn.

5.2.1 Service-learning as linear.

In participants' talk about their experience of service-learning on this particular course, service-learning is constructed as a linear process. This means that students construct service-learning in the traditional sense, as something that is transferred from one person to another; knowledge is constructed as something that a student receives from someone else, in this case

– the caregivers participating in the programme. Furthermore, the construction of learning as linear rests on the assumption that learning is organised, straightforward, cumulative, and structured, and that there is a right and a wrong way to 'do' learning. Jane's entries in her reflective journal exemplify this construction.

Jane (reflective journal, week 1):

1 I am trying not to have any expectations of this experience as I want to go to
2 my first visit with an open mind.

This entry from Jane's journal was written before her first visit to the family's home. For the first entry, students were asked to write a letter to themselves exploring some of their thoughts and feelings about the service-learning experience they were about to begin. Much of Jane's letter to herself was focused on trying to keep an open-mind and was written in a positive and optimistic way. In the above extract, Jane positions herself as a learner trying to do things 'right', drawing on a discourse of service-learning as linear. The assumption underpinning this subject positioning is that in order to do service-learning correctly, one should have an open mind and abandon expectations. By constructing service-learning in this way, Jane positions herself as a student who is open-minded, and therefore 'doing' service-learning correctly, or at least "trying" (line 1) to do so. In this way, she is also positioning herself as 'a good student', putting in effort in order to 'do' service-learning 'properly'. Her construction of 'proper' service-learning is further exemplified in the following extract in which she responds to me asking her whether she felt that including a practical component of the course (service-learning) was helpful.

Jane (interview 1):

1036 Definitely. I think that it is something that realllly helps you learn. Also,

1037 because I found that, I thought honours was going to be a LOT more

1038 practical and it is not as practical, as I thought it was going to be you know.

1039 And, I think, practicality, especially like something like psychology, I think it

1040 is important to incorporate those practical elements like with sport and

1041 performance science. I think as much as I enjoyed that that subject, it could have

1042 been a service-learning… like proper service-learning where we did,

1043 like there is no ‘this is the practical and this is the theory’. It is, you know,

1044 integrated.

In the above extract, Jane constructs ‘proper’ service-learning as something that integrates both theory and practical components. This construction implies that service-learning (especially in psychology) is not really service-learning without the integration of these two concepts. This works alongside the construction of service-learning as linear and structured, in that she constructs service-learning as something one could do ‘properly’ or not. In constructing service-learning in this way, Jane draws on discourses of liberal traditional learning. This discourse is bound by assumptions that learning should be done in a specific, structured, and cumulative way, and it is possible to not do service-learning properly. When done properly, this type of service-learning, that integrates both theory and practical components “realllly helps [her to] learn”. At the same time, Jane is also highlighting how all of this is particularly important in learning about psychology. She constructs psychology as a practical discipline that cannot properly be learned without ‘doing’ something. This construction is explored again later in this chapter.

When Jane takes up the discourse of liberal traditional learning (and smaller discourses of linear learning), she is simultaneously resisting alternative discourses of 'messy' learning. By resisting a discourse of 'messy learning', Jane is constructing learning as something that is neat with a clear beginning, middle, and end. The resistance of this discourse of messy, or disorganised learning is further demonstrated in the following extract from Jane's reflective journal:

Jane (reflective journal, week 2):

1 The first encounter was completely different. My partner and I had expected to have
2 the mother there and had no idea there was a paid caregiver. This meant that we had
3 to explain a lot to the caregiver but due to the language barrier she battled to
4 understand. Also, the child was not as physically disabled as we had thought, so we
5 were pleasantly surprised by that. The fact that the first encounter was quite different
6 to our expectations meant that I felt quite disorganized and awkward at times.

In the extract above, Jane describes herself as disorganised and awkward within the service-learning space. From Jane's reflection on the first visit, service-learning does not fit into her construction of learning as a linear process, and this further reinforces the construction of learning as something that one can get right or wrong. The above extract is an example of Jane's talk that constructs learning as messy. For Jane, service-learning is constructed as something that should be linear and straightforward, but the actual experience of service-learning is constructed as messy. What made the experience 'messy' was the number of things that happened that were not in line with her expectations such as having a paid caregiver present instead of the mother. Jane expected to learn directly from the mother, but her experience was that she needed to explain things to the caregiver, which was made even

more difficult because of the language barrier. The discourse of learning as linear therefore tends to position Jane as ‘doing it wrong’ within a context of service-learning as she did not learn from the mother as she was told she was going to. ‘Doing it wrong’ because of unmet expectations is constructed by Jane as “disorganised and awkward” (line 6), neither of which are constructions that align with the construction of service-learning as linear. The messiness is attributed to factors outside of Jane’s control as she places the blame on language barriers and lack of information for the messiness of the experience. In liberal traditionalist discourses of learning, the student is not positioned as responsible for learning but is rather a ‘recipient’ of learning. This is evident in Jane’s talk, particularly when Jane attributes the reasons for expectations of learning not being met to factors outside of her control.

Constructing ‘learning as linear’ results in particular subject positionings for the student and the caregiver, in which the caregiver is positioned as the teacher with knowledge to impart, and the student as anticipating the receipt of this knowledge. The students’ anticipation of receiving knowledge is often woven into talk about their expectations of the service-learning course. The students’ letters to themselves (the first entry in their reflective journals) is a useful site to excavate talk about their expectations of learning during the experience. For example, in Anna’s first entry into her reflective journal she talks about her expectations of service-learning as being an opportunity to learn from each other:

Anna (reflective journal, week 1):

2 This whole service-learning approach appeals to me, I think it's a great
3 concept where all parties can offer knowledge and advice, and can
4 simultaneously learn from one another.

In the extract above, Anna talks about her expectations of learning something from the caregiver (whilst the caregiver is also constructed as expecting something from Anna). Anna constructs the caregiver as in a position to offer knowledge and therefore allow Anna to learn something from her. This subject positioning offers power to the caregiver in the form of knowledge. The liberal traditional discourse of learning emphasises the importance of knowledge acquisition as a marker of learning. The caregiver is therefore positioned as holding the power to allow or disallow the learning process to occur for Anna.

The broader discourse of traditionalist, didactic learning maintains power differentials between the ‘student’ and the ‘teacher’ in the service-learning process and also assigns the responsibility of the teaching to the teacher (in the context of this research, the caregiver). This also positions the teacher as responsible for instances where learning did not happen. The student is positioned as a passive recipient of knowledge. The caregiver is positioned as the teacher or giver of knowledge; as one holding knowledge that is owed to the students by nature of the traditional teacher-learner relationship. This also means that the caregivers have the power to withhold this knowledge. Alison’s talk, presented in the extract below, is an example of this positioning work of the caregiver as the teacher responsible for passing on her knowledge:

Alison (interview 1):

38 I have tried to learn what I can just by picking up things, but then I also don’t want to
39 just say I have learned something just for the sake of saying that I have learned
40 something. Um, so I tried to you know like, definitely learned something about the
41 disability. I don’t think I have learned anything about how the mom actually feels
42 about having a child with a disability. Um, it is just information I have gotten from

43 my partner which is your usual - the financial stress, um she, you know she hopes,

44 her hopes for him one day to be able to see, or talk or walk so it is those normal

45 themes that have come up, but I don't think I have learned how she really feels, ja.

In the above extract, Alison's talk constructs learning in a linear way in that she draws on the idea that she should have learned increasingly more about the mother's deep emotional life ("I don't think I have learned anything about how the mom actually feels" – line 41), and it was the mother's responsibility to provide this learning in a straightforward way. She draws on a discourse of liberal traditional learning by positioning the mother as the teacher, and herself as the learner – "I don't think I have learned anything about how the mom actually feels about having a child with a disability. Um, it is just information I have gotten from my partner which is your usual" (lines 41 – 43). The caregiver is positioned as the teacher here as she is the one from whom information is supposed to be generated. Information from the student partner is constructed as less valuable, as "usual".

Interestingly, within this extract, there is also a discursive construction of emotional knowledge. Emotional knowledge is constructed as being knowledge *about* emotions rather than the experience of emotions and how this changes what one knows. Alison constructs her interest in the caregiver's experiences from an emotional experience. In line 45 she says "I don't think I have learned how she really feels" despite having learned about the caregiver's feelings about her son's disability and the concomitant financial stress. Knowledge about emotions is constructed as more important for Alison's learning than things that she positions as "normal" (line 44) and "usual" (line 43) such as financial stress and hopes and expectations with regard to caring for a child with a disability. In this way, she seems to be

constructing emotional knowledge as having variable value in that normal or expected emotional knowledge is less valuable than deeper, more complex emotions.

Alison constructs the caregiver's struggles as 'usual' (line 43) but what she may not have explicitly said here is that these struggles are 'usual' for the caregiver. These struggles may not have been constructed as 'usual' if they were being experienced by Alison or anyone with a similar social and economic position as Alison. Alison constructs the 'usual' struggles as something she perhaps already knew or expected from an individual in the caregiver's social position. What she is more interested in, based on her constructions of what is 'usual' and what is valuable, is the deep emotional experiences that Alison may not yet have direct access to, but desires (or expects?) as part of her service-learning experience. What these constructions of knowledge (in terms of what is valuable and what is not) do is reinforce the differences between the caregiver and Alison. The caregiver is an economically disadvantaged 'black' woman caring for a disabled child and Alison is an educated, economically privileged 'white' woman. What is constructed as 'usual' for Alison is ostensibly different from what is constructed as 'usual' for the caregiver. Making these constructions allows Allison to maintain distance from the caregiver in terms of the power differentials between them.

Through her talk, Alison reinforces her position of holding power as an able-bodied, socio-economically secure, 'white' woman, whilst simultaneously maintaining the caregiver's position as disempowered by her socio-economic status and the ways in which this interacts with her caring for the child, specifically with regard to the financial struggles that are constructed as 'usual'. Furthermore, Allison's talk works to bolster her position as a student involved in linear learning by constructing emotional knowledge about the mother's

experiences as more important than the issues she constructs as ‘normal’ for an individual caring for a child with disabilities presumably because knowledge about deep emotional work will assist Alison in progressing in her learning in a linear, cumulative manner. The ‘usual’ knowledge including information about financial struggles is not constructed as something that would progress Alison’s learning – “so it is those normal themes that have come up, but I don’t think I have learned how she really feels” (lines 144 – 145).

Like Alison, Anna also constructs her learning as insufficient within a liberal traditionalist framework and also attributes this to an external subject. What this suggests is that students who construct service-learning drawing on a liberal traditionalist discourse are vulnerable to experiencing service-learning as insufficient, especially when their talk constructs their learning as having failed because their experiences were not in line with their expectations for service-learning. Anna constructs learning as linear and transferable from one party to another, and when this does not happen, it is because something has gone wrong.

Anna (interview 1):

A:

475 I was quite nervous, and I think I expected, I expected to learn more about

476 the daily life with a disabled child. But I think because of the lack of

477 structure, and the - I want to call it the lack of positive interaction with the

478 child - that I didn’t get as much out of it as I expected.

T:

479 The caregiver and the child?

A:

480 The caregiver and the child. You know, like I said, the only time they interact
481 is when she tells him what not to do and I think I expected more that you know,
482 her, really, interacting more with the child. There is really not much interaction
483 that way. And not much, you know she doesn't do activities, she doesn't play
484 with him. She feeds him, she takes care of him but there is not much more
485 than that, or not from what I see. And, I think I expected to learn more, more
486 in terms of the caregiver child relationship.

Anna's talk in this extract is primarily centred on a theme of not experiencing what she expected to experience, which was a meaningful learning experience in which she learned, from observation, about the relationship between the caregiver and the child. Because of the lack of interaction between the caregiver and child, Anna constructs her learning as limited – "I think I expected to learn more, more in terms of the caregiver child relationship" (lines 485 – 486). The talk leading up to this description of her expectations of learning consistently pointed out things she expected the mother to do (presumably these things would have taught Anna something she expected to learn). For example, in line 482 she comments on the fact that the mother doesn't interact much with the child and in line 483, she again says "she doesn't do activities".

This talk positions the caregiver as responsible for doing particular things in order for Anna's learning to take place. Anna does this through assigning blame for the lack of learning to the caregiver by constructing the experience as dependent on a positive interaction between the caregiver and the child – "I think because of the lack of structure, and the - I want to call it

the lack of positive interaction with the child that I didn't get as much out of it as I expected" (lines 476 – 478). A liberal traditionalist discourse reinforces subject positions of the teacher being responsible for driving the learning process, and the student as the recipient of information generated by the teacher. Anna is drawing on this discourse in her talk in the above extract to construct her learning as unsuccessful. She is doing this by constructing the lack of learning as a by-product of something the caregiver (positioned as the teacher) failed to do – "she doesn't do activities, she doesn't play with him. She feeds him she takes care of him but there is not much more than that" (lines 484 – 485). Because there was "not much more than that", Anna's talk constructs her experience as misaligned with her expectations, as a result of the caregiver not delivering the knowledge to her in ways that she expected. Anna's learning experience is therefore constructed as somewhat unsuccessful based on unmet expectations.

Sharmaine's talk also constructs service-learning as a linear activity as she describes what her early visits with the caregiver were like. This talk comes from a part of our conversation where she is explaining some of the early difficulties she and her partner had with their initial visits. What is highlighted in Sharmaine's talk is the absence of the caregiver and the way in which this absence was not what the students wanted out of the experience - "And then um, she would go, the first visit she would go to the kitchen, while we played with the child outside, and that is not really what we want from our visits, and then that was one of our concerns" (lines 86 – 89, interview 1). Sharmaine's talk, like Anna's externalises the learning experience by constructing the absence of the caregiver as implicated in the absence of learning.

In the above extracts, students have drawn on a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning to construct learning as a linear process. This construction allows students to position themselves as passive recipients of knowledge and positions the caregiver as responsible for providing structured learning experiences. Being a passive recipient of knowledge implies that the student does not need to take any observable action to invoke learning, but rather that this responsibility belongs to someone else, in this case: the caregiver. This construction also has ties, particularly in Anna's case, to constructions of the caregiver as 'other' that reinforce the external nature of the learning experience, in that is it is someone else's responsibility to provide this experience. In Anna's case, the positioning work of the self as different to the other (the caregiver) also works to reinforce pre-existing power differentials between her and the caregiver on various dimensions, but most notably along the class dimension.

5.2.2 Service-learning as a cognitive activity.

Alongside constructions of learning as a linear process in students' talk, learning is sometimes also constructed as a cognitive activity, something that requires active and conscious thought. This construction resists discourses of learning as emotional, and positions learning as something that happens separately from emotion. Emotion is constructed as something that obstructs learning or something that is not relevant to learning in any way. These constructions, like the previously discussed construction of service-learning as a linear activity, reinforce a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning.

In constructing her experiences of learning (or not learning) with the caregiver, Alison talks about forgetting about learning. This talk constructs learning as something that is a conscious and purely cognitive activity, and the construction of learning in this way implies that learning does not happen without conscious effort.

Alison (interview 2):

203 Ja, I definitely prioritised her, I think I completely forgot about the whole learning
204 thing. To me it wasn't, ja. I completely put that aside. I just wanted to make sure
205 that the mom was getting what she needed out of it.

218 Ja, because then what do I get out of it? So, then I wasn't really learning anything but
219 then in that moment I would rather just let them have their conversation.

Alison's talk constructs learning and service as separate activities in the above extract in describing her tendency to 'forget' about learning while 'doing' service, and her active ability to separate them by "put(ting) that (learning) aside" (line 204). Being able to 'forget' about learning or trying to learn implies that learning requires a conscious effort and that if she is not applying conscious effort, she cannot be learning. In her talk in the above extract, Alison positions her learning as less important than the caregiver's needs from the interaction but also constructs learning as cognitive implying that she was not learning anything from the observation or from the emotions in the interaction she may have been experiencing. For example, Alison says in lines 218 – 219, "what do I get out of it? So, then I wasn't really learning anything but then in that moment I would rather just let them have their conversation". This constructs the conversations between the caregiver and her partner as something separate from her own learning and not as a possible site for learning.

Traditional discourses of learning rely on power differentials between teacher and learner; between those who hold the knowledge, and those who seek the knowledge. Alison positions the caregiver as holding the knowledge, and also as someone who has the power to withhold

that knowledge from her, either knowingly or unknowingly. Alison positions herself as the passive recipient of that knowledge with little to no power to access it without some form of action on Alison's part to attain the knowledge; she prefers to "rather just let them have their conversation" (line 219). Traditional discourses of learning also subjugate the role of emotion in learning and construct learning as a cognitive activity. Alison draws on this discourse in constructing her experience of service-learning with disabled children.

For Kanyabu, service-learning is constructed as a cognitive activity because of the link between expectations and theoretical knowledge. In the following part of our conversation, I had asked Kanyabu if her expectations for the service-learning experience had been met.

Kanyabu (interview 1):

531 No (Laughs). Honestly, I had no expectations, especially because I had no
532 knowledge of the theory, well before the course, so I really had, no
533 expectations really. I didn't know what to expect. When I started tackling the
534 theory, I could see the different things, okay I could see the different
535 theories at play but they weren't as clear cut as they seem to be.

From a liberal traditional perspective, theory is accumulated cognitively. Kanyabu constructs her expectations of her service-learning experience as dependent on her knowledge of the theory. This positions theoretical knowledge (and not emotional knowledge) as important in the service-learning experience, and in setting up expectations for that experience. Talk of expectations as dependent on theoretical knowledge works to construct service-learning as a cognitive activity by subjugating the role of emotions. This allows the students to take up a

passive position in relation to the caregiver (and other authoritative figures in the service-learning space such as the lecturer) and to relinquish power over their learning to 'the other', either to the 'teacher' (caregiver) or to 'the theory'.

5.2.3 Service-learning as 'doing'.

By drawing on a discourse of liberal traditional learning, students also constructed service-learning as 'doing' something observable and tangible in ways that allowed them to claim to make a difference to the lives of the children and their caregivers. The emphasis is on the action in the service-learning, contributing to a construction of the service-learning process as linear and unidirectional (the student passes on a service to the caregiver, but not in the other direction). Anna's talk below demonstrates the employment of this 'providing discourse' to construct service-learning as 'doing' and listening as insufficient.

Anna (interview 1):

443 And, also I feel that just listening, I think she doesn't have that, or that person in her
444 life to just listen to her and I think that that is a lot of what is happening, is just
445 listening and that is also why I feel that I don't provide much because we are just
446 listening but I think that in itself is a service and some sort of support for her. You
447 know, we don't give any advice, and we don't say much, we actually just listen.
448 Umm, and I think that is why I sometimes think that we are not providing very much
449 'cause we just sit there for an hour and we just listen to her. But I think that is what
450 she needs.

In Anna's talk, listening is constructed as insufficient because of the lack of observable action in listening. Anna draws on a discourse of service-learning as 'doing' (rather than 'being') in

constructing listening as not enough of a support mechanism for caregivers. In line 447, Anna explains that her role was just listening. By saying ‘just listen’ she implies that listening is not particularly valuable as an activity characterised by inaction. Through this construction, service-learning is presented as action-based; if listening is inactive, then it is not learning. Providing is constructed as something that needs action and listening is constructed as something that does not fit into this. Nevertheless, Anna also constructs listening as a method of meeting a need, despite it being constructed as undervalued. This might indicate an ideological dilemma where on one hand, she doubts the value of listening but on the other, she also wonders if it’s just what the caregiver needed. She constructs listening as different to giving advice, but important and valuable none the less – “that in itself is a service and some sort of support for her” (line 446). Although Anna constructs the importance of listening, she also constructs it as something that is undervalued as a service. This reinforces a construction of service-learning as ‘doing’. This construction is also seen in Jane’s talk below:

Jane (interview 1):

480 ...so it wasn’t a particularly difficult case in that sense, but, um, I think we have
481 kind of helped in letting the mom know that she is doing things right, and also trying
482 to help her, kind of get some form of relationship between her, and the health
483 professionals, and kind of putting the child first in some instances, you
484 know, getting her toys, making sure she has a school in [city], kind of
485 getting the ball rolling for her to make the move, rather than getting there, and
486 having to do everything last minute. I think that is something that we have
487 helped with and also getting her to realise that, you know, her child is
488 wonderful. I think sometimes maybe she forgets that.

In the above extract, Jane is constructing service-learning as 'doing' by focusing on observable actions that can be taken to improve the caregiver's life as well as the child's life. She talks specifically about activities that are constructed as improvement and progress such as ensuring that the child has toys. By constructing service-learning in this way, Jane may be positioning herself as the professional who knows 'the right way' to care for and parent a disabled child. This works to reinforce a liberal traditionalist discourse in that she constructs her position as a learner as something that requires expertise. Jane is constructing her provision of the services as successful in listing the areas in which she has helped the caregiver. The activities that Jane constructs as areas where she has provided a service are all action-based ("getting her toys, making sure she has a school in [city], kind of getting the ball rolling for her to make the move" – lines 484 – 485).

A liberal traditionalist discourse of learning necessarily requires some action from the student in order for learning to occur. By constructing service-learning as 'doing' as Jane, and other participants have in their talk about service-learning, students are reinforcing a liberal traditionalist discourse of service-learning. The 'doing' in this construction is specifically related to actions that 'improve' various facets of the caregiver and child's lives and by drawing on minor discourses of (linear and cumulative) improvement (mimicking a medical model of disability), this talk works to fetishize progress. The fetishization of progress and improvement is, I argue, also demonstrated in Kanyabu's talk:

Kanyabu (interview 1):

154: He would hold on to his toy and attempt to throw it to me for example and that was
155: progress in the sense that on on on, the, again the case study we were given it was
156: said that he couldn't throw heavy objects or heavy toys but the toys that he was
157: throwing are pretty, or I would say they were heavy, they weren't very light toys - like
158: a trunk. So, I guess that is improvement.

Kanyabu's talk constructs improvement in the child's motor functioning as a core focus of her home-visits. She draws on a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning, which values the collection of knowledge in a linear, cumulative way, in constructing service-learning as 'doing' and actionable in her talk. The improvement that Kanyabu talks about is constructed as something related to physical tasks and the ways in which she expected these tasks to be affected by the child's impairment. Kanyabu is constructing progress as actionable and physical and this talk works to prioritise physical improvements. These constructions predominantly draw on a medical model of disability in which the responsibility of improvement is located within the individual and is centred around the impairment rather than the environment. This discourse has been argued to be disabling to those living with impairments, and Kanyabu reinforces this model in constructing service-learning as actionable; service-learning as 'doing'. In this sense, Kanyabu's talk is disabling toward the child and the fetishization of physical progress and improvement is an example of how this might contribute to disablist discourses.

Instances of fetishization of progress are also seen in other students' talk. For example, in her first interview with me, Alison talks about expecting "more progress of the child, you know

that one could see and observe… something that would be better" (lines 528 – 529).

Thus far I have been arguing that the traditional liberalist discourse of service-learning has been used in students' talk to construct service-learning as linear, as a cognitive activity, and as action-based (as 'doing'). Constructing service-learning in this way has allowed students to retain a position of relative 'powerlessness' in comparison to the caregivers who are positioned as the 'teacher' in the service-learning experience. In a liberal traditionalist model of service-learning, the teacher holds power over the student's learning and the student is the receiver of knowledge that is transferred in an uncomplicated and cumulative way. This is an interesting phenomenon as the power structures that are constructed in students' talk when they draw on this talk work in opposition to the broader power structures that underlie the service-learning experience. Students in this service-learning programme have identified as being from a middle-class background (as discussed in chapter 4), and this affords them opportunities and access to resources that the caregivers and their families may not have.

There is a degree of power in the access that these students have and from a structural point of view, students hold more power than the caregivers in many instances, such as access to private health care. However, when the expectation of learning is involved, this structural dynamic seems to be subjugated in favour of a different power relationship – that of student-teacher, where the caregiver is afforded power as the teacher. Discursively handing over the power to caregivers for the responsibility of learning allows students to remain void of responsibility for situations where learning is constructed as unsuccessful. Simultaneously, the caregivers are also the site for learning and an expectation is maintained from the students that learning should happen, and it should originate from the caregivers. This relies on an outward gaze upon the caregivers from the students in anticipation of learning in a traditional

way. This outward expectant gaze is maintained through the constructions so far discussed and can be broadly captured using the metaphor of rapture as students construct their focus on the outward and other-focused nature of service-learning.

5.3 Constructions of Service-Learning Drawing on Charity Discourses

At times in these particular students' talk, charity discourses were taken up in order to construct the service-learning experience in particular ways. Charity discourses (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996) refer to ways of talking about service-learning and about the caregivers and their children that position the recipients of the service part of service-learning as 'needy' or expectant of service and position the student as a benevolent provider of something the caregivers and the children did not have before the service-learning programme. Within a charity discourse, service-learning is constructed as an activity in which something must be given over to someone who has less than the giver. This necessarily positions the giver as more powerful than the receiver. In this case, the giver refers to the students and the receivers are the caregivers and their children.

A charity discourse sets up and maintains power relations where the student views the caregiver as a product of a deficit that the student can fill. Charity discourses therefore flip the power relations set up in the liberal traditionalist discourse in that the student now holds the power rather than the caregiver (teacher). In this next section of this chapter, constructions of service-learning that draw on charity discourses of service-learning will be discussed and the ways in which these constructions may also be captured by the rapture metaphor will be argued. The dominant constructions of service-learning that draw on charity discourses of service-learning include constructions of caregivers as expectant and constructions of boundaries as necessary in managing caregivers' expectations. Each of these

are discussed in turn.

5.3.1 Constructions of caregivers as expectant during service-learning.

Despite the caregivers sometimes being positioned as teachers in students' talk about service-learning (as argued in the previous sections), students also sometimes constructed caregivers as expectant of a certain level of service-delivery from the students, which is constructed by Kanyabu, in particular, as 'burdensome':

Kanyabu (interview 1):

K:

316 So, I mean… so, the burden is equally sort of divided [between my partner and I]

T:

317 The burden of?

K:

318 The burden of being there. Because (sighs) ugh, that is one thing… although
319 we are not supposed to sort of view it like that, there is always this thing of
320 delivering and it is an expectation, even though we mentioned that it is not
321 supposed to be like that for the caregiver, there is always a thing in a way… we
322 are coming to do something. We can't just sit, 'cause it is just awkward. We
323 have to sort of give something. Maybe not for the entire time, but for the bulk
324 of the time so there is this expectation that we come and we do something.

T:

325 Do you feel like you did deliver?

K:

326 I think in some cases, I am almost… disappointed.

T:

327 Oh really?

K:

328 I, I really think. Cause for the first few visits she struggled to differentiate

329 between us and the social workers.

T:

330 Oh okay

K:

331 So it took, I don't know if she gets it. But she still expects us to sort of

332 perform the role of social worker in a way. So, I guess that that is where the

333 pressure to perform or to deliver comes in, she has these expectations. I

334 don't know what the social worker does with her, but she still has these

335 expectations of us 'cause she asks weird questions like stuff about the

336 developmental clinic that we don't necessarily know or have control over. But

337 she thinks we… do, if. that makes sense, so.

What Kanyabu describes in the above extract is the way in which her expectations for what service-learning might involve did not match her experience. This is primarily because of her construction of her role in the service-learning programme as being blurred with that of the social worker. This 'blurring' of roles has fed into Kanyabu's construction of the caregiver's expectations as somewhat burdensome, though understandable, on Kanyabu – "the burden of being there. Because (sighs) ugh that is one thing, although we are not supposed to sort of view it like that, there is always this thing of delivering and it is an expectation" *(*lines 318 – 320). The burden of the service-learning experience is constructed as being a result of expectations. However, the expectations are also represented as understandable if the caregiver has been confused about the difference between a student and a social worker. Therefore, it is not the service-learning experience that is being constructed as burdensome but rather the caregiver's misplaced expectations of the students' role. The caregiver is constructed as expectant as a result of confused roles.

