Subversive Service Learning: Shifting the Locus of the Problem

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ABSTRACT

This article introduces subversive service learning, a new type of critical service learning that shifts the locus of the "problem" from the marginalized group to the mainstream society, subverting both mainstream perspectives and the deficit model of a community being "helped." Inspired by Whiteness studies, it pursues social change through service learning. This article illustrates how this subversive service learning works in three cases from the author's college 200-level class in Fall 2016.

Keywords: deficit model of service learning, Native Americans, publicizing hidden history, Whiteness studies, witnessing and reporting

INTRODUCTION

Critical service learning, in Tania Mitchell's (2008) description, focuses on creating social change by challenging structural causes of social inequality and encouraging students to become transformative agents for greater social justice in their society. The author sought to incorporate this approach in her own classroom and, as the faculty fellow of civic engagement, encouraged others to do so. However, critical service learning is easier to incorporate in some disciplines, such as public policy, than others. This is because ensuring such service learning to produce systematic concrete effects involves devoting substantial class time to understanding not only structural causes of injustice but also the practical know-hows needed to create systematic changes. This aspect of critical service learning limits its applications in a wide range of courses.

This article then introduces a different route to overcoming two problems of "traditional" service learning: paternalism and perpetuation of hierarchy between the "server" and the "served" (Henry & Breyfogle, 2006; Mitchell, 2008) via a "deficit" model that views marginalized communities as lacking something and needing assistance (Sin, 2009). This article suggests shifting the locus of the problem from the marginalized community that supposedly needs fixing to the mainstream society that marginalizes such communities. That is, rather than working with the marginalized community, students work with the dominant mainstream society to change the status quo. While critical service learning shifts the locus of the problem (i.e., the area students work on) from the marginalized to macro-level social structures, here this article proposes a compromise between class time and creating concrete systemic changes and shifts the focus of the problem to the mainstream society that may support such structures. This proposed adjustment resembles the way discussions of equity and diversity have shifted from working on problems minority groups may have to challenging the privilege of the dominant groups (Frankenberg, 1997; Nenga, 2011). Given its focus on challenging and subverting mainstream perspectives and norms, this article calls this kind of service learning "subversive service learning."

Introduced below is the theoretical background of this approach, which is built on critiques of "traditional" service learning and incorporates Whiteness studies and discussions on indigenous politics. These theoretical concerns in the literature on service,

volunteer work, and humanitarian practices will be reviewed. To illustrate what subversive service learning can look like, three cases in a class the author taught about indigenous peoples around the world in Fall 2016 will be introduced, after the method used of doing so is described.

Going Beyond "Traditional" Service Learning and Humanitarian Works

Service work is currently framed by four discourses (Doerr, 2017). The first discourse, that of charity, is often critiqued as paternalistic and based on hierarchical relationships that it perpetuates between the server and the served, where the former controls the resources and decisions needed to provide services. Fragmentary and temporary delivery of services often limits their impact on people's lives, as do low engagement with the structural causes of problems and an emphasis on the deficits rather than the strengths of those being served. Among the served, these limitations tend to create long-term dependency on those with the resources (Morton, 1995). This discourse is often devalued in the service-learning context. For instance, Benjamin Barber (1994) describes it as the "rich helping the poor" as opposed to a duty of free citizens. Nonetheless, it often is manifest in service-learning practice.

The second discourse is that of leisure, where wealthy consumers help commodified "needy" locals while traveling, as in "voluntourism"—offered as an alternative to mass-packaged holidays centered on the "three Ss" of sun, sand, and sea (Munt, 1994)—which provides a "more authentic, genuine, reflexive" experience (McKintosh & Zahra, 2007, p. 553). Some praise voluntourism for raising tourists' awareness of social injustice (McGehee & Santos, 2005) and creating a strong global civil society (Sherraden, Stringham, & Sow, 2006). Others critique it as neocolonialist and exploitative because it commodifies poverty (Munt, 1994; Simpson, 2004), imposes viewpoints about what constitutes an ideal state of society on the community being helped (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Munt, 1994; Sinervo, 2011), and is driven by the self-serving aims of its volunteers. This model is sometimes seen in college alternative spring break trips, which in turn offer a model for study abroad trips that incorporate volunteer works.

