

**"LET THE LEARNER LEARN": A QUALITATIVE INSIGHT
INTO THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE
CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNER CENTRE CONCEPT**

by

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**A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Adult Education, Community Development & Counselling Psychology
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... one of the most precious dimensions of the human condition: the wonderful diversity of our oneness. Pradervand, *Listening to Africa*.

We have a dream of a world where there is harmony; harmony with the creator; harmony with all our sisters and brothers, and harmony with the earth which sustains us.

When we dream alone it is only a dream; when we dream together it can become a reality. Joe Barth. "*London Peace Garden - Symbol and Challenge*."

ABSTRACT

"LET THE LEARNER LEARN": A QUALITATIVE INSIGHT INTO THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNER CENTRE CONCEPT

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An *individualized* learning experiment promoting "intercultural competence" through *functional cultural literacy* started in London, Ontario, and it is this cross-cultural learner concept I investigated. The *purpose* of my investigation was to find answers to: "How did this concept evolve and spread and what sustained it?" The phenomenon was investigated from the Adult Education perspective because of the acknowledged centrality of the learner. Qualitative/naturalistic and grounded theory methodologies were used and, in the process, a gap was detected and named *thematic sampling*.

Sampling was the non-probability/purposive type. For instrumentation, documentary and "qualitative interviewing" were used. Theoretical sampling guided my interviews.

Content analysis, and inductive, strategies helped analyse the data. Illumination/re-illumination strategies enhanced the explanations. Since this investigation was partly historical I used the *selective anonymity* device to reveal some names.

It emerged that this concept was influenced by a convergence of ideas thus the suggested *Principle of Conceptual Convergence*. Also, the temporal and locus contexts significantly

influenced this concept. The change factor of *cultural bi-directionality* was evident, with specific reference to some of the principal personages.

Another finding was the "educational alternative" aspect - the inspired *Personalized System of Learning (PSL)*. This approach was aided by a computer system to access the multi-media materials collected.

It also emerged that the concept's spread highlighted its *flexibility* and *uniqueness*. There were also circumstantial merging and splitting tendencies within the movement. The links between the local and the global were also highlighted - the *linkage phenomenon* - thus the Development/Global Education framework. A redefinition of these educational perspectives has been proposed.

Other findings were *intimations of dissonance* and *mortality*. The former is traceable to the *communization* of the concept; the circumscribed "Third World" perspective; the persistent financial dilemma; and the latter, traceable to the *politics of funding*.

Both formal, non-formal education, and library/information science could benefit from this study. By extension, any setting where there is an existing plurality of views - which need bridging for general understanding, tolerance, and accommodation - can also benefit. Also, the *embedded categories* strategy could be used in qualitative analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND DEDICATION

I believe I owe those who provided me with that inspiration and support to enable me embark on, and complete, this journey a mead of praise - workers at the pioneer London Cross-Cultural Learner Centre where I worked, briefly, as a part-time librarian; all the "global villagers" who helped me during my fieldwork; and Professor Jack Quarter, of the-then Department of Adult Education, O.I.S.E., who finally convinced me to limit my sights and focus on something I, obviously, showed an interest in.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

CLARIFYING INTENT: THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

THE PROBLEM

There is a general acceptance in scholarly research circles that "All research emerges from a perceived problem ..." (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1987:39) and this dictum gave rise to that distinct "researchable problem" (Darkenwald, 1980) I investigated. This problem arose from a unique socio-cultural experiment which started in the 1960s in Ontario - *the cross-cultural learner centre concept*. In investigating the evolution, spread and impact of this concept the *purpose* of my investigation was to seek answers, qualitatively, to the main question: "**How did this cross-cultural learner centre concept evolve and spread and what sustained this phenomenon?**"

DIVERSITY: OF SOLITUDES AND SEPARATE RACIAL LEGENDS - THE MULTICULTURAL SETTING

Canada's status as a multicultural country has been officially recognized since 1971 and this socio-cultural Babel¹ has been the subject of many studies. This same mosaic phenomenon² (cf. the

¹ Babel was the biblical legendary tower where God "confused the language of all the earth." (Genesis 11) [Henry Snyder Gehman, ed., *The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), pp.85-6. An encyclopedia entry (*The New Encyclopedia Britannica*) further explains this biblical myth as when the punitive "God disrupted the work [i.e., tower construction] by so *confusing* the language of the workers that they could no longer *understand* one another. The tower was never completed and the people were *dispersed over the face of the earth*" (emphases added).

Taken outside the obvious Judeo-Christian tradition, this myth could be interpreted

alternative melting pot phenomenon of the U.S.A.) has been an official (national) policy enshrined in the *Multiculturalism Act (1988)*.

The above terms - "solitudes" and "separate racial legends" - were borrowed from the seminal work of Hugh MacLennan (1991 [1945]) and this writer, again, provides us with an apt summary of what he described as "Canada's trenchant problem" (MacLennan, 1991:77-8) and, in so doing, harped on the identified Babel myth of confusion, albeit in the technological field:

In 1967 I can write of Canada ... certain facts, knowledge, observations, intuitions - armed and often confused by these, one lives in a world that is almost but not quite out of human control, its accumulated information so vast that everyone knows he is ignorant, its technical communications so efficient that it has been called an electronic village, the new phrase for a technologically created *Babel* (emphasis added). (MacLennan, 1967: 8-9)

Multiculturalism has acknowledged what I term the disharmony and disunity factors (see footnote # 1) and it is the bridging, for effective intercultural communication and understanding, of this socio-cultural certainty by the learner centres that I investigated. By focussing on this national phenomenon these centres, nevertheless, did not lose track of the inevitable linkages between the local and the global.

Multiculturalism existed before the historic **Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism** (1968) which, although it studied the enigma of the two "Charter Nations" - English and French - also acknowledged the existence of the pervasive "third element" (i.e., the minority

differently. In this investigation, since the cross-cultural learner centres endeavoured to build cultural bridges of *UNDERSTANDING* this biblical metaphor is used, in a restrictive sense, to highlight the certainty of universal socio-cultural pluralism and the attendant identified "disunity and disharmony" (Kölmel & Payne, 1989). It is these factors I refer to as the "Babel phenomenon".

² The mosaic concept is attributed to an American writer - Victoria Hayward - who first used that term in 1922 (see Gibbon, 1938:ix). Since that first reference other writers like Kate Foster (1926 - *Our Canadian Mosaic*) and the highly-acknowledged work of John Arthur Porter (1965 - *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*) have highlighted this unique socio-cultural phenomenon.

cultures) in the Canadian mosaic. MacLennan (1967:7), again, confirms this reality by asserting that "Multiculturalism existed before the Bilingualism and Bicultural Commission and continues to exist in Canadian society." This, then, is the accepted socio-cultural reality in Canada which, largely, reflected that accepted universal diversity. A universal pluralism which called for an effective programme to ensure unhindered "cultural literacy" (Fantini).

Circa 1960s: The Temporal and Locus Contexts

As MacLennan has clearly pointed out, multiculturalism has been a pervasive feature on the Canadian socio-cultural scene for ages and there are well-respected cultural institutions, like schools and public libraries, which have been playing a helping role in the realization of the national dream of cross-cultural understanding, tolerance and accommodation. The role of these established institutions is well-documented in the available literature.

In addition to these established cultural institutions, other agencies have evolved. Most of these agencies are community-based and have steadfastly promoted multiculturalism although their actions are often dismissed by some writers, and students, of Canadian social history as nothing more than "inter-ethnic potluck dinners" (Friesen, 1991:8).

Out of this initial "celebratory" stance grew these largely community-based agencies. These are usually referred to as *cross-cultural learner centres* (hereafter sometimes referred to as learner centres). Given the fact that the former - the established institutions with a clear social imperative of fostering socio-cultural understanding, tolerance and accommodation - were capable of adapting to the prevailing demographic, and cultural, reality one cannot but wonder why these latter institutions (i.e., the learner centres) developed and flourished. What were the prevailing factors that gave birth to this innovative socio-cultural phenomenon? Why did these learner centres survive and

spread? What was the impact of these centres?

Apart from Hamilton's (1989) brief historical overview of the pioneering London (Ontario) Cross Cultural Learner Centre, and a limited earlier academic thesis (Sissons, 1972), the presence of these learner centres has, so far, received scant attention in the scholarly literature.

In the Beginning

The 1960s are usually portrayed by social historians and other scholars as a period of socio-cultural enigma - a time of student demonstrations, social upheaval, love and peace and, of course, the "groovy" Woodstock generation. Out of this enigma of "War and Peace" grew a socio-cultural agency with a decidedly different focus. This agency was inspired by a group of "Global Villagers" who had travelled, and lived, in a host of developing countries in Africa and, in the process, had been deeply influenced by their experiences and the prevailing international turmoil. This group of committed "veterans" came together to forge a unique Canadian socio-cultural experiment in cross-cultural understanding. This was the beginning of the cross-cultural learner centre concept at London, Ontario. The following excerpt captures the spirit of the times:

During the 1960's, London [Ontario] acquired a solid core of "Global Villagers", people who had served in Third World countries with organizations such as the Canadian University Students Overseas (CUSO) and Operation Crossroads Africa. Braced with the profound impact of their *cross-cultural* experience, these returned volunteers felt that the principles and practices of peace, justice and international development had to be translated into concrete action at home. ... The seeds of the CCLC [Cross Cultural Learner Centre] were sown. (Hamilton, 1989:1) (Emphasis added)

The cross-cultural dream was to be actualized through the "'learner centered' concept of education" (Hamilton:1). (See also North, 1968, 1969, 1974; North & Forgie, 1970; Simpson, 1972; Sissons, 1972). There was the tacit acknowledgment that "Learning was not characterized by a certain product, a building, a course, a grade or a project. Learning was to be holistic,

interdisciplinary, future oriented [*sic*] and an ever folding process" (Hamilton:3). The foci, then, were decidedly cross-cultural and learner-centred. But, how did the founders envisage these two key planks? The following excerpt briefly captures the stated mission of these pioneers:

The Centre is "cross-cultural" in that it seeks to place these issues in their broadest possible context. It is "learner centered" in that it seeks to address the needs of the learner at whatever point in his or her own development he or she might be. (ibid., 6)

and, the following excerpt elaborates and defines this learner-centred concept:

... a *cross-cultural* experience is one which brings together *people* and *ideas* from different cultures in order to correct the misconceptions which people in each culture have about those in the other. *Cross-cultural communication* is an attempt to *bridge* different cultures, to show people within them that illusions of racial and intellectual superiority are simply the product of ignorance. (The Cross-cultural ... New Approach, 1972:1) (Emphases added)

London and the 1960s: A Study in Locus and Temporal Contexts

Mention was made earlier of the "turbulent sixties" and the role of the historic presence of a dedicated group of people at a specific place in time - London, Ontario. The convergence of these two contexts - the *locus* and the *temporal* - made history. This signalled the beginning of the learner centre concept.

London has had a pioneering role in the history of Canada (see especially Campbell, 1921: and also Miller, 1949, 1992). Thus, this is a city with a proven record of blazing trails.