This construction works alongside the construction of service-learning as 'doing' in that the focus is on observable action that leads to change. In line 322, Kanyabu explains "we can't just sit, 'cause it is just awkward". In this way, service-learning is being constructed as 'doing' because service-learning as 'being' "is just awkward". The experience of providing the service is also constructed as unequal by drawing on a charity discourse to emphasise the nature of action she is taking in 'doing' service-learning, for example: "We have to sort of give something" (line 323). The link between charity and action is implied here as service-learning is constructed as something that happens when something is given (presumably from the student to the caregiver). Kanyabu draws on the charity discourse in constructing service-learning in this way because she cannot "just sit" (line 322) as this would not be in line with

her construction of service-learning as a charitable action. The construction of the service-learning relationship is non-reciprocal; an experience in which Kanyabu gives, and the caregiver takes. She therefore positions the caregiver as the benefactor of the service-learning interactions, and simultaneously positions herself as burdened by the experience. She is constructing the dynamic between her and the caregiver as unequal. The inequality is constructed as burdensome and unfair in that the interactions favour the caregiver and not the student – "we have to sort of give something" (line 323).

In another example, the caregiver wants particular answers about things that Kanyabu does not have answers to and this feeds into her construction of the expectations as burdensome – "but she still has these expectations of us 'cause she asks weird questions like stuff about the developmental clinic that we don't necessarily know or have control over. But she thinks we… do, if that makes sense, so" (lines 334 – 337). Kanyabu is describing the caregiver as wanting something that Kanyabu cannot give and Kanyabu constructs this expectation as burdensome. This construction reinforces a large power differential between Kanyabu and the caregiver as it rests on the assumption that Kanyabu holds power because she has something to give that the caregiver needs. This construction reinforces a charity discourse of service-learning where students give and caregivers (and their children) receive.

Candice also draws on the charity discourse to construct boundaries as necessary in her talk about her service-learning experience. The following extract is from her second interview with me where we were talking about how she feels about the programme nearing the end.

Candice (interview 2):

27 So, I feel much better. I don't, I mean there is still always obviously the possibility
28 that they could, contact me, but another thing which makes it a bit easier for me is that
29 they, desperately want to get out of Grahamstown, and to go and visit in P.E., so they
30 are actually waiting for us to finish the visits actually, so they know now that we have
31 got one more left, they know, which is also good, 'cause like if they don't know, then,
32 you are not sure what they are expecting still, and they know, so they are just wanting
33 to get away. The granny just says that it is very, difficult for them here. So, they want
34 to go and visit a bit, which I think will be good for both of us, if they contact me
35 afterwards, then I will be like 'I don't know' but I don't know if they would, unless it
36 is an emergency or something, so I do feel much better.

Like Kanyabu, Candice's talk about the caregiver's expectations positions the caregiver as potentially needy or at least unpredictable ("you are not sure what they are expecting still" – line 32). Candice also constructs the caregiver's future needs as potentially unpredictable ("I don't know what if they would [contact me]" – line 35) and she seems to begin to talk about boundaries ("if they contact me afterwards, then I will be like… I don't know" – line 35). The weight of the caregiver's expectations is constructed as important in this section of Candice's talk. Like Kanyabu, Candice is drawing on a charity discourse in this talk to construct the caregiver as (potentially) needing something from her, and Candice (potentially) having to manage these needs and expectations. These constructions offer subject positions to Kanyabu and Candice that hold power over the caregiver in either fulfilling or denying their expectations of the students.

5.3.2 Constructions of boundaries as necessary in service-learning.

Like Kanyabu, Candice also constructs the expectations of the caregivers as personally difficult, and something that needs to be managed by the student. The emphasis on management and of having to take some degree of control in the relationship is linked to the construction of service-learning as something based on action and on doing, but also as something that needs to be contained with boundaries.

Candice (interview 2):

172 I remember they were saying that he didn't have any nappies and they were
173 struggling. They were struggling and where they are gonna get nappies from and na
174 na na and all obviously we could do was listen. And, I remember speaking to my
175 mother about, you know, you get people, who really take some things for
176 granted, and she was like must we go buy nappies and I was like NO, and I
177 had to like say no 'cause we can't do that 'cause we don't want to open that
178 door now and then we don't know what is coming back, and what they will
179 ask again so that has been very difficult for me in that sense. That is why,
180 and then, that sense of 'ohhh, we are going to come and visit you at your
181 house'. You know, and then I don't, I don't say yes, or no, I just leave it.

In the extract above, Candice constructs the creation and implementation of boundaries as difficult but inherently necessary. In constructing the boundaries between her and the caregiver, Candice employs the metaphor of "opening a closed door" (lines 177 – 178). By employing this metaphor, Candice is constructing the relationship between her and the caregiver as something that can be closed (and should be closed). Opening the door would allow the caregiver to cross over into a space that Candice is not willing (or supposed) to

share. She is keeping the door closed because there is an unknown on the other side and she would rather not find out what it is because it would be difficult to close the door again – “and then we don’t know what is coming back, and what they will ask again” (lines 178 - 179. By positioning the caregiver on the other side of the metaphoric door, she can construct distance between herself and the caregiver and therefore avoid uncomfortable requests or interactions with the caregiver beyond her role in the service-learning context. This positioning work necessitates a construction of service-learning as ‘doing’ in that students need to take action in setting up boundaries for various reasons. One of the activities in service-learning, which emerges within a charity discourse, is therefore to set up boundaries that are emotionally manageable for the student, in order for other service-learning activities to commence smoothly.

Caregivers are positioned as having never-ending dependent needs that are constructed as troublesome and uncomfortable for the students. Candice constructs this difficulty with boundaries by drawing on a band-aid metaphor:

Candice (interview 2):

225 At the beginning of the year, I also just wanted to buy things, I
226 didn’t buy you know, I, can’t I just buy cake, or help with this, or this so I
227 don’t know if it is my own… I don’t know if it is something personal that I just
228 want to give, and give, but, at the same time I need to remember that there
229 is no quick fix to this, and I can’t just put a band-aid over for three or four days

In the above extract, Candice is constructing boundaries as productive, useful, and reasonable by drawing on a band-aid metaphor. This construction legitimises the presence of boundaries in the service-learning experience as well as her willingness to stay within the boundaries in her interactions with the caregiver. She also constructs boundaries as having a long-term focus that avoid situations that lead to the development of "quick fixes" (line 229). Sustainable development is therefore positioned as a core benefit of maintaining boundaries in the service-learning relationship. However, boundaries are also constructed as somewhat unnatural for Candice as she is inclined to "give and give" (line 228), but she validates the maintenance of boundaries by positioning boundaries as useful and appropriate within the service-learning experience. Drawing on the activity of giving in the above extract, points to the employment of a charity discourse that legitimises the use of boundaries to put a limit on a never-ending giving.

Jane and Nandi also talk about the need for boundaries in their service-learning experiences. For Jane, the boundaries she constructs as important are emotional boundaries ("I need to step away sometimes and… put that boundary up for myself to just not be so emotionally involved" – lines 745 – 746) and for Nandi, the boundaries were constructed as more practical. The following extract is from Nandi's second interview with me where we were talking about how she felt about the service-learning experience coming to an end:

Nandi (interview 2):

T:

244 And my next question was going to be around… this child called you 'Umama',

245 and now you are going to leave very soon. I was wondering what that was

246 like?

N:

247 Ja, so that is going to be really tough and even before vac, we went

248 to go and visit them and he was in hospital, and that was hard, because I

249 just have things against hospital, but anyway, overcame that, went to go

250 and see him because it would mean, and it DID mean so much to her.

…

263 …I have really um, it has been

264 difficult for me to put in boundaries, um, in terms of wanting to do, do, do so

265 much while we are there that they become dependent or them doing stuff is

266 contingent on our presence. So, those boundaries, have been really hard for

267 me to put in place, and now we have to go, and that is hard, because that is

268 a super boundary, because now there is no contact.

T:

269 I wonder, those boundaries feeling quite difficult, was it, I wonder what that

270 was about that you want to do so much, but also knowing that, you

27 1know, you can't let them be reliant on you to that extent. Was there a clash

272 between like your personal values and things like that, with these boundaries,

273 which, as you said, are there for a reason.

N:

274 Mm, I think it was um two things, um. Number one, I know we are not there
275 for, it's not long, so I want to do as much as I can and if I can make life easy
276 for them… I don't know how long we have been doing this, two months, three
277 months, like I want, like it is so easy for me to take you to the hospital so you
278 don't have to pay R10. It is just so easy, and when she was at the hospital, to
279 go fetch her clothes, and bring them, like it is so easy, or when you go to
280 the hospital… Culturally for me, like you don't go empty handed. It's easy for me
281 to buy her a gift, it doesn't really, it really is so easy for me to do versus the
282 efforts, and even, and I knew though that this would be crossing the
283 boundary so I didn't even entertain the thought let alone verbalise it, with her
284 appointment here …

288 …I am not going to go in there and save the day and improve
289 their lives, and this really wanting to help but wanting to really know and
290 appreciate, that the only way to help and make her really um, like a difference
291 is to help them help themselves, and it isn't helpful for me to just go in there
292 and do things for them. They need to figure out ways that they can do things
293 for themselves.

In the above extract, Nandi draws on a charity discourse to construct boundaries as necessary but simultaneously difficult. One of the reasons Nandi constructs boundaries as necessary is to avoid the caregiver becoming dependent on the students – "[I'm worried] that they become dependent or them doing stuff is contingent on our presence" (line 266). A charity discourse

is being employed in this talk to position the student has having something to give, specifically the ability to help the caregiver to 'do stuff'. This positions the student as powerful in the relationship and positions the caregiver's quality of life as subject to the student's power in this instance. Another example where Nandi draws on a charity discourse in her talk is seen in line 276: "so I want to do as much as I can and if I can make life easy for them". Again, in this extract, Nandi is positioned as someone with something to give and this affords her a greater degree of power in this interpersonal context than the caregiver. Not only does this talk position Nandi as holding more power than the caregiver, but it also positions the caregiver as 'other' and the caregiver's struggles and problems as separate from Nandi – "the only way to help her… is to help them help themselves… they need to figure out ways that they can do things for themselves" (lines 291 – 293). In this talk, Nandi is constructing her methods of creating boundaries as empowering in helping the caregivers to help themselves. However, empowerment falls within a charity discourse of service-learning as the construction of empowerment still positions Nandi as having power to give over in the first place. Nandi's talk in this extract, as well as Jane and Candice's talk draw on a charity discourse of service-learning. Using this discourse, students construct the necessity of boundaries within their service-learning experience in order to manage the (sometimes-burdensome) expectations of the caregivers. This talk reinforces power differences between students and caregivers and allows students to maintain their position of power as holder of something valuable that the caregivers ostensibly receive during the service-learning process.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discursive reading of students' talk about service-learning on a course about childhood disability and mental health. The talk that has been analysed in this

chapter is represented by the metaphor of rapture (Carrick et al., 2000), of being fascinated with the other as a site for service-learning. This fascination is reinforced by drawing on discourses of liberal traditionalist learning and charity models of service-learning in which the students' outward gaze onto the 'other' feeds into constructions of service-learning as linear, cognitive and action-based. Drawing on charity discourses, service-learning is also constructed as something heavily imbued with unwanted expectations and as something that requires boundaries in order to manage those unwanted expectations. All of these constructions offer particular subject positions for the student, the caregivers, and sometimes the children – positions that maintain the power status quo.

What is most noticeable in the patterns of positioning is that while both of the aforementioned dominant discourses work to maintain power differentials, they do so in contradictory ways. Liberal traditional discourses of service-learning position the caregiver as holding the power, and able to withhold knowledge from the students who are positioned as passive recipients of the knowledge they expect to receive from the caregivers. However, charity discourses of service-learning reflect broader social power structures much more closely in that the student is positioned as powerful as a result of their education and advantaged socio-economic status and the caregiver is positioned as the needy recipient of whatever help the student is able and willing to give. This positioning reinforces constructions of service-learning as an activity in need of boundaries, as laden with expectations, and as a moral dilemma.

The contradictory subject positioning work that each of these discourses offers represents an ideological dilemma in which students are simultaneously holding onto and relinquishing power during their service-learning experience. In both instances, unequal power relations are

being maintained and reinforced when liberal traditional and charity discourses are employed in talk about service-learning. The metaphor of ‘rapture’ can therefore be understood as ‘capturing’ a fascination with the other in such a way that students are always necessarily different from the other (the caregivers and their children), either as more powerful or less powerful, but never to blame for the hard and messy parts of service-learning. Importantly, the other (the caregivers and their children) are positioned as the site at which service-learning happens. This is quite different to the positioning that is argued in the next chapter where the self is positioned as the site of learning. Chapter six explores discourses and constructions that work to do quite different things in students’ talk about their service-learning experiences.

Chapter 6: Service-learning as 'Ruptura'

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores constructions of service-learning in students' talk that broadly draw on constructivist discourses of service-learning, comprised of smaller experiential discourses and affective learning discourses, which allow students to resist large power differentials in the service-learning context. A constructivist discourse refers to ways of talking about learning that positions knowledge as something that requires active participation from the learner in order to construct meaning (Jones & Brader-Araje, 2002). The focus in constructivism is on the ways in which knowledge becomes understood as a process rather than a product (Jones & Brader-Araje, 2002). Constructivism is therefore conceptualised as something quite different from a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning, described in the previous chapter. Both discourses also work to do different things in individuals' talk. Constructivist discourses necessitate the student's participation in the learning process and place value on the process of learning rather than on the product of learning. This allows for non-linear and emotional learning to be valued as an educational experience (Jones & Brader-Araje, 2002). In this way, constructivism departs from liberal traditionalist views of learning.

In this chapter, I argue that the students employ experiential and affective discourses of learning in their talk, drawing on the broader constructivist discourse of learning. This chapter will demonstrate instances in students' talk where these discourses are taken up and will explore what these discourses allow students to do in terms of power negotiation. In particular, I will argue that experiential and emotional learning discourses mitigate the othering work done in students' talk. Taking up these discourses offers a path for students to

resist talking about childhood disability and 'race' in ways that illuminate their privileged social status, by positioning themselves as co-creators of the service-learning experience rather than as professionals whose responsibility it is to 'fix' the situation into which they are entering as part of their service-learning experience. This chapter describes instances where students resist the liberal traditionalist discourse, in order to take up a more neutral position on the power dimensions of 'race' and disability. This chapter describes three main constructions of service-learning that draw on constructivist discourses of service-learning: service-learning as an affective process, service-learning as relational, and service-learning as 'being'. I argue that these constructions support constructions of disability that offer positions of power and agency to disabled individuals. This offers particular subject positions to students, caregivers, and the children that resist large power differentials in the service-learning context.

6.2 Constructing Service-Learning as an Affective Process

In contrast to the construction explored in chapter five of learning as a cognitive process, in other parts of students' talk, learning is constructed as an affective process whereby emotion and learning are bound. For example, Sharmaine constructs her emotions as central to her service-learning experience:

Sharmaine (interview 1):

T:

142 Do you think that was a good thing in retrospect, getting emotionally involved,

143 because it actually facilitated learning?

S:

144 Yes, yes, I wouldn't say I got too emotionally involved. I know like I went into
145 the, into the service-learning thinking 'okay, it will end, we are not here for the
146 whole year' whereas the program did run for the… and then I did think that
147 'okay, at the end of September we will have to finish', and then, but I didn't kind
148 of let that detach me from uh emotionally from the child or the caregiver and
149 being like, um, proper support for the family, especially the mother 'cause she
150 was really like, not dependent but she appreciates that we were there, that we
151 could ask questions that she might not have asked or thought of or things like that.

The above exchange begins with me introducing the notion of emotional involvement in the service-learning experience, and the ways in which this might have facilitated learning for Sharmaine. In my talk, I am drawing on a discourse of affective learning in constructing emotion as something that is part of the learning experience, and something that is useful in learning, rather than obstructive to learning. Sharmaine responds not by resisting the affective learning discourse which I took up in my question to her, but by initially agreeing that her emotional involvement did facilitate her learning. In her talk, Sharmaine constructs emotion as relevant for learning, but she also positions herself as 'distant enough' because of her awareness that there was an end-date to her service-learning experience. By referencing the importance of being 'distant enough', Sharmaine is emphasising the role of affect and relational ties in the service-learning experience. She is constructing emotional distance as important in the service-learning experience, presumably to manage the emotional difficulties she may face as a result of being a co-creator of the service-learning experience, and then having to leave the experience once it is over. Sharmaine also takes up affective learning discourses in line 149 in talking about "proper support" for the family in order to construct

support as emotion based. By taking up an affective learning discourse, Sharmaine is able to legitimise her construction of her emotional investment in the experience because she constructs her emotional involvement as a necessary component in service-learning. In lines 149 – 150, Sharmaine references a degree of possible dependence from the caregiver – "especially the mother 'cause she was really like, not dependent but she appreciates that we were there". In this talk, Sharmaine constructs the caregiver as appreciative of the experience rather than dependent on it, or grateful for the help she has received. By replacing the word 'appreciative' for the word 'dependent', Sharmaine is positioning the caregiver as less 'needy' in contrast to the constructions presented in the previous chapter. This positioning reduces the power differentials between Sharmaine and the caregiver. Appreciation can also be argued to have an emotional quality and Sharmaine may therefore be drawing on an affective discourse in order to set up these subject positions.

Jane's talk in the following extract is also interesting in terms of the discursive interchange between Jane and I because of the way in which she seems to mirror what I suggest in my questions and then build on what I have put forward. I wonder to what extent my talk and the way in which I asked questions to Jane influenced the kinds of talk she produced in the exchange. In this way, it is interesting to examine what it is that Jane and I are co-constructing together in our talk about service-learning. Together, we construct service-learning as something that is challenging, and this has particular effects on each of us in terms of how we are positioned. Jane is positioned as a student challenged, not by the "intellectual" or cognitive components of the experience, but rather by the emotional experiences.

Jane (interview 1):

T:

1056 Mm mm, okay. So overall a good experience?

J:

1057 A really good experience. I really enjoyed it!

T:

1058 Challenging?

J:

1059 Challenging is good. Like, maybe not necessarily … intellectually, so I didn't
1060 find like oh I didn't understand things, or, I understood everything. I think
1061 because it was so easy to learn it, um, but challenging in… in an emotional
1062 way of self-reflection and kind of realising things that I didn't really want to
1063 know about it, and now, I am really aware of things.

T:

1064 You are feeling more comfortable with that kind of confrontation of things
1065 that you didn't really want to confront?

J:

1066 And, now I can openly talk about it too, it is like something, you kind of just
1067 skirt around. I will talk to people about it and I am okay with making them feel
1068 uncomfortable, because I think that is important.

In the extract above, Jane draws on an affective learning discourse to construct service-learning as something that is challenging because it is an inherently emotional experience. In her talk in lines 1059 - 1061, Jane constructs service-learning as both a cognitive activity ("intellectually") and as an emotional experience ("in an emotional way of self-reflection"). The extract above is an example of Jane's talk where the emotional qualities in service-learning are fore fronted in order to construct service-learning as affective. By constructing her service-learning experience as affective in nature, Jane also positions herself as 'comfortably uncomfortable', essentially constructing herself as deeply changed by the service-learning experience ("And now I can openly talk about it too... I am okay with making them feel uncomfortable because I think that is important" – lines 1066 - 1068). What Jane's talk therefore does is construct learning as emotional as she learnt how to feel more comfortable with confronting uncomfortable things, ostensibly because of the emotional growth she underwent during the experience. The growth or change culminated in Jane being able to talk about uncomfortable things and to be able to make others uncomfortable so that they might undergo the same change process.

The extract above also provides another example of the way in which Jane's talk works towards equalising, or at least mitigating, a large power differential between her and the caregiver, specifically in the following lines:

1061 … challenging in … in an emotional
1062 way of self-reflection and kind of realising things that I didn't really want to,
1063 know about it, and now, I am really aware of things.

Jane talks about the challenges of confronting things that she initially didn't want to know about but does not explicitly label what these things are. We are led to believe, through her talk, that these things include issues around socio-economic poverty, 'race', and disability but she does not specifically cite, anywhere in her talk, exactly which things she is now aware of. This activity of not labelling certain things in talk is not unique to Jane, and this pattern was identified in several students' talk including Mandy's talk, discussed later in this chapter

I argue that this pattern is related to the ways in which students sometimes actively avoid labelling dimensions in their talk in which they construct themselves as different to the caregivers and to the children, such as racial differences or differences in ability. While some students such as Jane talk about becoming more aware and comfortable about talking about disability, they actively avoid doing this in their interviews with me. Writing explicitly about these issues is also missing from their reflective journals. Instead, students take up affective learning discourses in constructing their service-learning experiences in order to position themselves as having experienced challenges in relation to the multiple difficulties faced by the caregivers and their children. This foregrounds the students' experiences of discomfort and subjugates the caregiver's and child's experiences of discomfort. I argue that this activity may work to mitigate the large power differentials between student and caregiver because it constructs the experience as difficult for the students as well as the caregivers. For example, Jane masks her avoidance of discussing difficult issues in her in-the-moment talk by positioning herself as aware of the pertinent issues faced in the context of the service-learning programme, and as comfortable with the difficulties surrounding this emotionally, despite not explicitly unpacking these issues in the interview.

In addition to avoiding explicitly labelling and unpacking the issues which she constructs as difficult, Jane also constructs the importance of being aware of the issues, which she avoids labelling. This speaks to the contextual and relational significance of the moment in which the interview was taking place. The Fees Must Fall movement was in action in South Africa during the time of the interview and in the interests of transformation, a key argument from the activists was that it was imperative to make those who are comfortable in the current system, uncomfortable so that change can commence. The movement impelled students towards ruptura (an inner conflict to effect a break from the old) on a broader level with the aim of producing structural change in the higher education system in South Africa. Jane takes up this same discourse in constructing her service-learning experience and in positioning herself as someone interested in and invested in social changes for the caregivers and their children – "I am okay with making people feel uncomfortable because I think that it's important" (lines 1067 – 1068); "I am really aware of things" (line 1063). What this demonstrates is the construction of service-learning as affective, as felt and as demonstrated in emotional change. This emotional change is ostensibly represented by becoming comfortable with feeling uncomfortable and also making others uncomfortable by talking about social change and inequality. In this sense, Jane's talk can be captured by the broader metaphor of ruptura because of the ways in which her talk constructs value out of becoming uncomfortable and using this discomfort to grow or change in some way.

Candice also constructs service-learning as affective in her talk about the challenges of the emotional experiences in service-learning. The construction of service-learning as affective positions the students as also vulnerable (not just the caregiver) and I argue that this is an attempt to demonstrate their sameness rather than reinforce their stark differences. In the

following extract, Candice positions herself as a passive agent in the experience undergoing a kind of emotional taxation.

Candice (interview 2):

1200 I think being, maybe we weren't prepared for the emotional things that WE would go
1201 through, like things maybe we would be conflicted with. I don't know also, if I am
1202 like the only one, 'cause there are some people in the class that like, 'look at me', oh
1203 my word, (laughs) it is like really, you know, so I think maybe everyone is
1204 different with that. So, we were prepared like you know, going into other
1205 people's spaces, what you can try to do with your nervousness and all of
1206 that, but I think I have really been aware of what I am feeling all the time
1207 throughout ALL of the visits. I have really tried to constantly be thinking
1208 about how does this make you feel and stuff, and that was very taxing like
1209 for myself, and then thinking about it afterwards, like I don't, write journal
1210 entries after the visit. My visits are on a Friday and it is just like, it is draining
1211 sometimes, being there, like I feel like … draaained, on a Friday, 'cause our
1212 visit is at half past four, and then I just feel like, I really feel drained cause
1213 there is always a sense of helplessness.

In the above extract, Candice takes up affective learning discourses in order to construct her emotional experience of service-learning as difficult but attributable to someone or something else – "we weren't prepared for the emotional things that we would go through" (lines 1200 – 1201). In other words, Candice's talk works to position her as unwittingly becoming emotionally involved on a personal level in a way that suggests that the emotional taxation of the experience was done to her, and that perhaps it was someone else's responsibility to

prepare her and the other students for the emotional work. In the extract above, Candice talks about how the students were prepared (presumably by the lecturer) for some of the difficult parts of service-learning like entering someone else's home (see line 1205), but she also says they were not prepared for the emotional things they would go through (line 1200), perhaps implying that it was the lecturer's responsibility to 'do this better'. This subject positioning of Candice as 'victim' to personal emotional taxation is further reinforced by the construction of the responsibility of being emotionally prepared as falling onto someone other than her – "I think being, maybe we weren't prepared for the emotional things that WE would go through" (lines 1200 – 1201). She emphasises two things in this statement. Firstly, she says that "we weren't prepared"; this implies that the responsibility was with someone other than her to prepare her for the emotional difficulties she was going to face. Secondly, she emphasises the word 'we' in saying that all the students were not prepared for the experiences that would be emotionally difficult from them. What these two points suggest is that Candice is locating the emotion as someone else's responsibility to prepare her for.

Candice constructs the visits as draining on her and positions herself as helpless to these feelings. Using affective learning discourses to construct the experience of emotional taxation as difficult allows Candice to talk about and make sense of the myriad of negative emotions in a structured way. Candice uses the word "taxing" in line 1209 to construct the effect of the negative emotional states she experienced after her visits and uses variations of the word 'draining' to emphasise the depletion and after-effect of the taxing emotional states she experienced during the visits. She links the state of feeling drained with feelings of helplessness. What Candice's talk does in this extract is construct her emotional states as negative, and she does this by suggesting that the lack of emotional preparation was a key factor in her feeling taxed by the difficult emotional states. This all works to demonstrate the

difficulty and intensity of the emotional experiences that surprised her in the service-learning process.

The construction of service-learning as affective is also present in Mandy's talk. The following extract is particularly important because, like and Jane, Mandy partakes in the pattern identified earlier whereby she actively avoids talking about privilege, and related feelings of guilt and shame. In Mandy's talk, learning is constructed as challenging because of the kinds of things which she was forced to think about and confront as well as the feelings that these thoughts evoked. This extract comes from a part of the interview where we were talking about the challenges of service-learning as well as the challenges of raising a disabled child. Mandy makes reference in line 815 to a "lady" who "couldn't last a day". Here, she is referring to a paid caregiver to the child who was employed for one day only before leaving due to the difficulties she experienced in caring for the child.

Mandy (interview 2):

813 it is just more challenging than what I thought. Um, you know sometimes we won't
814 allow ourselves to think of certain things because it is hard to think of. But, you know,
815 when you are really sitting there and you reflect on the challenges, it, it's, you know
816 like, this lady couldn't last a day. It just shows how, like that made me realise like I
817 know that it is, from mama's experiences it has been hard, but the fact that you know
818 it really is difficult like it makes you think.

Mandy is constructing her service-learning experience as challenging by drawing on affective learning discourses to talk about her reflections, and what this then revealed to her. Her first

sentence in line 813 echoes Candice's constructions of service-learning as being more challenging than what she originally anticipated, possibly on an emotional level more than a cognitive level. Mandy is connecting her reflections with her learning in the above extract, and in so doing, is drawing on a discourse of affective learning. She does this in lines 815 – 817 where she says "when you are really sitting there and you reflect on, the challenges … like that made me realise … it has been hard". Mandy connects her reflections with her realisations, which are constructed as moments of learning.

However, in her talk, Mandy also seems to avoid labelling the things that she constructs as hard to think about. There appears to be an ideological dilemma in Mandy's talk in which she takes up affective discourses to construct the way in which she learned about the caregiver's experiences and the difficulties that she faced but this construction then seems to be negated by the way in which she resists taking up discourses that illuminate her power and privilege in the interrelational context by avoiding labelling or explicitly mentioning the things that are difficult to think about. By avoiding labelling the things that are difficult to talk about, Mandy resists the kinds of discourses, such as liberal traditionalist learning discourses, that may position her as powerful and privileged. Constructing learning as a cognitive activity would be reinforcing the liberal traditionalist discourse, so Mandy rather takes up an affective learning discourse in constructing her own difficulties with confronting uncomfortable topics such as 'race' and disability.