The third discourse, that of citizenship, views service as a duty of citizens. This discourse is more common in service learning, which often aims to nurture in students a sense of empathy and personal responsibility for the larger community as well as an ethic of care (Barber, 1994; Rhoads & Neururer, 1998; Saltmarsh, 1996; Taylor, 2002). Although it assumes that the service learners are White middle-class students and the served are members of underprivileged, often ethnic minority communities (Butin, 2006; Philipsen, 2003), it also views the two parties as fellow citizens with equal standing (Barber, 1994; Taylor, 2002). This premise resonates with the ideology of the nation-state, in which a nation consists of interchangeable citizens horizontally bound by common fraternity (Anderson, 1991), while cultural/linguistic differences, if there are any, are to be erased through forced assimilation (Morris-Suzuki, 1998). This discourse, however, fails to explain the structural causes of the unequal resource distribution that necessitates service and thus offers no suggestions on how to change them.

The fourth discourse is that of border crossing, which assumes that White middle-class students are serving underprivileged minority communities (Jones, Robbins, & LePeau, 2011; Taylor, 2002), hence border crossing. It draws on (though does not strictly adhere to) the border pedagogy of Henry Giroux (1992), inspired by Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) notion of borderlands: places of struggle and new social reformations. Border pedagogy suggests that students cross borders physically, by entering communities; socially, by interacting with those of different race and class; and epistemologically, by learning different ways of knowing (Taylor 2002). It encourages stu-

dents to mitigate social divides by learning to empathize with those different from them (Rhoads & Neururer, 1998). Problematically, this discourse assumes that a border separates the students and the community, perpetuating stereotypes of the server and the served (Doerr, 2017).

All these discourses share a clear distinction between the server and the served. The former is positioned as the neoliberal subject with the desire for social justice and empathy for the unfortunate (Vrasti, 2013), morally superior humanitarian subject (Angod, 2015; Tiessen & Huish, 2013). The source of the problem is placed in the latter: as the community that lacks something.

This deficit model goes against some research on equity and social justice. First, researchers on humanitarian and service works have critiqued the binary of the server vs. the served. Paulo Freire (1977) argues that humanitarian work must be done *with*, not *for*, the marginalized. Harry Boyte (2003) and Sue Ellen Henry and M. Lynn Breyfogle (2006) urge all stakeholders to work together to solve a problem instead of one group serving the other; otherwise, service work only maintains the status quo. Similarly, Joseph Kahne and Joel Westheimer (2003) argue for involving students in collective efforts to improve policies and institutions instead of developing individuals' character traits (e.g., compassion, kindness) through volunteerism. Some further argue that such encouragement of empathizing with the unfortunate, though a commonly stated "benefit" of service work, risks dehumanizing the unfortunate because it would "steal the pain" from them (Razack, 2007) and distract students from engagement with structural causes of global inequality (Mostafanezhad, 2013). Also, even working together in the form of transnational solidarity activism, in which individuals are for example present in conflict zones "as protective accompaniers, witness-observers…or 'human shields' for the vulnerable and marginalized," relies on and perpetuates white privilege because it suggests white individuals' presence matters more than non-whites' (Mahrouse, 2014, p. 4).

Second, in researches on race relations, Whiteness studies suggest that the locus of social problems is not the marginalized but the marginalizing groups. It starts with the understanding that dominant groups' practices are often considered merely "regular" and "normal," which renders them culturally invisible, whereas minority groups' practices are often viewed as "different," if not "abnormal." However, experiences of the dominant groups are shaped not only by their cultural beliefs and practices but also by their position of privilege in the society, advocates of Whiteness studies point out (Frankenberg, 1997; hooks, 1992; Roediger, 1991).

From this viewpoint, when minority practices are considered aberrant from the "norm" or "deficient," the blame should not be placed on the minority group but the mainstream structure that disadvantages the minority group because the mainstream "norm" is not universal but based on the dominant group's worldview. It is similar to explaining "minority group academic under-achievement" not as the group being deficient of what it takes to succeed in schools but as the schools unreasonably requiring all students to already know what dominant group students learn at home, which disadvantage minority students (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; McIntyre, 1997). In this view, the locus of the problem is the school, not the minority students.