One enduring local fixture of London has been the local *London Free Press*, a newspaper which, in the words of a local chronicler (Miller, 1994:v) acted as the "spokesman and interpreter for the London community" Miller (p. vii), again, highlighted the role of this newspaper as "a mirror held to the contemporary scene in its variant aspects - local, national and international."

Scanning of this newspaper's coverage of the sixties revealed the writings of, especially, one

columnist - Hanna Czuma, an avowed integrationist - who wrote frequently on "New Canadians" and the need for social accommodation of these new immigrants and, on the part of these "late arrivals", the need to conform. Although Czuma called for integration, by 1968 there was a noticeable shift in her writings in that words like "tolerance" began to appear.

If newspapers really reflect society, the London society of the 1960s was one gradually coming to terms with the inevitable demographic and, ipso facto, cultural diversity of the local populace and Canada as a whole and, also, the link between the local and the global.

The 1960s also evoke *paradoxical* images. This decade is variously described as the "volatile 1960s"; the "turbulent decade", with the indelible symbols of psychedelic trips, "good vibes", "Black and Proud", Timothy Leary (the "LSD Prophet"), the era when items were "liberated" - but not in the name of liberation theology - and the Haight-Ashbury commune experiment; to name just a few. But, amid the pervasive rock 'n roll culture (see Sayres, 1984), the enigma of Judy Collins singing the popular, quintessential, Christian hymn - "Amazing Grace" - also stands out. It was really a momentous decade full of contradictions and paradoxes as captured by writers like Levitt (1984:18) and Gold et al. (1976) in the latter's aptly-titled *Fists and Flowers*.

The 1960s was also noted for its reflective "enormous musical energy" (Morgan, 1991), and this musical essence is usually represented by the "sixties troubadour" (Morgan) - Bob Dylan. Really, in Dylan's words, " ... the times they are a-changin'."³ Music really reflected the paradoxical spirit of the 60s.

Another indelible aspect of the sixties was student activism and, especially, its global aspect (see Reid & Reid, 1969). Paradoxically, the decade of student, and general, "radical enthusiasm"

³ It is noteworthy that one of the centres investigated chose a musical concept - **Counterpoint** - as its name.

(Collier & Horowitz, 1990) also showed some "positive" aspects in spite of the pervasive drug-and-free-love culture. This paradox is best captured by Collier and Horowitz (p. 16) in the following "honest inventory" excerpt of the 1960s:

Some of the accomplishments were undeniably positive. There was an expansion of *consciousness*, of social space, of *tolerance*, of prospects for *individual* fulfillment. But there was a dark side too. (Emphases added)

The decade's general spirit is best captured by Morgan (1991) who stated that *change* became the only constant, and deviance its rule. But, there was a larger social importance which was noticed by some observers and social commentators alike. For example; Quarter (1972:68), writing on the "student movement", noted that such a movement was a "microcosmic social movement." Altbach (1989a:11) also highlighted this social phenomenon when he stated that: "Student activists frequently serve as a social and political barometer of their societies."

The times, really, were "a-changin'" and this paradoxical constancy of change (Morgan, 1991) did find expression in the national (Canadian) acceptance of the reality of cultural diversity and the expressed need for intentional cross-cultural learning for that prerequisite mutual understanding and accommodation. The auspicious convergence of the spirit, the people and an accepting locus should not be ignored.

On Parenting and Flexibility

The London Cross Cultural Learner Centre has influenced the founding of numerous learner centres across Canada since its inception in 1967 (see Appendix C). This "parenting role" (Hamilton:2) of the London centre could be attributed to a deliberate, and unique, "road show"

project mounted in 1971.⁴ One notable aspect of this mobile unit was the innate flexibility of this learning concept:

Through individual and separate projects, these centres were variations on the London model that *suited local needs and local circumstances*. (ibid.. 2) (Emphasis added)

It is now abundantly clear that most Canadians have accepted the fact that the country has moved from the initial fixation with "two solitudes", or two "racial legends" (MacLennan), to the reality of the numerous "solitudes" making up the Canadian mosaic and the inescapable linkage between the local and the global. In a deliberate effort to bring these local solitudes, and the local-global perspectives, together various people and agencies have been striving to raise awareness of cultural pluralism and, thereby, foster cross-cultural understanding and encourage accommodation. One such agency was the Cross Cultural Learner Centre of London, Ontario, and the subsequent founding of other learner centres nationally.

There were, not surprisingly, difficulties but these committed centres strived to, effectively, foster the requisite understanding of the cultural pluralism which is, now, a social reality. The purpose of this investigation is to document the evolution of these centres and, in the process, identify how the growth of this phenomenon can help policy formulation; the encouragement of the establishment of more centres and the application of the findings in other socio-cultural areas within, and beyond, the borders of Canada. Also, since these centres have an educational component, a clearer understanding of this phenomenon could benefit, theoretically and practically, both the formal and non-formal educational systems.

⁴ This itinerant project of ideas and model will be addressed later as a sub-problem.

The impact of this exhibition will be addressed through my purposive/judgmental sampling strategy.

ON RATIONALE: PROBLEM SIGNIFICANCE

Canada is physically close to the United States of America and this geographical contiguity has played, and continues to play, a significant role in the socio-economic evolution of Canada. The *melting pot* phenomenon (U.S.A.) is, invariably, compared to the alternative *mosaic* phenomenon of Canada. That Canada has officially embraced this mosaic (i.e., multicultural) concept and is striving, albeit haltingly, to see it succeed is often viewed with dismay, consternation and, sometimes, downright official contempt by the U.S.A. It is this persistent actualization of a national, and international, multiculturalism idea, and the role some lesser known organizations are playing, which inspired this investigation.

Canada, as stated earlier, has officially embraced multiculturalism and the global role this country plays means that there is the need to understand better the social significance of some unsung facilitators of social, and international, cultural awareness and accommodation. Again, a logical extension of such an investigation would be the help such an understanding, of this learner centre phenomenon, could provide in social policy formulation at all levels of government. Informed insight does guide beneficial social policies. Also, there may be other communities eager to establish cultural awareness agencies, like the one under study, thus an understanding of the trials, tribulations and triumphs of existing agencies will certainly provide that much-needed framework for easier establishment and operation.

This relatively new phenomenon is largely under-researched, indicating the absence of theoretical insights to help understanding. The scarce available literature, though, shows the *convergence*⁵ of theoretical perspectives in this area including perspectives on multiculturalism, or interculturalism, cross-cultural communication, development/global education,

⁵ I will address the emerged **Principle of Conceptual Convergence** later.

humanistic/progressive philosophies of adult education and the learner-centred approach to learning.

My personal experience as a librarian in a learner centre milieu, albeit for a relatively short time, fired my curiosity to find out more about these learner centres. From my behind-the-desk experience at the pioneer London Centre, coupled with the underexposure of these mostly community-based centres in the relevant literature, I came to the realization that the evolution, and contribution, of these agencies have been left under-examined for too long. Since these centres have spread and survived in Canada, since the inception of the London Centre, they must be filling an important niche.

Also, through my professional interest, as a librarian, with experience in both the public and learner centre library systems, I see the evolution of yet another unique Canadian phenomenon - **"special" public libraries**; that is, the learner centre libraries are, quite often, open to the general public (i.e., free access) and, in some cases, circulate materials. This relatively inexpensive way of starting a flexible community-based information resource centre to complement the more formal, established, public library system also piqued my curiosity.

Can this relatively inexpensive concept be "exported" and adapted? For example, the perennial cash crunch faced by most developing countries has, inevitably, stunted public library growth. Similarly, could the understanding of this concept lead to the evolution of Development and Global Librarianship? Can I discover some theories and opinions which might guide the adoption and adaptation of the learner centre concept in and outside Canada?

Many developing countries have some multicultural components suggesting the need for cross-cultural mutual understanding. Ideally, frictionless accommodation is always pre-eminent in the social policies of most of these nations. For example, how can this cross-cultural learner-centred concept help in fostering that much-needed understanding and accommodation - prerequisites for

national stability and, ipso facto, unity? Can such a relatively inexpensive concept help foster lasting mutual understanding and accommodation in such far-flung areas like the new South Africa, Rwanda, Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Since these centres play an unmistakably vital role in education, specifically "learner-centred" adult education, can this concept be fostered, via foreign aid, through national agencies like the Canadian International Development Agency (C.I.D.A.)? That is, can a stipulated percentage of foreign aid be allocated, for example, for library/information centre collections to aid development through education?

In sum, there are certainly more questions than answers but, I believe, the flexible qualitative/naturalistic paradigm used to collect, analyze and interpret the raw data will yield some "surprises" in the form of "emerging themes" (Tesch, 1987) which, in turn, could eventuate in useful theories, or explanations and understandings, to help illuminate this phenomenon. Fawcett and Downs (1992:4), while discussing the relationship between theory and research, summed up the theory-generation process by asserting that: "Stated explicitly ... the initial impetus for research is usually the desire to understand some phenomenon, theory comes with understanding".

PREDECESSORS AND CONTEMPORARIES: A DISCERNIBLE LACUNA

An in-depth search (manual and electronic) of the available literature shows the surprising dearth of information on the learner centre concept. The only significant attempt at documenting the birth and growth of this phenomenon is an untitled brief history of the first twenty years of the pioneering London (Ontario) Cross Cultural Learner Centre, by Hamilton, in 1989 and an academic

thesis which focussed on the Development Education aspect of this phenomenon (Sissons, 1972).⁶ Grant (1991) and Friesen (1977) merely mention the existence of these centres in a multicultural setting. These writers did not make any attempt to analyze the growth, spread, and adult education significance of this unique concept.

A special issue of the *Canadian and International Education* journal (vol. 12, no. 3, 1983) discussed the state of the evolution of Development Education in Canada and some contributors to this special issue - Christie, Hollingworth, Mooney and Van Berker - briefly mentioned the contribution of the learner centres in this area. None of those articles, though, traced the growth and spread, in detail, of this phenomenon. Prior to this special issue there were two commissioned **evaluations**⁷ which touched on this concept. The first of these evaluative studies was in 1974 by Christie, and this was a C.I.D.A.-commissioned evaluation of the learner centres. (See Christie, 1983, for a brief write-up). The second evaluation (1982) was carried out by the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) and this also studied development education, within a global context, in Canada. Again, the birth, growth, spread and educational significance of the learner centre concept were not dealt with in-depth.

⁶ I would like to thank Dr. Jack Sterken, one of the earlier directors of the pioneer London Centre, for making available to me a veritable mine of information in the form of three comprehensive volumes of mostly official documentation covering the activities of this Centre up to 1974. Thanks, also, go to John Hamilton for making available three boxes of pertinent items he has "spirited" away over the years. This hard-to-find "grey literature" (Prytherch, 1995) has helped fill a hitherto documentation gap.