What all of these extracts have demonstrated is how students draw on affective discourses to construct service-learning as an emotional activity. Sharmaine's talk illustrated an example where an affective discourse of learning was taken up to show that emotional involvement in the service-learning experience was a facilitator of learning, rather than a barrier to learning.

Emotion facilitates moments of ruptura and in moments of ruptura, a different kind of learning can occur because different (and subjugated) subject positionings are offered for students and caregivers that allow them to challenge the status quo. Both Jane and Mandy constructed service-learning as challenging because of the emotional experiences that the experience necessarily involves. Candice's talk constructs service-learning as emotional by talking about her emotional vulnerabilities and feeling drained, drawing on an affective discourse to do so. All of these examples have demonstrated the ways in which students sometimes take up an affective discourse to construct service-learning as an emotional activity, rather than a purely cognitive activity (as demonstrated in the previous chapter).

6.3 Constructing Service-Learning as Relational

In addition to students constructing service-learning as affective, in other parts of their talk, students also constructed learning as relational; as an interpersonal and equal transaction between student and caregiver. In this section I am going to argue that the relational component of learning is constructed as important in terms of the interpersonal dynamics between the student and the caregiver, but also between the students and their service-learning student partner. Again, affective learning discourses are drawn on in students talk, but this time it is to construct service-learning as relational (not just emotional).

An example of where service-learning is constructed as relational is demonstrated in Allison's talk. In the below extract, Allison and I were talking about the relationship between her and her student partner and what it was like to work with a partner who was able to speak the same language as the caregiver, when Allison was not able to speak that language. Allison constructs learning as relational because of the ways in which a breakdown in

relational dimensions is constructed as being able to negatively affect the learning experience, and how this positions her as 'out' of learning rather than 'in' learning.

Allison (interview 1):

152 I must say in my visits I do feel a bit left out, quite a bit, ja, 'cause, obviously my
153 partner speaks Xhosa and [caregiver] doesn't speak much English at all, so… and then
154 translating hasn't been so great and then also I feel bad like always asking or
155 interrupting when she is telling a story. And then I feel when I ask a question, it's
156 always directed from a certain goal when I want to try and find out something so then
157 I come from a place where it might seem that I am trying to find out information,
158 rather than just having a general conversation.

Allison positions herself as 'left out' of the learning experience because of the language differences between her and the caregiver. She is constructing the power dynamic between her and the caregiver as balanced; one in which Allison should not be taking more than she is owed from the interpersonal context. She positions her needs (her "goals" – line 155) as less important than the caregiver's opportunities to talk and just have a "general conversation" (line 157). However, she simultaneously positions herself as directly disadvantaged by this and her positioning work feeds into Allison being 'left out'. Allison draws on a broader discourse of learning as affective here in order to construct the exclusion from the experience as something negative and possibly not in line with her expectations of service-learning. An example of where she draws on an affective discourse is illustrated in line 154 – "I feel bad like always asking or interrupting". Asking questions would have been the method through which Allison was learning but this process is constructed as interrupted by emotions and

‘feeling bad’ because of the relational context and her acute awareness that she was interrupting a conversation.

This discourse allows students to take a passive role in constructing their service-learning experience as it sets up subject positions where the student is the receiver and the caregiver is the provider (of learning, and of positive relational interactions). The caregiver is positioned as holding power to withhold parts of the experience from the student, and the student is then positioned as left out, especially if interrupting and asking questions lead to Allison “feeling bad”. This then leads to Allison trying not to interrupt and, as a result, feeling “a bit left out” (line 152). Because service-learning is constructed as relational here, Allison does not position herself as having the power to undo feeling left out because she does not speak the same language as the caregiver. Instead, Allison constructs language as a barrier to her relationship with the caregiver, and subsequently as a barrier to her learning. In her talk, Allison is constructing learning as something that is about relationships, not just about learning psychological theory/content. This construction represents a break from the old (ways of understanding learning) and in this way, a relational discourse of learning is aligned with Freire’s conceptualisation of ruptura in learning contexts.

The construction of language differences as obstructive is crucial here in terms of what subject positions this offers for Allison and for the caregiver. Allison is positioned as the ‘other’ in the service-learning context because of her inability to communicate with the caregiver in the caregiver’s mother tongue and the caregiver is positioned as holding power in terms of being able to withhold Allison’s learning opportunities as a result of language differences. Allison’s talk works to demonstrate power in the relationship between Allison and the caregiver by positioning the caregiver’s need for general conversation as more

important than Allison's goals – "I come from a place where it might seem that I am trying to find out information, rather than just having a general conversation" (lines 156 – 157). However, Allison simultaneously constructs the transactional nature of the relationship as unbalanced because she is positioned as 'left out'. For Allison, learning is constructed as relational because of the power that the interpersonal dynamics have in her service-learning experience.

Anna's talk also works to construct learning as relational, but she draws on different discourses to do so. In the below extract, language again becomes a central concept in how she constructs her service-learning experience as something that is relational.

Anna (interview 1):

A:

583 I think the language is a huge thing, I think for me it sort of overshadowed the
584 whole service-learning aspect, um...

T:

585 Do you think if the family was English speaking it would have been different?

A:

586 It would definitely have made a difference, because, because like I say I feel like I
587 don't have a relationship with them really, and you know, I think that is part of me
588 feeling not, that I don't provide much because I don't have that relationship with them
589 and I can see that my partner has but sometimes you know I feel, I wish I had that, but

590 I also feel that it will make it easier for me to, you know once we leave, I know it will

591 be very difficult for my partner to leave. And for me, it won't be as difficult.

Anna constructs learning as relational in the above extract by employing talk about language barriers, drawing on an affective learning discourse to demonstrate that language differences create a barrier in the relationship between student and caregiver and if the relationship is not good, then learning does not happen. Learning is also constructed as 'felt' in the above extract and as something located in the relationship between the students and caregivers, but also clearly in the shared language.

Anna positions her partner as successful in creating the emotional attachment which she constructs as something necessary for service-learning to occur, and simultaneously positions herself as devoid of the relationship with the caregiver that she needs in order to have learned something and to feel like she made a difference – "I think that is part of me feeling…that I don't provide much because I don't have a relationship with them and I can see that my partner has" (lines 588 – 589). Like Allison, Anna is constructing her learning experience as different to her partner's experience because of the different relationship they had each built up with the caregiver. Anna positions herself as ambivalent in this regard, being both envious of the relationship her partner has with the caregiver but also grateful for the emotional distance because it will be easier for Anna to leave the family at the end of the experience.

Allison employed similar talk to Anna in constructing learning as relational and positioning herself as 'out' of learning because of language differences between herself and the caregiver.

Allison (interview 1):

T:

100 Okay. What were your expectations going in?

A:

101 Um, ja, from the lessons that we got in class you know it was going to be that the
102 mom opens up to us and she tells us her feelings about it, and we find out exactly
103 what is going on with her and that, we were just going to have a close relationship. I
104 don't know why, I just expected that there was going to be this like bond. And, ja, I
105 don't know and that it was going to be an opportunity for me to actually open up and
106 start asking questions, and ja, you know, get out of my comfort zone and ja, that still
107 didn't really happen.

T:

108 Is that mostly to do with the language barrier?

A:

109 Ja, definitely, I think language barrier has been the biggest problem.

For Allison, service-learning is constructed as relational, and she employs talk about her expectations of the experience in order to construct service-learning as something that was dependent on a close relationship with the caregiver. She also draws on an affective learning discourse in setting up this construction, particularly in employing talk about the "bond" (line 104) that she expected to have with the caregiver. This discourse allows Allison to emphasise the emotional and interrelational intricacies which make up the relational component of the

service-learning experience. Without a strong bond with the caregiver, Allison constructs her learning as unsuccessful.

In the above extract, we (Allison and I) construct the language differences between Allison and the caregiver as largely responsible for the lack of relational development. The discursive interchange between Allison and me is significant in this regard in that she did not employ talk about barriers to her learning until I identified the language differences as “language barriers” (line 107). In this way, I construct language as a barrier to service-learning, reinforcing subject positions that allow for students to be ‘in’ or ‘out’ of learning. My talk worked to emphasise Allison’s position as being ‘out’ of learning because of the lack of interpersonal attachment between her and the caregiver. The lack of interpersonal attachment is constructed as being a result of the lack of shared language in the relationship. Her position as ‘out’ of learning was also made relevant by Allison’s construction of the poor interpersonal relationship between her and her partner with whom she conducted the home visits.

Allison (interview 2):

68 Ja, I think, coming to think about it, like I don’t know if I should be feeling bad about
69 the whole partner relationship. It is something that I didn’t want to bring up, but I
70 guess that is what is hindering my learning. I never wanted it to be about our
71 relationship and the relationship with my partner. It is still an issue, but it just
72 happened.

Allison positions herself as ‘out’ of learning because of the lack of good relational ties in her service-learning experience with both the caregiver and her partner. She constructs the breakdown in the relationships between her and the caregiver as well as her and her partner as out of her control – “I never wanted it to be about our relationship” (line 70). This is interesting as service-learning in a partnership would not be possible without some sort of relationship between the partners, but this is constructed as a problem for Allison when the relationship became a barrier to her learning. In line 69, Allison says “it is something that I didn’t want to bring up”. Here, she is referring to her tense relationship with her student partner and this is interesting from a discursive perspective as she seems to construct this talk as somewhat difficult and unsavoury, suggesting that perhaps she shouldn’t be talking about it. Within a discourse of service-learning as relational, talk about tense and strained relationships therefore works to construct the service-learning experience as unsuccessful. Talk about tense relationships is therefore avoided. Allison’s talk in both extracts discussed in this section also offers particular subject positions for herself and for the caregiver. The caregiver is positioned as the teacher with whom a good relationship needed to exist in order for Allison to learn. Allison is positioned as excluded from the learning because of the language differences, and in this way, language differences are constructed as barriers to service-learning. Allison’s partner did not experience the language differences in the same way that she did, and Allison therefore positions her partner as ‘in’ learning (without barriers) whilst Allison is decidedly ‘out’ of learning (because of language barriers).

A core feature of the construction of service-learning as relational is that the relational context is constructed as significant by students when talking about how they did or did not feel like they made a difference. In particular, the construction of service-learning as relational at times serves to position English-speaking students as disadvantaged in service-

learning contexts where the caregivers did not speak English. If service-learning is constructed as relational, one cannot develop a relationship with the caregiver because of language differences which are constructed as a barrier to learning. The student is therefore positioned as disadvantaged by lack of access to learning because of the construction of language differences as a barrier. Shifting power relationships between the students and caregivers is therefore a key feature of ruptura discourses, especially because of the ways in which they represent a break from the old and an inner conflict.

In the above extracts, knowledge and service are constructed as 'felt' within a relational context as opposed to cognitive in nature. Within this discourse, service-learning cannot happen outside of this relational context. This construction of service-learning as relational is closely linked with how the relationship with the caregiver (and the child) is constructed. When there is a lack of a good relationship with the caregiver, students construct their ability to make a difference as unsuccessful.

Anna (interview 2):

412 And then also when we visited in the hospital, and we told the caregiver, that
413 was just before vac, and we told the caregiver that you know we won't be
414 visiting next week and she hugged us and she said 'I will miss you'. And I
415 thought, you know all the times that I thought we were not really providing
416 anything, that we are not really doing anything, and I thought, you know what,
417 we actually do make a difference. That was a good feeling.

Only once the relational ties were confirmed by the caregiver saying she would miss the students was the value of the service acknowledged by Anna. Service-learning is constructed as felt within a relational context and measured by social connectedness and quality of interpersonal relationships. This construction of service-learning as relational resists charity discourses (introduced in the previous chapter) that work to maintain power imbalances in the service relationship, firmly holding on to provider and receiver positions. Anna rather draws on an affective learning discourse to construct the relational significance of the interpersonal dynamics between her and the caregiver (lines 416 – 417).

Sharmaine also takes up affective learning discourses in constructing service as relational in her talk, but she employs talk about language differences in order to do this. The extract below is taken from the second interview with Sharmaine where I had asked her to reflect on the letter that she had written to herself before her first visit with her assigned family.

Sharmaine (interview 2):

S:

36 Umm, there was quite a few points that I wanted to point out in my letter.

37 The first was that I said I wanted to fulfil my role of being the supporter, and my

38 family and things like that. That, in that, supporter kind of way, and the

39 relationship with the caregiver and things like that, was a little difficult,

40 considering now the whole nine weeks is… I think because of the fact that we

41 didn’t have that African language of which we could speak to the caregiver, who

42 which we had most of our visits with her, so… In that way, I kind of felt like there

43 wasn’t that kind of relationship where she could speak to us about things that

44 maybe bothered her, or things like that, but on the other hand I don’t know

45 whether the caregiver knows whether um, the child has a developmental delay.

46 'Cause when we asked the mother, she was, she was um, she was open and

47 things like that. She did communicate to us that it is hard raising a kid with

48 disabilities. She says, ja, [child's name] condition and things like that, but the

49 caregiver hardly speaks about it is difficult or she doesn't, I don't know if she knows

50 in a way. So, so, like that supporter role for the caregiver wasn't really, I didn't really

51 feel it, that she was able to open up to us and things like that.

In the above extract, Sharmaine constructs her service-learning as being obstructed by the language differences between her and the caregiver, and she constructs her relationship with the caregiver as also obstructed. The support that Sharmaine intended to provide in the form of listening and supporting did not come to fruition because of language differences, and she constructs this as something that hindered her from developing a close relationship with the caregiver. In addition to this, Sharmaine's talk positions the caregiver as someone who did not know about the disability and this is constructed as a barrier to her learning (in conjunction with the language differences) – "but the caregiver hardly speaks about it is difficult or she doesn't, I don't know if she knows [about the disability] in a way" (lines 49 – 51).

In turn, Sharmaine constructs her provision of service as somewhat unsuccessful because without a strong relationship with the caregiver, she was not able to fulfil a supporter role in the service-learning context. There is an emphasis in Sharmaine's talk on feeling like a service is being done ("so like that supporter role for the caregiver wasn't really, I didn't really feel it" – lines 50 – 51) and this is constructed as something that is directly related to the student's relationship with the caregiver. Service-learning is therefore constructed as

relational in that a good relationship with the caregiver is required in order for service-learning to be successful. What is important to note within this construction is that Sharmaine is constructing the students' role as a supporter to the caregiver (lines 50 – 51), rather than a professional whose job it is to improve the child's functioning in relation to their disability. This is significant in terms of positioning work because positioning oneself as a supporter rather than a professional works to mitigate power differences between caregiver and student. The construction of service-learning as relational therefore works to reduce rather than maintain power differences in the service-learning relationship between student and caregiver and this is made possible when students draw on an affective discourse. This discourse then interrupts the dominant power dynamics at play in service-learning relationships and this interruption can be represented by the ruptura metaphor because of the ways in which it signals a break from the old (ways of doing service-learning).

This particular service-learning course takes place in the area of childhood disability and mental health, and this context also affects the construction of service-learning as relational in Candice's talk. In the extract below, Candice and I are talking about her shift in thinking about individuals with disabilities. What is notable in the following extract is the way in which she draws on affective discourses again to construct service- learning as relational, and how this plays out in a service-learning context with disabled children.

Candice (interview 1):

T:

463 So, it sounds like throughout this course something has shifted for you?

C:

464 Yes.

T:

465 When you think about people with disabilities?

C:

466 Yes, definitely, and especially like, how some, even how we speak or how we
467 view things is actually what is disabling people with impairments, 'cause I like
468 the word impairments. I didn't, it wasn't really in my vocabulary before this.

T:

469 Why do you like the word impairments?

C:

470 No, because, I would be like 'no she is disabled', but now I can be like 'no
471 this lady has an impairment.' I don't want to be disabling her with the way
472 that I am speaking about her 'cause maybe it is just the impairment so now I
473 can say, I can refer to people having impairments and maybe it is the
474 environment that is disabling them and not their impairment. So, that is the
475 thing that I wanted to think and read up on and stuff.

T:

476 So that shift in thinking, do you kind of get a sense that you feel better about
477 how you interact with people with disabilities?

C:

478 I do, I think I do you know, but it is like it is still like, I always - I think for as
479 long as I can remember - not felt sorry for people with disabilities, but I felt
480 bad. You know, because you know here, I can walk on my two legs, and it just
481 takes a whole other level of energy for them, to do things you know. But now,
482 it is like, now it is like I can almost understand everything, like I can't
483 understand what it would be like to live with an impairment but I can
484 understand that it is not just, I can't just disregard some things. There is a
485 whole other world, and I need to understand, that is just not as easy as she
486 is in a wheelchair, you know, there is a whole lot of things. Like someone
487 was speaking, that their child is in a buggy, but the mother rearranged the
488 living room, is totally buggie friendly, to create participation so the child, so
489 when he is in the buggie, and everyone else is there, he is never left out. He
490 is also there and I am much more aware of that. You always just think, you
491 just want to faff or pamper people with impairments, try to make it easier for
492 them. Because I mean, before I knew the case, I was worried about, I don't
493 want to hurt the child with the impairment, I don't know if I can hold them.
494 There were all of those fears and stuff. But, there is a lot of things that go
495 into it, and I think that I now have learned all of these things, going and
496 dealing with people with impairments, it is - ja, something really different for
497 me now.

Candice's talk works to construct disability drawing on the social model of disability, especially in lines 466 – 468 in which she employs talk about the environment and medical discourses being more disabling to the child than the actual impairment. She uses the same

discourse to construct the shifts in thinking about disability which she experienced as a result of participating in this service-learning course. She constructs disability as complex and broader than the presence of an impairment. She is therefore able to construct service as relational as it extends beyond the individual with the impairment and is interwoven with many structural and relational factors. A social model of disability allows a disabled individual to be perceived as more than a victim of impairment but rather as sometimes a victim of the ways in which those around them see them and interact with them. The social model is inherently relational in that a core assumption of the social model is that individuals are disabled by the environment and the social contexts around them, as much if not more than the physical impairment that they experience. Drawing on a social model of disability therefore allows Candice to construct service-learning (especially with disabled individuals) as relational, rather than something that is focused specifically on the individual and their impairment. The social contexts around that individual are constructed as equally important to interrogate and learn about in the service-learning context. This can be captured by the ruptura metaphor because of the ways in which this thinking departs from traditional medicalised constructions of disability.

Candice positions herself as now aware of these complexities as a result of participating in the service-learning programme (lines 494 – 497). In lines 482 – 486, Candice says “now it is like I can almost understand everything, like I can’t understand what it would be like to live with an impairment but I can understand that… there is a whole other world and I need to understand that it is just not as easy as she is in a wheelchair you know.” Here, Candice is constructing service as relational in that for her, the experience was about understanding directly from the caregiver what it is like to care for a child with a disability, and how this is different from her ‘textbook understanding’ of caring for children with disabilities. This

understanding was born out of the relational context of service-learning in that the service-learning could only be achieved within the interpersonal context between students and caregivers. By drawing on a social model of disability, Candice's talk offers subject positions to the caregiver, child, and herself that are less disparate than when students take up a medical model of disability because of the way in which she constructs the relational context of disability as significant in understanding someone's experience of disability. A medical model of disability directs students to thinking about the disabled individual in pathologized ways that does not account for relational aspects of the experience. Taking up a social model of disability allows students to position the caregiver as a key figure in the experience of disability as they are a key player in setting up the environment in which the child functions, and positions the impairment as belonging to the context rather than only to the child and the child's family. For example, Candice says in lines 487 – 489, "the mother rearranged the living room, is totally buggie friendly, to create participation so the child, so when he is in the buggie, and everyone else is there he is never left out". Service-learning is therefore constructed as relational in Candice's talk because the service extends beyond the impairment and is useful only in terms of the relational context that exists in service-learning.

In summary, service-learning is constructed as relational in students' talk in a number of ways but is most often done while drawing on a discourse of affective learning. Sharmaine and Anna construct service-learning as relational largely through talk about language differences which are constructed as barriers in service-learning. This is linked to the assertion that language differences hinder the progress of relationships and if relationships are not being built, then service-learning is constructed as unsuccessful. Service-learning is also constructed as relational through talk about partnerships in this course and the construction of these relationships as another key factor to a successful service-learning experience. Students

(such as Anna) also drew on affective discourses to construct service-learning as relational by talking about *feeling* like they made a difference to the families. Finally, Sharmaine's talk demonstrated how the social model of disability can be drawn on to support constructions of service-learning as relational. Constructing service-learning as relational allows students to mitigate power differences between themselves and the caregivers by constructing the relationship as important in success for both the caregivers and the students in the service-learning process. The mitigation of power differences between students and caregivers is effectively captured by the ruptura metaphor because of the ways in which the shift in power dynamics represents students' inner conflicts that impel them towards social change by departing from traditional or dominant modes of thinking and talking about service-learning in psychology.

6.4 Constructing Service-Learning as 'Being'

In constructing their service-learning experiences, at times, participants would draw on experiential learning discourses to construct service as 'being', rather than 'doing'. Experiential learning discourses are discourses that draw on experiential learning theory. Experiential learning theory, discussed previously in chapter two, is built on theoretical contributions to an understanding of learning from figures such as Kurt Lewin, John Dewey and Jean Piaget. This is a theory that proposes that learning happens differently than has traditionally been described and is not purely cognitive and linear (as proposed by liberal traditional learning theorists). Instead, experiential learning incorporates the following characteristics outlined by Kolb (1984): learning is a process, not an outcome; learning is continuous; learning is grounded in experience; learning is a holistic process where students adapt to the world around them; learning involves transactions between the learner and the

environment; and finally, learning is about creating knowledge (rather than consuming knowledge). Experiential learning discourses are therefore discourses of learning that draw on the characteristics outlined by Kolb (1984). Experiential learning discourses are relevant to constructions of service-learning as ‘being’ because if service-learning is constructed as ‘being’, the student is positioned as actively being a part of an experience in order to create knowledge rather than performing certain tasks in order to reach an outcome. Service-learning is therefore constructed as a process rather than an outcome achieved only after certain things have ‘been done’.

Constructing service-learning as ‘being’ emphasises the in-moment interactions between student and caregiver, drawing the focus away from observable results and improvement. For example, Mandy employs talk about the value of her emotional and psychological support to the caregiver in constructing service-learning as ‘being’ rather than ‘doing’. In the previous chapter, I discussed examples where students constructed service-learning as ‘doing.’ Constructing service-learning as ‘doing’ rather than ‘being’ sets up different subject positions that maintain large power differentials between students and caregivers. However, in this section, I argue that the construction of service-learning as ‘being’ works to do something quite different; that is, to mitigate power differentials by offering more equal subject positions for both student and caregiver. In the below extract, Mandy writes about the difficulties in navigating her role with the caregiver and the confusion about this role (from the caregivers) that sometimes makes service-learning tricky.

Mandy (from reflective journal, week 4):

1 It is not good that mamma sees our role more as driving her than providing emotional
2 and psychological support, learning from her, and acting as a liaison, all of which she
3 is empowered and she fulfils an active role. I realise that driving her is a huge weight
4 off her shoulders because financial constraints place a huge burden. To be honest, any
5 little help goes a long way, and I am happy that I can assist when it falls within our
6 home visits – such as when we all going to the developmental clinic. But this should
7 not defeat the main purpose of the service-learning.

Within this piece of writing, Mandy describes the differences in how she sees her role (providing emotional and psychological support, learning, being a liaison) and how the caregiver sees the role of the students which appears to be on a more practical, hands on level (driving her around). From this perspective, Mandy appears to be saying that the caregiver views service-learning as 'doing' but this is not how Mandy sees the process. Rather, Mandy constructs service-learning as 'being' in her talk.

In line 1, Mandy resists constructions of service-learning as 'doing' by constructing the caregiver as someone who needs emotional support in order to be empowered by the service-learning experience but wants something else (to be driven to where she needs to go). Instead, Mandy takes up an affective learning discourse in constructing the emotional and psychological work of service-learning as more important than practical or financial help. Service-learning is therefore constructed as something conducted by simply being there as a support resource rather than necessarily physically doing things for the caregiver, such as driving her around. Mandy constructs the aims of service-learning as something beyond

immediate relief to the caregiver and as rather focused on support for the caregiver in a more emotional way. Rather than service-learning as ‘doing’ (for example, driving the caregiver), service-learning is constructed as ‘being’ (being present to emotionally support the caregiver). The emotional aspect in the construction of service-learning as ‘being’ is shared by both Mandy and the caregiver, rather than just Mandy. In this way, the construction of service-learning as ‘being’ differs somewhat from the construction of service-learning as ‘affective’ in that the latter construction refers to personal rather than shared emotional states.

Mandy takes up an experiential learning discourse to construct service-learning as ‘being’ as she forefronts the process involved in being there for the caregiver, rather than ‘getting things done’ for the caregiver. Mandy uses the word ‘empowered’ to construct the emotional support role as more important than the practical driving around role – “it is not good that mama sees our role more as driving her than providing emotional and psychological support, learning from her and acting as a liaison, all of which she is empowered” (lines 1 – 3). Mandy takes up the position of the supporter of the caregiver and positions the caregiver as in need of help, but also in need of empowerment and independence.

Candice also constructs service-learning as ‘being’ in parts of her talk, although in other parts, she takes up constructions of service as ‘doing’ (as discussed in chapter 6). Each of these constructions works to do different things, which I will now demonstrate. The following extract shows an example of Candice constructing service as ‘being’ in her talk.

Candice (interview 2):

313 So when we would come they would, like he said this word, and then they would

314 get so excited and then he did this, and did this, so then I think, or now that I think

315 about it we were, we also acted, or we provided this kind of, a vessel of just someone
316 there to listen, you know, and someone to be excited for the progress that he is
317 making, as well.

Candice draws on an experiential learning discourse in order to construct service as 'being': service-learning is constructed as psychologically based in that Candice's presence is represented as a resource being provided to the caregiver, and this is constructed as helpful and useful. Candice positions herself as a vessel for the psychological work to be done and simultaneously positions the caregiver as an active agent in the service process. In other words, Candice's talk constructs the service-learning as happening because the caregiver is talking, and the student is listening. This sets up power differentials that are quite different to those set up when service-learning is constructed as 'doing'. In the previous chapter I argued that the construction of service-learning as 'doing' positions the caregiver as needy and dependent on the student in order for their lives to improve. A construction of service-learning as 'being' works to position the caregiver quite differently, in a more equal and empowered role. For example, Candice employs talk about being "just someone there to listen" (lines 315 – 316), and 'just listening' reduces some of the power that Candice holds in directing the interaction. Rather than the student taking the active role in making things happen, and being the source of provision, the caregiver is positioned as a co-collaborator in the provision process. The emphasis then moves away from the role of the student as giving something away and towards the student being a collaborative change agent in the service-learning process. This shift in power creates a more equal climate in the student-caregiver relationship. Candice's talk resists power differentials in other parts of the interview:

Candice (interview 2):

C:

896 And they do think, I mean, I am not a psychologist, or, any sort of therapist,

897 but they do kind of, always want to know what I think, or what I think they

898 should do, especially in the hospital. I mean, I have never been to the

899 hospital. I don't know the process, I mean they knew more about the

900 hospital than I did! But, they were asking me more questions, so I had to be

901 like, so then what I did was that I decided to ask them questions

902 instead.

T:

903 That is interesting, what do you think that is about?

C:

904 I don’t, if it is because I am more educated maybe that they think that,

905 ‘cause look, I don't know the mother, she is twenty, so she didn’t finish high

906 school, and, I don’t know, if it is because, I don’t know if it is because they

907 think that, I know more things, and really, I don’t. So, it is just, that is one of

908 the main things that we are trying to do, is tell them that you know they need

909 to ask questions and that is what we are going to encourage for quite a

910 while, for the next clinic visit. They must be the ones speaking, ‘cause this

911 isn't our child. We are not the experts on him, they are, essentially. experts,

912 when it comes to him.