The notion of subversive service learning proposed in this article is built on these theoretical frameworks. Its objective is less to work on minority communities' practices than to critically examine how dominant groups are situated in ways that marginalize the minority community. It is subversive because the students' work is intended to subvert the status quo by challenging mainstream practices—an aspect of social-change-oriented critical service learning—such as the deficit model of service work, which portrays the helped as

helpless victims without agency to solve their own problems and the helper as an agent of change, if not a "savior" (Sin, 2009). This approach helps resolve the paradox of humanitarianism that creates dependency among those helped and perpetuates hierarchical relations. In the cases introduced in this article, this approach was used in a course on indigenous peoples. Therefore, its main concern—self-determination—was also incorporated in the practice of service learning, as will be discussed.

METHOD

The cases discussed in this article derive from a course the author taught in Fall 2016 on indigenous peoples around the world, in which she incorporated service-learning work. The students' final project was to work outside class for approximately eight hours with any indigenous people's community. Most students chose the local Native American community or Maya Mum people from Guatemala, mainly because the author had established close relationships with them since Spring 2010 and introduced their history and current contexts in detail in class. Students were then to write a final paper (five double-spaced pages) about their service-learning experience, drawing on two class readings.

Early on in the semester, a lecture on humanitarianism based on Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was presented and discussed, with specific emphasis on students working *with* indigenous communities, not *for* them. Students were also told that the topic of their work should come from the community. All the cases introduced below concern students' work with the local Native American community, so this article presents only the parts of the class that related to them.

Students first learned about the history of Native Americans in general and then more specifically about the local Native American community through watching two films about them—one about a lawsuit against an automobile corporation that dumped toxic waste near their community, and the other about the community's struggle to gain federal recognition as a Native American Nation, struggle derived partly due to past controversial scholarly publication that argued they are not Native American and partly due to a challenge by nearby casino businesses that feared a competition. Students also had the opportunity to attend their powwow. The chief of this Native American community gave a lecture in class where students could ask questions.

The author invites the chief to class every year and students ask the chief what they can do to support the community's work. His answer varies each year depending on what is happening in the community. Some years, he just wanted students to do manual labor like cleaning up the graveyard. Other years, he told students to promote awareness of the community's fight to stop the expansion of gas pipelines in the area, or raise funds to send to Taino victims of Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico. This article focuses on Fall 2016, when the chief suggested students raise awareness of negative actions inflicted upon the community and rectify historical descriptions that ignore this Native American community's contribution to United States history.

The students' works were first presented at the closing banquet of the Native American Heritage Month on campus, which the students organized themselves with funding and sponsorship from the college's Office of Equity and Diversity. The chief worked with the students, guiding them and going over their drafts before approving their presentations. As the guest of honor at the closing banquet, he delivered a speech, also commenting on the student presentations. Students later publicized their work on the Internet as part of a blog one of them had created.

The projects guided by the chief had theoretical backing besides Paulo Freire's work. The class learned the aforementioned Whiteness studies. The importance of indigenous peoples' self-determination in vari-

ous spheres, representation being one, was emphasized throughout the semester, implying a need to ask the community (here, the chief) for guidance regarding what students could do for their projects and how they should present them. Three projects by students are introduced and analyzed below regarding how they constitute subversive service learning.

DATA: THREE CASES OF SUBVERSIVE SERVICE LEARNING

Witnessing and Reporting Toxic Waste and Garbage Dumping

The first project focused on current issues facing this local Native American community: toxic waste dumping that created health hazards and garbage brought in from outside. The chief told the class that this problem needs to be widely publicized, with the emphasis that it was done by outsiders. Five students decided to take part in the efforts of the local environmental organization that cleans up the garbage and also raise awareness about the issue. The important focus was not to "help" the affected Native American community but to lessen problems originating from outsiders by actually cleaning up and publicizing problems. This new kind of service-learning work, subversive service learning, focused on the outsiders who cause harm.