⁷ It should be noted that efforts made by me to acquire copies of these, and other, evaluations proved fruitless. It appears they have become "fugitive" literature. Although these centres, and other Development/Global Education agencies survived the various commissioned and formal evaluations, thus proving their relevance, efforts should be made by subsequent researchers to locate these vital documents in the various governmental and other archives; e.g, CIDA, CUSO and CCIC files in Ottawa. These evaluations will, undoubtedly, provide an "outside", and probably impartial, view of these centres over the years.

The paucity of pertinent research on this concept is, again, seen in the limited number of theses. A bibliographic search yielded just one pertinent thesis (Sissons, 1972) and three related theses - all in the field of development education: McGinnis (1975); Gallagher (1983); and Mathies (1988). A subsequent search in the multicultural area yielded a representative selection of theses and some mentioned the phenomenon under study only in passing.

From the academic perspective, the only thesis (Masters) on this concept, as mentioned above, was the one on the London Centre done by one of the earlier employees - Carol Sissons (1972) - which, although limited to the Centre, investigated the Development Education aspect of this concept. Sissons' work, though, dealt principally with the birth and, only briefly, with the growth of this concept. Sissons also focussed on the significance of this concept in the *formal education system*.

Although her work is noteworthy, its logico-deductive methodology is evident in the following excerpt:

... the *hypothesis* of this thesis is that the environment created by the Learner-centred Resource Centre in London, Ontario, is conducive to the development of these personal characteristics which I have defined as important for social development. The rest of this paper sets out the framework for the purpose of *testing* this hypothesis and presents proposals for further research to *verify* this contention" (p. 938 [30]). (Emphases added)

This, therefore, lacks the preconception-free *qualitative* insight I used to illuminate this phenomenon.

The constraining logico-deductive methodology of Sissons' thesis is, again, highlighted in the assertion that: " ... this paper is an attempt to *synthesize some of my thinking* as a result of practical experience ... " (p. 915 [7]). (Emphases added)

In view of the obvious gaps⁸ in the logico-deductive, and limited-in-focus, investigation by Sissons I tend to agree with Mathies' (1988) call for a *qualitative* inquiry (see below for details), with the sustained collecting of the perspectives of some of the principal participants in this "phenomenal context" (Wagner, 1981:xii). Also, I set out to explore the adult education conceptual influence within the emerging principle of conceptual convergence.

Of the other related theses in the development education area, McGinnis (1975) studied major personal changes in returned C.U.S.O. volunteers. This doctoral study used the qualitative paradigm and a semi-structured interview schedule and the only mention of the cross-cultural learner centres was a passing reference to the fact that one of the interviewees worked in such a local (Toronto) centre.

Gallagher's masters thesis (1983) was a case study of Canadian dimensions of development education in the sixties and seventies and the only reference to learner centres was in the form of an adapted list of landmarks of development education in Canada.

Mathies' doctoral dissertation (1988) assessed the development education activities of returned overseas development workers in "Fostering a Third World Perspective in a First World Setting." This relatively promising study was generally based on *quantitative survey research methods* although, in the researcher's words, it "incorporated elements of both qualitative and participatory perspectives" (p. 50). This study used both questionnaires and "focused interviews" as data-gathering instruments and *tested preconceived variables* through statistical analytical tools like multiple regression, factor analyses and Matrix of Pearson Correlations. Although this study

⁸ For example, this thesis failed to, among other things, highlight the gradual communization of this concept and its consequences; the significant perspectives of some informants; an in-depth, multi-perspective, look at the role of the Mobile Centre in the external growth of the learner centre concept.

failed to highlight the presence, and role, of learner centres it identified the need for a *qualitative* study. Under the subheading "Future Research" Mathies recommended, among other things, that: "A second major area requiring attention is a qualitative study of extreme groups in development education" (p. 192). Mathies, though, failed to explain what "extreme groups" meant.

In fact, Hamilton (1989: Preface) highlighted this discernible gap by asserting that: "This overview of the Cross Cultural Learner Centre's first twenty years is not intended as a definitive history. ... Though there is no conscious effort to sidestep the problems our organization has had to face over this time period, it will become apparent that the bias of the writer is towards emphasizing the *achievements* and not the *failures* we've faced together." (Emphases added)

The dearth of pertinent literature on this phenomenon means that no theories have yet evolved to help explain this concept and this, coupled with the fact that I intended generating theory through a naturalistic inquiry, influenced my choice of the preconception-free inductive qualitative/naturalistic paradigm for this investigation. Emerging themes will lead to the discovery of illuminating explanations and theories.

Since this theory-generating investigation was not directed by any constraining theoretical framework, the methodological framework that inheres in the grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) approach was adopted to ground the sub-problems in the only available relatively comprehensive literature on this phenomenon - Hamilton's historical overview (1989). I chose Hamilton's overview over, for example, Sissons' thesis (1972) because the former affords us a broader view of the birth and growth of this concept vis-à-vis the patently limited - Development Education - perspective of Sissons' academic work. I call this new device the *Grounded Questions*

approach.⁹

Although the learner centres do aid the formal education system in fostering cross-cultural awareness this study, specifically, explores the adult education influence since one of the tenets of adult education is the *primacy of the learner*; that is, adult education is, in principle, learner-centred. Blakely (1960:4) captured this adult education tenet when he asserted that "adult education implies respect for the purposes and integrity of the *learner* ... ; that is, it has an ethic" (emphasis added). (See also: Kidd, 1983; and Brookfield, 1984).

The literature is replete with writings on the multifaceted nature of the delivery of adult education programs and Blakely, again, provides us with an appropriate insight into the complex nature of the delivery process and, in so doing, highlighted the role of "informal institutions":

Adult education is carried on by established educational institutions from elementary schools through universities. Much is formal, but perhaps even more - certainly an increasing percentage - is informal.

Adult education is carried on by informal educational institutions such as libraries, museums, ... etc. (P. 4)

It is one of these unsung informal institutions - the cross-cultural learner centres - I investigated.

Unfortunately, the limited available literature on the learner centre concept does not emphasize this identified adult educational role. Nevertheless, the literature (e.g., Friesen, 1977 and Hamilton, 1989) succeeds in highlighting some important aspects of this phenomenon. For example, these centres are described as "learner-centred", "holistic", "development" oriented; etc. Since this qualitative study was not constrained by a predetermined theoretical framework I used the "**Re-illumination**"¹⁰ (i.e., corroborating/confirming) process I devised if I came across some familiar

⁹ This new approach at deriving sub-problems to help answer the main research question will be elaborated later in the methodology section.

¹⁰ Since most qualitative methodologists (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Tesch, 1987; and Patton, 1990) assert that no researcher undertakes an investigation in a vacuum any familiar themes

themes; for example, in the adult education field.¹¹

As part of the sub-problems, the role of libraries/resource centres in the operation of the learner centres was investigated. It is noteworthy that the fostering of change through learning, through the agency of particularly public libraries, has been noted by a host of writers: for example, Kidd, 1983; Neehall and Tough, 1983; Knox, 1983 and McKeracher, 1983. Goldman and Fulford (1983:629-30) provide an insight into the philosophical underpinnings of adult learning through libraries:

Our philosophy about adult learner services is guided by a *learner-centered* view. We assume that to be self-directing is a natural or intrinsic adult psychological drive, and that its development can be encouraged. (Emphasis added)

A pilot study I conducted (1994) at a local learner centre confirmed the central role the library/resource centre plays in such settings but, unfortunately, this significant aspect does not receive much attention in the available literature.

Some methodologists (e.g., Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1987) assert that in writing a research proposal the researcher is required to pass that "test of critical relevance" by being obligated to place the research question, or hypothesis, in the context of previous work in such a way as to explain and justify the decisions made. But, other qualitative methodologists (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; and Patton, 1990) write that in an *unmapped research terrain* where the objective is to *discover* new theories it would be counterproductive to operate within predetermined theoretical

discovered could help **re-illuminate** (i.e., corroborate/confirm) existing theories or theses in the relevant literature. This adaptation of the illumination process in qualitative inquiry will be elaborated later.

¹¹ Placing the cross-cultural learner centre concept theoretically, in a specific camp, is not easy since the scant literature on this phenomenon underscores Mathies' "convergence of theory" (p. 3) and Glaser & Strauss' "establishing similarities and convergence with the literature" (p. 37). This phenomenon under study dovetails into various theories; thus, I investigated this relatively novel concept through the emerged Principle of Conceptual Convergence.

constraints derived from the review of the literature that bears on a problematic area. It is this second prevailing opinion which directed my next section attributable to the established dearth of pertinent literature on this relatively new concept. Although one has to pay due reverence to received theory one need not, necessarily, pay unquestioning fealty to our intellectual ancestors - paradigmatically.

SUB-PROBLEMS: GROUNDED QUESTIONS

Some subsidiary questions emanate, logically, from the main research question stated earlier on. Here, I used a new device which I chose to call the "*Grounded Questions*" strategy.

Although the term "grounded theory" was popularized by Glaser and Strauss (1967) Brookfield (1984) states that Houles's *The Inquiring Mind* (1961) used a grounded theory approach before the procedure was accorded that nomenclature. Since this procedure became popular it has been used, especially in qualitative research, to help generate theories from data without any predetermined hypothesis(-es). It is, therefore, not surprising that other writers like Darkenwald (1980), Brookfield (1984), Patton (1990), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) have written extensively on the grounded theory approach in research. What, then, is grounded theory? How suitable is this research strategy to the current investigation?

Glaser and Strauss (1967) referred to this procedure as the discovery of theory from data and Darkenwald's (1980:64) explanation captures the spirit of this research approach:

Essentially, *grounded theory* is an *inductive* approach to research that focuses on social interaction and relies heavily on data from interviews and observations to build theory *grounded* in the data rather than test theory or simply describe empirical phenomena. (Emphases added)

As discussed earlier, I decided to adapt this "grounding" approach by deriving the prerequisite sub-problems from the only pertinent comprehensive literature - Hamilton's historical

overview - on this learner centre movement. The dearth of relevant literature on this unique learner centre phenomenon influenced my devising this grounded questions approach since the lack of acceptable theory, or theories, in this relatively unstudied field precluded a theory-driven, and constraining, approach to deriving questions, or hypotheses, based on identified gaps. Also, since I was not out to test established theories but, ideally, generate new theories from the raw qualitative data it would have been clearly constraining, and counterproductive, to start with established theories (e.g.; see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; and Patton, 1990). Brookfield (1984:139) highlighted this new approach when he observed that: "The application of a grounded theory approach is particularly useful in investigating previously non-researched areas ..." Since I used the open-ended interview format¹², as an instrument, to gather data I also incorporated the grounded questions/issues below on the *interview guide* to help me probe some identified gaps in the evolution of this phenomenon. The questions/issues were not in any logical sequence because of the interview format I used (see Appendix B).

To ground the supplementary questions/issues the *contexts* from which they emerged are provided. The primary source, as explained earlier, is Hamilton's (1989) untitled historical overview of the first twenty years of the London Centre. This document, as discussed earlier, is the *only* available pertinent document on the **growth** and **spread** of the phenomenon I investigated.