In the extract above, Candice grapples with trying to understand how the caregiver perceives her and her position in society in relation to the caregiver's own position and what this might mean for their relationship during the service-learning experience. Candice constructs service-learning as 'being' rather than 'doing' in this extract by positioning herself as a non-expert who is not in a position to 'do' anything but rather to 'be' there with the family as they experience life with a disabled child and to offer emotional support where she can. This offers a more empowered subject position to the caregiver who is constructed as being the expert in the child, rather than Candice being viewed as the expert simply because she attends a tertiary institution – "they must be the ones speaking, 'cause this isn't our child. We are not the experts on him, they are essentially experts when it comes to him" (lines 910 – 912).

Candice's talk in the above extract demonstrates a resistance of discourses of privilege that perpetuate large power differentials between students and caregivers. She does this by actively positioning herself as a non-expert; she constructs her 'not knowing' as something that prevents her from taking up an expert position – "they think that I know more things and I really don't" (line 907). She positions the caregiver as the expert ("we are not the experts on him, they are essentially experts when it comes to him" - line 911 – 912), and she constructs her role as one in which the caregiver needs to be made aware of this. This construction of her role works to equalise the power dynamics in the relationship between Candice and the caregiver. Candice positions herself as less knowledgeable (despite constructing herself as more educated) than the caregiver, and rather offers the expert position to the caregiver. Candice is constructing service as 'being' here because she actively avoids taking up an expert position drawing on constructivist discourses of service-learning. The subject positioning offered by this construction is therefore related to relinquishing an expert position. This is different to what the previous two constructions aimed to do as the

positioning of the student as a non-expert is not a key action of those constructions (service-learning as affective and service-learning as relational).

The construction of service-learning as ‘being’ is supported by a construction of psychology (as a professional practice) as useful and helpful to caregivers of disabled children. The emphasis is shifted away from giving tangible things and making observable or measurable differences to constructing the value of simply being present and providing psychological and emotional support. Both of these constructions (service as ‘being’ and psychology as helpful in service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers) draw on discourses of experiential learning in that the value of learning is grounded in experience and depends on transactions between the student and the caregiver in order to create knowledge. Experiential learning discourses emphasise the process of service-learning rather than the measurable outcomes and this aligns with the construction of service-learning as ‘being’ (rather than doing). When students construct service-learning as ‘being’, they actively resist liberal traditionalist discourses of learning where service-learning is constructed as ‘doing’. This break away from traditional conceptions of service-learning through the employment of experiential learning discourses represents the essence of the ruptura metaphor. Ruptura, as a metaphor, signals a fundamental change that allows individuals to explore new ways of thinking about social phenomena, and these new ways are instrumental in social change.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that students draw on affective learning discourses and experiential learning discourses in order to construct service-learning in ways that are different from the constructions that are facilitated by a liberal traditionalist discourse of

learning or charity discourses of service-learning, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. The key constructions that these discourses offer include constructions of service-learning as affective, service-learning as relational, and service-learning as ‘being’. All of these constructions draw on a constructivist discourse of learning in that service-learning is constructed as experienced and felt rather than taught and as largely dependent on how relationships and emotions are navigated in the process. I argue that the talk that is employed in constructing service-learning in these ways offers students a way to mitigate power differences between caregivers and students. This talk disrupts traditional views of service-learning (and higher education learning in general) that work to maintain power differentials. These constructions and discourses therefore produce moments represented by a metaphor of ruptura in students talk where the dominant discourses of service-learning and disability are interrupted, and as more critical discourses are substituted into students talk in order to position the caregivers and students as more similar and less different.

Chapter 7:

Rapture alongside Ruptura in Service-Learning: A Psychoanalytic Reading of Students' Talk

7.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a psychoanalytic reading of two participants' talk about their service-learning experiences on this specific course, building on the discursive findings presented in chapters five and six. The previous two chapters described two different sets of discourses, leading to very different constructions of service-learning and subject positioning of those involved in the participants' service-learning experience. Chapter five highlighted the discourses of liberal traditional learning and charity discourses of service-learning that were drawn on in maintaining power differences between students, caregivers and children. Chapter six highlighted the constructivist learning discourses including experiential learning and affective learning discourses that were employed to construct service-learning quite differently. I argued that this set of discourses worked to mitigate power differences and offered more equal subject positions in terms of power relations. Participants did not always employ one or the other discourse (from either chapter) but tended to, at various points, draw on both at different points in the interviews and their reflective journals. My interest for this chapter is to understand why they draw on each, when they do, and what changes in the intersubjective context that leads to them investing in one discourse over another at any point in time and what psychological payoffs this offers for students. For this reason, Mandy and Jane were selected as case studies for this section of the analysis. Both of these participants demonstrated clear instances of oscillations between rapture and ruptura discourses for different defensive reasons in their talk. The switching in employments of discourses was

clearer in Mandy and Jane's talk than in the other participants, particularly in the extracts selected (and presented in this chapter).

This chapter uses the structure of a case study to offer an in-depth analysis of participants' talk about service-learning. In order to analyse the talk on a deep level with a fine-grained approach, the number of cases is kept to a minimum. Therefore, only two cases were selected for this reading in order to analyse the talk psychoanalytically. This psychoanalytic reading argues that students' talk is defensive and is interested in what their talk might be defending them against. The concept of mentalization is employed in this psychoanalytic reading to understand why students move between rapture and ruptura in talking about the service-learning experience. Moments of rapture are characterised by the employment of liberal traditionalist learning discourses and charity discourses to construct service-learning in particular ways. Moments of ruptura (a concept introduced in Paulo Freire's writing, see Carrick et al., 2000) is represented in talk where students draw on constructivist discourses as demonstrated in the previous chapter

Ruptura is conceptualised by Carrick et al. (2000) as "a conflict that forces us to make a decision, to act, to break away from the old and familiar" (p. 57). In the context of this analysis, the conflicts that students are confronted with are often produced in relation to pre-existing ways of thinking and feeling coming into contact with particular service-learning experiences and curiosity about these experiences that dismantle existing ways of thinking and consequently talking about both learning and disability. Ruptura is a moment in which this conflict impels the student towards some sort of internal change by means of introspection. I argue that it is within contexts that produce talk represented by ruptura discourses that students are able to mentalize their experiences and make sense of them

within an attitude of curiosity. In this chapter, I will outline the particular intersubjective contexts that allow students to employ discourses to produce talk that can broadly be encapsulated by the ruptura metaphor. In other contexts, I argue that the anxiety inherent in the emotional conflict shuts down the participants' abilities to mentalize the situation. Rather, we see them taking up an anti-mentalizing stance in order to defend against the anxiety and move into employing talk represented by the metaphor of rapture, where talking about their service-learning can be done within "safe" albeit problematic paradigms that work to maintain the status quo within dominant discourses. I argue that discourses are 'safe' when they do not pose a threat to the individual's sense of a stable and coherent identity. Rapture, in students' talk, refers to the fascination that students take up in making sense of their experiences of service-learning with disabled children. This is not unlike the cultural safari or touristic gaze that Camacho (2004) describes (see chapter two). The gaze upon the disabled and upon the poor hold particular power dynamics in that the children and their caregivers are conceptualised as something to be studied; objects to be fascinated by. The gaze is underpinned by complexities brought to the fore by students' 'whiteness' and privilege in the interpersonal context.

In this chapter, the metaphors of rapture and ruptura, introduced in the previous two chapters, are discussed in relation to Mandy and Jane's investments in two particular dominant discourses about service-learning and disability – a constructivist discourse (see chapter six) and a liberal traditionalist discourse learning discourse (see chapter five). The emphasis of this chapter is that investments in these discourses are underpinned by unconscious processes, specifically mentalizing functions (or lack thereof), that manage the interaction between broader social and ideological forces and subjectivities (emotions, anxieties, wishes, fears, and desires) within the interview context. This chapter explores why these particular students

invest in these particular constructions of service-learning, specifically investigating the psychological 'pay-off' of emotionally investing in the constructions described in chapters five and six, and the intersubjective contexts in which these constructions emerge. I argue that these particular students invest in discourses broadly represented by rapture (liberal traditional learning discourses and charity discourses of service-learning) in order to defend against the guilt and shame associated with their own 'whiteness' and privilege. This defensiveness is demonstrated through lapses in mentalization in their talk about service-learning with poor, 'black', disabled children and their families. In contrast, I argue that investing in discourses represented by the metaphor of ruptura (constructivist learning discourses) allows these particular students to engage with their own positions in the service-learning experience with curiosity and with minimised defensiveness. This allows these particular students to experience fundamental changes to the ways in which they think about the disabled community but also about the role of psychology in an unequal society such as South Africa.

The analysis of each case will be presented separately. For each case, I begin by providing a biographical sketch based on information taken from the biographical details document as well as my own field notes to provide a sense of who the individual is. An extract from the participant's talk is then provided before an in-depth analysis of the extract is presented. The analysis is based on a psychoanalytic reading of the students' talk to build on the discursive readings presented in chapter five and six.

7.2 Case One: Mandy

At the time of data collection, Mandy was a 22-year-old ‘white’, female student from a middle-class family. My initial sense of Mandy (as documented in my field notes from the first interview) was that she was nervous and a bit disoriented or distracted. I later found out in the first interview that Mandy suffers from Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, to which she attributed her ‘scattered thoughts’ and incoherent story telling. I found myself liking Mandy as we talked about her experiences, possibly because we came from the same neighbourhood but also because of my understanding of her as an empathic and caring person who had the child’s best interests at heart. However, I did feel that much was being left unsaid between Mandy and I, particularly about our positions of power as ‘white’, educated females from privileged, middle class families.

The extracts selected for this psychoanalytic reading were chosen based on my sense that there were things being consciously and unconsciously left unsaid between us. Extract 1 is taken from our first interview where Mandy and I were talking about the challenges of service-learning and the ways in which this opens up new lines of thinking and feeling that are perhaps difficult to engage with. She refers specifically to a paid caregiver that was not able to care for the child for longer than a day before resigning as his caregiver. The second extract is taken from the second interview (conducted a week later) from a part of our conversation where we were talking about a situation that had stayed in her mind. Mandy had accompanied the caregiver and the child to the local hospital for a series of tests, as part of her visit with the family. Mandy talks about her shock when the doctor handed a note describing the test results to Mandy instead of to the caregiver, and how the doctor effectively ignored the caregiver and spoke directly to Mandy. Though parts of these extracts have

appeared in previous chapters, they appear again in this chapter to demonstrate the application of a psychoanalytic layer to a discursive reading in order to build on interpretations made in earlier findings chapters of these particular extracts. Using the same extracts allows for a new layer of complexity to be demonstrated in the analysis, showing how applying the concept of mentalization can further the interpretation of investments in discourses identified in previous chapters.

Extract 1

Mandy (interview 1):

813 It is just more challenging than what I thought. Um, you know sometimes we,
814 won't allow ourselves to think of certain things because it is hard to think of. But, you
815 know, when you are really sitting there and you reflect on, the challenges, it, it's, you
816 know like, this lady couldn't last a day it just shows how, like that made me
817 realise like I know that it is, from mama's experiences it has been hard, but
818 the fact that you know it really is difficult like it makes you think.

Extract 2

Mandy (interview 2):

T:

1 Okay. Um, so any thoughts from your side since our last interview?

M:

2 I did, think about it. I did think about it afterwards, a little bit, and … umm, in terms
3 of oh, the one thing was - there are two things - the one thing that you asked me
4 was why did the doctor hand me the note and not Mama, and when I said I don't
5 know, I meant as in I don't want to know. I am blocking myself from actually
6 thinking about it because I mean we can think of all the reasons why, but I don't
7 want to go too in-depth and say that it is that, when it is actually… at the end of the
8 day it is important to know why, but at the same time I can't, in terms of gender or
9 'race' or whatever it is, it is just so inhumane (laughs). That is why I just didn't want
10 to go there. Ja, it's just, if I had at that moment, I would probably have overstepped
11 every boundary because it is just you know, it is Mama's responsibility at the same
12 time, as well.

T:

13 Okay.

M:

14 It is one of those... Ja.

T:

15 Okay. You mentioning… sorry, you said there was another thing.

M:

16 In terms of the service-learning course, why I also liked, why I also took this, is
17 because I have learning difficulties, so it also helps with engaging and
18 understanding the material in a practical way so I am able to understand it a lot

19 better and work it a lot faster in the sense of my own experience, to

20 understand the material, so from that perspective it helps a lot.

Mandy invested in discourses represented by both the rapture and ruptura discourses (discussed in chapters five and six respectively) and this reading is interested in why she invested in those discourses at different points in the interviews. The analysis therefore proceeds in three sections: firstly, using the concept of mentalization I explore why Mandy invested in rapture discourses (liberal traditional service-learning discourses and charity service-learning discourses) at times in her talk about service-learning. Secondly, mentalization (and its dimensions) is applied as an analytic tool to explore Mandy's emotional investment in ruptura discourses (experiential and affective learning discourses - under the collective constructivist learning discourses). Finally, the analysis turns to focus on the role of the relational context in accounting for the oscillation between rapture and ruptura discourses in Mandy's talk. In relation to this, it was also important to analyse my own reflexivity in the research process and to 'mentalize' my own interpretations so as not to forget about the intersubjective context in which Mandy's (and my) talk was produced in this research.

7.2.1 Investing in rapture discourses.

In some parts of Mandy's talk during the interviews, she takes up discourses that have (in chapter five) been broadly represented by the rapture metaphor. These discourses include the liberal traditionalist discourses of service-learning and charity discourses of service-learning. The following analysis will demonstrate where she does this in her talk, why she does this (using the concept of mentalization), and what psychological payoffs she would have gained

from investing in these discourses. The core argument that will be made is that investing in rapture discourses often results in a lapse of mentalization but that pre-mentalizing states allow Mandy to defend against the anxiety associated with her social position as a ‘white’, educated woman engaged in service-learning with individuals in a disadvantaged social and economic position.

In extract 1, Mandy and I were discussing the challenges of service-learning from her perspective. Mandy employs a charity discourse in her talk in constructing the difficulties that the caregiver faces - “that made me realise, like I know that it is, from mama’s experiences it has been hard” (lines 816 – 817). This talk positions the difficult experience as belonging to mama and locates the problems and challenges that mama faces within mama’s emotional experience. What is interesting in this extract, from a psychoanalytic perspective is the use of the phrase “made me realise like I know” (line 817). This certainty of knowing the caregiver’s mind ostensibly demonstrates a lapse in mentalization, and a movement into a non-mentalizing mode, specifically pretend mode. When individuals are in pretend mode, they might seem to be mentalizing (especially in Mandy’s case where she says that she has ‘realised’ something about the experience), but the talk lacks an emotional resonance. Mandy’s certainty that her thoughts and beliefs about the caregiver reflect the reality of the situation mark Mandy’s move into this non-mentalizing mode. I argue that the lapse in mentalization, as demonstrated in Mandy’s talk in this example, is a defensive activity. Holding on to a certainty of knowing another’s mind and being certain about her own mind as well allows Mandy to defend against the anxiety associated with ‘not knowing’.

In line 818, Mandy keeps up the momentum of her pre-mentalizing stance as she takes up a pretend mode in her talk: “the fact that you know it really is difficult, like it makes you

think." Again, Mandy talks with certainty about knowing that the caregiver's experience is difficult, and she demonstrates little curiosity beyond her beliefs about the caregiver's experience. I argue that she is in pretend mode here because of the lack of the emotional quality in her talk, and the move towards intellectualising the experience by drawing on talk about what she knows, and from there, making conclusions about the caregiver's mental state. In particular, being aware of the opacity of another's mind is a crucial aspect of mentalizing. Knowing someone else's mind does not capture this. While it may appear that Mandy is mentalizing by saying that it has 'made her think', the lack of recognition that the mind is opaque (which tends to trigger a curious stance rather than a knowing stance as seen in this talk) points to Mandy being in a non-mentalizing mode.

I argue that Mandy's investment in 'knowing' is supported by her employment of a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning where the focus is on acquiring knowledge in a cognitive way. Mandy's talk demonstrates an imbalance in one of the four dimensions of mentalization (as outlined by Hagelquist, 2017): cognitive versus affective dimensions. Mandy's talk shows a stronger focus on cognitive descriptions with little affective quality as she uses interpretive repertoires such as "it makes you think". Thinking, in this sense, refers to a cognitive rather than an affective activity. Furthermore, I argue that investing in a liberal traditional discourse of learning to talk about the challenges of service-learning allows Mandy to resist locating the emotional difficulty as belonging to her, but rather as belonging to the caregiver. If Mandy recognises her own affective challenges linked to the caregiver's experiences, Mandy would also have to confront the anxiety about her privileged social position in relation to the caregivers, and the guilt associated with this privilege. I argue that focusing on the cognitive dimensions rather than the affective dimensions allows Mandy to remove herself to a degree

from the difficult emotional challenges of service-learning in order to defend against the anxiety and guilt that are linked with confronting the challenges of service-learning.

Mandy begins to talk about the caregiver's difficult experience in a distant way by constructing the difficult feelings and hard experiences as belonging to the caregiver, instead of engaging with the difficult feelings associated with observing her experience. Mandy intellectualises the experience by highlighting the thinking rather than the feeling involved in the experience. Perhaps the feeling component was overwhelming for Mandy, and her investment in intellectualising the experience was a mechanism by which Mandy could defend against the anxiety that the caregiver's difficult experience caused her to feel?

In the second interview, Mandy and I were talking about a particularly difficult experience in which she referred to the "inhumane" treatment of the caregiver at one of the hospital visits and how this compelled her to want to overstep boundaries but also not want to know what the exchange was really about. She mentions that it might have had something to do with 'race' but does not want to think about it. The exchange may have had an underlying racist tone in which the doctor assumed that Mandy (as a 'white' woman) would be more adept at understanding his instructions or at reading the note than the 'black' caregiver. This is troubling to Mandy to not only witness but to unwillingly be a part of this implicit instance of racism. After describing her reaction to what had happened at the hospital, I respond by saying "Okay. You mentioning, sorry, you said there was another thing" in line 15. This is an interesting exchange from a psychoanalytic perspective as I changed the subject at a point in the interview where Mandy was beginning to talk about emotionally difficult experiences in her service-learning experience.

I argue that, in line 15 – "Okay. You mentioning, sorry, you said there was another thing", my talk demonstrates that perhaps I did not (do not?) really want to know the same things Mandy is avoiding because I too am privileged and 'white' and find it anxiety-provoking to think about my own privilege. Despite Mandy's story being laden with complexities that would have benefitted from further unpacking, I change the subject. In doing so, I willingly (albeit unconsciously) enable Mandy's avoidance of talking about 'race' and privilege perhaps because I too am harbouring a sense of guilt associated with my 'whiteness'. In this instance, Mandy and I both failed to mentalize as we were talking about her experience, arguably because we both desired an escape from the guilt and anxiety of thinking about what the potentially racist incident meant for our own identities as 'white' women in a society that marginalises those who do not share our privileged position.

Mandy and I therefore move on to construct service-learning as linear and cognitive in our talk about service-learning by drawing on a liberal traditionalist discourse ("it also helps with engaging and understanding the material in a practical way so I am able to understand it a lot better and work it a lot faster" – lines 18 and 19) because this allows us to defend against anxiety associated with confronting our social positions. This perhaps speaks to the fact that higher education is a safe space for 'white' able-bodied people like Mandy and I, and we invest in talk that allows us to feel safe and less anxious. Indeed, this very psychoanalytic reading of Mandy and my talk may be over-individualising and pathologizing our avoidance of troublesome anxieties related to our societal position, and it may be more useful to illuminate the psychosocial nature of prejudice rather than locating prejudice and recognition of power differences exclusively in our individual anxieties and resultant non-mentalizing states. I therefore turn to look more closely at the interpersonal context influencing this exchange.

Prompted by my encouragement to change the subject, Mandy moves from talking about something of an affective nature to something of a cognitive nature – her learning in the context of this course. She says, "in terms of the service-learning course, why I also liked, why I also took this, is because I have learning difficulties so it also helps with engaging and understanding the material in a practical way so I am able to understand it a lot better and work it a lot faster" (lines 16 – 18). Specifically, she moves from talking about her affective reasons for signing up to the course, to her cognitive decisions in relation to the course and appears to resist the construction of service-learning as affective in her talk in lines 16 – 18. Rather she takes up a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning by constructing learning as something that should happen in a linear, cognitive, and efficient way ("work it a lot faster" – line 18). Knowledge (about course material) is constructed as something that can be acquired in a straightforward and uncomplicated way within this liberal traditional discourse of service-learning.

Perhaps, the previous exchange in which Mandy told the story about the inhumane treatment of the caregiver, emotionally prompted Mandy to move away from the affective realm to mitigate the anxiety the previous story caused and to rather construct learning in a cognitive and linear way. I argue that Mandy performs her rapture with the course in constructing the ways in which it helped her to learn and overcome her own learning difficulties by drawing on a liberal traditionalist discourse. She may have been doing this partly in response to our affective exchange in which my redirection of the conversation may have signalled to her that some things may remain unsaid between us, and Mandy, being able to implicitly mentalize within this exchange and understand what I had unconsciously communicated, acknowledges this by following my redirection. This allows our relationship in the interview

to continue smoothly as she does not resist my attempt to change the course of the conversation, but also allows her to avoid the same anxiety about confronting the implications of our 'whiteness'.

Mandy's talk about why she found service-learning to be a positive experience marks a shift back into pretend mode. I argue that Mandy employs a kind of 'psychobabble' to talk about her learning and the structure of this educative experience in non-affective ways. This allows Mandy to draw on liberal traditional learning discourses when she is in pretend mode in order to side-step affectively engaging with the challenges inherent in the service-learning process. Perhaps this is easier to do rather than talk about the difficult and emotionally provocative stories related to her emotional experiences. Is this why she implicitly agrees to change the subject? Or is the power dynamic between Mandy and I coercing her into following my direction? Perhaps what has happened is that Mandy has slipped from working through a moment of ruptura in mentalizing her difficult emotional experiences by both acknowledging and then defending against the anxiety within this moment to a pretend mode where she intellectualises her experience and uses evaluative talk in constructing her learning as linear and cognitive using a liberal traditionalist discourse. She takes up this discourse to construct understanding and working quickly as priorities – "I am able to understand it a lot better and work it a lot faster" (line 18 – 19).

Investing in the liberal traditionalist discourse allows Mandy to resist the construction of learning as affective and consequently to avoid the anxiety and guilt that investing in the affective components of her experience caused her (and me). Investment in the liberal traditional learning discourse also allows Mandy to perform the 'good student' role within our interview. This may have been done for two reasons: to either compensate for the

'messiness' of her story in which the caregiver was treated inhumanely and Mandy admits to feeling a need to overstep boundaries (not something a 'good student' would do) or to play into the pre-existing power dynamic between Mandy and I as student and lecturer. The power dynamic may have introduced an implicit pressure for her to present a version of herself that is academically acceptable to me.

7.2.2 Investing in ruptura discourses.

In the second interview with Mandy (extract 2), I had asked Mandy if she had had any further thoughts since our last interview on anything we had spoken about. In parts of her talk, she takes up a constructivist learning discourse to describe an experience during her service-learning engagement, rather than a liberal traditionalist learning discourse as discussed above. The following part of the extract is the focus of the analysis below:

M:

2 I did, think about it. I did think about it afterwards, a little bit, and umm, in terms
3 of oh, the one thing was - there are two things - the one thing that you asked me
4 was why did the Doctor hand me the note and not Mama, and when I said I don't
5 know, I meant as in I don't want to know. I am blocking myself from actually
6 thinking about it, because I mean we can think of all the reasons why, but I don't
7 want to go too in-depth and say that it is that, when it is actually, at the end of the
8 day it is important to know why, but at the same time I can't, in terms of gender or
9 'race' or whatever it is, it is just so inhumane (laughs) that is why I just didn't want
10 to go there.

Mandy begins to talk about her previous position in describing the difficult experience in which a doctor handed a note to Mandy instead of to the caregiver, despite the immediate presence and relevance of the caregiver as the child's mother. When I asked her what she thought this was about in our first interview, she took up a position of not knowing. In the second interview, she employs an affective learning discourse in constructing her state of 'not knowing'. We cannot know at this point if Mandy had mentalized this experience while it was happening during the in-moment interaction between her and the caregiver and the doctor. However, she constructs herself as a defended subject through her talk about blocking herself from thinking about it in the present moment during the interview and acknowledges that her 'not knowing' is something that she is invested in. In this way, Mandy positions herself as someone for whom thinking about the experience is troublesome because of the underlying anxieties it evokes, perhaps associated with the power she holds in the situation as an able-bodied, 'white', educated female. I argue that Mandy is aware of this on some level but is reluctant to engage with it because of the guilt she would feel. As difficult as it is (and she later deflects her anxiety by laughing about how inhumane the experience was), Mandy appears to be mentalizing while she is talking about why she did not want to know what the handing over the note meant. In particular, she is demonstrating a balance between implicit and explicit mentalizing in that she uses explicit mentalizing to make sense of (and to explain to me) why she had originally said that she did not know why the doctor handed the note to Mandy instead of to the caregiver.

At this point, this analysis turns to Mandy's laughter while talking about the inhumanity of the treatment, usually not a laughing matter. I argue that for Mandy, the act of behaving in inhumane ways is so unacceptable that she laughs at the thought of it in order to demonstrate her denouncement of this inhumane treatment and to mask her anxiety about being a part of a

system that treats people like the caregiver inhumanely. This is troublesome and anxiety-provoking for Mandy so she uses laughter to diffuse some of the anxiety she feels in retelling the story, and possibly (also recognising my 'whiteness' in the situation) to diffuse any anxiety I might have been feeling upon hearing her story. What may be frightening about showing the anxiety or allowing the anxiety to enter into her story telling, is that it brings to life the structural inequalities that cause the inhumane treatment of historically disadvantaged groups in South African society. She may be constructing this treatment as unacceptable and ridiculous because it is unacceptable for Mandy to acknowledge her own prejudice or racism, however slight. She therefore shifts the focus to how others treat 'black' women and laughs at how ridiculous it is. Perhaps, for Mandy, anxiety also does not belong in an academic setting or in a conversation about an academic activity like service-learning (according to a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning), and she avoids this or rather diffuses it by laughing about it. I argue that this is a contributing factor in Mandy consequently abandoning the constructivist learning discourse to rather invest in a liberal traditionalist discourse (discussed in the previous section) in order to defend against this anxiety.

Mandy further demonstrates her denouncement of the inhumanity of the treatment by talking about the consequences of overstepping boundaries in lines 10 - 11 in response to the interaction that she observed between the doctor, the caregiver, and herself – "Ja, it's just, if I had at that moment I would probably have overstepped every boundary because it is just you know, it is Mama's responsibility at the same time". In this talk, Mandy is mentalizing about her reaction to what she might have done in the situation in response to what appeared to be a racist gesture. This leads her to resist a charity discourse of service-learning (captured under the rapture metaphor) in denouncing the treatment as inhumane. She is resisting a charity discourse by tacitly resisting the power dynamics implicated in a charity-

based relationship (where the student holds more power than the caregiver). I argue that she does this in order to 'unposition' herself as a 'white' educated female holding power in problematic ways that are troubling to her and must therefore be resisted. The discursive activity of unpositioning of herself as 'white' and educated is potentially problematic because it removes the responsibility of seeing colour and attempts to position her as neutral and without the 'burden' of privilege that she inevitably holds. Disability studies require us to confront our implicit privileges but Mandy resists this in defensive ways. Her guilt over her privilege is expressed in the extreme ways in which she resists the power structures that inevitably underpinned the situation she describes in her story. Again, this is reflected in lines 10 – 11, cited above. Mandy is talking about a loss of control that she predicts in terms of not being able to mentalize in an emotionally-provocative situation which was loaded with multiple power differences including 'race' differences, socio-economic differences, education status and language (and cultural) differences, and the ways in which these differences intersect in the context of a public South African hospital. Mandy talks about overstepping boundaries in lines 10 and 11 and this may refer to a temptation to directly address the racism implied in the exchange with the doctor and going beyond her assigned role as a student in the situation. This would have had further potential implications for the family for future visits to the hospital but also would have fundamentally shifted the role that Mandy took on as a student in the service-learning programme. She would no longer be available only for emotional support but would be stepping into a role in which she challenged broader structures that are necessitating the emotional support in the first place.