After working with the environmental organization, these students created a three-sided, informational poster board for display at the Native American Heritage Month closing banquet. Upon the author's request to publicize the information more widely via Internet, they photographed the poster board and posted the images on the aforementioned blog website. The first part of the post (images 1-7) shows the photos of the poster board that provide background information: that of the town in the form of two maps (image 3) and the history of the Native American group there (image 2). The second part (images 8-25) shows photos of garbage the students saw dumped in the wooded public area of the town where the community resides, providing vivid imagery of the extent of dumping (see Table 1). In moving the focus away from the marginalized, the focus of the post is more on the perpetrators, with the extensive number of photos providing the evidence of garbage dumping.

Slides	
1	Zoomed-in picture of the entire poster board
2	Zoomed-in picture of the panel 1: a list of dumped garbage Zoomed-in picture of the panel 2: history of the Native American community taken from their website
3	Zoomed-in picture of the panel: two maps of the town
4	Zoomed-in picture of the panel on the impact of the toxic paint sludge
5-7	Zoomed-in picture of the panel on works of a local environmental organization
8-9	Photos of a big blue bucket
10	Photos of a big metal barrel, mattress frame, and a window frame
11	A photo of an entire stove
15	A photo of scattered small pieces of garbage
17, 24	Photos of car tires
22	A photo of piled-up cinder blocks
24-25	Photos of a large chest with drawers piled on top

Table 1: List of Slides and Their Content of the Project 1

There are two kinds of garbage dumping presented in the blog. The first is the toxic paint sludge that a large automobile company dumped in the vicinity of community residences in the late 20th century. The contamination was so severe that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) twice designated the area as a Superfund site. The EPA had lifted its Superfund site status after its initial cleanup efforts, but the area was still contaminated and had to be declared a Superfund site again, after the local community and researchers provided evidence of contamination. A community group sued the offending automobile company, but the company declared bankruptcy, leaving the community to settle for what was considered a dismal amount of money. The issue was made into a documentary, which the students watched in class. One of the poster board panels describes the impact on health as well as psychological and religious effects of the contamination. There are things that could have done more, which can be projects for students in this class in future years. For example, the students could have focused more on this issue, such as the follow-up on the cleaning efforts of the toxic waste, which still is found in the area and is the object of continued investigation by local Native American community members, a college professor, and his students and colleagues. The presentation could have provided more information about how students can participate in reducing the paint sludge and call for the EPA and other related organizations to be accountable for the cleanup.

The second kind of garbage is that dumped by anonymous individuals. One of the poster boards (image 2) lists 17 kinds of garbage, and the photos (images 8-25) show the pictures of some of them. Some are quite shocking—an entire stove, an overturned chest with drawers strewn on top, and tires (see Photos 1-2)—urging the viewer to be outraged. One of the panels (image 7) also describes what the nonprofit organization (NPO) volunteers found in summer 2016:

> 180 major dump sites [in the area], approximately 25 complete cars, and 16 sites with single environmental toxins (such as a 50-gallon oil drum resting in a Stag Brook stream). We estimate upward of 50 more un-

Photo 1: Project 1, Slide 11

Photo 2: Project 1, Slide 24

> charged dump sites, and less than 3% of the plotted dump sites show evidence of previous [NPO] clean-up efforts. New dump sites appear every week, compounding the dumping problem exponentially.

Here, because the perpetrators—especially those who dump the second kind of garbage—cannot be identified, all they can show about them is the trace of their atrocity: dumped garbage. This has several effects. It creates an anonymous enemy who brings in problems to the Native American community against whom we can all unite and fight back, welcoming all in the activism. The anonymity also suggests the impossibility of naming the perpetrator in race or class or any other terms, creating suspicion that it could be anybody. That we can only show the trace of the evil acts also has some effects. Carey and Torres (2010) argue that the act of viewing the atrocity is to commit one final act of violation of the victim. If the act ends there—as just an act of re-viewing—the observer becomes a bystander, participating in the act of social complicity, unwilling to oppose it. That is, if the viewer of the poster board does not act to stop this, they become accomplice. This push to action is what the presentation intended. Information of the local environmental organization (images 5-7) then becomes important. In sum, the overall focus is on the atrocity, not the victimhood. And the call for the viewer is to participate in reducing the effects of the atrocity.