Grounded Questions/Issues and Data Sources

Context is of paramount importance in qualitative/naturalistic inquiry; thus, to derive the guiding grounded questions I attempted to provide the literary *contexts* from which these guides emerge. This technique will also help *illuminate* this phenomenon.

¹² In the methodology section I will elaborate on my choice of data-gathering instrument.

1. CONTEXT:

This overview of the Cross Cultural Learner Centre's first twenty years is not intended as a definitive history ... Though there is no conscious effort to sidestep the problems of our organization the bias of the writer is towards emphasizing the achievements and not the failures we've faced together. (Preface)

▶ QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): **Re: Problems/Setbacks.**

e.g.: Could you recall any problems/setbacks this Centre has faced over the years?

▶ DATA SOURCES: i) Interviews with identified key informants

ii) Document analysis/review (e.g., files and other archival materials.)

2. CONTEXT:

During the 1960's, London [Ontario] acquired a solid core of "Global Villagers", people who had served in Third World countries ... Braced with the profound *impact* of their cross-cultural experience, these returned volunteers felt that the principles and practices of peace, justice and international development had to be translated into concrete action at home. (P.1) (Emphasis added)

▶ QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): **Re: Impact/The bi-directional aspect of acculturation.**

e.g.: Could you elaborate on the *impact* your stay in a developing country had on your decision to get involved with this learner centre?

▶ DATA SOURCES: Interviewing of key informants (i.e., some of the original "Global Villagers"/and other key informants.)

3. CONTEXT:

In 1970 the same Global Villagers who set in motion the embryonic CCLC created a companion organization. This organization was to be community based, staffed separately ... Initially, the London Association for International Development, or LAID, functioned as the outreach arm of the CCLC. (P. 1)

and,

Little will be said about LAID in subsequent sections of this history but its *critical role* in expanding the Centre's public profile cannot be overstated. (P. 2) (Emphasis added)

► **QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): Re: The LAID factor.**

e.g.: Could you shed some light on the impact/role of LAID on the cross-cultural learner concept? What role did it play in the eventual relatively smooth move of the pioneer centre from the local university campus to the community?

- **DATA SOURCES:** i) Interviews with some identified key informants
ii) Document (available and elicited) review.

4. **CONTEXT:**

The final element that gave the CCLC a *national* and not just a local profile was the **Mobile Resource Centre Project** of 1971. With *CIDA* and *CUSO* support, the key components of the CCLC were put on wheels and sent on an eight month tour of Canada. As a result, the following years saw the beginnings of similar learner centres in Halifax, Antigonish, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. Though individual and separate projects, these centers were *variations on the London model that suited local needs and local circumstances.* (P. 2) (Emphasis added)

► **QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): Re: "Influence Peddling" phenomenon/The Ideas-and-Materials Road Show '71/Re: the model phenomenon and the growth of the concept across Canada.**

- e.g.:** i) **The issue of financial aid/funding;**
ii) **The "parenting role" (p.2) of the CCLC nationally¹³ ;**
iii) **The flexibility/adaptability phenomenon (i.e., variations-on-the-London-model (p.2) phenomenon).**

- **DATA SOURCES:** i) Interviewing of some key actors;
ii) Document review of CCLC materials (London);
iii) Interviewing/Document analysis of other centres.

5. **CONTEXT:**

Learning was not characterized by a certain product, a building, a course, a grade or

¹³ My purposive/judgmental sampling strategy will help illuminate this issue. This procedure will be discussed in a subsequent (methodology) section.

a project. Learning was to be holistic, interdisciplinary, future oriented and an ever unfolding process. ... this *new philosophy of learning* that have continued to this day. (p. 3) (Emphasis added)

and,

The Centre is "cross-cultural" in that it seeks to place these issues in their broadest possible context. It is "learner centered" in that it seeks to address the needs of the learner at whatever point in his or her own development he or she might be. (p.6)

► **QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): Re: Educational/Learning philosophy (2 planks - i.e.; the "cross-cultural" and "learner centered").**

e.g.: i) **This new philosophy of learning is characterized as a "dynamic emerging philosophy" (Hamilton:2). Would you like to elaborate on this central philosophy of learning?**

ii) **The issue of the EDUCATION component (general) of the learner centre concept; specifically the adult education aspect.**

► **DATA SOURCES:** i) Interviewing of some key informants;

ii) Interviewing of some Education Coordinators:

iii) Document (available and elicited) review (especially, the University of Western Ontario libraries/archives).

6. **CONTEXT:**

The documented "goals" of the CCLC (London) and the other centres and identify, among other things, the following:

i) To provide support services ...;

ii) To facilitate networking and information sharing on a local, regional and national level;

iii) To establish links between rural and urban people in order to better serve the needs of the land, the people and the spirit. (pp. 6-7)

► **QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): i) Support services;**

ii) **Networking.**

iii) Environmental issues.

- ▶ **DATA SOURCES:** i) Interviewing of some key informants;
- ii) Document review.

7. CONTEXT:

The early history of the pioneer London learner centre owes a lot to the active support of the University of Western Ontario (Westminster and Althouse Colleges and the Office of International Education). This role, and impact, could be seen in the following excerpt:

"Place" therefore has had a definite bearing on the Centre's history. Our *initial University years* dictated both our services and our clientele. Next came the downtown years which added a broadly based community outreach to our programs. (P. 19) (Emphasis added)

- ▶ **QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): Re: The town-gown phenomenon/the University foundation years; that is, the "birth" and "nurturing" factors.**

e.g., i) **The initial role of the local University of Western Ontario (U.W.O.) in the evolution of this phenomenon and the eventual separation;**

ii) **Current links, if any, between the centres under investigation and local universities.**

- ▶ **DATA SOURCES:** i) Interviewing of some key informants;
- ii) Review of available pertinent records.

8. CONTEXT:

Among his many contributions to the Centre Joe¹⁴ gave us **Jeremiah's Field**, a farm at the city's edge. ... The farm symbolized to Joe societies [*sic*] need to harmonize with the earth ... Out of this fabulous gift emerged the Centre's eleventh goal: "To establish links between rural and urban people in order to better serve the needs of the land, the people and the spirit." (Pp. 10-11)

- ▶ **QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): Re: Jeremiah's Field as a metaphor for the environmental commitment of the London Centre and, by extension, other learner centres. (General probe)**

¹⁴ Joe Barth passed away in January 1987.

- ▶ DATA SOURCES: i) Interviewing of key informants;

ii) Document review.

9. CONTEXT:

The hub of the CCLC for its first decade was its *unique*, ever-growing collection of materials related to development and Third World issues ... [the] multi-media resource centre ... (P. 12)

and,

At this new site [in 1971], the *heart* of the new and expanding Centre was the Resource Room. (P. 17) (Emphases added)

- ▶ QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): **Re: Personal interest qua professional librarian and the pivotal role of the centres' libraries/resource centres.**

e.g.: i) **The central role (re.: "educational") of the library/resource centre;**

ii) **The running of the library; e.g., use and users;**

iii) **Any relationships established with other local libraries, especially the public library systems?**

- ▶ DATA SOURCES: i) Interviewing of some key informants (including current librarians);

ii) Document review.

10. CONTEXT:

1986 - the Multicultural Youth Association was set up by Mike O'Malley to assist the CCLC in developing programs for a specific constituency. As has been the case with a number of similar projects, the MYA has *spun off* from Centre sponsorship and continued to offer its services as an autonomous, self-supporting agency. (P. 14) (Emphasis added)

- ▶ QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): **Re: The "Fissionary tendency"¹⁵ phenomenon I have identified.**

¹⁵ **FISSION** (cf. **fusion**): i) The action of splitting or dividing into pieces; ii) (Biol.) the division of a cell or organism into new cells or organisms, as a mode of reproduction. (*The Shorter O.E.D.*, 1977)

e.g.: i) The identified fissionary tendency, or "spinning off", process with regards to community-based agencies;

ii) Is this tendency/phenomenon (theme) present in other sample locations?

► DATA SOURCES: i) Interviewing of some identified key informants;

ii) Document review.

11. CONTEXT:

We now have an elected Board of Directors ... [a] consensus model of decision making ... (P. 2)

and,

Four distinct administrative phases have evolved over our twenty year history. Each was precipitated by a crisis. (P. 20)

► QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): **Re: Management/Running of the centres.**

e.g.: the general running (management style) of the centres (e.g., the evolution/history of that).

► DATA SOURCES: i) Interviewing some former and current Board members;

ii) Interviewing the current, and some past, centre directors;

iii) Documentary review (e.g., files/minutes of Board meetings, etc.).

12. CONTEXT:

1983 - 84 With the arrival of women from different cultures, individuals within the Centre and the community service providers identified gaps and needs necessary to access employment. (P. 15)

► QUESTION(S)/ISSUE(S): **Re: Women's issues and other special targeted services.**

e.g.: i) Elaboration of special services; e.g., women, seniors, etc.;

ii) Liaison with other "community service providers".

► DATA SOURCES: i) Interviewing of current centre directors plus others identified in the course

of initial interviews (i.e., snowball/chain or theoretical sampling strategies);
 ii) Document (available/elicited) analysis.

Sources of Data (Summary)

As indicated earlier, the following methods were used to gather data:

- ▶ Interviews (Unstructured/open-ended);
- ▶ Official records (i.e., in the public domain);
- ▶ Other documents (elicited);
- ▶ Other documents (e.g., newspapers to help recreate the social history at the time of the birth of the phenomenon under investigation and to find out whether these centres received much publicity).

Location of Sources

i) Learner centres; ii) libraries (e.g.; the extensive newspaper collection of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library - accessed through both printed indexes and CD-ROM technology - and the London (Ontario) public library system. I used other libraries; for example, O.I.S.E., Robarts, Ryerson and York universities and the extensive public library system in metropolitan Toronto. Some special collections at the former D.E.C. (Development Education Centre/Counterpoint), the Toronto Cross Cultural Communication Centre; iii) the Special Collections (archives) of the University of Western Ontario since, at its inception, the London C.C.L.C. was linked to this university; iv) I also interviewed some identified principal players in the founding of the pioneering London CCLC and other centres.

GUIDING DEFINITIONS

Although both the naturalistic paradigm and the grounded theory approach presuppose the absence of preconceived assumptions (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; & Patton, 1990) prior to investigating, one can glean from the scant available literature on the learner centre concept some persistent themes like education, specifically adult education, the learner-centred approach to learning, and libraries/resource centres. Thus for the purposes of this study, the following definitions are used.

ADULT EDUCATION: It is generally held that all the ways by which mature persons *learn* are the methods of adult education (Blakely, 1960) but the context-specific nature of this predominantly non-formal education almost always creates a definitional dilemma. Grotelueschen's (1980) "casual sampling" of definitions affords us a general acceptable perspective of the dimension of adult education. This writer captured the essence of non-formal adult education, noting that in adult education program planning there is the generally-accepted connotation of short-term learning experiences that are responsive to learner needs and, that, its implementation is outside of the traditional educational delivery system. Thus, for the purposes of this investigation I will adopt the following all-encompassing dictionary definition:

► **Adult Education:** Any process by which men and women, either alone or in groups, try to improve themselves by increasing their knowledge, skills, or attitudes, or the process by which individuals or agencies try to improve men and women in these ways. (Good, 1959)

LEARNING: The pervasiveness of learning is best expressed by Gazda and Corsini (1980) who wrote that *all* human development consists of two functions: *maturation*; that is, physiological development, and *learning*; that is, psychological development.