The context of the story is significant because of the history of apartheid in South Africa and the ways in which the construct of 'race' is still significant in differential treatments of people in South Africa, especially when it crosscuts other dimensions such as disability and

class. If something is inhumane, it is too hard to think about and talk about so in order to defend against unpleasant and anxiety-provoking thoughts, Mandy draws on an affective learning discourse to construct herself as blocking herself from thinking about it by actively deciding not to think about it (or at least talk about it) in any depth. The psychological pay-off of constructing herself in this way is that Mandy pre-empts any attempts on my part to think about and construct her talk in particular ways, or to read her talk psychoanalytically. By constructing herself as self-aware, she is able to position herself as someone who knows her own mind and is willing to present it openly so that I do not read any deeper into what she has said in our conversation. I argue that this anxiety is linked to her social position as a 'white' educated female, and the guilt she feels about her privileged position. Perhaps underwriting this anxiety is compounded anxiety implicitly linked to the contextual environment of the public hospital, and the ways in which this setting inevitably medicalises disability. Perhaps what Mandy is also resisting is a medical model of disability (and the implicit problematic power relations this imposes), and she is better able to do this when she takes up a constructivist discourse to construct the situation in her story as inhumane.

7.2.3 The role of the relational context in the oscillation between rapture and ruptura.

In extract 2, Mandy takes up both a constructivist and a liberal traditionalist discourse of service-learning in her talk and uses each of these discourses to perform different actions through her talk. As demonstrated in the discussion above, she moves between drawing on discourses of rapture and ruptura in her talk and I argue that these movements are underwritten by the switching on and off of her mentalizing function, which is responsive to the emotional climate of the intersubjective exchange between Mandy and I, and of the narratives she and I are producing.

The second interview with Mandy is an example of how her talk oscillates between rapture and ruptura. I argue that the relational contexts of both the interview, as well as the intersubjective context between Mandy and the caregiver are particularly important in interpreting this oscillation from a psychoanalytic perspective. The extract taken from the second interview was selected because of my participation in this oscillation and my own investments in moments of rapture in listening to Mandy's story. In particular, my talk demonstrates me wanting to know more about her mind, and moments of ruptura with her talk about service-learning that prioritised difficult experiences. In analysing Mandy's talk about these difficult experiences, it is also interesting to note the ways in which my own mentalizing capacity failed as a result of my own overwhelming anxiety with my shared guilt, able-bodied statues and 'whiteness' in the interview context.

I argue that the dynamics within the interpersonal exchange between Mandy and me would either facilitate or shutdown our capacity to mentalize during the interview or to slip into non-mentalizing modes such as pretend mode. Our capacities to mentalize (influenced by the relational context of the interview) led to the investment in different discourses of service-learning and therefore different constructions of service-learning and subject positionings. Clearer instances of where Mandy has engaged in mentalization are shown in the second interview as opposed to the first – for example, Mandy mentalizes her own mind in lines 5 and 6 of the second interview: "when I said I don't know, I meant as in I don't want to know. I am blocking myself from actually thinking about it". I argue that there existed a particular affective quality in our interpersonal exchange that prevented her from fully mentalizing in the first interview (as noted in my field notes that our interactions were emotionally distanced and felt professional rather than personal), to rather avoid thinking

and talking about the power dimensions between her and the caregiver to defend against the anxiety. This affective quality may represent remnants of our previous relationship as student and lecturer, and our intersubjective exchange had not yet evolved from a previous relationship, laden with traditional power differentials. This relationship may have been underwritten by anxiety about being a 'good student', and being a 'professional' lecturer, and these anxieties may have been transferred into the interview context and into the intersubjective exchange between Mandy and me. This was noted in my field notes as I described the air of politeness and professionalism that seemed to characterise our exchange, which very much felt like the kind of exchange I would typically experience with a student. This led to particular patterns of investing in rapture discourses which allowed both Mandy and I to avoid anxiety associated with our social statuses and to rather focus on the other as opposed to the self and our own tensions.

This reading has demonstrated the oscillations that Mandy's talk negotiates between rapture and ruptura discourses in her service-learning experience as well as the relational contexts that either allowed or shut down Mandy's and my own ability to mentalize within the interview context. At times in Mandy's talk, her failure to mentalize (often mediated by the relational context) leads her to invest in rapture discourses (specifically a liberal traditionalist learning discourse) in order to defend against the anxiety associated with confronting her own privilege concomitant with her social status as a 'white' educated female. At other times in the interview, Mandy's anxiety is more contained, allowing her to mentalize and invest in ruptura discourses that offer different constructions of service-learning in order to mitigate rather than maintain power differences.

7.3 Case Two: Jane

Jane, at the time of the interview, was a 22-year-old ‘‘white’’ woman from a middle-class family. Upfront, Jane disclosed that she came from a ‘broken home’, referring to her parents’ divorce and the impact this had on the family. Throughout the interview, she continued to disclose parts of her life to me very openly and honestly, and often fore-fronted the emotional experiences that had been significant for her. I recorded in my field notes that Jane produced lengthy segments of speech in which she would rapidly move through thoughts without pause. Jane’s case continues to explore why students invest in rapture discourses of service-learning and points to why investment in ruptura discourses may not always be productive. Rather, I argue that the oscillation between the two sets of discourses is meaningful in terms of the shifts in thinking (or not thinking) about service-learning with disabled children that this represents for students and highlight the significant role played by the relational context of the interview and the service-learning experience about which students are talking.

The following extract from Jane’s talk in the first interview, albeit fairly lengthy, was selected for a psychoanalytic reading because of its emotional quality but also because there is more investment in rapture discourses than ruptura discourses in her talk. I argue that Jane’s movement into non-mentalizing stances at particular points in her talk is linked to her investment in liberal traditionalist learning discourses and charity discourses. Jane’s talk in the below extracts demonstrates a lapse in mentalization and a movement into psychic equivalence mode, a defensive state. In the below analysis, I will argue that what Jane is defending against is the anxiety linked to ‘not knowing’ and investing in rapture discourses (liberal traditionalist and charity discourses of service-learning) allows Jane to hold on to a position of knowing.

Jane (interview 1):

J:

563 I think that initial meeting will be the one that sticks in my mind the most, just
564 because it was also the most, kind of exciting, nerve-wracking kind of, you
565 know… It was quite nerve-wracking going into somebody else's home that
566 you have never met before, and kind of invading their space, and also,
567 realising that the mother wasn't there, and we didn't know we were going to
568 meet the caregiver, we didn't know that there was a paid caregiver, she
569 doesn't speak very good, she doesn't speak English very well so that was very
570 difficult as well, the language barrier and aspect because neither me nor my
571 partner speak Xhosa. Well, my partner, a little bit more than me, but I am
572 hopeless. Um, but at the same time, that kind of gave us something to do with
573 the caregiver, and the caregiver kind of teaching us words in order to
574 communicate with (child's name) which was quite nice as
575 well, it gave us kind of, um, mutual, kind of educational kind of thing, but ja,
576 walking into that house, I felt like I was invading somebody's space. I don't
577 like kind of, being somewhere where, I am not necessarily invited. And I
578 guess, I felt a bit awkward, there was a lot of awkward silence, mainly, also
579 because the caregiver doesn't speak a lot of English, so and then, immediately
580 the caregiver kind of walked away and left us with the child, and our very first
581 lesson, they said don't let that happen (laughs) and it happened. So, we were
582 kind of like 'oh no, we have already kind of taken on that role of being, being
583 like the people there only for the child' and because our role was to be there
584 for the caregiver and the child, um, so ja, so that immediately got messed up

585 but then we rectified that by saying ‘no, you know, you must stay with us’ and

586 also, you know, we asked why the TV was on, so I think that hinted as to,

587 ‘let’s turn the TV off’, because it is very distracting for us, and for the child.

…

J:

607 And, she doesn’t know if that is ever going to happen. So, ja, I think, ja, I think,

608 when I first walked in I tried to take in like a lot of my surroundings. I did Anthro

609 as another major, and that really just taught me to really observe before I say

610 anything, like ask any questions, like first observe, um which I am quite glad that I

611 do because I think that observation really helps. Um, ja, so just the house felt

612 very cold, and just, ja, not a lot of warmth to it. There wasn’t a lot of love, like

613 some houses you will walk into and you will feel the warmth and love in that house,

614 and this one I didn’t feel it, you know, it was just kind of, practical.

T:

615 Did you feel that it wasn’t a good space for a child to be in?

J:

616 Not that it wasn't good in the sense that it was dangerous, or anything like that, there

617 was no danger, but just not child friendly in the sense that there were no toys, there

618 were no paintings on the wall, there was no visual kind of fun, there is no art work

619 anywhere, you know there is no, like most people if they have got children there
620 will be, some mess, sometimes, because kids make mess. There was no mess
621 anywhere, everything was ‘just so’, which kind of speaks for that element of
622 control I think the mother has, you know um, ja. I think it wasn’t that it was
623 unsafe or that I was worried about her wellbeing, but it just didn’t feel happy.

…

T:

629 Did you find yourself wondering about her emotional wellbeing?

J:

630 Hmm, but at the same time I kind of noticed the, the behavioural signs of autism,
631 almost immediately. Just the fact that she doesn’t interact with anybody, like she
632 isn’t interested in much. Like, she wants to do what she wants to do and, kind of you
633 know, I kind of always imagine kids with autism to kind of be in their own bubble,
634 and their own world you know. They have a very different world to ours, and , um,
635 that is the kind of sense I got from her. Again, I am not a professional, so I don't
636 know for sure, but, just a sense, so ja. So there is almost, you can’t really tell if
637 there is unhappiness or happiness, because it is difficult to tell a child with autism’s
638 emotions, you know, and a three-year-old as well, you can’t really tell, if she is
639 really happy, so but ja she kind of does her own thing and so it was difficult to
640 tell whether she was unhappy or not, but the fact that there wasn’t a lot of play
641 going on, I feel like there has been not a lot contributing to her development in a

642 way you know. And, also the fact that everything gets done for her. She kind of just
643 - she is treated like a baby.

In the following analysis, I argue that Jane's talk, for the most part, employs a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning in which she resists constructions of service-learning as messy, and invests in taking up a position of 'the good student', one that is concerned with acquiring information and performing at a particular standard according to institutional requirements. A liberal traditionalist discourse of learning privileges this kind of a student in that students are expected to work towards acquiring knowledge in a structured fashion, relying on their lecturers and course facilitators to provide that knowledge (Tennant et al., 2010). Nevertheless, I argue that, in parts of Jane's talk, there are moments of mentalizing activity occurring, specifically when the intersubjective context facilitates mentalization. In these moments Jane takes up discourses that allow for less certain subject positioning that facilitate mentalization and this is evident in the ways in which she becomes more curious about her own and others' minds; moments marked by ruptura rather than rapture. This reading is interested in what is happening emotionally during these moments, and between these moments. The presentation of the analysis will proceed in the same structure as Mandy's, beginning with exploring Jane's investment in rapture discourses, followed by her brief investment in ruptura discourses and ending with a discussion about the role of the relational context in the oscillation between rapture and ruptura for Jane, examining the ways in which this was similar to but also different from Mandy's case.

7.3.1 Investing in rapture discourses.

In the above extract, Jane talks about the things that really stood out for her during her service-learning experience. This extract is taken from her first interview with me and so

this is the first time Jane and I had discussed her service-learning experience. Jane begins by talking about feeling both excited and nervous about her first home-visit with the caregiver and child. In describing her nervousness, she frequently refers to 'not knowing' about certain things. For example, in lines 566 – 569, she says "and also, realising that the mother wasn't there, and we didn't know we were going to meet the caregiver, we didn't know that there was a paid caregiver, she doesn't speak very good, she doesn't speak English very well so that was very difficult as well, the language barrier." Her talk about 'not knowing' becomes significant again later in the analysis but I argue that Jane draws on a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning to construct her 'not knowing' as something that contributed to her nervousness. A liberal traditionalist discourse of learning frames the learning process as something that one can be certain of and as something that occurs in a linear fashion under certain expectations (Tennant et al., 2010). What Jane and her partner experienced in terms of meeting a paid caregiver rather than the child's mother was not in line with what they had expected, as was their confrontation with a language barrier. Jane's talk about not knowing about a range of things is framed by her talk of feeling nervous. Jane continues her description of her first home-visit by explaining that the caregiver left the room (again, unexpectedly).

What is interesting about Jane's talk in this extract is that there appears to be an imbalance in her mentalizing in that her talk very much focuses on her own perspective and point of view without showing any curiosity about the mind of the other (especially the caregiver). I argue that her talk suggests that she is in a state of psychic equivalence where she talks with certainty about the mind of the caregiver without exploring alternatives to her own interpretations of the caregiver's behaviours. This is demonstrated most notably in the following lines:

578 …so and then, immediately the caregiver kind

579 of walked away and left us with the child, and our very first lesson, they said don't

580 let that happen (laughs) and it happened. So, we were kind of like 'oh no, we

582 have already kind of taken on that role' of being, being like the people there only for

583 the child and because our role was to be there for the caregiver and the child um so

584 ja, so that immediately got messed up but then we rectified that by saying 'no, you

585 know, you must stay with us' and also you know, we asked why the TV was on, so I

586 think that hinted as to 'let's turn the TV off', because it is very distracting for us, and

587 for the child.

In this extract, Jane is employing a liberal traditionalist discourse in constructing service-learning as something that must be done in a particular way (with the caregiver present and the television turned off) and when it does not go that way, it must be "rectified". There is very little reflection or curiosity in Jane's talk around why the caregiver left the students with the child but rather a focus on the fact that 'it was not supposed to be like that' and the students were 'not supposed to let that happen' because the instructions given to students were that the caregiver should be present (this was clarified by Jane in the second interview). Instead of wondering about the caregiver's mind and her reasons for not being present during the visit, Jane's reaction was "oh no". The students rectified the situation by taking control and turning the television off and asking the caregiver to come back to rectify what had been "messed up" by the caregiver not behaving in ways they expected her to behave.

This reading is particularly interested in why Jane takes up a liberal traditionalist discourse to describe this experience. I argue that Jane's lapse in mentalizing, and turn to psychic equivalence discussed above, is directly related to the anxiety caused by describing an experience, which for her was characterised by 'not knowing'. The anxiety related to not knowing and encountering situations that she did not expect caused her to feel anxiety about potentially not doing what she was supposed to be doing as a student engaged in service-learning. This is especially evident in lines 579 – 580: "they said don't let that happen (laughs) and it happened. So, we were kind of like oh no". The 'oh no' reaction can be interpreted as a fear of potential consequences for the students for letting the caregiver walk away and for allowing the television to be on. Jane manages this anxiety in her talk by investing in a liberal traditionalist discourse of learning to explain how her and her partner 'fixed the mistake' by intervening and asking the caregiver to turn the television off. Jane's investment in this discourse (lead by her lapse in mentalizing) can be attributed to the intersubjective context of the home-visit in which Jane's anxiety was high because of the sense of 'not knowing' and perhaps even fear of not 'doing' service-learning correctly. However, the intersubjective context of the interview could also have played a role in Jane's lapse in mentalizing as our previous lecturer-student relationship might have been lingering in the interview context. Jane may have been transferring her anxieties and fears around her identity as a student into the interview context where she attempts to demonstrate the ways in which she tried to 'do service-learning' according to the instructions. This transference (and possibly my own countertransference) was documented in my field notes after the interview:

Extract from my field notes:

> "I felt a sense of Jane trying to assure me that they tried their best to do service-learning properly even with the unexpected curve balls of the caregiver leaving the room. Does she think I will 'tell on her' for doing the opposite of what they were instructed to do in the first lecture? Is she speaking to me as student to lecturer or participant to researcher? Is there something she doesn't want to say or acknowledge to me because of what I might think or say in response?"

In another part of the interview, Jane talks about the level of care the child receives in terms of contributions to the child's development and she offers her evaluation of what she observed in her home-visits with the family. At this point in the interview, Jane had just expressed that she thought that the home that she had visited was not loving and warm and I responded by asking her if she felt that it was not a good space for the child to be in. Jane responds by saying:

616 Not that it wasn't good in the sense that it was dangerous, or anything like that, there
617 was no danger, but just not child friendly in the sense that there were no toys, there
618 were no paintings on the wall, there was no visual kind of fun, there is no art work
619 anywhere, you know there is no, like most people if they have got children there
620 will be some mess, sometimes, because kids make mess. There was no mess
621 anywhere, everything was 'just so', which kind of speaks for that element of
622 control I think the mother has, you know um, ja, I think it wasn't that it was
623 unsafe or that I was worried about her wellbeing, but it just didn't feel happy.

Jane's talk in the above extract, like her talk earlier, is focused on her expectations of what she would find in a home with a child emphasising the ways in which her expectations were not met. For example, Jane expected to see mess in the home because a child lives in the home but there was no mess. Jane's interpretation of what she observed in the home is what is interesting in this reading. Again, there is a sense of knowing the mind of the other and interpreting a behaviour as indicative of a certain state of mind – "there was no mess anywhere, everything was 'just so', which kind of speaks to that element of control I think the mother has, you know" (lines 620 – 622). This indicates another example of Jane being in a state of psychic equivalence rather than mentalizing as she talks about the mind of the other in a knowing rather than curious way.

Jane also constructs the caregiver as somewhat nonchalant, in terms of her care for the child ("I feel like there has been not a lot contributing to her development in a way you know. And, also the fact that everything gets done for her. She kind of just she is treated like a baby" – lines 641 – 643). I argue that Jane is drawing on a charity discourse of service-learning in this instance to position herself as more knowing than the caregiver in emphasising that the caregiver and the structure of the home have not been contributing to the child's development. Employing a charity discourse of service-learning bolsters Jane's position as a service provider who has something to give to the family, and in Jane's talk, what she is giving is her 'knowledge' of what kinds of contributions to a child's development are expected and how the child should be treated. This positions Jane as more powerful than the caregiver in terms of holding knowledge that would be valuable to the caregiver.

Jane does not reflect on the relevance or usefulness of the ‘knowledge’ she holds about how a disabled child should be treated or cared for in this context but rather reflects on the observable behaviours of the caregivers and interpreting those behaviours from her own perspective. Psychic equivalence is a defensive state and this analysis is interested in what Jane might have been defending against that led her into a state of psychic equivalence rather than mentalization. I argue that Jane is trying (perhaps unconsciously) to hold on to a position of knowing and being certain throughout her service-learning experience. This is often not possible in the contexts that she was in where uncertainty and unmet expectations left her not knowing in many ways how to ‘do’ service-learning. This ‘unknowing’ and uncertainty led to an increase in anxiety and therefore she employs discourses (in this example a charity discourse) that help her to take up a position of power as someone who knows something.

Jane’s talk appears to be somewhat deterministic in that she constructs her observations as representations of reality – “just the fact that she doesn’t interact with anybody, like she isn’t interested in much” (lines 631 – 632). This certainty of her perspective as the objective truth is a marker of psychic equivalence, indicating a lapse in Jane’s mentalizing capacity during the interview at this moment. Jane constructs the child and the disability in an individualised way without much consideration of contexts not immediately observable to her in the moment. This allows Jane to produce ‘an answer’ to my interview questions that she verifies with anecdotal evidence. This also demonstrates another instance in which Jane takes up a liberal traditionalist discourse to perform ‘the good student’, assuming that a good student has an answer for the question asked of her and has evidence to back up her answer. However, the answer that Jane provided was somewhat devoid of emotion and demonstrated that Jane was slipping into a state of psychic equivalence as she remains in a moment of

rapture and fascination with the subject of her talk. The state of rapture is marked with a kind of one-sided fascination with the case but does not reflect curiosity about her own mind.

In the talk presented in the above extracts, Jane appears to be in a state of psychic equivalence, rather than engaging in mentalizing activities, most of the time. I argue that this is because she felt that she needed to understand and be able to explain what was happening with the child; she needed to have the right answer and so this led her to invest in a liberal traditionalist discourse where things are more certain, and knowledge can be acquired from observation. Jane is not mentalizing in this part of the interview but is talking very fast, offering 'uncurious' talk about the other. In exploring the reasons why Jane invested in a liberal traditionalist discourse in this moment, the interview context is important to consider. In an interview situation, a common understanding is that the interviewer (me) asks the questions, and the interviewee (Jane) is expected to respond to those questions. I wonder to what extent this expectation created by being in an interview context, where Jane knew she was expected to have answers to my questions, raised her anxiety in facing the pressure to answer my questions and potentially to give the 'right answer'. The increased anxiety may have led Jane to defend against a position of 'not knowing' by investing in a liberal traditionalist discourse in order to 'give the right answer' and consequently manage her anxiety about 'not knowing'.

Jane's defensive position can be understood in terms of the relational contexts mediating her talk. Of course, Jane's own subjectivities (perhaps rooted in the uncertainty of coming from what she calls "a broken home", in the first interview) are an important part of her emotional investments in particular discourses. Perhaps those subjectivities are being transferred in this

talk and into the research context. Alternatively, perhaps it also has to do with the nature of service-learning where one cannot really know what's coming, or what to expect and students do not always have the answers, in contrast to other learning contexts where they are expected to know the answers (for example, rote learning methods for examination purposes; a more instructivist approach to learning). However, the very nature of service-learning also requires students to think beyond and challenge the status quo, and as much as students may be psychoanalytically invested in feeling secure in the learning experience, the experience itself necessitates difficult moments of reflection – moments of ruptura.

7.3.2 Investing in ruptura discourses.

Despite much of Jane's talk employing a liberal traditionalist discourse that lends itself to anti-mentalizing stances, in other parts of Jane's talk, she employs ruptura discourses. For example, in lines 635 – 638, Jane is momentarily uncertain of her own mind – a position she does not often take up.

…I am not a professional, so I don't
636 know for sure, but, just a sense, so ja. So, there is almost, you can't really tell if
637 there is unhappiness or happiness, because it is difficult to tell a child with autism's
638 emotions, you know

In this moment, Jane acknowledges the fluidity and slipperiness of her own mind and she is acknowledging that she does not know for sure if the child is happy and perhaps cannot know because of the lack of affective expression shown by the child. She also leads this line of thought by saying that she is not a professional, thereby recognising the limits of her interpretations of what she observed in the home-visit. In the extract above, Jane returns to

again talking about 'not knowing' in line 636 but what is different in this talk is the openness and lack of anxiety that she demonstrated earlier in the analysis. In this moment, Jane appeared not to be anxious about 'not knowing' but rather becomes curious about the possibility that the child could be happy but is perhaps not showing it as a result of the child being diagnosed with autism. Perhaps in taking up the position of a non-expert – "I am not a professional", Jane feels less responsibility to know the answer and therefore feels less anxious about exploring possibilities outside of the limits of her observations. In this moment, Jane is resisting liberal traditionalist discourses of learning. Rather, she employs constructivist discourses of learning to construct service-learning as a site for exploring the unknown and as an activity that does not necessarily always require the student 'to have the answers'. The student would not be required to have the answers because they are not positioned as professionals who have the answers but are rather positioned as curious students who don't need to know the answers but rather learn in imagining the range of possible answers.

Jane's talk therefore slips between moments of being fascinated with the case and wanting to approach it medically (possibly also because this helps her to distance herself emotionally from the discomfort she experiences in the face of disability) but then interrupting this outward fascination to think in a curious way about the child's mind as well as her own. When Jane is less certain about her own mind, she is less likely to defensively protect her identity as a good student who knows the answers. In these moments she is more invested in how she can construct her learning from her experiences and that it is acceptable 'not to know' in service-learning. Perhaps it is in the not knowing that curiosity allows room for a new form of learning that she is not used to. More of these moments might have resulted in quite a different learning experience for Jane. This says something important about how

service-learning can be facilitated in framing the experience of ‘not knowing’ as necessary as this may in fact create room for more (or different) knowing/knowledge building.

7.3.3 The role of the relational context in the oscillation between rapture and ruptura.

At this point in the analysis, it may be useful to reflect on my own moments of rapture and ruptura with Jane’s talk; the ways in which I may be quick to assume to ‘know’ Jane’s mind by the ways in which I interpret Jane’s talk, and the ways in which I am somewhat critical of her rapture with the child and of what I read as judgement toward the mother, the caregiver, or the child. I too take up a stance of rapture in Jane’s loss of mentalizing capacity when talking about something that fascinates her. My problematisation of Jane’s talk can too be problematised based on the assumptions and particular investments in more constructivist discourses that I bring to the analysis. I can never really know Jane’s mind and her moments of slipping between rapture and ruptura are no more unusual than my own moments of slipping between rapture and ruptura within the analysis. My moments of ruptura need to be reflected on where I am faced with difficulties in understanding a participant’s talk because of conflicts with my own subjectivity in the analytic process; moments where I move from implicit mentalizing to explicit mentalizing in order to make sense of Jane’s talk as an analytic activity, for example, where I interpret Jane’s investments in liberal traditionalist learning discourses as linked to anxiety about ‘not knowing’. The nature of the analysis may often mean that I am in pretend mode in trying to produce ‘an answer’ about why Jane might be investing in particular discourses. Perhaps, I too desire to be a good student in producing this analysis of Jane’s talk and slip into pretend mode in order to do so, rather than engaging on an emotional level with Jane’s talk. Perhaps Jane and I are more similar than I would like

to admit. The implications of this are that my interpretations of this reading will be coloured by these subjectivities and perhaps part of my resistance towards Jane's positions that she constructs in her talk are in fact resistances to similar positions existing in my mind.

Nevertheless, Jane's talk, from a psychoanalytic perspective works in particular ways that may not be helpful in facilitating an authentic learning experience for Jane. It is important to hold in mind that Jane's talk is also not located only within her or within the interview, but rather in a broader context of higher education where more dominant modes of speaking and meaning making are inherently more aligned with medical and individualised models of disability. Problematising Jane's talk should therefore not be understood as a criticism of Jane's psyche but rather of the system in which Jane's talk was produced; a system that privileges able-bodied, educated, 'white' individuals. This same system is also one that values 'knowing' and a level of certainty in professional practices and therefore promotes liberal traditionalist notions of learning in order to maintain the status quo. The intersectionality of these privileged positions is what needs to be problematised and unpacked psychoanalytically in Jane's talk, rather than Jane herself. In other words, understanding Jane as a psychosocial subject involves removing her as the core feature of the analysis, and rather focusing the spotlight on the context in which her talk was produced, and how this context might be interacting with her subjectivities to produce talk that reinforces or resists certain discourses. Moments of rapture and ruptura belong to the intersubjective and broader ideological context rather than only to Jane or me.

7.4 Oscillations between Rapture and Ruptura

While I can never be certain of my interpretations and analyses of both Jane and Mandy's talk, what I can be certain of is that there are many possible ways of understanding the talk produced by both Jane and Mandy (and of course, myself). This analysis does not pretend to provide definitive or objective claims about service-learning or disability, but rather offers a psychosocial viewpoint from which to understand the ways in which students talk about service-learning in the context of childhood disability. This analysis is particularly interested in why students invest in rapture and ruptura discourses. What the above analysis has shown is that Jane does not necessarily invest in only one of these sets of discourses, but that her talk oscillates between the two and this is often mediated by the relational context of the interview with me, but also in response to thinking and talking about particular intersubjective contexts during the service-learning programme such as within home-visits. As Jane's anxiety increases in response to feeling a sense of 'not knowing' or being uncertain about a context or another's behaviour, she enters into a defensive state of psychic equivalence which leads her to invest in rapture discourses to manage this anxiety in producing more certain answers.