Publicizing the Fights Against Gas Pipelines and Hate Crime

The second project looked at two issues that the same local Native American community faced in Fall 2016. Four students collaborated on a slideshow and presented it at the Native American Heritage Month closing banquet. They also posted the slides used in the presentation in the aforementioned blog; details are shown in Table 2 below.

The students learned about the gas pipelines and the hate crime against the community from the chief's guest lecture and discussions in class. The chief requested that students report on the problems inflicted on his people and publicize them. The students working on this talked further with the chief outside the class at the ceremonial grounds and did some research on local newspaper coverage. Upon the com-

Slide number	
1	Information on the pipeline's location, length, and its potential effects on health
2	A map of where gas pipelines were to go
3	Ceremonial grounds' location, appearance, and meaning to the community; hate crime message, swastika, newspaper reporting of it
4	A map and description of the ceremonial site
5-6, 9	Newspaper articles about the hate crime and a photo
7-8, 9-11, 16	Photos of the ceremonial grounds
12, 15, 17, 19	Quotes of the Native American chief regarding the sense of threat they felt
13-14	Photos of Native American community members at a powwow from a website
18	A photo of the Native American chief
20	A photo of a sunset
21	Reference cited

Table 2: List of Slides and Their Content of the Project 2

pletion of the draft slides, the author instructed the students to ask the chief to check them before presenting them at the banquet.

The presentation slides now posted on the aforementioned blog first cover the expansion of gas pipelines, though briefly, in slides 1 and 2. The presentation more extensively covers the issue of harassment of the Native American community. After introducing the information about (slides 3-4) and photos (slides 7-11, 16; Photo 3 above) of the ceremonial ground, the presentation explains about the hate crime—warning message of hate crime followed by three logs being stolen from the long house in the community's ceremonial grounds and Nazi swastika scratched onto ceremonial site structures—with two newspaper articles that covered it (slides 5-6), a photo (slide 9), and quotes from the chief about it and its effects. One slide (4) also talks about the city evicting the Native American community from their own ceremonial site, an issue among others that has been going on for several years since the community began putting up a tipi in support of Standing Rock protest against gas pipelines in the Dakotas.

Although the city's effort to evict them—a more serious issue that involves a public office against which the community has been working legally—is only mentioned briefly, the issue of hate crime is reported from various angles. The newspaper articles (slide 3) give legitimacy to the description as something described from the third party, whereas the quotes from the chief provide personal and in-depth effects from the victim's viewpoint.

Photos of the chief in a blue jacket and a black pair of pants praying by a low stonewall of the ceremonial ground (slide 18) and two other members of the community dancing at a powwow wearing full ceremonial clothes (slides 13-14) are also introduced, the presentation ending with a photo of a sunset over their ceremonial ground (slide 20) and the reference cited (slide 21). These photos give peaceful and "cultural" impression of the Native American community that does not deserve to be the target of hate crime. The photo of the chief wearing "regular" clothes encourages relatability, whereas the photos of two other members in Native American ceremonial clothes enhance their being "authentic" Native Americans, something the community has been forced to "prove" in order to be recognized at the state as well as the federal level, which itself the chief views as the

Photo 3: Project 2, Slide 10

violation of sovereignty (personal communication).

Here, the "enemy" is intentionally and explicitly targeting the Native American community, compared to the garbage dumping that the project 1 dealt with. However, like in the case in the project 1, the "enemy" here that is causing the social problem is anonymous, except for the city trying to evict the community. For this reason, all the presentation can do is to show the evidence of the crime and its effects. The Native American community itself is mentioned, but with dignity and as innocent target without dramatizing its victimhood in need for help.

In short, the students did not work with members of this Native American community as is done in conventional service learning. Instead, under the chief's guidance, they publicized the aggressions that outsiders perpetrated against the Native American community, clearly positioning the outsiders as the locus of the problem.