The concept of learning has, over the years, been commented on from various societal perspectives like the psychological (e.g., Keller, 1968); the societal (e.g., Thomas, 1991) and, by

extension, from the perspectives of libraries (e.g., Lee, 1966; Kidd, 1983). From the Adult Education perspective, writers like Lawson (1975) have identified the centrality of "learning situations." Other writers have broadened the adult education perspective by highlighting the "enrichment" aspect (e.g., Styler, 1984) and, also, the "essential component" of "experience" in the learning an adult does (e.g., Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980; Brookfield, 1986). The obvious complexity of adult education, since it is context-bound, makes a standard definition the more difficult. All the same, the common thread in the myriad of explanations of the adult education concept is the generally-acknowledged "process of transforming experience into knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Jarvis, 1987:16).

For this qualitative study, therefore, the all-encompassing dictionary definition would be adopted as a guide:

► **LEARNING:** A long-lasting change in KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDE or SKILL, acquired through experience (rather than, say, through MATURATION). This experience may take the form of CONDITIONING, EDUCATION, INCIDENTAL LEARNING, INSTRUCTION, TRAINING, and so on. (Emphases in original) (Rowntree, 1981)

CROSS-CULTURAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: Although a standard definition of "cross-cultural" is hard to come by, the following excerpt is reiterated in full since it captures the essence of the work of the area under investigation:

► Essentially, a "**cross-cultural**" experience is one which brings together people and ideas from different cultures in order to correct the misconceptions which people in each culture have about those in the other. *Cross-cultural communication* is an attempt to bridge different cultures, to show people within them that illusions of racial and intellectual superiority are simply the product of ignorance. (The Cross-cultural ... New Approach, 1972:1) (Emphasis added)

TOLERANCE: Although this word has acquired some unsavoury connotation in some areas the problematic narrow definition, with the connotation of "patient forbearance" and "indulgent" or putting-up-with (see Cranston, 1967:43), will not be used here. A search of the multi-volume *Oxford*

English Dictionary (1989) enables one to see the comprehensiveness of this word. In this study, the dictionary definition which connotes "freedom from bigotry or undue severity in judging the conduct of others" would be adopted since that, essentially, explains the stated mission of the centres under investigation.

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION: Like Adult Education, the standardization of the definition of Development Education is problematic but, for the purposes of this study, I have adopted the following definition by Taylor (1982:256):

- ▶ The term '*development education*' refers to the deliberate efforts being made to *increase awareness* and *understanding* of the plight of the 'Third World', of the reasons for under-development and the inter-dependence between nations. (Emphases added)

GLOBAL EDUCATION: Although some writers use the terms Development Education (DevEd) and Global Education (GlobEd) interchangeably (e.g.: Pradervand, 1989) there has been a distinct shift from DevEd to GlobEd for specific reasons. (See The Ontario Global Education ... 1993:14; Case et al., 1984). In the prevailing definitions of the latter term; that is, Global Education, there is the explicit inclusion of terms like "equity", "holistic", and "ecology" which, quite often, are *implicit* in Development Education.

For the purposes of this study the following definition, and characteristics, of Global Education would be adopted:

- ▶ **Global Education is** an ongoing and mutual *learning* process, grounded in a vision and values of a just and progressive world community, which promotes critical, conscious participation in personal and societal transformation and global equity. ...
- Global Education** is characterized by:
 - creating *awareness* of the historic and present international economic, political, cultural and social structures and systems affecting all people and the global environment
 - *facilitating* critical analysis of the root causes of injustice, including the considerations of gender, race, class and the structures of power and privilege
 - promoting the cooperative and equitable sharing of power within and among

societies

- promoting solidarity among all people struggling for social justice, cultural survival and sustainable communities by promoting community-based organizing and capacity building

Global Educators are committed to achieving global justice through the practice of ethical, effective, innovative and collaborative education and analysis, action and advocacy. They utilize and promote methodologies and practices which:

- are *accessible, relevant, participatory* and empowering
 - respect the *experiences* of all participants
 - build links between local, national and global struggles for justice and the people carrying forward those struggles
 - respect human rights
 - encourage a freedom to critique
 - are transformational and *holistic*
 - involve advocacy and action
 - encourage social, political and economic change based on justice
 - adhere to a Code of Ethics embracing human rights, anti-racism, gender equity ...
- (The Ontario Global Education ... Final Report, 1993:3) (Emphases added)

WHAT IS A LEARNER CENTRE?: The available literature on the learner centre phenomenon gives a myriad of definitions of this central concept. This, inevitably, is a faithful reflection of the context-specificity, flexibility and uniqueness of this phenomenon. All the same, there is a common element which runs through the various explanations and the following excerpt essentially captures that commonality:

► In formal terms, it's a multi-media, computer-assisted information retrieval and problem-solving system providing a learner-centred environment.

This simply means that:

Information on many subjects is available in a *variety* of forms, e.g., films, slide-sound shows, books, videotapes, etc.

.....
The whole system is set up to suit *your* needs, interests, and abilities, and self-motivation.

.....
It's also called the **Learner Centre** because it is completely centred on *you, the learner*, not, as in more traditional learning methods, on the staff, study course schedule, or any systems which caters only to the common interests of a general *group*. (Introducing the Learner Centre, n.d.:520) (Emphases added)

In addition to the above definition/explanation, I will also use, for the purpose of this study, the

dictionary definition below to buttress the definition of this concept:

- ▶ **Learner-Centred Approach/Teaching/Education:** An approach to teaching [facilitating] in which the teacher [facilitator] purports to be guided more by the needs and interests of the individual child [adult] than by the dictates of a SYLLABUS or the demands of other members of society. This is a key element in PROGRESSIVE education ... (Rowntree, 1981:152) (Emphases in original)
- ▶ **Public Library:** Any library which provides general library services without charge to all residents of a given community, district, or region. Supported by public or private funds, the public library makes its basic collections and basic services available to the population of its legal service area without charges to individual users, but may impose charges on users outside its legal service area. Products and services beyond the library's basic services may or may not be provided without individual charges. (Young, 1993:181)
- ▶ **Special Library:** A library established, supported, and administered by a business firm, private corporation, association, government agency, or other special-interest group or agency to meet the information needs of its members or staff in pursuing the goals of the organization. Scope of collections and services is limited to the subject interests of the host or parent organization. (Young, 1993:181)

CONCLUSION

The cross-cultural learner centre concept originated in a specific location - London, Ontario - in the 1960s but, surprisingly, this exercise in bridging inevitable cultural gaps, through placing the learner in a central position in the learning process, has not received that much publicity in the available literature. Why was this concept conceived and how did it grow to be a national and international phenomenon?

The study of this area will try to answer this central question regarding the birth and eventual growth of this concept. This learner centre concept did grow and survive, thus proving its relevance. There was a felt need which found expression in the pioneer London (Ontario) Centre. The role a clearer understanding of this relatively novel concept could play in areas like the effective management of socio-cultural pluralism; that is, beneficial social policy formulation, international development assistance, and both formal and non-formal education, to name but a few, warrants this

study.

As discussed earlier, this phenomenon was influenced by a convergence of various personalities and concepts, indicating an absence of a pre-existing theoretical framework to guide this study. This study investigated this phenomenon from the perspective of one of these influential concepts - that of adult education - to help illuminate it.

The dearth of established explanations, or theories, regarding this phenomenon provided the opportunity to use the grounded theory approach within the comparatively flexible qualitative, and naturalistic, paradigm. There was the need to go into this study without any limiting predetermined hypotheses guided by an equally constraining established theoretical framework.

In sum, on the choice of the qualitative paradigm for the study of this "phenomenal context" (Wagner), Pradervand (1989:xvi), a development specialist, provides an illuminating, and generalizable, rationale for the need to break away from the entrenched slavish adherence to quantitative (scientific?) methodology:

Certain important aspects of the evidence I offer here cannot be encompassed by *quantitative* data. For how can you translate into figures the creativity of the African farmers who are exploring, for example, new biological pesticides or innovative storage systems? Can *statistics* sum up the courage of women who walk 40 miles to market and back? Statistical measurements and the binary system of computers are incapable of registering *qualities* such as courage, creativity, endurance, and optimism. (Emphases added)

Mention of my focussing on just one aspect of the identified conceptual convergence influencing this area means that I investigated this complex concept from a *limited* perspective. It follows, therefore, that this investigation would be but part of the *whole* picture since this phenomenon could also be investigated from, for example, the formal education and sociological perspectives.

As highlighted, this learner centre concept has not received much attention in the available

literature - both popular and scholarly. Thus, there are discernible gaps which need to be filled to help illuminate this phenomenon. Again, there is a discernible influence of various concepts on this area of study. There is, therefore, the need to trace some of these influences on this phenomenon through the scant pertinent literature and the relatively abundant literature of some cognate areas.

CHAPTER II

A STUDY IN CONCEPTUAL CONVERGENCE: A REVIEW OF THE PERTINENT LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The insufficient literature on the cross-cultural learner centre concept, as indicated, shows that various conceptual influences converge on this phenomenon. Thus, distinct conceptual framework(s) regarding this relatively new area have not yet found expression in the available literature.

The fact that the available literature (e.g.; Hamilton, 1989) shows the influence of varied theoretical perspectives makes the cross-cultural learner centre concept multi-perspectival. Incidentally, this identified *convergence* concept has also been identified by some writers: for example, Glaser and Strauss (1967:37), in their seminal work on the discovery of theory through the grounded theory approach, wrote about establishing "similarities and convergences." Again, Mathies (1988:3), in his doctoral dissertation on the development education activities of returned "development workers", also highlighted the significant finding regarding the "*convergence* of theory surrounding significant experiences and perspectives of the returnees" (emphasis added). Paulston (1994), in his encyclopedia entry, discussed "the increasingly diverse knowledge communities interacting within the dynamic intellectual field of comparative and international education texts ...". His concluding remarks clearly confirms this identified, and named, principle of conceptual convergence. Here, he concluded that "*Convergent trends* across knowledge communities are also

identified and discussed, noting that comparative educators and their texts are becoming more *reflexive and eclectic, thus allowing new theory to emerge* from often paradoxical combinations of existing theories" (emphases added). Unfortunately, this evolving principle is yet to be named and used in a sustained scholarly inquiry.