However, moments in which she is able to 'switch on' her mentalizing functions are also present in her talk, specifically in contexts where 'not knowing' is constructed as acceptable and she relinquishes a position where she is expected to know the answer to rather take up a position of curiosity. In these moments, Jane invests in ruptura discourses to construct her service-learning experience and this opens up space to think about the social and political structures that influence the service-learning context. In these moments, Jane's learning is extended beyond what she might have been able to learn while remaining in a state of rapture.

In conceptualising the oscillation between rapture and ruptura in both Mandy's and Jane's talk, I draw on the analogy of a swinging pendulum to sketch the way in which these shifts happen. Figure 9.1 below illustrates how I have conceptualised the movements between rapture and ruptura in students' talk. On one apex of the pendulum swing is a moment in talk where students draw on discourses that represent rapture and on the other end, moments of ruptura are in action. The velocity of the pendulum's swing during students' talk is affected by the intersubjective exchange in which talk about service-learning with disabled children is produced. When anxiety is overwhelming for the student, the pendulum swings towards rapture (and away from mentalization) as a defensive strategy. However, this research argues that the pendulum sometimes swings back towards ruptura as students become curious about the problematic nature of their talk and the ways in which it is reinforcing the very thing they are defending against – privilege and guilt, inextricably linked to their physical bodies and their 'whiteness'. The 'swing' can also be understood as shifts in discursive identity in students' talk from performance of 'the good student' to performance as 'me' in 'all my subjectivity'.

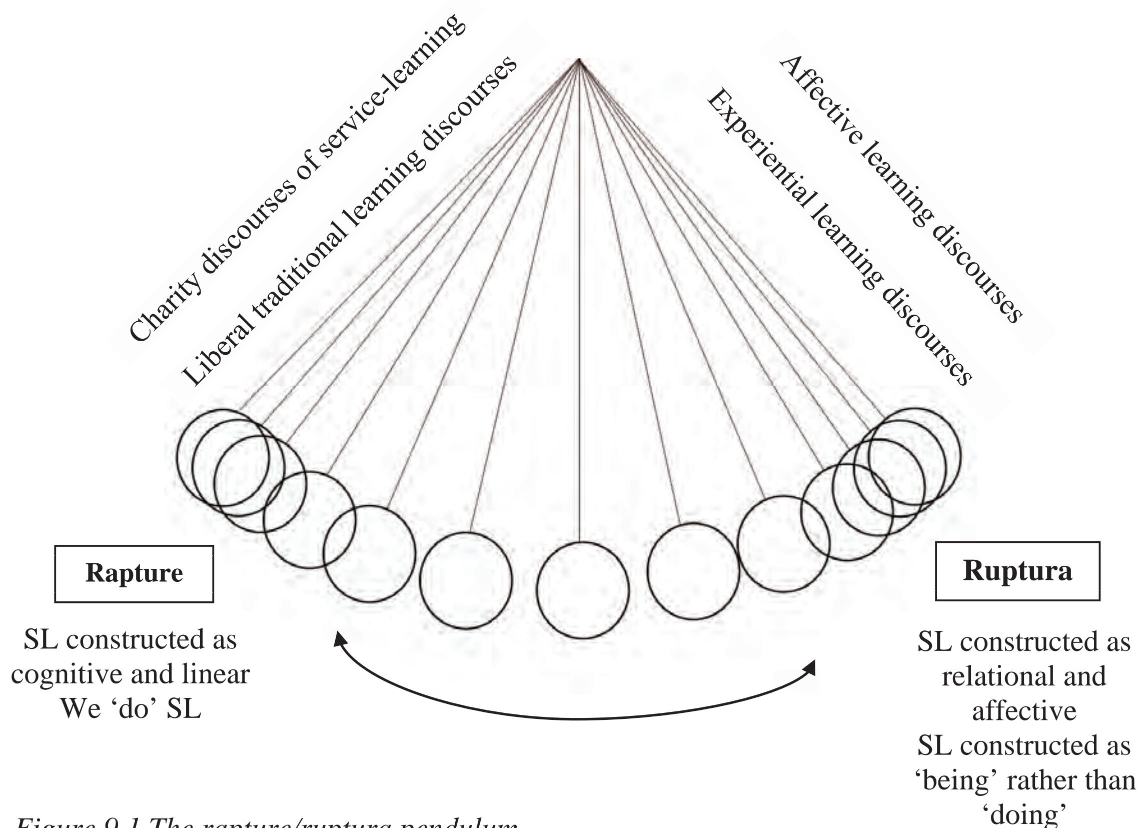

Figure 9.1 The rapture/ruptura pendulum

I argue that the pendulum swing illustrates something unique about the service-learning process in that service-learning is a process of moving between rapture and ruptura and students will not necessarily invest in discourses of only one or the other. Rather, the relational contexts of service-learning either facilitate or shut down mentalizing capacities which leads to investments in particular discourses of service-learning, some of which are productive in terms of creating space for change, curiosity and reflection for the student (ruptura discourses) while others (rapture discourses) maintain the status quo and limit the scope of the service-learning practice for that student. What is important during the service-learning process is not necessarily trying to identify in which state the student is, but rather what is important is to keep the pendulum swinging to allow students spaces to be defensive

when anxieties are high, but then also to allow and facilitate spaces where anxieties are lower so that students can reflect on their moments of rapture, simultaneously learning about the self and the other.

7.5 Conclusion

This analysis has offered a psychoanalytic reading of extracts from interviews with Mandy and Jane, examining their talk to explore their investments in discourses of service-learning and to explore the oscillations between rapture and ruptura in their talk. The concept of mentalization was drawn on to interpret the talk represented by rapture and ruptura and to produce an argument around the students' investments in particular discourses, and what these investments allow or defend against. Both Mandy and Jane invested in rapture and ruptura discourses at different points in their talk. What is notable across both cases is that both students invested in rapture discourses when they were not mentalizing but were rather in pre-mentalizing states such as psychic equivalent or pretend mode, both of which are considered defensive states. One of the things this analysis was interested in is what the students may have been defending against. I argued that Mandy was defending against the anxiety related to an unconscious guilt about her 'white', educated status and how this positioned her as more powerful in relation to the caregiver, causing Mandy to feel uncomfortable in talking about particular interactions during the service-learning experience where power relations became apparent. I argued that Jane was defending against the anxiety related to 'not knowing' in a learning context where (in traditional learning contexts) students are expected to move towards a state of knowing. The defensive states lead to an abandonment of ruptura discourses and an investment in rapture discourses in order to manage anxiety. I argue that ruptura discourses are more easily invested in when students'

anxiety is mitigated by the relational context. Students' investments in discourses are therefore affected not only by their own (and my) subjectivities and developmental histories but also the intersubjective contexts and affective exchanges of the 'here and now' – the interview context with me, but also the 'there and then' – the social contexts of the service-learning experience (Saville Young & Frosh, 2019). These contexts can either contain or increase students' anxiety, thereby leading to an investment in particular discourses and constructions of service-learning.

Chapter 8: Discussion of Findings

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the key claims made in the previous three findings chapters, positioning these key claims in relation to the literature reviewed in chapters two and three of this thesis. The key claims and relevant literature will be discussed in the same structure as the findings were presented, beginning with key claims from chapter five (service-learning as rapture), then chapter six (service-learning as ruptura), and finally the psychoanalytic reading provided in chapter seven. The implications of this research for theory and practice of service-learning in psychology, disability studies and higher education will then be discussed, highlighting the importance of containing students' anxieties and acknowledging their defended subjectivities during service-learning experiences. The strengths and limitations of this research are then outlined before final recommendations are made for future research in this area.

8.2 Key Claims in this Thesis

8.2.1 Key claims from chapter 5: 'Rapture' discourses of service-learning.

Chapter five presented a discursive analysis of students' talk about service-learning for this particular course on childhood disability and mental health. The chapter focused in particular on a set of discourses captured by the metaphor of 'rapture'. These discourses include a liberal traditional discourse of learning and a charity discourse of learning. The metaphor of rapture was used to describe these discourses because of the ways in which both discourses

enabled a fascination with the other and a maintenance of the status quo. I argued that these discourses both maintain power differences between students and caregivers and position the student as different to 'the other'. Within this chapter, examples were presented where students employed a liberal traditional discourse of learning to construct service-learning as a linear, cognitive activity, and as something that students 'do', emphasising the action-based nature of service-learning. Students also employed a charity discourse of service-learning to construct service-learning as a practice that needs boundaries. This is linked to another construction enabled by this discourse, that caregivers are constructed as expectant of students' help. Each of the discourses discussed in this chapter offers particular subject positioning for the student and the caregiver. A liberal traditional learning discourse positions the caregiver as holding power in terms of being assigned a responsibility to teach the students, and the student is positioned as somewhat less powerful, relying on the willingness of the caregiver to share their knowledge. A charity discourse positions the student as more powerful than the caregiver in terms of the student having something the caregiver needs and being able to 'give' something to the caregiver or child. The contradictory subject positioning work that each of these discourses offers represents an ideological dilemma in which students are simultaneously holding onto and relinquishing power during their service-learning experience.

I argue that through their talk, students work to position themselves as experts or professionals (in training) and caregivers as grateful, needy recipients of the services they experienced during the service-learning programme. These subject positions and constructions of service-learning work to maintain the large power differentials between the caregivers (and their children) and the students, especially along the dimensions of 'race' and disability. I argue that these discourses of service-learning also work to reinforce a medical

construction of disability in students' talk about their service-learning experiences with disabled children. The metaphor of rapture is used to encompass these discursive activities because of the ways in which the employment of the liberal traditionalist and charity discourses of service-learning work to maintain the status quo; that is, the oppression and marginalisation of 'black' and disabled individuals.

8.2.2 Key claims from chapter 6: 'Ruptura' discourse of service-learning.

Chapter six, like chapter five, presented a discursive reading of texts from interviews with students as well as their reflective journals. The metaphor of ruptura was used to group this set of discourses together to show the ways in which these discourses work in opposition to the rapture discourses presented in chapter five. The discourses discussed in this chapter include constructivist discourses, constituted by smaller sub discourses of experiential learning and affective learning. These discourses offer more neutral subject positioning for students and caregivers with smaller power differences, especially on dimensions of 'race' and class. Students employed constructivist discourses of learning to construct service-learning as affective, as relational and as 'being' (rather than 'doing' as demonstrated in the previous chapter). I argue that these constructions support constructions of disability and other constructions of 'race' and disadvantage that offer positions of power and agency to disabled individuals. This offers particular subject positions to students, caregivers, and the children that resist large power differentials in the service-learning context. The employment of these discourses collectively mitigates the othering work that is done when the students' talk reflects rapture with the service-learning experience by neutralising power relations in the subject positionings. In a way, discourses of ruptura can be understood as an attempt at 'undoing' harmful othering work done during talk that collectively reflects rapture. The employment of constructivist discourses of service-learning allows students to take up the

subject position of co-creators and co-participants of the service-learning experience rather than ‘givers’ or ‘providers’ of the experience. I argue that this positioning work provides an opportunity for a narrowing of the power divide between student and caregiver (and child), thereby reducing the power divide between able-bodied and disabled; between ‘black’ and ‘white’; and between relatively powerful and powerless.

8.2.3 Key claims from chapter 7: Psychoanalytic reading of selected texts.

The final findings chapter (chapter seven) offered a psychoanalytic reading of two extracts from interviews with Mandy and Jane. This chapter was different to the previous two in that this analysis explored not only which discourses students invested in through their talk about service-learning on this particular psychology course, but also why they emotionally invest in these discourses. The key argument made in this chapter is that students oscillate between rapture and ruptura discourses of service-learning depending on the intersubjective context. The concept of mentalization was applied to a) explore why students invest emotionally in particular discourses and b) explore the role of the relational context in these investments.

The analysis argued that students invested in rapture discourses when they were not mentalizing but were rather in pre-mentalizing states such as psychic equivalent or pretend mode, both of which are considered defensive states. I argue that Mandy was defending against the anxiety related to guilt about her ‘white’, educated status and how this positioned her as more powerful in relation to the caregiver, causing Mandy to feel uncomfortable in talking about particular interactions during the service-learning experience where power relations became apparent. I argue that Jane was defending against the anxiety related to uncertainty and a sense of ‘not knowing’ during the service-learning experience. In traditional learning contexts students are expected to acquire knowledge in straightforward and

uncomplicated ways, and Jane's service-learning experience departed from this expectation, causing anxiety. When students are in defensive states of psychic equivalent and pretend modes to manage their anxiety, ruptura discourses are abandoned and students invest in rapture discourses to manage their anxiety. I argue that talk that represents rapture is defensive because of its psychological function of redirecting the anxiety and guilt associated with acknowledging the implicit and sometimes problematic differences between the self and other, and the role the self has played in the ideological and social subjugation of the other. The fascination is projected onto the other rather than directed towards the self and the inner processes that maintain prejudicial mindsets and behaviour. Ruptura discourses are more easily invested in when students' anxiety is mitigated by the relational context. Students' investments in discourses are therefore affected not only by their own (and my) subjectivities and developmental histories but also the intersubjective contexts and affective exchanges of the interview context with me, and the social contexts of the service-learning experience. These contexts work to either contain or increase students' anxiety, thereby leading to an investment in particular discourses and constructions of service-learning.

8.2.4 Positioning of key claims against literature reviewed.

Having outlined the key claims made in each findings chapter, this discussion now returns to the literature reviewed in chapter two and three in positioning these claims against the existing body of knowledge of service-learning in psychology, disability studies and higher education. To briefly recap, the three key claims made in this thesis are 1) rapture discourses serve a defensive function (against the anxiety of 'not knowing' and acknowledgement of one's privilege and power status) and this defensiveness leads to mindblindness and a fallback to traditional (and sometimes problematic) service-learning models; 2) ruptura discourses are more productive in serving the aims of critical models of service-learning and

counter the lack of progression in rapture. However, ruptura discourses can also create anxiety in students that, when unmanageable, impels them to return to the employment of safer rapture discourses to contain their anxiety; 3) both rapture and ruptura discourses are necessary (and inevitable) in a productive and meaningful service-learning experience. Anxiety cannot be avoided or ignored in service-learning experiences, so it is more helpful to focus on the relational contexts in service-learning that mediate (or contain) anxiety.

8.2.4.1 Rapture is defensive but necessary.

In chapter seven, I argue that rapture discourses serve the purpose of defending against anxiety, specifically related to the students' 'not knowing' and to the realisation of one's own privilege and position in oppressive power structures. In this research, one way in which students mitigate this anxiety is through the employment of liberal traditional learning discourses and charity discourses. Kahne and Westheimer's (1996) distinctions between the use of charity discourses versus change discourses in service-learning are relevant in this discussion. While charity discourses invoke relevance to giving, civic duty, and additive experience, change discourses take up a moral position of caring, social reconstruction, and transformative experience. Kahne and Westheimer's (1996) ideas around a charity discourse in service-learning align with Mitchell's (2008) traditional service-learning model, which reinforces a liberal traditional learning discourse (Tennant et al., 2010), often taken up in moments of rapture in this research.

In chapter seven, I argue (based on the psychoanalytic reading of texts from two students) that students invest in rapture discourses defensively. In particular, I argue that what students are defending against in their talk (captured by the rapture metaphor) is anxiety related to

uncertainty and ‘not knowing’ and to the realisation of one’s own privileged position in relation to the caregiver (and the disabled child). Crossley’s (2012) work on volunteer tourism yielded similar findings in that individuals construct their contact with uncomfortable experiences (in Crossley’s research, poverty) in ways that neutralise one’s own power position. She argues that the neutralising constructions essentially act as barriers between the individual and the object of the anxiety (poverty) but also prevents individuals from undergoing any meaningful personal change as a result of the experience. My research adds to the literature on this note in that I argue that ‘neutralising constructions’ such as those captured in Crossley’s (2012) research and in the rapture metaphor in this research may be unhelpful in terms of directly facilitating any meaningful change. However, they do serve the purpose of allowing the students to defend against the anxieties concomitant in complex service-learning spaces and are therefore important from a psychosocial perspective to create space for students to mitigate their anxiety to a manageable level so that they might begin to imagine other ways of thinking about and constructing service-learning where constructions are less neutral but more authentic and curious, thereby illuminating the problematic underlying power structures inherent in this service-learning context.

Carrick et al. (2000) employed the concept of rapture in exploring their findings in order to frame the problematic nature of students’ fascination with the other. In their research, rapture is presented as harmful and unproductive to the aims of critical service-learning. In this research, I have argued that charity discourses and liberal traditionalist discourses of learning (captured within the rapture metaphor in chapter five) are employed to manage uncomfortable emotional states, such as anxiety, as demonstrated in chapter seven. For example, Jane managed her uncomfortable feelings and anxiety related to uncertainty and ‘not knowing’ by investing in liberal traditional discourses which offered her more concrete

subject positionings and allowed her to maintain existing power structures in the service-learning relationships she was encountering. The uncertain and unchartered relational contexts in service-learning led to an increase in anxiety for Jane and therefore a lapse in her mentalization capacity in talking about her service-learning experience.

Therefore, this research adds to the observations made by Carrick et al. (2000) by arguing that 'rapture' discourses are employed in order to manage student anxieties developed in relation to this particularly complex and intersectional service-learning experience. In particular, this research has added that intersubjective contexts in the service-learning experience are important mediators of this anxiety and it is therefore important to understand the employment of unproductive discourses such as discourses of altruism or discourses of charity as relational in response to an evocative emotional experience between individuals of vastly different statuses.

While on the surface it may appear that rapture discourses are unhelpful and should be avoided, this research has argued that service-learning does not contribute to meaningful learning without moments of rapture. Service-learning contexts are inherently anxiety provoking (especially in contexts such as South Africa where inequality underpins much of our relational experiences) and the employment of rapture discourses in constructing service-learning is therefore inevitable. The racial, economic, class and disability differences between individuals in the service-learning relationships in this service-learning programme (specifically students and caregivers) intersect in their influence on these particular students' experiences, and consequently their talk about their experiences. A key example of this from my findings is the psychoanalytic reading of Mandy's case where her anxiety in service-learning was specifically related to guilt linked to her 'white' privilege and how this

influenced her interactions with community members including the caregiver and hospital health workers. Mandy's anxiety in this case then did not belong exclusively to her, but also to the broader social and historical context underlying this service-learning context.

What is useful to take from this understanding of anxiety as inevitable, is the importance of exploring intersubjective contexts in service-learning that facilitate or contain anxiety. If anxiety can be acknowledged and contained (even if this is done through the employment of rapture discourses), space can be created for students to become more reflective and curious about their affective responses to others and their relationships with others in the service-learning context. Essentially, moments of rapture are then understood as necessary precursors to the facilitation of moments of ruptura and this research argues that the movements between rapture and ruptura are inevitable but also necessary for students to be able to learn through their anxiety, not in spite of their anxiety.

8.2.4.2 Ruptura as a productive metaphor in service-learning.

The results of this research have supported Kahne and Westheimer's (1996) findings in relation to charity discourses in students' talk about service-learning and have added that these discourses can be captured by a rapture metaphor to represent their role in containing anxiety. However, Kahne and Westheimer (1996) propose the need for change discourses of service-learning which they argue work in opposition to charity discourses, but this research argues that rather than employing change discourses, which are focused on social reconstruction and transformative experience, students take up constructivist discourses of learning to construct their service-learning experiences in a different way. The constructivist discourses of learning are represented by the ruptura metaphor in this research, and the

findings presented in chapter six therefore support the assertion made by Carrick et al. (2000) that ruptura discourses actively interrupt discourses like charity discourses to dismantle the status quo by shifting power relations inherent in the narratives produced by students. This is an important move for service-learning in order to align with a critical model rather than a traditional model of service-learning in order to maximise the potential of the practice as a transformative learning experience.

Critical service-learning calls for more explicit moments of ruptura in order to direct the focus away from only the other, and rather onto broader systems (as well as inner systems) that perpetuate social circumstances that keep the other in 'need' or at least position the other as 'needy'. Carrick et al. (2000) have drawn on the concept of ruptura in conceptualising a definition and method of practice in service-learning that acknowledges the interpersonal complexities in the service-learning context that can create harmful residual effects for both students and community members as a result of the subjectivities that are interacting within a politically charged context. One of the prominent claims Carrick et al. (2000) make about ruptura is that when we recognise it, we are able to "resist the master narratives of service-learning, reciprocity, happy endings, and the public discourse of activisms" (p. 72).

The 'public discourse of activisms' referred to by Carrick et al. (2000) can be likened to the charity discourses of service-learning that students in this research took up in their talk about service-learning in disabilities studies, discussed under the metaphor of rapture in this research. Problematic power relations are maintained with charity discourses in that the students retain power as individuals with access to resources to knowledge with which they aim to assist the community. The members of the community are perceived as needy and also expectantly grateful for whatever services the students intend to provide (Kahne &

Westheimer, 1996). However, ruptura discourses are more closely aligned with a critical model of service-learning, one that may usefully employ a pedagogy of discomfort in order to shift students away from discourses that reflect rapture and traditional learning structures.

An acknowledgement of the context of this service-learning programme is important in understanding how the findings of this research contribute to the pedagogy of discomfort in service-learning in psychology, and in South Africa in particular. In South Africa, much of the current inequality is embedded within a sociohistorical context where 'black' bodies and disabled bodies were (are) gazed upon with rapture and prejudice. Leibowitz et al. (2010) note that "the intersection of 'race' and class differences has a profound impact on the power relations, interaction among students and ultimately, on what and how students learn" (p. 83). Drawing on the pedagogy of discomfort allowed Leibowitz et al. (2010) to give voice to the emotional experiences in service-learning, and to highlight the ways in which emotion can be considered as necessary in service-learning because of what unfolds when students integrate the emotional with the cognitive in their learning experience. Critical service-learning is therefore, arguably, best done by investing in a pedagogy of discomfort to suture the divide between the emotional and the cognitive in service-learning.

The pedagogy of discomfort "invites students to leave behind learned beliefs and habits and enter risky areas of contradictory and ambiguous moral differences" (Zembylas & Boler, 2002, p.2). The pedagogical structure aims to decentre and destabilise the student by experientially and intentionally moving them into uncomfortable spaces so that their core beliefs are challenged, and problematic prejudices are interrupted. Zembylas (2017, p. 11) argues that within higher education "discomforting feelings are valuable in challenging dominant beliefs, social habits and normative practices that sustain social inequalities and

thus create openings for individual and social transformation." This was particularly relevant in this study because of what the discomforting feelings prompted students to do in terms of their employment of ruptura discourses. Challenging dominant beliefs about learning and about disability (and race, class, and so on) may be discomforting and impel the student towards different ways of thinking about or mentalizing the other. However, when the discomfort becomes too great, and the anxiety becomes overwhelming, students slip back into non-mentalizing modes, back into a state of rapture where dominant beliefs are clung on to rather than interrogated and dismantled. Ruptura therefore serves an important purpose in a pedagogy of discomfort in terms of its power to dismantle rapture discourses that limit the service-learning experience to a traditional model. I argue that it is important to allow space for students to swing into ruptura to experiment with the discomfort and learn but also, we must be aware that they may swing back to rapture discourses when anxiety becomes too great. We do not necessarily want them to stay in ruptura as they become paralysed here in uncertainty, but we do want to facilitate moments where they can turn their outward fascination with the other into inward curiosity with the self and the students' own role in the systemic practices surrounding service-learning can then be interrogated.

It is useful at this point to consider Karagiannopoulou's (2011) work on psychodynamic perspectives of learning in higher education. She writes about the power dynamics at play between students and tutors in higher education contexts and how the expectations created by this dynamic create anxiety in students. The expectations of the tutor are often ignorant of the students' fears and anxieties around failure in academic contexts and this often leaves students feeling a range of negative emotions including humiliation, frustration, vulnerability, and dependency. These are typical reactions to traditional learning contexts where the tutor is viewed by the student as omnipotent, with the power to fail or pass a student based on a set of

standards and expectations. In challenging traditional learning spaces and traditional power relationships in higher education, Karagiannopoulou (2011, p. 5) suggests that "an academic environment which is tolerant to paradox and the unexpected can increase the possibility of deep learning and relativistic reasoning" and that this kind of environment facilitates a student's capacity to tolerate uncertainty in learning contexts. The benefit of this increased tolerance is the development of a more integrated self. The findings from my research extend this suggestion by adding that in service-learning contexts, it is particularly important to create environments that are tolerant of uncertainty so that students' anxieties can be mitigated to a point where they are able to explore their own anxieties in relation to the context in which the learning is occurring. Allowing students to move between rapture and ruptura facilitates deep learning because of the fluidity of anxiety in service-learning contexts. Students can manage their own anxieties, especially in intersubjective contexts, when space is made for an exploration of ruptura discourses in place of rapture discourses, but the option to return to rapture discourses to manage one's own anxiety remains in place. In this instance, students are not learning in spite of their anxieties during service-learning but are rather learning alongside and through their anxieties and moments of discomfort.

8.2.4.3 Rapture and ruptura are both necessary in service-learning experiences in psychology and disability studies.

In this thesis, I argue that relational contexts influence the affective exchanges between students and other role players in the service-learning context, and therefore students' emotional investments in different discourses of service-learning. Perhaps what this suggests is that rapture discourses can never really be truly avoided in service-learning and perhaps should not be avoided as they provide a useful site for reflection on the anxieties that

prompted an emotional investment in unproductive rapture discourses. What may be important in service-learning practice (based on these findings), is to ensure that the pendulum continues to swing between rapture and ruptura slowly enough to allow space and time to be curious about the service-learning process and to reflect on where students are during different stages of the service-learning experience and how they make meaning of their experiences in relation to their broader contexts and social positioning. Employing both rapture and ruptura in service-learning in psychology with a focus on disability studies is particularly important in order for students to meaningfully make sense of the intersectionality of race, class and disability within their learning contexts, and also to understand that learning about the 'other' can be relational, not only cognitive.

Ruptura is important in service-learning within a disability studies context because "when we reflect upon an experience instead of just having it, we inevitably distinguish between our own attitude and the object toward which we sustain the attitude" (Dewey, 1916, p. 173). The gaze, while directed outward during the experience, also needs to be mirrored inward to disrupt our own attitudes and to be curious about our own minds and how our own minds are relevant in our constructions of the experience of service-learning with disabled children. The gaze that is referred to here encompasses the fascination with the other (the caregivers and the children). The gaze can be physical but can also be represented linguistically as a raptured state in talking about service-learning with disabled children.

However, this is not an easy task as the power inherent in privileged positions is often based on constructs such as 'race', class, education, socio-economic status, and ability. Discourses that keep students in a state of rapture such as liberal traditional discourses of service-learning empower the privileged, able-bodied gaze and feed into the medical model of

disability, while leaving the problematic power structures underlying the service-learning context unchallenged. I argue that the purpose of facilitating and encouraging moments of ruptura in talk about service-learning with disabled children and their caregivers is to dismantle the medical model of disability and interrogate the ways in which it is imbued with power that fuels the touristic gaze onto disabled bodies. The social model of disability does not necessarily need to be the goal in service-learning programmes with disabled children as this model is not without its own set of critiques but I argue that moments of ruptura have the power to interrupt the inherent disablism in the medical model (and perhaps in rapture discourses) because moments of ruptura indicate the students' capacity to mentalize the other and the self within that particular moment.

However, I argue that ruptura needs to be managed carefully within the service-learning experience because of the risk of students becoming overwhelmed with anxiety within moments of ruptura and returning instead to safer, defensive states of rapture. Greene (1997) assessed moral reasoning as an outcome of service-learning but interestingly found that while students' own psychosocial development had increased, their moral reasoning had not. In fact, "participants interacting with persons with disabilities exhibited a decrease over time in moral reasoning compared with the participants interacting with older adults" (Greene, 1997, p. 844). This could be attributed to what is known as the milieu effect whereby an experience exerts a negative effect on an individual's moral reasoning because of increased levels of discomfort with the experience (Greene, 1997). This nods towards Boler's (1999) pedagogy of discomfort in that moving students into a state of discomfort can be useful for social change, but when this change becomes too stressful, it can cause problematic beliefs to be concretised and service-learning can become harmful to both the community, and to the student (Zembylas, 2017). Hinshelwood's (2009) arguments around the stress and anxiety in

learning are also relevant in this conversation in supporting the position that stress and discomfort in the learning experience may move the student towards personal change that is beneficial for the broader community, but too much stress and anxiety can cause the opposite effect in which students might hold on more tightly to stereotypes to ease the discomfort they are experiencing.