Publicizing Silenced History

In the third project, three students worked together to publicize this same Native American community's contributions to U.S. history, which had largely been ignored—a fact the chief regarded as evidence of their continuing marginalization. Following his suggestion, each of these three students did some research and created a set of slides on the history that involved this Native American community—a historical passage, the land on which a college currently stands, and a local mine. Approved by the chief and presented at the same banquet mentioned above, the slides are now posted on the aforementioned blog.

The slides in the first post about a historical passage, as introduced below in detail in Table 3, reveal quotes from various sources. In this post, the students published the quotes without interpretation, placing the focus on fidelity to their original form. These quotes (slides 1-3, 5-6, 9-11) describe the historical passage and its importance in the Revolutionary War, and affirm that the ancestors of the local Native American community worked there. The current Native American chief is quoted (slide 4), saying how his ancestors showed the American Rebels where the iron deposits were and allowed George Washington to use this historic passage. Despite this important role his ancestors played, he is quot-

Slide number	
Title slide	The logo of the Native American community
1-3	A quote of a description of the historical passage on a map from 1710 from the Native American community's website A quote that confirms the existence of this historical passage
4	A quote from the current Native American chief on the historical passage
5-6, 9-11	Quotes from a local history book about the passage
7-8	Maps of the area from 1706-1876
12	"Things we can do"
13	Web address of the Native American group

Table 3: List of Slides and Their Content of the Project 3, Post 1

ed, "we have not yet to this moment been afforded the dignity of human beings…This federal government has refused to acknowledge the very people that made this union possible."

Using direct quotes instead of positioning their content as universal fact, the students presented historical information (slides 1-3, 5-6 and 9-11) side by side with the chief's viewpoint (slide 4). This direct quote format reflects the class discussion, in which the author emphasized not to assume that there is universal "fact" or that trained historians' legitimacy allows them to claim that a particular narrative is the only truth. The documentary film about this local Native American community highlights how a historian's publication about the community was not only inaccurate—according to the oral history of the Native American community as well as to an archaeologist quoted in the film—but also considered arrogant and hurtful by the community itself. In class, these differing views of history were also highlighted by watching and discussing the film *Who Owns the Past?* about the clash between Native American groups and archaeologists who treated Native Americans' sacred ancestral legacy—their forebears' skeletons—as objects of research in the name of "finding the truth" about the past, ignoring the Native Americans' oral history.

Although the historical documents and the chief's viewpoint did not contradict one another, it was still important to differentiate and clarify sources of information. The chief's viewpoint included what was lacking in the historical document quoted—that this history is not widely known to public. Because Native Americans tend to be positioned as the cultural Other, as the obstacle in the development of the United States, as representing what the Anglo Americans are not—e.g., having spiritual connections to nature—or as something that is vanishing (Starn, 2011), it is all the more important to show how Native Americans were part of the history of "us" as the United States.

The post ends with slides (12-13) suggesting "things we can do," including spreading awareness and attending town meetings about the toxic paint sludge discussed above. That is, the student encouraged other students to be informed and encourage other students to do so as well. Here, like the first two projects, the student posits the problem to be in the non-Native Americans, whose ignorance of the historical contribution of a Native American community is due to a paucity of well-publicized historical records. The student did not work directly with the Native American community by helping them do things, as is common in conventional service-learning practices; rather, she informed the mainstream public and spread awareness of this Native American community's hidden contribution to U.S. history.

The last slide lists the Native American group's web address and encourages viewers to "visit their website!" This was also in line with what the class emphasized—indigenous peoples' self-determination of their representation: Ultimately, indigenous people should be the ones to describe themselves (Maurer, 2000). To present something about them, students at least need to get approval from the group they are describing, as when the chief of the Native American group approved their slides.

The second set of slides (Project 3, post 2) publicizing the silenced history of this Native American community tracks the community's relationship with the college the student attended. This post consists of many maps of the area where the college currently stands, showing the changes in who owned or resided on that land (see Table 4 for details).