As explained in the previous chapter, although my qualitative/naturalistic study of this area was not constrained by a predetermined theoretical framework, I used an analytical tool I devised - the **re-illumination** (i.e.; corroborating/confirming) process (cf. the "illumination" principle in qualitative inquiry) - to help analyze some familiar influences in this eclectic (philosophically) area. Without naming this newly-devised analytical procedure, Glaser and Strauss (1967:37) highlighted the relevance of re-illumination when they wrote about establishing "similarities and convergences with the literature ... *after* the analytic core of categories has [*sic*] emerged." (Emphasis added)

Since I also used the newly-devised ***Grounded Questions*** approach (see Appendix B), by using Hamilton's (1989) historical overview of the London Centre to derive the requisite interview guide, I also exploited that source to identify the concepts, or some "perennial philosophies", to borrow Huxley's (1945) term, which converge on this area.

Hamilton's (1989:3.6) relatively short overview, and some of the earlier available literature - both popular and scholarly - highlighted some identifiable conceptual influences like the "learner-centred", "cross-cultural" and "holistic" approaches the first learner centre adopted. Thus, to prepare for the analytical corroboration process I devised, I examined the related literature areas of cross-cultural/intercultural communication and the inherent central themes of understanding, or awareness; tolerance in a pluralistic world; the concept of multiculturalism, from the policy perspectives through to its manifestation in education. Also examined were the underlying educational philosophies of progressive and humanistic adult education and, also, the experiential, learner-centred, facilitating

and holistic perspectives of learning. Since the learner centre concept has a global component (see Hamilton, 1989) I also covered the related literature pertaining to Development/Global Education and global understanding, or awareness, through cross-cultural, or intercultural, studies.

The facilitating of global learning for international understanding has been gaining prominence over the years (e.g; Barney; Freeman; & Ulinski, 1981; Thomas & Plowman, 1986). Agencies like C.U.S.O. and C.I.D.A. have championed this *Global Education (GlobEd)* aspect within the parameters of Development/Global Education. Others have highlighted this global aspect of learning (e.g.; Harris, 1986; Boulding, 1988; Christensen, 1989; Bennett, 1990; and Pike & Selby, 1991). Although the two terms - "Development Education" and "Global Education" - are often used interchangeably (see Pradervand, 1989:xiv; & The Global Classroom 1984:44) there is now a conscious move from the earlier term; that is, Development Education, because it has become problematic. For example, it has been asserted in the literature that the change in terminology to *Global Education* "marks an exciting evolution" (The Ontario Global Education 1993:14). (See also "What is Global Education?"; & Case et al., 1984).

The Linkage Phenomenon

Although McLuhan's innovative notion of the "Global Village" highlighted the increasing inevitable links between nations, attributable to the inexorable march of technology, this delineated *linkage phenomenon* inheres in the cross-cultural learner centre concept in that the practitioners in this area always raised peoples' awareness to that link between the "local" and the "global".

It is noteworthy that both the pertinent literature on Development Education (DevEd) and Global Education (GlobEd) highlight this local-global nexus. For example, in Taylor's definition of Development Education (1982:256), he highlighted the intrinsic "Inter-dependence between

nations." Again, in their definition of Global Education, the Global Education Centres of Ontario (GECO) also highlighted the requisite "links" between nations (see *The Ontario Global Education ... Final Report*, 1993:3). The following Global Education perspectives provide a summary of this inevitable linkage phenomenon which inheres in the learner centre concept:

The world gets smaller everyday as new technologies emerge and *link* us up with people around the globe. ...

Global education activities focus on the *interdependent* nature of the world by exploring the different cultures, nations, and people around the globe. It teaches us that we are all part of one world and that we, as *global citizens*, have a responsibility for taking care of our world and each other. (Griffin, 1996:1) (Emphases added)

and, again, the echoing of similar sentiments:

Over the past few years global education has become increasingly important as we *link* up with people around the world through trade, telecommunications and travel. We live in an *interdependent* world where we are connected to people around the globe in a variety of different ways. *Learning to understand* these connections is an important part of global education. (Editor's Notes 1996:1) (Emphases added)

This identified phenomenon is a central plank in the awareness-raising/learning activities, from the cross-cultural perspective, of the learner centres under study.

THE SETTING: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

That the world is multicultural is a given and this inevitable cultural factor has been acknowledged by many a writer (e.g.; MacLennan, 1967; Kölmel & Payne, 1989). The latter, Kölmel and Payne, highlighted the mythical (biblical) explanation for the existence of a multitude of languages, and peoples, and the inevitable "post-Babel condition of disunity and disharmony in the world" (p.1). But, these writers also highlighted the conscious attempts being made for "cultural bridging." It is this philosophy, of the initial recognition of the reality of many cultures within a national boundary prior to building bridges of awareness, understanding, tolerance and full

acceptance of prevailing otherness, which informs the official policy of multiculturalism affirmed in the October 1971 speech, in the Canadian House of Commons, by the Prime Minister - Pierre Trudeau. Writers like Fantini (1991:216), therefore, rightly called for a prerequisite "intercultural competence" and, again, Odenwald (1993) called for the need for "multicultural competency"; that is, building competencies (measurable and intangible) in the education process.

The concept of multiculturalism has been explored extensively, from the Canadian perspective, in the popular literature and, also, through some academic studies. For example, Applebaum (1994) highlighted the respect for diversity; Walcott (1993) critiqued the multicultural policy from the anti-racist perspective, and Mack (1992) investigated the policy and practice of multiculturalism from the perspective of children's day camps. This selective sample of academic dissertations on the policy aspect of the multicultural concept fail, glaringly, to highlight the "cultural literacy" (Fantini) role and the attendant acquisition of the intangible "cultural competence" (Odenwald) - both national and international - of the phenomenon under study. But, one might ask, how has this recognition (officially) of multiculturalism impacted on its general acceptance?

There is abundant literature on the reality of the cultural mosaic of Canada (e.g.: Gibbon, 1938; Elliott, 1983,a,b; Fleras, 1992). A corollary of the affirmation of this demographic reality is the committed policy of the Federal Government which culminated in an enabling legislation (1988) (e.g.; Canada, 1984, 1987 a,b, 1988). The general attitude of Canadians to the reality of multiculturalism has been found to be supportive; for example, through two commissioned studies on attitudes (e.g.; Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977; Angus Reid, 1991). An inevitable progression, after this prerequisite affirmation, is the need to foster understanding among the mosaic of cultures and this was promised in the memorable statement, in the House of Commons, by Prime Minister Trudeau, in October 1971, when he promised that "creative encounters and interchange" would be

promoted. (See also Brown, 1963; Williams, 1977 on the prerequisite themes of mutual understanding and accommodation).

It is, thus, abundantly clear that the cross-cultural learner centres had, and still have, a central role to play in fostering this cross-cultural understanding within Canada and, by extension, outside Canada through their preparatory programs for would-be sojourners and visitors.

Polemical Criticism: The Dilemma of Multiculturalism

Despite the political asseverations regarding the national (Canadian) policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, and the inevitable commitment, there are some dilemmas which have been criticized by some writers. For example, writers like Porter (1984), Mallea (1984) and Bibby (1990) highlighted some of the discernible dilemmas and contradictions that inhere in this policy. Writers who see the holistic and global aspect of multiculturalism, or pluralism, though, see it as being more than the persistent cynical stance of "a dash of colour and the flash of dance" (Bissoondath, 1994:189-90).

The initial "celebratory", or "folkloric", stance of this mosaic phenomenon has been discussed by a host of writers (e.g.; Gibbon, 1938; Sheffe, 1975; Carpenter, 1979; Smith, 1983; Parry, 1987). Incidentally, most of the criticisms have been levelled against the often-mentioned fragmentary nature of multiculturalism as a national policy which, to some critics, is nothing short of bolstering and "selling" the illusionary "cult" of multiculturalism (Bissoondath, 1994). (See also Porter, 1966; Bibby, 1990; Friesen, 1991).

The Southern Comparison

The geographical contiguity of Canada to its "southern neighbour" - the U.S.A. - affords both countries that ready comparative outlook on things societal. In line with this inevitable comparative mode, most of the vociferous critics of the Canadian policy of multiculturalism point to the *alternative* "melting pot"¹⁶ (cf. mosaic) ideology of the U. S. A., with regard to its assimilationist policies towards their (American) numerous cultures. But, some writers from the U. S. A. have endeavoured, over the years, "to unmask the rhetoric of a societal melting pot" (La Belle & Ward, 1994:1). (On the myth of the "melting pot" see also Lindeman, 1961 [1926]; Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Banks, 1981; Banks & Banks, 1989; Tibbetts, 1992).

The few available sources attest to the fact that these learner centres go beyond the folkloric, celebratory, nature of helping bridge cultural gaps.

On Centres and Learning and the Town-Gown Phenomenon

It should be noted that the "*learning* centre" concept has been tried in other contexts. For example, there have been *learning* centres in a number of communities (e.g.: Selman, 1984) and the defunct Rural Community Development Learning Center, established in the 1970s by the West Virginia University, was such a centre set up, purposefully, to respond directly to community needs (see Heady, 1989). But these *learning* centres (cf. *learner* centres) did not address the specific needs of the *learner* from the cross-cultural perspective. There was the discernible lack of the *individualization* of learning implicit in the phenomenon under study.

On the formal education scene, the widespread use of technology, specifically computers,

¹⁶ "The Melting Pot" concept was inspired by a 1908 Broadway hit play - by an English-Jewish writer, Israel Zangwill - bearing this cryptic title.

spawned similar "Learning Resources Centres", or "Learning Laboratories". but, as highlighted, all these operated within the formal education system (e.g.; Jay & Jay, 1994; Lewis, 1994; Ray, 1994). Some of these school-based learning resource centres, though, attempted to reflect their specific contexts by creating multicultural centres (e.g.; Barron, 1994a,b; Skeele & Schall, 1994).

The initial association of the London learner centre with the University of Western Ontario, and the relationship of the Centre with the community at large, brings to the fore the town-gown factor (see Radcliffe & Radcliffe, 1974). Another comparable Canadian experiment is the famous "Antigonish Movement" of St. Xavier University, Nova Scotia (see Coady, 1939; Laidlaw, 1958, 1961). However, unlike the learner centres, this (Antigonish) town-gown experiment was specifically geared towards adult education through *economic* activities at the community level. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between the "economic cooperation" (Coady) focus of the Antigonish movement and the cultural-awareness-raising-and-accommodation cross-cultural learner centre concept.

The mention of the community aspect of this phenomenon highlights that political realism which, inevitably, permeates almost all facets of program planning and execution of adult education activities. This pervasive realism is now an accepted fact as evident in the literature. For example, Fordham (1976:56) rightly identified this often-neglected phenomenon when he lamented that "*political dimension* which often lies unrecognized in both the planning and the execution of adult education programmes" (emphasis added). (See also Ewing, 1969; Ducanis, 1975; Styler, 1984; Benveniste, 1988; and Howlett, 1991).

A corollary of this political realism is the perennial funding problem most community-based programs face (see, especially, Brookfield, 1984:157-8 and Howlett, 1991:127).