The extent to which confronting disability in children in a context of unequal class structures and history of racial segregation and discrimination, may increase anxiety and discomfort in the students is a relevant consideration in unpacking the more implicit processes that students experience during service-learning. This may account for the ways in which students slip back into states of rapture when the moments of ruptura become too difficult and anxiety-provoking. For example, Jane's anxiety around not having the answers or not knowing what to expect (or not having expectations met) lead to her 'going offline' and moving into psychic equivalence as a defence against this anxiety. In order to manage her anxiety around not knowing, she invested in discourses that maintained rather than interrogated the power structures at play. The findings from this research therefore concur with Hinshelwood's (2009) work but add that the intersectionality of 'race', disability and class can infiltrate the relational contexts in service-learning and exacerbate pre-existing anxieties in service-learning contexts. The implications of this are discussed further in the next section but these are important considerations in terms of how service-learning programmes are structured to contain the inevitable anxiety inherent when employing a pedagogy of discomfort.

I argue that within a disability studies context, rapture discourses in students' talk are often employed in response to a lapse in mentalization in order to defend against and manage particular anxieties, such as in Jane's case where she was defending against the anxiety of

uncertainty and unknowing. Allen and Fonagy (2006) describe the effects of this as an act of dehumanisation of the other and this further marginalises the already marginalised within a service-learning context. This service-learning programme is situated in a context of low socio-economic status and a politically tense history. Leibowitz et al. (2010, p. 83) note that "in contexts of extreme social inequality such as South Africa, the intersection of 'race' and class differences has a profound impact on the power relations, interaction amongst students, and ultimately what and how students learn." In the context of this service-learning programme, the impact of these differences extends to relationships between students and caregivers, as well as the children with whom they are learning. The danger in employing rapture discourses is that they may enable psycho-emotional disablism (Reeve, 2006), which refers to the feelings, emotions, and experiences associated with being stared at or patronised as a disabled individual. Working with children with disabilities creates a context that, at times, is marked by intense anxiety because of the differences in ability between students and children, and a sense of uncertainty about how to navigate this context (Watermeyer, 2006).

The findings from the present study demonstrated the ways in which students' anxiety tended to lead to an abandonment of mentalization as students hold on to a state of rapture rather than engage with the discomfort of all that comes with moments of ruptura. However, this anxiety was not always obviously or directly related to the child's disability. Rather the findings suggest that these particular students were often more troubled by 'race' and class in their interactions during service-learning, but this may have been exacerbated by the disability context. I often wondered during the analysis how much the students' lectures focused on how 'race', class, privilege and socio-economic status are as much a part of the caregiver's struggles as the actual disability or if the students were focusing their in-class learning on the nature of the disability itself or at least whether students saw the purpose of

lectures as such. Perhaps this has something to do with the content of the students' anxiety in that they were less anxious about encountering disability (for some students this would be their first encounter) because they felt prepared by what they had learned. What could not be learned from a textbook about 'race' and class in this particular community in Makhanda, was to become an unexpected source of anxiety.

The employment of a methodology that acknowledges the individual and the social as inextricably linked has led to the development of an understanding of social justice for the disabled and disadvantaged as psychosocial justice. In the context of this research, psychosocial justice involves students' relationships with the caregivers and children being constructed and positioned as important in the learning process, rather than the caregivers and children being constructed as objects to be studied during the course. Simultaneously, the students' own introspection on the relationship between the self and others in the service-learning context is considered an important component of their learning. Importantly, the learning in this context must extend beyond that which can be taught in the classroom or from a textbook and must involve a deep awareness and understanding of the broader power structures, as well as the relational and individual processes that necessitates the service-learning programme in the first place. This involves the students diving head first in places of discomfort where they are required to confront racism, disablism and uncertainty about their own position in relation to others in society. The oscillation between rapture and ruptura, conceptualised here as a pendulum swing, is inherently representative of the student as a psychosocial being, learning and attempting to make sense of the complexities of navigating service-learning as an academic activity in psychology with disabled children in a racially diverse and highly unequal country. All of this has important theoretical and practical

implications for service-learning in psychology, disability studies and higher education, and these implications will now be discussed in greater detail.

8.3 Theoretical and Practical Implications for Service-Learning in Psychology, Disability Studies and Higher Education

8.3.1 Theoretical implications.

This research has explored psychology honours students' talk about a service-learning programme on childhood disability and mental health and has focused in particular on what discourses students draw on in their talk and why they invest emotionally in these discourses. The discussion above has shown where the findings from this research support the findings from the literature reviewed in chapter two but also where this research has departed and added to existing knowledge about service-learning in higher education. This research has contributed to a theoretical understanding of service-learning that goes beyond surface investigations of the various outcomes of service-learning and joins the field of psychosocial pedagogical research.

What has been unique about this research is the employment of the concept of mentalization in exploring service-learning from a psychosocial perspective and in accounting for the ways in which subjectivity in service-learning is both individual and social. The concept of mentalization was employed to account for the psychoanalytic processes occurring during students' talk and to track the relational contexts that either facilitate mentalizing function or shut it down. While the findings of this research align with those from research on a pedagogy of discomfort, this research has also suggested that a pedagogy of discomfort is complicated by the intersubjective contexts in service-learning that create anxiety in students and facilitate the employment of non-progressive discourses of service-learning, ultimately

limiting the scope of the service-learning experience to traditional learning boundaries. This may be complicated even further when part of the source of discomfort for students is in confronting particular hardships such as disability for the first time. In this sense, the danger lies in not only producing non-progressive discourses of service-learning but potentially also harmful or patronising discourses of disability.

This research has contributed to a theoretical understanding of service-learning that locates the discomfort (represented in this research as discourses of ruptura) within the individual but also in the social relationships and contexts in which individuals find themselves; anxieties are not necessarily contained within the individual only but need to be managed with the broader context in mind. Based on the findings, I therefore suggest that critical models of service-learning are productive and possible but 'slipping' back to traditional models might be inevitable because of students' anxieties, and perhaps this is not something we need to aim to avoid but rather to become aware of and manage carefully. The implications for theory then are that theorists should be careful of assuming that constructivist discourses are productive and favourable in service-learning contexts while traditional learning discourses are not. These are unhelpful assumptions when both sets of discourses are part of the process in service-learning.

8.3.2 Practical implications.

Based on the above theoretical implications, I argue that carefully structured supervision is needed in service-learning programmes in psychology, in disability studies and in higher education broadly in South Africa. The supervision spaces should prompt students to a) acknowledge the inevitable presence of their anxieties, prejudices, and privileges; b) acknowledge and recognise the nature and origin of their anxieties, prejudices and privileges;

and c) become curious about these anxieties and interrogate the discourses that feed into them, but also the discourses that allow them to explore other ways of thinking and feeling about service-learning.

On this note, I also recommend that service-learning facilitators discursively position their service-learning programmes as something different from other more traditional forms of learning by taking up and investing in discourses of constructivist learning rather than liberal traditionalist discourses of learning in higher education. In order to do this, lecturers could spend some time in lectures describing the learning process in service-learning courses and positioning this learning as different to how they would normally think about and approach learning. However, it is important to realise that, inevitably, students are likely, at times, to fall back into the traditional learning position in the course. Movement between thinking about learning in these two different ways (traditional and constructivist learning) should be positioned as part of the learning process (by the lecturer) and students should be encouraged to reflect on their own shifts in thinking.

In the construction and conceptualisation of service-learning programmes in South Africa, I also recommend that reflections on the socio-historical context of the service-learning programme should be fore grounded and students should be encouraged to grapple with the ideological and practical implications of this context. In facilitating future service-learning programmes, the findings of this research suggest that it is especially crucial to manage anxieties to avoid further harm to the disabled community (in the form of psycho-emotional disablism) and to prevent students from concretising and reproducing unproductive or harmful stereotypes about the disabled.

8.4 Strengths and Limitations of Research

One of the limitations of this research was the quality of the field notes created after each individual interview. The observations made in my field notes included mostly my own cognitive observations as I was more interested in noting things about participants than my own thoughts and feelings in relation to the participants. This may suggest that I, too am somewhat invested in liberal traditionalist discourses of learning and am concerned with ‘getting research right’. Within this framework, I may not have valued my own affective responses as meaningful contributions to data but instead valued cognitive responses in attempting to understand participants’ responses. This suggests that perhaps I ignored the idea that research, like learning, can also be relational. From a psychosocial perspective, the relational dynamics of the interviews are considered important sites of data generation. In hindsight I now realise the value of documenting affective responses alongside cognitive responses and to (like the students in this research) manage my own anxieties about ‘not knowing’ why something was said or done in interview contexts. What I may not have realised at the time of creating the field notes, was that I was in fact fascinated with ‘the other’ (the student) and my notes therefore very much reflect my own rapture, rather than ruptura or curiosity about my own affective responses. This may well have been a result of my pre-existing relationship with the participants as their lecturer. It was therefore possible but difficult to track transference and countertransference from my field notes. The analysis might have been improved if my field notes had included more emotional observations about the intersubjective context of the interview in order to make full use of the field notes as a psychosocial tool.

Applying a clinical concept (mentalization) in a non-clinical context such as this research study could be considered a limitation of this research but could also be considered a strength

in terms of the ways in which it allowed for a structured psychoanalytic reading of texts, specifically drawing on concepts such psychic equivalent and pretend mode. The concept of mentalization is referred to in the literature as something that happens between therapist and client but in the context of this research, it was applied as something that happens between student and caregiver, student and child, student and other students, student and supervisor, and student and researcher. Employing the concept of mentalization therefore contributed theoretically with the key arguments around emotional investments in discourses presented above.

Other limitations include some of the methodological decisions and processes such as the cross-sectional design selected for this study. This design lends itself to a ‘snapshot’ view of the service-learning experience of one cohort of students. In addition to this, not all students from this cohort participated in this research study and the findings from this research are therefore not necessarily representative of all students in this programme. However, given the nature of psychosocial research, the aim of this study was not to generalise findings from the participants to other similar members of the population but rather to explore the subjectivities that informed investments in discourses taken up by the students who did participate in this study.

I argue that the strengths of this research include the use of the mixed methods design in the data collection process. Collecting data from interviews as well as students’ reflective journals allowed for data to be developed and interpreted within different contexts, allowing for more holistic insight into students’ experiences of service-learning on this programme. This chapter has also demonstrated the extent to which the findings presented in this research have been corroborated by other research on service-learning, but this research contributes in

particular to service-learning in psychology with people with disabilities. The key findings highlight the intersectionality of disability and 'race' in South African contexts. Service-learning cannot and does not happen in a vacuum separate from these kinds of intersectionalities and if we understand service-learning as separate from these intersectionalities in a South African context, we are missing the point of social justice. In particular, the employment of a methodology that acknowledges the individual and the social as inextricably linked has led to the development of an understanding of social justice as psychosocial justice.

8.5 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the above discussion of findings as well as the consideration of the limitations of this study, I make two recommendations for areas of future research. One of the limitations discussed in the previous section refers to the fact that this study was a cross-sectional study and so, while claims are made in this research about the oscillation between discourses of ruptura and rapture and what implications this has for service-learning practice, the findings from the study cannot speak to the long-term effects of participating in a service-learning course. When students learn something significant during service-learning, and when they experience what Carrick et al. (2000) would call ruptura, does this ruptura belong to the moment or is it long-lasting? While these questions are beyond the scope of this research, this would be an interesting direction for future research.

The second recommendation for future research that I would like to make is that future studies conduct an analysis of supervision sessions during service-learning to explore the ways in which students' anxieties and uncomfortable moments can be contained and managed or used as reflective teaching tools. Research of this nature would contribute a

deeper understanding to the considerations mentioned in the discussion of practical implications in this chapter around how to best facilitate service-learning to manage the velocity of the pendulum swing between rapture and ruptura.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the key claims made in the findings chapters (chapters five, six and seven) and positioned these claims in relation to existing knowledge. The claims made in this research support the findings of others in terms of identifying which discourses of service-learning students employ in their talk about service-learning. The findings from this research add to the work of others, specifically in highlighting the complex and intersubjective nature of anxieties inherent in the service-learning process that lead students to draw on sometimes unproductive discourses of service-learning for defensive reasons. These findings have both theoretical and practical implications for service-learning and this chapter has discussed what a psychosocial perspective on service-learning adds to the existing body of psychosocial pedagogical research. The strengths and limitations of this research were outlined before recommendations for future research were presented. The following chapter draws this thesis to a close in demonstrating how the research questions guiding this study have been addressed.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This research aimed to explore eight psychology honours students' talk about their experience of partaking in this particular service-learning programme. The main objectives for this study were to identify how students construct their service-learning and then to explore why students invest emotionally in these particular constructions of service-learning. This was undertaken using a psychosocial approach, drawing specifically on discursive social psychology and on psychoanalytic understandings, in particular the concept of mentalization. This chapter summarises the main contributions and insights of this research, showing how the research questions presented in chapter four have been answered, and what these findings mean in the broader context of psychology, disability studies and higher education.

9.2 Summary of Important Insights

Much has been written about the practice of service-learning from a theoretical and practical perspective since its inception and the practice of service-learning has evolved through a number of years of research. What has been particularly prominent in the literature is the different models of service-learning, the traditional and critical models, with strong arguments made around why a movement to critical models and away from traditional models is important for using service-learning to its full potential (Mitchell, 2008). In response to this, a pedagogy of discomfort has been proposed to frame service-learning projects with a strong emphasis on the usefulness of moving students into uncomfortable spaces to force them to confront their preconceived ideas about social structures and practices that directly marginalise certain sectors of society (Boler, 1999). This has been taken up in a number of fields but has been highlighted as especially useful for the field of psychology where the marginalisation of groups of people

results in long-lasting negative psychological outcomes for community members. The field of disability studies shares similar concerns in exploring and interrogating the marginalisation of the disabled community in particular (Watermeyer, 2019).

Service-learning has therefore been proposed as a method of teaching psychology students about harmful practices and unequal societal structures that contribute to psychological suffering, within the communities in which the students will one day be practicing as professionals. The intersection of psychology and disability studies has been significant in considering the context of this research as students are confronted with a number of intersectional factors such as 'race', class, and disability, making the service-learning experience complex and 'thorny' (Stuart & Webster, 2011). Contributions have been made from different fields of research in exploring service-learning in contested terrains. Chapter two reviewed the ways in which discursive social psychology and psychoanalysis have contributed to the body of literature of service-learning arguing that neither have been sufficient in accounting for a holistic perspective of students' subjectivities in a service-learning context.

The literature review aimed to demonstrate why a psychosocial approach is useful and necessary in researching service-learning. The small body of psychosocial pedagogical research was therefore discussed in terms of the relevance and usefulness of a psychosocial framework in researching service-learning, especially in highly contested terrains such as disability studies in an unequal society like South Africa. I have argued that a psychosocial approach offers a balanced account of individuals' experiences of service-learning by exploring inner and outer processes occurring during service-learning without reducing these processes to either belonging to the individual or to the social or institutional contexts.

Psychosocial research is interdisciplinary (Frosh, 2003) and there are many ways in which a psychosocial framework can be constructed and applied in researching service-learning. For this research, contributions from discursive social psychology and contemporary attachment theory (specifically using the concept of mentalization) were drawn on to construct a holistic framework within which to work. Chapter three outlined the key conceptual tools from each field that were applied in demonstrating what the psychosocial framework for this research would look like, and why the concept of mentalization in particular is useful in a psychosocial framework. Mentalization as a tool can be usefully applied to account not only for inner psychic processes, unobservable to others, but also to account for social processes as mentalization is an intersubjective concept. Mentalization is something that happens in relation to the other (Allen & Fonagy, 2006) and is therefore argued to be a useful tool, especially in research contexts where the marginalisation of others is an underlying concern. Chapter four outlined how this psychosocial framework was applied methodologically in answering the following research questions. Each of these questions guided the focus of the study and the interpretation of the results. The questions below are presented with the primary research question appearing first, followed by four secondary research questions.

How do psychology students construct their experiences of service-learning for this particular course on childhood disability and mental health, and why do they invest emotionally in these constructions?

- What discourses are psychology students drawing on in their talk about service-learning for this particular course on childhood disability and mental health?

- What subject positioning do these discourses offer for students, children, caregivers, community partners, and lecturers to take up and/or resist?
- Why do students invest emotionally in discourses and what psychological payoffs are students experiencing as a result of their investment in those discourses?
- Which relational contexts in service-learning provide opportunities for containment of emotional experiences so that mentalization is facilitated, and which contexts produce defensiveness and mindblindness?

The findings from this research have suggested that students construct service-learning in a number of ways drawing on different discourses and that emotional investments in discourses employed are often mediated by the relational contexts in service-learning. Service-learning is, at times, constructed as cognitive, linear and action-based (service-learning is constructed as 'doing') by employing discourses of liberal traditional learning and charity discourses of service-learning. However, sometimes students construct service-learning as affective, as relational, and as 'being' rather than 'doing'. These constructions are made possible through the employment of constructivist discourses of service-learning including experiential learning and affective learning discourses. The particular students in this study, therefore tended to construct service-learning in terms of more traditional learning models by drawing on discourses that have been captured under a rapture metaphor (see chapter five), but the students also constructed service-learning in more critical and curious ways by drawing on discourses under the ruptura metaphor (see chapter six). Rapture and ruptura discourses are dichotomous in many ways but particularly in relation to subject positioning.

Rapture (a metaphor used to capture discourses of liberal traditionalist learning and charity discourses of service-learning) and ruptura (a metaphor used to broadly represent constructivist discourses of service-learning) are proposed as ways of thinking about the shifts in students' talk that indicate an oscillation between mentalizing and non-mentalizing stances. What has been highlighted in this research, is that each of these groups of discourses signal what the intersubjective context allows or disallows (in terms of mentalizing function). The context enables or disables particular constructions of service-learning leading to particular subject positions for individuals involved in the service-learning experience, perpetuating or challenging the broader socio-political contexts in South African higher education.

The constructions enabled by each discourse have been outlined above but the subject positioning offered by these constructions is also a key concern of the research questions presented above. Discourses captured under the rapture metaphor position the other as the site of learning while discourses captured under the ruptura metaphor position the relationship between the self and the other as the site of learning. Power relations are maintained when students draw on rapture discourses. When students draw on a liberal traditional discourse of learning, the caregiver is positioned as powerful and as holding knowledge that the student seeks to gain. Consequently, the student is positioned as less powerful and as dependent on the caregiver to impart knowledge in uncomplicated ways to the student. The caregiver is positioned as responsible for driving learning and in this way, holds more power than the student. Charity discourses (also included in the rapture discourses) maintain the status quo of social, rather than institutional, power structures in which the student is positioned as more powerful than the caregiver because of the students' access to resources. The caregiver is therefore positioned as needy and grateful for students' services. Discourses captured under the ruptura metaphor offer different subject positions with more neutralised power relations. When

service-learning is constructed as relational or as affective, the caregiver is empowered as the student relinquishes a position of 'knowing' and is rather positioned as a co-creator of the learning experience. Ruptura discourses work in opposition to rapture discourses in that the constructions offered by each set of discourses allow very different subject positioning with power balances between students and caregivers often shifting. Power differences are disrupted in ruptura discourses in that traditional, hierarchical learning structures are reconceptualised and reconstructed to reflect more equal positioning.

The final two research questions are concerned with why students invest emotionally in the discourses identified above and how the relational context plays a role in these investments. In this study, I have argued that rapture discourses reinforce constructions of service-learning that lead the student into a non-mentalizing stance where they slip into psychic equivalent and pretend modes in their talk. Rapture discourses are employed within intersubjective or intrapsychic contexts that lead the student into feeling a sense of anxiety or becoming overwhelmed by uncomfortable or negative affective states. I have argued that employing these discourses allows students to manage their own anxiety when the relational context fails to contain it. This anxiety can be produced as a result of confronting childhood disability in an already socio-economically disadvantaged context where racial differences are also clear between students and caregivers (and their children), for example. The anxiety that students feel may also relate to the higher education context, especially if service-learning is constructed as something linear and cognitive that belongs to traditional models of learning and education but is experienced as something more 'messy' and less certain. These kinds of constructions (service-learning as cognitive, linear, and action-based) are reinforced by discourses of liberal traditionalist learning as well as charity discourses of service-learning where students' privileged positions are fortified (and consequently, their anxiety is momentarily averted).

The intrapsychic context in which this anxiety is produced is based on the extent to which the individual student has been nudged out of their comfort zones and their readiness or capacity to experience a disruption in their own thinking (ruptura). The students' readiness to move out of their comfort zones belongs not only to the students' subjectivities but also to moments within intersubjective exchanges where I, as the researcher, also contribute to defences by either investing in or abandoning dominant discourses of service-learning. My own rapture with students' experiences and stories is therefore a significant part of how and why students engage in rapture discourses. I have argued that *ruptura* represents a mentalizing stance (not present during talk that employs rapture discourses) and is crucial in the service-learning process as this is where the student begins to learn true civic responsibility and moves towards Dewey's ideals for socially meaningful education.

Students emotionally invest in ruptura discourses when they do not feel overwhelmed by anxiety, when they can turn their curiosity inward and reflect on their own position in the service-learning experience without feeling too uncomfortable or without an immediate threat to their identity. Taking up ruptura discourses works to resist power relations existing in the status quo of broader social and institutional structures rather than reinforcing them. Ruptura discourses allow space for more meaningful learning that can be uniquely achieved through the service-learning experience. However, a key contribution made by this research is the claim that service-learning necessarily involves both ruptura and rapture as part of the experience and both serve particular functions in the learning process for students. Rapture discourses are therefore not understood as necessarily unproductive or something to be avoided (this is not possible) as they provide students with a sense of security or a 'safe space' to which they can return when the anxiety and discomfort evoked in states of ruptura becomes overwhelming and unmanageable. Allowing this discursive safe space to exist also allows space for students to

temporarily reduce their defensiveness and anxiety, and rather to become curious, opening up the pathway to experiment with ruptura discourses and alter the course and nature of learning in meaningful and productive ways.

9.3 Significance of this Research

This research has contributed to the existing body of research in service-learning by offering a psychosocial perspective on service-learning on childhood disaibility and mental health in a South African context. Understanding service-learning from a psychosocial perspective has implications for psychology, disability studies and higher education especially when these three sectors intersect in the form of a service-learning programme such as that under investigation in this research. Service-learning, as has been argued by others (Leibowitz et al., 2010, Boler, 1999, Carrick et al., 2000) has the potential to transform teaching and learning experiences, especially if students are pushed beyond the boundaries of their comfort zones.

This research has investigated and contributed to an understanding of relational contexts in service-learning that enable emotional investments in discourses that facilitate moments where significant, and potentially transformative, learning can occur. This was an important undertaking because when students are anxious, they become defended subjects and invest in 'safe' rapture discourses, where power structures remain uninterrupted, so that the focus is on the other rather than the self, or the relationship between the self and the other. This is ostensibly unproductive in service-learning and can encourage students to emotionally invest in discourses that maintain the status quo, and the potential of service-learning therefore becomes limited and potentially even harmful, especially if the focus on the other reinforces prejudice or marginalisation of already marginalised communities such as the disabled community.

I argue that employing service-learning practice within a pedagogy of discomfort is a useful move towards a critical model and away from a traditional model of service-learning, but it must be recognised that service-learning contexts are complex, especially in an unequal society like South Africa where disability does not exist independently of 'race' and class inequalities. It is critical within service-learning practices to acknowledge that anxieties need to be managed as they are provoked in particular relational contexts (even if this is done retrospectively in supervision sessions) to avoid service-learning becoming a practice with outcomes opposite to that which was intended. This research has contributed to an understanding or conceptualisation of anxiety and prejudice, in the context of service-learning programmes, as a result of psychosocial processes, simultaneously located in inner and outer worlds rather than belonging only to the individual. This research has also contributed to an understanding that service-learning in psychology is a process that necessarily includes both moments of rapture and moments of ruptura, and it is not realistic nor productive to attempt to diminish rapture discourses or to avoid producing anxiety in students. Anxiety, defensiveness and the oscillations between rapture and ruptura are mediators of meaningful learning for students engaged in service-learning in psychology.

These considerations must all feed into how we facilitate service-learning programmes, especially in a highly unequal society such as South Africa. Service-learning facilitators could use the considerations outlined in this research in attempting to engage a pedagogy of discomfort to frame the service-learning project. I argue that what is helpful in facilitation is being aware of and utilising the anxiety inherent in the service-learning process, especially in contexts where students will inevitably encounter moments of not knowing, uncertainty, and confrontations with their own privilege associated with their societal positions in relation to the

community with which they are learning. Rather than attempting to eradicate or avoid anxiety, illuminating the sources and consequences of this anxiety with students can facilitate curious moments in which students feel 'safe' enough to engage with ruptura discourses and interrogate the systems and structures that rendered the service-learning context and intersubjective exchanges so uncomfortable in the first place. Anxiety in the service-learning context can therefore be used as a teaching tool if managed carefully enough, and the rapture-ruptura pendulum is kept swinging rather than immobilised at either end.

9.4 Conclusion

I argue that employing a psychosocial theoretical and methodological framework for this research has enabled a holistic and multi-layered investigation of this service-learning programme in psychology. This was a necessary undertaking in furthering the current literature on service-learning, contributing specifically to the relatively small body of psychosocial pedagogical research. In particular, this research was interested in how students construct their service-learning experience and why students invest emotionally in these constructions, paying particular attention to the intersubjective contexts that facilitate or shut down mentalizing function. This psychosocial research has contributed unique insights into the ways in which students' anxieties and mentalization capacities in service-learning are relational in nature, resulting in emotional investments in discourses that can either challenge traditional power structures and facilitate deep and meaningful learning for students, or maintain the status quo, leaving the student and the community in much the same position as they were before the service-learning experience. This psychosocial understanding of service-learning has important implications for further teaching, learning and research in psychology, in disability studies and in higher education, especially when these three fields intersect in one service-learning programme. The intersectionality of 'race' and disability in service-

learning programmes in South Africa is an important consideration in implementing careful supervision of these programmes so that students' rapture with the other is not compounded and reinforced by the service-learning experience.

Appendix A

Childhood disability and Mental Health

Psychology Honours 2016

Course Outline

Prof Lisa Saville Young

Introduction

This is a service-learning course that gives students an introduction to childhood disability in South Africa, with an emphasis on developing a psychological understanding of childhood disability in context. The course focuses largely on children with neurodevelopmental disabilities (Cerebral Palsy in particular) living in disadvantaged contexts in and around Grahamstown and provides students with an understanding of the impairments that are normally associated with CP as well as the importance of the environment in terms of either disabling or enabling daily living. As this is a service-learning course, students will learn from particular children with CP and their caregivers about their unique impairments, their unique environments and the interactions between the two. In considering the environment attention is paid to the intersection of gender, race, poverty and disability. Within this broader context, the course focuses in particular on understanding the caregiver-child relationship and the ways in which lay mental health workers can support this relationship. The challenges that caregivers face, as well as their resourcefulness, is explored with a view to supporting the relationship between the caregiver and local health services. Finally, the course facilitates students' reflection on the ways in which society's disabling prejudices impact on this relationship.

The course is made possible by the working relationship developed with the Association for Persons with Physical Disabilities (APD – specifically Francine Mwepu, Zuki Gubevu, Fiona Semple and Catherine Letcher) and the team of therapists from the Department of Health managed by Jolene Tarr. Their contribution to the success of this course is gratefully acknowledged.

Assumptions of Prior Learning

An undergraduate knowledge of Developmental Psychology is particularly helpful for this course. It is also advisable that students have completed a basic counselling skills course.