Comparison of who is mentioned on these maps reveals ambiguity about the local Native American community's landownership. First, they are mentioned as "inhabiting" the area but not specified as "owners" of the land. This Native American community oral history suggests their chief lived in the area (slide 2). An unspecified Native American group (most likely the current resident Native American community, given that they are the only group mentioned in other records) was said to inhabit the area in the 1710 map drawn by settlers (slide 4). But unlike European land owners, they were not said to "own" land but instead to "inhabit" it as if they did not own it, reflecting differences between European settlers' relationship to land and the Native American community on the one hand, and, on the other, the settlers' acknowledgement of the native peoples' existence but not their possession of the land. Second, the Native American group's name disappeared with no mention of ceding their land rights. For example, it was no longer mentioned on the 1778 survey map showing the various owners of the land.

This slide series then hones in on possible land grabs on Native American territory suggesting that the land on which the college stands has a murky ownership history. The maps suggest that ancestors of the current local Native American community inhabited the area previously, but they did not share Europeans' concept of landowning, and somehow their claim to it disappeared. The student mentioned that she was appalled to discover this and wanted to raise awareness. The last photo (8) is that of a campus building that presently houses the

Slide number	
1	A map from 1710 of the area where the college currently stands
2	A zoomed-in part of the slide 1 map with a description of a Dutch settler in the area and the Native American group's oral history about one chief
3	A map of a Dutch land purchase where the college currently stands
4	A picture of the area the Native American group "inhabited" in 1710
5	A map from 1781 that depicts a family buying the land where the college currently stands
6	A survey of land from 1778 alongside the names of various owners (no mention of the Native American group as owners or residents)
7	Narratives describing the late 19th century resale of the land to another family, then to another person in 1912, who then sold the land to the college in 1970
8	A photo of a campus building named after the landowner who sold the land to the college
9	"Challenges they face today" summarizing the issue
10	"How can we help?"

Table 4: List of Slides and Their Content of the Project 3, Post 2

Slide number	
1-3	Background of the mine from its establishment in 1807 to its sale in 1853
2	The town's location in a strategically important area
3	Description of the mine's closure and reopening in 1942
4	List of ownership and its changes
5	"Things that history books don't tell"
6	An interview with a member of the Native American group

Table 5: List of Slides and Their Content of the Project 3, Post 3

college president's office and is named after the person who sold the land to the college in 1970 without any mention of the local Native American community. It is a visual yet subdued protest to the lack of acknowledgement about the Native American relationship to the college's land.

The post ends with the summary of "Challenges they face today" (slide 9) and "How can we help?" (slide 10). Challenges to the accuracy of their oral history about the land are raised as one discrimination the local Native American community endures, the slide explains. The list of how others can help includes understanding and acknowledging the importance of Native Americans in U.S. history, ending discrimination against and myths about them, and recording their oral history for future generations. The message is, it is non-Native Americans who need to change by learning and understanding Native American history from a Native American perspective. Here service learning acted not on marginalized but on the marginalizing groups.

The third set of slides (Project 3, post 3) is about an iron mine in the area where the Native American group lives (see Table 5).

The slides describe the history of the mine. It was established in 1807 and was sold in 1853 to a major supplier of the Union's gunmetal during the Civil War. After closing once, it re-opened in 1942, soon to be abandoned (slides 1-3). After changing hands several times, it was bought by the aforementioned automobile company, which then dumped toxic waste directly into the shafts, poisoning nearby residents, most of whom were members of the Native American community (slide 4).

With a more critical tone, slide 5 covers "Things that history books don't tell," explaining that the Native Americans worked in the mines and that the automobile company did not consider they lived near the mine, causing them to suffer from the toxic waste it dumped there. A Native American woman who had lived there for 65 years, whom the student interviewed, remarked that the community is seeing a higher death rate due to the toxic waste: She had lost 11 family members in the past three months and each of the community's 28 households currently had someone with cancer (slide 6).

This post portrays the Native American community's contribution of iron to the U.S. Civil War as well as their suffering from the effects of toxic waste dumped in the mine. It is a tragic irony that the mine that helped the United States unite resulted in poisoning those who helped it; and the poisoning was done by something very American—an iconic American automobile brand. Again, service-learning work acted on mainstream Americans who are unaware of the Native American group's contribution to history as well as its current suffering.