Pedagogical Responsibility

Friesen (1985) asserted that the "pedagogical responsibility" for multicultural education falls on the schools. However, this *formal* educational aspect of promoting cultural awareness is only part of the picture. Multicultural education, which is seen by Tator and Henry (1991:3) as "those practices and policies developed at all levels of the educational system designed to promote social, ethnic, and cultural equality of opportunity for all its members," plays an undeniably significant part in creating that prerequisite mutual understanding as attested to by the varied body of literature, both popular and scholarly, from the formal educational perspective.

The universal nature of the concept of multicultural education is seen in the growing body of literature on, for example, Canada (e.g.; Young, 1979; Smith, 1983; Mallea & Young, 1984; Friesen, 1985); the United Kingdom (e.g.; Twitchin & Demuth, 1981; Todd, 1991; Fyfe & Figueroa, 1993); and the United States of America (e.g.; Willie, 1987; Hemphill, 1992; Rose, 1992).

Other aspects which have received scrutiny are the policies, and politics, of multicultural education (e.g.; McLeod, 1983; Rizvi, 1985; Canada, 1986; Sarup, 1986; Díaz, 1992 a,b,c); the central concept of understanding (e.g.; Allard, 1991; Lwanga, 1992); theoretical underpinnings (e.g.; Appleton, 1983; Samuda & Kong, 1986); the curriculum (e.g.; Holmes & McLean, 1989; Díaz, 1992b); the ethical aspects of multicultural education (e.g.; Bull, Fruehling & Chattergy, 1992) and on teacher training (e.g.; Bell, 1986; Ghosh & Tarrow, 1993).

Academic theses have also investigated multicultural education in the formal education setting; for example, on moral and ethical aspects (Francis, 1980; Applebaum, 1994); and from the elementary school perspective (e.g.; Young, 1983; Schaffer, 1990; Mack, 1992).

Although this study proceeds from the adult education perspective, since the cross-cultural learner centres liaise with the formal education system, knowledge of this conceptual influence helps

the illumination (i.e.; explanation of new concepts) and the conceptual corroboration, or confirmation processes.

BUILDING BRIDGES: COMMUNICATION AND UNDERSTANDING

INTRODUCTION

McQuail's (1984:1) observation that all social processes imply communication highlights a process that is often taken for granted - the social aspects and central importance of bridging interpersonal cultural gaps through communication. That effective communication is a prerequisite to understanding is evident in the relevant literature. To borrow a popular term from Jürgen Habermas (1970), "communicative competence" is a *sine qua non* for bridging these inevitable chasms of misunderstanding between cultures. The central significance of effective communication-cum-understanding is also evident in a host of other writings (e.g.; Goffman, 1967; Dreitzel, 1970; McCarthy, 1979; International Commission ..., 1980; Fuglesang, 1982).

The universal acceptance of this notion of effective communication leading to understanding is, again, seen in studies on the importance of that "silent communication" (Axtell, 1991:3): that is, non-verbal communication. It is now universally accepted that facility in another language is no longer sufficient for effective understanding since an unwitting "body language" could torpedo a growing interpersonal/intercultural understanding (see Wolfgang, 1979; Asabuki, 1990; Axtell, 1991). Some writers have, therefore, called for the teaching of non-verbal behaviour to ensure proper, overall, communication (e.g.: Galloway, 1979; Wolfgang, 1979). Brown (1963:v) provides an apt insight into the concept of communication and the *need* to teach, or learn, it:

The point that if people would just get to know one another they would be friends and everything would be all right is as dangerous as it is sentimental ... The sober truth is that different peoples must *learn* to get along together whether they like one another or not.

Again, Samovar, Porter & Jain (1981:4) harped on this highlighted theme of intentional learning:

Effective intercultural communication requires that people *learn* how to participate in this form of human interaction. (Emphases added)

It is noteworthy that the learner centres pursue this learning approach to understanding, and appreciating, other cultures. The shortened title of Conle's (1993) dissertation - "Learning Culture and Embracing Contraries..." - provides an eloquent tribute to the work of these centres although she did not mention these centres in her study.

Communication Across Cultures

Effective interpersonal communication, a prerequisite for understanding, is context-bound especially when the speaker and the receiver are from different cultural backgrounds. This realization in a patently multicultural universe has been translated into concerted efforts at effecting "cross-cultural", or "intercultural", understanding. Rokkan (1970:646) provided the historical (re: terminology) roots of the term "cross-cultural" which, according to this writer, gained currency in the late 1930s through the work of a team of Yale University anthropologists. It should be pointed out that the term "intercultural" is often used interchangeably with "cross-cultural" in most studies. This former term (intercultural) gained prominence, and acceptance, through the 1960 entry, by Van Til, in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*.

There is abundant literature on these "encounters of the intercultural kind" (Samovar, Porter & Jain, 1981:v), or "intercultural encounters" (Unesco, 1983). As stated earlier, there is unwavering unanimity that effective cross-cultural, or intercultural, communication is a sine qua non for fruitful understanding. The second domain of Habermas' three domains of learning (see Mezirow, 1981:213) is "learning for interpersonal understanding" and this is one of the central aims of the

cross-cultural learner centres. The literature, on this specific role, from the area under investigation, though, is woefully scant.

Asante, Newmark and Blake (1971a) made a significant discovery in their study on intercultural communication. These American writers identified the existence of two "schools of thought" regarding the value of intercultural communication - the *cultural dialogue* group and the *cultural criticism* group. The former embraces internationalism, humanism and a trend toward global communication while the latter group seeks to isolate points of conflict in each culture in order to research them.

The phenomenon I investigated belongs to the Cultural Dialogue group since these centres foster cross-cultural communication in a global context. The sparse literature attests to the fact that they are undertaking cultural mediation (Bochner, 1981) for effective "intercultural competence" (Fantini, 1991).

Ulin's (1984) study of cross-cultural understanding affords us a bibliographic journey into some of the pertinent issues addressed from the cross-cultural perspective. The literature is replete with studies on the inevitability of cross-cultural encounters thus the need for adequate preparedness for that requisite understanding (e.g.; Northrop & Livingston, 1964; Kelman & Ezekiel, 1970; Rokkan, 1970; Harris & Moran, 1979; International Commission 1980; Brislin, 1981; Fuglesang, 1982).

From the learning/education perspective a host of educational practitioners have accepted the centrality of cross-cultural awareness in facilitating learning (e.g.; Brislin, Bochner & Lonner, 1975; Khôi, 1983; Asabuki, 1990; Christensen, 1992; Knox, 1993).

From the synonymous "intercultural" field, some writers have attempted to theorize about intercultural communication (e.g.; Asante, Newmark & Blake, 1979b; Howell, 1979). The theme

of understanding, like writings on cross-cultural communication, has been accorded a high profile (see Hall, 1979; Bochner, 1991; Samovar, Porter & Jain, 1981; Yamada, 1990). The pedagogical aspects have also received scrutiny (e.g.: Abdallah-Preteille, 1983; Khôi, 1983).

One persistent theme which has received intense scrutiny in intercultural, or cross-cultural, communication is the global stance of understanding between cultures (e.g.: Unesco, 1977, 1983; Philip, 1980; Sugiyama, 1990; Fantini, 1991).

A corollary of the global stance is the "intercultural awareness skills" for effective "transcultural competency" called for by Harris and Moran (1979). This acceptance of training, for a smooth cultural adaptation, or adjustment (Hawes & Kealey, 1981) has received significant attention in the relevant literature because of the accepted interdependence of nations in almost all fields of human endeavour. Seidel (1981), from the German perspective and, generally, Sikkema and Niyekawa (1987) highlighted the universally accepted need for intercultural/cross-cultural training. Hawes and Kealey (1981), from the Canadian perspective, and a representative sample of writings on training for the U.S. Peace Corps, provide more examples of the universality of the acceptance of the need for training (e.g.: Textor, 1966; Wright & Hammons, 1970). Other writers have added to the cross-cultural, or intercultural, training dimension (e.g.: Wright, 1969; Brislin & Pedersen, 1976; Landis & Brislin, 1983; Canada, Multiculturalism Canada, 1985; Orem, 1991; Odenwald, 1993).

Mention of "cultural adaptation" (Hawes & Kealey, 1981) earlier on brings to mind the adaptation needs of new immigrants. This significant aspect of cross-cultural encounters has received prominent discussion in the literature (e.g.; Boonyawiroj, 1982; and Mickle, 1984) and, although, this is one significant aspect of the role of the centres under study they, the centres, are not discussed.

The pioneer London Cross-Cultural Learner Centre has had a long relationship with organizations like C.U.S.O. and C.I.D.A. in the training of people for intercultural competence (see Sissons, 1972; and Hamilton, 1989). Other centres, across Canada, have been busy fostering that requisite "cultural dialogue", through training, for "multicultural competency" (Odenwald, 1993).

Is Tolerance Anathematized?

In the literature - both popular and scholarly - on education for international understanding within the framework of Development/Global Education, the word "tolerance" is usually featured prominently. Unfortunately, this word has become problematic in some - mostly scholarly - circles where a narrow, restrictive, definition has beclouded the other "salutary" definitions of this concept. To some commentators, and students, of social cohesion/international understanding and accommodation the patently restrictive "indulgence", or putting-up-with, aspect of tolerance is viewed as patronizing and, thus, problematic.

Lessay (1992:14) addressed this cycle of shifts in societal perspective, regarding tolerance, when he highlighted the fact that in Europe during Voltaire's time; that is, the eighteenth century, this concept was largely viewed with "caution, mistrust and sometimes hostility." It appears we are again seeing instances of this recurring social opprobrium. But, is tolerance such an anathema especially after taking off the restrictive definitional blinkers?

A search of the multi-volume *Oxford English Dictionary*¹⁷ affords us the opportunity to see the comprehensiveness of the definition of tolerance vis-à-vis the generally narrow philosophical interpretation of "patient forbearance" and "indulgent" (e.g.; Cranston, 1967:43).

In reiteration, among *other* definitions in this authoritative dictionary is one which is usually

¹⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary* [Multi-volume]. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

lost; that is, "tolerance" *also* means "freedom from bigotry or undue severity in judging the conduct of others." It is this often-forgotten aspect of this concept that has been, and is still being, fostered by some personalities and organizations.

Two seminal works which are often credited with focussing attention on tolerance are John Locke's (1690) *Letter on Toleration* and Voltaire's *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763). Since these classics appeared, many writers and social commentators alike have been addressing this dilemma and organizations like the United Nations, and some of its specialized agencies, have championed the cause of tolerance in the drive to *educate* people in mutual international understanding and the uninhibited acceptance of others. For example, this quest for the "cultivation of *diversity* within an *awareness* of and a quest for unity" (Pisani, 1992:39) (emphases added) has also been addressed by a host of other commentators (e.g.: Mayor, 1992, 1993, 1995; Lessay, 1992; Jelloun, 1995). But, can the *learning* of tolerance be facilitated?