Course outcomes

The course will provide opportunities for you to:

1. Develop critical psychological knowledge of childhood disability (specifically neurodevelopmental disabilities) in the South African context.
2. Learn from children with disabilities and their caregivers who live in Grahamstown about their unique impairments and the interaction of these impairments with their unique environments.
3. Learn from children with disabilities and their caregivers about the quality of their life and the quality of their attachments, including those factors that support their attachments and those factors that impinge upon them.
4. Provide a service to children with disabilities and their caregivers by supporting their attachment relationship and by supporting their relationship with the local health services.
5. Reflect on the disabling practices and environments that children with disabilities and their caregivers negotiate.

Critical Cross field outcomes

Work effectively with others as a member of a group

1. Organise and manage oneself and one's activities responsibly and effectively.
2. Communicate effectively using language skills in written communication.
3. Use technology critically and effectively.
4. Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.
5. Being culturally and aesthetically sensitive across a range of social contexts;
6. Exploring education and career opportunities.

Teaching methods

This course is taught through traditional didactic methods, through group discussions and through service-learning. The course consists of 8 seminars of three hours each facilitated by the course lecturer; 9 home visits which will be arranged between paired students and the caregivers at times convenient to them; and 5 Reflective Supervision sessions of 90 minutes each facilitated by the course lecturer as well as APD and DOH members.

Kretchar (2001) describes service-learning as follows:

> "Fundamentally different from volunteer work, service-learning emphasizes reciprocity by creating a learning opportunity for students while also serving the needs of a community group or agency. Both elements—service and learning—are highlighted: "The service reinforces and strengthens the learning, and the learning reinforces and strengthens the service" (Cooper, 1996a, p. 1). Moreover, community service often follows a charity-based model in which there can be a patronizing distinction between those serving and those seeking services. In contrast, service-learning emphasizes an equal exchange: "Both the server and those served teach, and both learn" (Kendall, 1991, p. 20). Finally, service learning goes beyond traditional community service by connecting the volunteer experience to specific academic goals, which are facilitated by reflection, discussion, and integration with course material (Cooper, 1996b; Kendall, 1991; Kobrin & Mareth, 1996; Morton, 1993; see also Dunlap, 1998)." (p.5).

Given the centrality of reflection in service-learning, students'active participation in seminars through discussion is encouraged including writing reflective journal entries on a regular basis.

Students are required to visit an allocated caregiver and child in their homes once a week for the duration of the course (a total of 9 visits). The informed consent of the caregiver has been sought for students' visits. Students are required to sign an indemnity form and confidentiality agreement regarding the service-learning component of the course.

Course Content:

Students are to ensure that all required readings have been read **BEFORE** the seminar. Links to journal articles have been provided on the RU Connected page. Hard copies of book chapters will be provided.

Date	Time	Seminar Topic	Details	Required Reading
19 July	9h00-12h00	Childhood Disability in South Africa: Introduction	This seminar introduces students to the international context of disability studies in order to locate this particular course. The service-learning component of the course will be introduced and the role of the students will be clarified. In this seminar students will be taught about the definition and classification of Cerebral Palsy as all the children they will be learning from have CP. Guest lecturer: Fiona Semple (Physiotherapist, APD)	Masibambane Document Priestley, M. (2006). Developing disability studies programmes: The international context. In B.Watermeyer, L. Swartz, T.Lorenzo, M.Schneider & M. Priestley (Eds.) *Disability and social change: A South African Agenda (pp. 19-30)*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Krigger, K.W. (2006). Cerebral Palsy: An overview. *American Family Physician, 73*(1), 91-100.
20 July	9h00-12h00	Childhood disability in South Africa: The importance of the environment	This seminar introduces students to the social model of disability, a model that emphasises the environment as more or less disabling for children with impairments. The seminar will explore the environmental challenges faced by children with disabilities and their caregivers living in rural and semi-urban disadvantaged communities in South Africa. Guest lecturers from the Department of Health and the Association for Persons with Physical Disabilities (APD) will provide students with information regarding the services currently available in Grahamstown. Students will be supported in reflecting on their expectations for their first home visit.	Schneider, M. (2006). Disability and the environment. In B.Watermeyer, L. Swartz, T.Lorenzo, M.Schneider & M. Priestley (Eds.) *Disability and social change: A South African Agenda (pp. 8-18)*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Grut, L., Mji, G, Braathen, S.H. & Ingstad, B. (2012). Accessing community health services: challenges faced by poor people with disabilities in a rural community. *African Journal of Disability, 1*(1), 1-7
Week 18th July HOME VISIT 1				
26 July	9h00-12h00	Childhood disability and child mental health	This seminar continues with the emphasis on disability as an interaction between the person and the environment, with a specific focus on thinking about	Badia, M., Orgaz, B., Riquelme, I. & Montoya, P. (2015). The relationship of cerebral palsy comorbid conditions with participation and quality of life. In J.L. Matson & M.L. Matson (Eds.). *Comorbid*

			the quality of life and participation in the community of children with disabilities. The impact of these factors on the children with disabilities mental health will be discussed. Students will reflect on what they have already learnt from the children they are visiting in relation to disability and mental health.	*Conditions in Individuals with Intellectual Disabilities*, Switzerland: Springer.
27 July	9h00-12h00	Childhood disability and maternal mental health	This seminar engages with the literature on the experience of caring for a child with developmental disabilities. Students will reflect on what they have learnt regarding the challenges faced by the caregivers they visit as well as the resilience and resourcefulness they demonstrate.	Dambi, J.M., Jelsma, J., & Mlambo, T. (2015). Caring for a child with cerebral palsy: The experience of Zimbabwean mothers. *African Journal of Disability, 4*(1), 1-10. Kearney, P., & Griffin, T. (2001). Between joy and sorrow: being a parent of a child with developmental disability, *Journal of advanced nursing, 34*(5), 582-592.
Week 25th July HOME VISIT 2				
2 August	9h00-12h00	Disability and relationships: Implications of disability for the caregiver-child relationship	This seminar introduces attachment theory as a useful theoretical framework for thinking about the caregiver-child relationship in the context of neurodevelopmental disabilities. The effects of CP on early attachment are explored with discussion focusing on the supporters and hindrances of the attachment relationship in South African contexts. Students will be encouraged to reflect on what they have learnt about these issues from the caregiver and child they are visiting.	Howe, D. (2006). Disabled children, parent-child interaction and attachment. *Child and Family Social Work, 11*, 95-106. Quinn, T. & Gordon, C. (2011). The effects of cerebral palsy on early attachment: Perceptions of rural South African mothers. *Journal of Human Ecology, 36*(3), 191-197.
4 August	9h00-12h00	Disability and relationships: Supporting wondering and play	In this seminar we will discuss the importance of play for all children and the practical ways in which play can be encouraged for children with neurodevelopmental disabilities in disadvantaged South African contexts. The theoretical framework of attachment theory and the concept of mentalization will be drawn upon to think about playing in	French, N. (2011).Learning to wonder together. *Infant Observation, 14*(1), 75-88. Bross, H., Ramugondo, E., Taylor, C., & Sinclair, C. (2008). Children need others: Triggers for playfulness in pre-schoolers with multiple disabilities living within an informal settlement. *South African Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *38*(2), 3-7.

			relationships. Students will discuss ways of supporting play and wondering with the caregiver and child they are learning from.	
Week 2nd August HOME VISIT 3				
8 August	9h00-12h00	Relationships in context: Exploring psycho-emotional understandings of disablism	In this seminar we explore disablist oppression and in particular, Watermeyer and Swartz description of the psycho-emotional aspects of disability and impairment to further understand the impact of this oppression. Students will draw on their own experiences of discrimination and social injustices to reflect on the disablist context in which the caregiver and child they are visiting are living.	Watermeyer, B. & Swartz, L. (2008) Conceptualising the psycho-emotional aspects of disability and impairment: the distortion of personal and psychic boundaries, *Disability & Society, 23(*6), 599-610 *,*
10 August	9h00-12h00	Relationships in context: Challenging disablism	This seminar reflects on the practices of exclusion and inclusion that impact on children with disabilities in South Africa. Students will reflect on the practices of the household and communities in which the caregiver and child they are visiting currently lives. Students will also reflect on their own practices in relation to the caregiver and child and critically engage with the extent to which they contribute to social injustices. The contribution of psychology to challenging discriminatory practices will be discussed as well as the ways in which students can challenge disablism during their home visits.	Bantjes, J., Swartz, L., Conchar, L., & Derman, W. (2015). “There is soccer but we have to watch”: the embodied consequences of rhetorics of inclusion for South African children with cerebral palsy. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *25*(6), 474-486.
Week 8th August HOME VISIT 4				
Week 15th August HOME VISIT 5				
Week 22nd August HOME VISIT 6				
23 August	8:15 am	Reflective supervision	Students will continue to reflect upon their experiences of supporting play and wondering with the caregiver and child they are learning from, while also reflecting on contextual aspects that impact on their experiences.	
SEPTEMBER VACATION				

6 Sept	8:15 am	Reflective Supervision	Students will continue to reflect upon their experiences of supporting play and wondering with the caregiver and child they are learning from, while also reflecting on contextual aspects that impact on their experiences.
Week 5th September HOME VISIT 7			
13 September	8:15 am	Reflective supervision	Students will continue to reflect upon their experiences of supporting play and wondering with the caregiver and child they are learning from, while also reflecting on contextual aspects that impact on their experiences. Students will begin to reflect on preparing for the ending of homevisits.
Week 12 September HOME VISIT 8			
20 September	8:15 am	Reflective supervision	During this final reflective supervision session, students will reflect on their initial expectations and assumptions that they brought to the course and whether/how/why these have shifted and changed. Students will reflect on what they have learnt from the caregiver and child they visited as well as what the service that they have provided in return.
Week 19 September HOME VISIT 9			

Assessment

Assessment for the course will consist of both a prepared essay and an unseen exam.

Essay: Due date: Friday 27th September 2016 by 10 am

Submit to Kathy Wakashe. The essay must be 12-15 pages (1.5 spacing, Times New Roman, 12 point font or equivalent,) excluding references. References must follow APA format. Please ensure that you have familiarised yourself with the plagiarism policy as there is zero tolerance of plagiarism at honours level.

Topic:

Choose a particular home visit that you and your partner experienced and describe it in detail being careful to contextualise your observations. Draw on the required readings for the course (as well as supplementary readings) to demonstrate your understanding of the particular experience in relation to either:

1. The interaction of the child's impairment with the environment

OR

2. The caregiver-child relationship in the context of disability

OR

3. Disablism and discrimination

Critically reflect on what you learnt from the specific home visit in relation to one of the above foci.

<u>November Exam:</u>

You will be required to answer two essay questions from a choice of four essay questions for your 3 hour exam. The essay questions will cover the entire course content and will require you to reflect on your service-learning experiences alongside a critical engagement with the required readings.

Assessment Criteria

CLASS 1 Outstanding coverage of relevant material and additional literature. Mastery and full understanding revealed in level of integration, critical insight, consideration of theory in meta-theoretical context and application of knowledge. **CLASS 2A Upper second** Competent coverage of relevant material with good depth of response and organisation of material.	92 Exceptional depth of response, organisation and presentation of material 87 Outstanding coverage but lacking very slightly in one or other aspect, i.e. organisation or presentation of material. 82 Very good coverage and integration of material as well as insight but marred by organisation or presentation problems. 77 A first with reservations. Evidence of clear insights and understanding with good coverage, integration and application of relevant material. 72 Minor weaknesses in critical insight, integration and/or application of relevant material.
CLASS 2B Lower second Satisfactory coverage and organisation but only moderate insight, integration and consideration of theory in meta-theoretical context. Some minor omissions.	67 Some evidence of critical insight, integration and application of knowledge. No serious errors/omissions. (2nd year max where there are no additional references.) **62** Contact with reference material but weak integration and application of knowledge. Omissions, minor errors, confusion. (Maximum mark for Psych 3 when there are no additional references).
CLASS 3 Third Adequate coverage of relevant material with poor critical insight and integration. Contact with prescribed reference material. Weak organisation.	57 Adequate coverage of relevant material but with areas of confusion. Lack of critical insight, integration and application of knowledge. 52 Tendency to rote repetition of lectures and other relevant material with insufficient material being provided. Presented without much comprehension of its

		relationship to the question. **Maximum for a wrong question answered well**.
FAILURE 1 Too little relevant material with no redeeming features.	47 42	Conceptual misunderstanding. Poor contact with reference material. Not well organised. Material presented in weak, confused way with no organisation
FAILURE 2 Little relevant material with poverty of argument and organisation.	36 30	Material muddled, with major misconceptions. Material minimal with clear lack of understanding.
FAILURE 3 The relevant material is sullied by misunderstanding of question.	20 10 **0**	Irrelevant and disorganised. Only one correct point but placed in context. Context but no points. One correct point out of context. No attempt to answer the question. Question not understood.

Course and Teaching Evaluation

At the end of the course you will be asked to complete an evaluation form providing feedback on your experience of the course content and teaching practices. Your honest feedback is important to improve the course.

Research related to the course

I have received an NRF grant to conduct research on service-learning with children with disabilities and their caregivers. Some of your caregivers have given their informed consent to participate in this research along with their children. You may hear about their experience of being research participants for Nicole Cooke (MBT student) and Sinazo Williams (Honours student) in your interactions with them. The research with the caregivers and their children hopes to establish whether or not the service-learning programme (alongside other services offered) has had any impact on the children's development, the caregiver-child relationships and/or the caregivers' mental health. The research also aims to find out how caregivers experience students' home visits. All students signed up for the course will be invited to research presentations later on in the year that describe initial findings. In addition, Tracey Fleming (PhD student) is conducting research on students' experiences of the service-learning process as part of this course. You will have already received information about this research from Tracey. Please remember that it is nota course
requirement that students participate in Tracey's research, rather participation in the research is entirely voluntary. In addition, unless students inform me personally that they are participating in the research, I will not know who is a research participant and who is not a research participant. In addition, Tracey will anonymise all data collected so that it will not be possible for me to identify particular students.

Appendix B

Dear Psychology honours students,

You are invited to participate in a research study for a PhD thesis. Your group has been chosen as the population from which the sample will be drawn because of your direct involvement in the service-learning component of the Childhood Disability and Mental Health elective module.

I am interested in your experiences of being involved in the service-learning component of the Childhood Disability and Mental Health course, and what processes have unfolded for you during the course of your involvement. Participation in this research would involve doing two interviews with the researcher, with the interviews occurring about a week apart toward the end of May (and the end of your service-learning experience). You will also be asked to keep a reflective journal of your experiences throughout your service-learning programme. These journals will be provided for you at the beginning of the course. Both the interview transcripts and the text from the reflective journal will be analysed within a psychosocial framework.

Participation in this research will not bear any influence on your course assessment and is not mandatory as part of this course elective. Participation is entirely voluntary. All participants will remain anonymous, and any data collected will be treated as confidential.

Participation in this study is expected to benefit participants in that you will be provided with structured opportunities to reflect on your experiences as a student involved in a service-learning programme in the context of childhood disability. Working with children with disabilities can be emotionally challenging but talking about and reflecting on these experiences in a safe space can be therapeutic in a sense.

This research has obtained ethical clearance from the RPERC and the HHDC and is supervised by Professor Lisa Saville Young: l.young@ru.ac.za; 046 603 8047. If you have any further questions or would like to participate in this study, please don't hesitate to contact me:

t.fleming@ru.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

Tracey Fleming

Appendix C

Biographical details document for participants

The following information will be used in the selection of participants (as we are looking for a heterogeneous sample if possible) and will also be used in creating an individual biography that will assist in the analysis of the interview transcripts and reflective journals. If you are uncomfortable with answering any of the following questions, please skip them. All information provided on this document will be treated as confidential.

<table>
<tr><td>Please indicate your initials (of your first name and last name. E.g. TF)</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is your age?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is your gender?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is your home language?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Where did you grow up? (What part of South Africa, or the world, are you from?)</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is your ‘race’?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is the age of the child you are working with?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is the age of the caregiver you are working with?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What is the nature of the child’s disability?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>How many times per week do you visit the home of the caregiver and child assigned to you?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Do you have previous experience with disabilities? If yes, please explain</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Do you have any previous experience with community engagement in Grahamstown? If yes, please explain</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>What are the occupations of your parents?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">What is your family’s household income (i.e. – the home you grew up in)?</td><td>R20 000 or less per month</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>R20 000 – R40 000 per month</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>R40 000 – R60 000 per month</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>R60 000 – R100 000 per month</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>R100 000 or more per month</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Appendix D

Reflective Journal Component of Data Collection

‘My experience of service-learning’

The purpose of writing entries into this journal is two-fold. Writing and responding to the structured questions within this journal will allow you to engage in deep and active thinking about your experiences of service-learning with your allocated family. Reflection and active thought are key components of service-learning in ensuring that the experience has made some difference in how you think about children with disabilities, and those who care for them. Your responses in this journal may also be used for research purposes (with your express consent) and will be analysed (using a psychosocial framework) alongside the interviews which will take place toward the end of the course, should you consent to participating in both phases of the research. Writing in this journal does not automatically mean that it will be used as part of the research. You can decide whether you are comfortable with this toward the end of the course, once you have completed entries for most of the course.

You don’t need to worry about correct spelling or grammar. Rather write as openly and honestly as possible, reflecting on both positive as well as negative things that occurred for you during the course of your service-learning experience. There is no ‘right answer’ to any of these questions, and you are encouraged to write about your experiences ‘as is’, whether you think that these are good or bad. Try to use examples where you can throughout the journal and as far as possible, explain your reactions and feelings towards particular examples of whatever experience you are describing. You will be able to access a copy of this journal should you wish to draw on some of these reflections in your final reflective essay.

Questions for each week will be released every Monday morning throughout the course, but you are welcome to respond to these questions at any point during the week. Your entries in this journal will not be accessed by anyone other than you until you have given your consent for the researcher (Tracey Fleming) to use your reflective journal for research purposes. It is however, a course requirement to submit a journal entry every week.

Week 1:

Before your first visit to your allocated family, and as a pre-reflective activity, write a letter to yourself about your hopes, expectations, goals, fears, anxieties, and first thoughts or feelings about the service-learning component of the course. This letter should be hand-written or typed in a separate document and must be completed and submitted before you have met with your family. The letter can be as long or as short as you like, provided you have thought carefully about the above components. If you have your own copy, try not to open the document before the end of the course. You will have an opportunity to return to this letter at the end of the course.

Week 2:

- What were some of your initial thoughts or feelings after your first visit with your allocated family?
- Was the first encounter very similar to what you expected or not? Explain what was similar or different and how this made you feel after the first encounter?
- Was there anything from your home visit this week that stood out for you? Please provide examples and explain why and how it stood out for you. Also, reflect on how this impacted on you on an emotional level. What were you thinking and feeling?
- What was particularly challenging for you this week, and how did you deal with this?
- If you encounter this challenge again, how do you think you might deal with it? This challenge could relate to something that happened with your family, your student partner, or anything else related to the service-learning process, for example.
- Any other thoughts or feelings that you would like to share at this stage, not related to the questions above?

Week 3:

- Was there anything from your home visit this week that stood out for you? Please provide examples and explain why and how it stood out for you. How did this affect you emotionally? What were you thinking and feeling?
- What about this experience was good, and what about it was bad?
- What sense can you make of this situation?
- If you were faced with this situation again, would you respond/react differently? If so, how?
- Did anything change for you this week compared to last week?
- Other thoughts/feelings/reflections on interaction with family/experience of service-learning in general?

Week 4:

- Was there anything from your home visit this week that stood out for you? Please provide examples and explain why and how it stood out for you. How did this affect you emotionally? What were you thinking and feeling?
- What about this experience was good, and what about it was bad?
- What sense can you make of this situation?
- If you were faced with this situation again, would you respond/react differently? If so, how?
- Did anything change for you this week compared to last week?
- Other thoughts/feelings/reflections on interaction with family/experience of service-learning in general?

Week 5:

- Was there anything from your home visit this week that stood out for you? Please provide examples and explain why and how it stood out for you. How did this affect you emotionally? What were you thinking and feeling?
- What about this experience was good, and what about it was bad?
- What sense can you make of this situation?
- If you were faced with this situation again, would you respond/react differently? If so, how?
- Did anything change for you this week compared to last week?
- Other thoughts/feelings/reflections on interaction with family/experience of service-learning in general?

Week 6:

- Was there anything from your home visit this week that stood out for you? Please provide examples and explain why and how it stood out for you.
- How did this affect you emotionally? What were you thinking and feeling?
- What about this experience was good, and what about it was bad?
- What sense can you make of this situation?
- If you were faced with this situation again, would you respond/react differently? If so, how?
- Did anything change for you this week compared to last week?
- Other thoughts/feelings/reflections on interaction with family/experience of service-learning in general?

Week 7:

- Was there anything from your home visit this week that stood out for you? Please provide examples and explain why and how it stood out for you. How did this affect you emotionally? What were you thinking and feeling?
- What about this experience was good, and what about it was bad?
- What sense can you make of this situation?
- If you were faced with this situation again, would you respond/react differently? If so, how?
- Did anything change for you this week compared to last week?
- Other thoughts/feelings/reflections on interaction with family/experience of service-learning in general?

Week 8:

- What kinds of feelings do you have about the service-learning programme being almost over, and about leaving your allocated family?
- Can you describe a particularly significant event that happened for you this week?
- How was this event or experience influenced your perception of the overall experience of service-learning with this family?
- Do you have any particular hopes or desires going forward from this?
- Given the choice, would you participate in this service-learning programme again, or any service-learning programme again?
- Can you describe some of your general thoughts or feelings about service-learning with children with disabilities now that you have done it?

Week 9:

- What kinds of feelings do you have about the service-learning programme being over, and about leaving your allocated family?
- Can you describe a particularly significant event that happened for you this week?
- How was this event or experience influenced your perception of childhood disability and caregiving?
- How has this event or experience influenced your perception of service-learning?
- Do you have any particular hopes or desires going forward from this?
- Given the choice, would you participate in this service-learning programme again, or any service-learning programme again? Why/Why not?
- Can you describe some of your general thoughts or feelings about service-learning with children with disabilities and their caregivers now that you have done it?

- Relook at your initial expectations, hopes, desires that you wrote at the beginning of the course. What are your thoughts about where you were at the beginning of the course compared to where you are now?

Appendix E

Interview schedules

The first interview will be unstructured, but the following types of questions will be used to initiate dialogue with the participant.

- Can you tell me what it is has been like for you being a part of the service-learning course?
- Do you have any particular stories that highlighted your service-learning experience?
- Can you tell me about the first meeting that you had with the caregiver and the child? What was that like for you?
- Can you tell me about the kinds of things you learned during your service-learning experience?
- (Follow up question): How did it feel to experience that?
- Can you tell me about the child that you were working with?
- What did you do in your sessions together?
- What was your relationship like with the caregiver of the child you were working with?
- What was your relationship like with your partner in the programme?

The second interview schedule will depend largely on the outcome of the first interview as the aim would be to pick up on domains not covered in the first interview. More specific follow up questions will be asked as well as reflection questions related to the first interview:

- Have you had any further thoughts since our last interview? Is there anything you thought of after the interview that you would have liked to talk about?
- Can you tell me about a time that you felt like things were going really well with the child you were working with?
- Can you tell me about a time that you felt like things were not going well or as you expected them to go?
- When did you feel like most of your learning was happening?
- What kinds of things helped the learning process for you?
- What kinds of things got in the way of your learning?
- Was there a time you felt like you didn't learn anything?
- How did you feel about the training and support that you received in preparation for your involvement with the programme?
- What does it feel like to work in the context of childhood disability?
- What kinds of things from your own background or upbringing did you notice influencing your interactions with the caregiver/child?

- What are your thoughts about any differences that you noted between you and the family you were involved with?
- Is there anything else you would like to talk about or reflect on with regard to your experience of the service-learning practical?

Appendix F

RHODES UNIVERSITY
PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT
AGREEMENT BETWEEN STUDENT RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I ________________________ (participant's full name) agree to participate in the research project of Tracey Fleming on students' experiences of service-learning in the context of childhood disability.

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting the research as part of the requirements for a PhD degree at Rhodes University. The researcher may be contacted on 046 603 7378 or t.fleming@ru.ac.za. The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committees, and is under the supervision of Prof. Saville Young in the Psychology Department at Rhodes University, who may be contacted on 046 603 8047 or l.young@ru.ac.za
2. The researcher is interested in my experiences of being involved in the service-learning practical attached to the Childhood Disability and Mental Health course.
3. My participation will involve keeping a **reflective journal** throughout my service-learning experience. I understand that this journal will be used by the researcher for analysis purposes toward the end of my involvement in the service-learning programme.
4. I may be asked to answer questions of a personal nature, but I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study, or consequences I may experience as a result of my participation, and to have these addressed to my satisfaction. A counselling centre may be contacted for further support on 046 603 7070 or 082 803 0177 (for emergencies).
6. My participation in this study is completely voluntary, is NOT a course requirement, and will not affect my final assessment mark for the Childhood Disability and Mental Health course.
7. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time – however I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.
8. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but that the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible to be identified by the general reader.

9. The information that I share with the researcher will be treated as confidential and I will remain anonymous in the final report.
10. The findings from this study will be shared with the relevant community partners in the form of a workshop in order to inform future training in service-learning programmes but I will remain anonymous and my personal details will not be made available in this workshop.

If you would like to receive feedback regarding the analysis of your reflective journal, please leave your e-mail address here:
____

Signed on ______________ at ________________.

Participant name: ___________________
Participant signature: ________________

Researcher name: __________________
Researcher signature: _______________

Appendix G

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

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RESEARCH PROJECTS AND ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

10 May 2015

Tracey Fleming
Department of Psychology
RHODES
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6140

Dear Tracey

ETHICAL CLEARANCE OF PROJECT PSY2015/28

This letter confirms your research proposal with tracking number PSY2015/28 and title, 'A psychosocial analysis of students' talk about service-learning with disabled children', served at the Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC) of the Psychology Department of Rhodes University on 13 June 2015. The project has been given ethics clearance.

Please ensure that the RPERC is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators.

Yours sincerely

Dr Jacqui Marx
CHAIRPERSON OF
THE RPERC

Appendix H

RHODES UNIVERSITY
PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT
AGREEMENT BETWEEN STUDENT RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I ________________________ (participant's full name) agree to participate in the research project of Tracey Fleming on students' experiences of service-learning in the context of childhood disability.

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting the research as part of the requirements for a PhD degree at Rhodes University. The researcher may be contacted on 046 603 7378 or t.fleming@ru.ac.za. The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committees, and is under the supervision of Prof. Saville Young in the Psychology Department at Rhodes University, who may be contacted on 046 603 8047 or l.young@ru.ac.za
2. The researcher is interested in my experiences of being involved in the service-learning practical attached to the Childhood Disability and Mental Health course.
3. My participation will involve two **interviews** with the researcher (about a week apart) about my experiences of service-learning.
4. I may be asked to answer questions of a personal nature, but I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study, or consequences I may experience as a result of my participation, and to have these addressed to my satisfaction. A counselling centre may be contacted for further support on 046 603 7070 or 082 803 0177 (for emergencies).
6. My participation in this study is completely voluntary, is NOT a course requirement, and will not affect my final assessment mark for the Childhood Disability and Mental Health course.
7. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time – however I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.
8. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but that the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible to be identified by the general reader.

9. The information that I share with the researcher will be treated as confidential and I will remain anonymous in the final report.
10. The findings from this study will be shared with the relevant community partners in the form of a workshop in order to inform future training in service-learning programmes but I will remain anonymous and my personal details will not be made available in this workshop.

If you would like to receive feedback regarding the analysis of your interview transcripts, please leave your e-mail address here:
____

Signed on ________________ at ___________________.

Participant name: ______________________
Participant signature: ___________________

Researcher name: _____________________
Researcher signature: __________________

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