SUBVERSIVE SERVICE LEARNING

These students' projects were unlike conventional service-learning work, where students work directly with community

members to "help" them. Instead, they worked on mainstream Americans—outsiders who were unaware of the problems non-Native Americans had brought to this Native American community. The students kept in touch with the chief of the Native American community, not to "help" him and his community but to ask him for guidance about what needs to be done.

The cause of the problem that needed to be worked on was clearly located outside the Native American community. This shift in the designated source of the problem is important, for it is not the marginalized but rather those who (unwittingly) marginalize others who need exposure to the problems of marginalized groups in a structure of domination. The solution lies in focusing on those who marginalize them (i.e., the beneficiaries of structures of domination, who support the status quo). By incorporating this tenet of Whiteness studies in service learning, the subversive service learning proposed here can challenge the status quo and thwart the problem of hierarchies perpetuated between the server and the served.

Another theoretical concern is the importance of self-determination, especially for indigenous peoples. It implies that any work a student does with them should derive from what the community wants, not what the instructor wants students to learn nor what the students want. This has involved a collaborative process of discussing new theoretical concerns with the chief before the start of each semester. The chief positioned problems as coming from outside, not from within the Native American community. This practice fits well with the author's theoretical concerns above, allowing students to do service-learning work connected to theoretical discussions in class as well as the chief's practical wishes for his community. And in due course, students learned the most significant point the author wanted to teach: the importance of self-determination for indigenous peoples and other marginalized communities.

As mentioned, these projects were publicized at the closing banquet of the Native American Heritage Month at the college, which was open to the local communities. The chief was the guest of honor and the invitation extended to the Native American community members, though the chief was the only one present. Some professors and students of the college also attended the event. The slides of all the projects are online and available to public, as mentioned, for all to browse at any time even after the class is over.

Although there was a sure effect on students who became exposed to this different way of doing service learning, it is difficult to measure the effects of these projects on the Native American community members as well as those of other communities that the message targeted at this stage because the project is still small-scale. However, the author recently started working with this Native American community and two history professors (one, an expert on digital humanities) to do more intensive work on documenting the issues mentioned in the third project discussed above and presenting it as a digital archive online for the public, involving students by assigning some of the work as class projects. The author is hoping that it will have a bigger impact on both Native American and non-Native American communities and will document their responses upon the completion of the project. In the meantime, the chief told the students that they did a good job and further communicated in an email to the author:

> …it's a great project, which may challenge the cultural ethics of those involved as subliminally falsehoods have been conditioned into all of us. If the students can push through the fog of the historically conditioned. I would think their work to bring integrity forward should be regarded as an inclusion into many text and the students should be awarded with the fruits of their labor (personal communication).

CONCLUSION

This article introduced "subversive service learning," a new type of critical service learning that shifts the focus of students' work from marginalized groups to the groups that marginalize them. It is designed to subvert mainstream perspectives such as the deficit model of service, and to challenge the status quo so as to create social change.

Subversive service learning also offers a flexible framework that is applicable in various contexts, reflecting local situations. Challenging mainstream perspectives through projects like the ones discussed in this article can give students good opportunities to reflect on their own roles in structures of domination that they may not think about in daily life, creating more ripple effects for further reflection and actions.

For example, students can apply this approach to understanding and seeking to reduce poverty in Third World countries, such as struggles of garment factory workers in Bangladesh. Instead of doing volunteer work in Bangladesh, they can learn about exploitative supply chain mechanisms and fast fashion industry in the United States to which they participate as consumers. They can then promote Fair Trade clothes (while also raising awareness about problematic aspects of Fair Trade in order to improve them) and learn about and work to transform international trade regulations, corporate business practices and regulations that allow them, and even the capitalist system itself. This was done in the author's international studies class with various commodities used in daily life (Doerr publication work in progress), inspired by the model developed by Balmurli Natrajan (Johnson, 2011).

In a similar way, subversive service learning can be done on issues affecting local communities as well as communities around the world. In order to further familiarize the students with, as well as measure their understanding and the efficacy of, subversive service learning, we can have assignments and discussions on various social issues where students are asked to suggest solutions that work on the setup (and those who support it intentionally or unintentionally) that create the problems, not the victims. It is important to carry out subversive service learning, but it is also important to think subversively in a similar way.

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