The centres in the area under investigation strongly believe in the conscious facilitating of tolerance and some writers, also, believe in fostering the positive aspects of this concept - tolerance - through the agency of both formal and non-formal education. For example, Mayor (1992:45) called for the redefinition of the term "educated" to include "having a knowledge of the principles of *tolerance*, respect, and understanding of others, which are the foundations of peace and co-operation among nations" (emphases added). Again, Jelloun (1995:49) also offered the opinion that "*tolerance* is something that has to be *learned*" (emphases added).

With the persistent calls for the widening of the definition of tolerance it is, thus, not surprising that the United Nations and one of its specialized agencies, Unesco, deemed it appropriate to declare 1995 the "Year of Tolerance." Is it not high time, then, we removed that inhibiting cloak of social opprobrium from this, unquestionably, social-cohesion concept?

SOJOURNERS AND THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF DEVELOPMENT

Mention was made above of training and cross-cultural adaptation, or adjustment (see Hawes & Kealey, 1981). This is a fitting introduction into the role of sojourners¹⁸ and the cultural aspect of development in the international arena. (See also Brein & David, 1971; Mestenhauser, 1983). As discussed earlier, cross-cultural/intercultural communication is now an accepted global notion and this is more evident in the role of sojourners (e.g.: technical assistance personnel) in the field of Development Education and, of late, Global Education.

The pertinent study by Hawes and Kealey, from the Canadian perspective, discovered that technical assistance personnel were likely ineffective because of their inability to engage in *effective* intercultural interaction. This realization of good preparatory training for sojourners highlights another finding (Unesco, 1983:128) of "the major role now attributed to the cultural dimension of development by the international community." Philip (1980) also underscored the function of education in the dynamics of development. But, what is "Development Education"?

Most of the literature on Development Education (DevEd) attests to the difficulty of having a standard definition for this global concept but, for the purpose of my study, I have adopted, as stated in the introductory part, the definition by Taylor (1982).

Some academic dissertations have studied the DevEd concept (e.g.; McGinnis, 1975; Gallagher, 1983; Mathies, 1988). These representative dissertations, as discussed earlier, highlight the slight attention paid to the role of the cross-cultural learner centres in development/global education. All of the above-mentioned dissertations only mention these centres in passing.

¹⁸ Brislin (1986) wrote that the word "sojourner" is commonly used to refer to people living in another country.

Other writers have discussed the global aspect, and significance, of this cultural bridge-building educational concept (e.g.; Unesco, 1977; Smith, 1982; Taylor, 1982; Christie, 1983).

Hamilton's (1989) brief insight into the London centre highlighted the "dynamic emerging philosophy on international development" (p. 2) and the "development education program" (p. 19). Thus, it is clear that the phenomenon under study has been influenced by Development Education but, again, there is a definite gap in the available body of literature with regard to the mostly community-based learner centres.

ON HOLISM, LEARNER-CENTREDNESS, EXPERIENCE AND SOME UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHIES

Hamilton's insightful overview of the London centre, and other available hard-to-find grey or fugitive literature, highlighted the centrality of the learner-centred approach to learning. Another concept highlighted was that of "holistic" learning. This emphasis on the learner provided the rationale for investigating this phenomenon from the adult education perspective since one of its (adult education) tenets is the primacy of the learner (see Blakely, 1960; Kidd, 1983; and Brookfield, 1984). A dictionary definition of learner-centred education (Rowntree, 1981) underlines the satisfying of the needs and interests of the learner, thus the importance of *experience* in adult education.

There are two identified broad adult education philosophies which influenced the learner centre concept - the *progressive* and *humanistic* philosophies. The learner-centred approach is distinctly progressive (see Rowntree, 1981) and the experiential and holistic aspects are distinctly humanistic. On the latter philosophical influence, the following opinion by Elias and Merriam (1984:109) highlighted this view: "Humanistic adult educators are concerned with the development of the *whole* person..." (emphasis added). This *holistic* view, with regard to learning, is reflected in

the literature (e.g.; Hamilton) on the learner centre concept.

It is generally acknowledged that the human qualities that enter into the problems of learning (e.g.; Combs, 1974) do play a significant role in, especially, adult learning. (See also Rogers, 1984; Allender & Allender, 1991).

The general issue of adults as special learners, with *individual* needs, have received wide coverage in the relevant literature (e.g.; Bortner, 1974; Jarvis, 1987) and the underlying philosophical issues have also received in-depth coverage (e.g.; Kallen, 1962; Bergevin, 1967; Elias & Merriam, 1984; Merriam, 1984).

A corollary of the highlighted intentional "cultural literacy" (Fantini) - the prerequisite acquisition of appropriate cross-cultural competencies - and the above-discussed adult education conceptual influence of learner-centredness, bring to the fore that much-discussed adult education (andragogical) principle of *facilitation*. Most writers on the role of facilitators have repeatedly affirmed that definitive difference between **facilitating** learning activities, with regard to experienced adults, and the **pedagogical** principle which obtains in the formal education sector characterized by relatively authoritarian, didactic, teacher-figures and the imposition of standards for content and performance within the framework of, often, measurable competencies (e.g.; Knowles, 1970; Lawson, 1975; Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980; Cross, 1982; and Brookfield, 1986).

Holism, Experiential and Learner-Centredness: The Facilitating of Learning

Since holistic learning guarantees that "the whole person is involved in the learning process" (Seidel, 1981:192) this viewpoint, as highlighted earlier, informs the experiential and learner-centred approaches since "experiential learning involves the learner *directly* in the realities being studied" (Harris, 1989:7) (emphasis added).

The concept of holistic learning has been addressed by a host of writers from the education - both formal and non-formal - perspectives (e.g.; Powell, 1986; Griffin, 1988; Miller, 1990, 1991; Clark, 1991; Flake, 1993) and from the viewpoint of "culture acquisition" (Pitman, 1989).

In searching for "wholeness" the importance of the learner is unassailable and this learner-centred concept plays a pivotal role in the work of the cross-cultural learner centres (e.g.; Sissons, 1972; and Hamilton, 1989). The learner-centred approach to adult learning has been widely addressed in the relevant literature (e.g.; Lawson, 1979; Lindeman, 1984; Rogers, 1984) and the attempts at delineating a specific *andragogical* approach to adult learning further underscores the centrality of the adult learner (e.g.; Knowles, 1970, 1973; Mezirow, 1984). Although the Knowles-inspired "Andragogy Movement" was short-lived it, nevertheless, succeeded in highlighting the central locus of the adult learner in the scheme of things.

Satisfying the needs and interests of adults presupposes the acceptance of the *experience* adults bring to a learning situation, thus the importance of experiential learning in the learner-centred approach adopted by the learner centres. Since Dewey (1938) popularized the importance of experience in education other writers have broadened that Deweyan trail to focus on the experience of adults (e.g.; Houle, 1976; Keeton, 1976; Kolb, 1984; Boud, Cohen & Walker, 1993). Other writers have made a significant connection between experiential learning and social change/community development (e.g.; Denise, 1989; Harris, Denise & Thomas, 1989; Wildemeersch & Jansen, 1992).

How do the holistic, experiential, and learner-centred approaches help cross-cultural understanding?

Sikkema and Niyekawa (1987) discovered, in their study, that it is through experiential learning that "active understanding" takes place. In arguing this approach writers often point to the

globalization of cross-cultural learning/understanding - a point discussed earlier regarding the apparent shift from Development Education (DevEd) to Global Education (GlobEd) - and the following excerpt (Miller, 1991:355) provides a fitting summary: "A truly holistic global education would teach *cross-cultural understanding* for its own sake..." (emphasis added).

Representative Views from the Academic Perspective

A representative sample of academic dissertations reveals the growing interest in things holistic, learner-centred and experiential. For example, Chisholm (1993) investigated holistic learning and teaching from the perspective of psychosynthesis; the dissertations of Bates (1979), Taylor (1979) and Tomlinson (1987) explored the *learner-centred* and *experiential* approaches to facilitating the learning of adults.

Although these dissertations highlight some of the conceptual influences on the learner centre phenomenon none explored the growth, and spread, of these centres in facilitating adult learning within the cross-cultural sphere.

The "Keller Plan": Was it Influential in the Evolution of the Concept?

Mention of the facilitating of learning by the learner centres readily brings to mind a prevailing influence on the psychology of learning in the "turbulent" sixties - a Professor Fred Keller and his later-named "*Keller Plan*", or "*Personalized System of Instruction*" (*PSI*).

Gazda and Corsini (1980) rightly pointed out that all human development consists of two functions: *maturation* (i.e., physiological development) and *learning* (i.e., psychological development) thus it is not surprising that the concept of learning has been greatly influenced by psychology. In line with this psychological interest, Professor Keller delivered, in September 1967,

an "invited address" to the American Psychological Association in Washington, D.C. The enigmatic title of this speech - highlighting his ground-breaking, and undoubtedly influential, experiments on learning - was "Good-Bye Teacher ..." ¹⁹ In this seminal speech/article, Keller advanced his theories of "highly individualized" teaching/facilitating methods. The following excerpt (1968:80), from an earlier course hand-out, highlighted this innovative approach to learning:

This is a course through which you may move, from start to finish, *at your own pace*.
You will not be held back by other students or forced to go ahead until you are ready.
... (Emphasis added)

Keller's "learning paradigm" (p. 83) later influenced other researchers interested in teaching/facilitating in decidedly more structured, formal, educational settings. For example, a Professor Koen, of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, The University of Texas at Austin, paid tribute to Keller's innovative "teaching strategy" (1970:735) when he reported his findings after successfully using the "Keller Plan" in an engineering school setting. Here, the "Keller Plan" was given a more generic nomenclature - the *Personalized System of Instruction (PSI)* method. Also, Koen compared the intrinsic *learner-centred* approach of this innovative method to the "conventional lecture-discussion method."

The influence of this Keller method is again seen in a report, in 1971, by a Professor Green. Here, Green reported his findings on the use of the "Keller Plan" to teach physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.). Again, the influential learner-centred "learning paradigm" (Keller) was hailed because "The pace is up to the student, within limits" (Green, 1971:766).

Although the "within limits" proviso of this PSI method, highlighted by Green (1971:766), identified the "structured" context of this experiment on learning, the following insight by Green (p.

¹⁹ This later appeared as a journal article in 1968.

764) highlights an acknowledged problem identified by the "founders" of the cross-cultural learner-centred phenomenon under study:

The conventional system of lectures, laboratories, recitations, problem sets, and examinations works pretty well for many physics students. For convenience and economy it is hard to beat, although the convenience is to the teacher and the economy to the administration.

Nonetheless, many of us have sensed that there might be a better way to teach.

Of the two acknowledged "founders" of the London Learner Centre one, the late Dr. North, was a psychologist and the other, Dr. Simpson, was then a professor at the Althouse College of Education, University of Western Ontario. Was the decidedly convenient personalized system of instruction (PSI) method, popularized by Keller, adopted by these pioneers and transformed into a more flexible, less constrained, *Personalized System of Learning (PSL)* for the cross-cultural learner centre concept in a relatively non-formal setting?²⁰

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon under study - the mostly community-based cross-cultural learner centres - has been influenced by a number of concepts and this eclecticism is readily gleaned from such influences as multiculturalism; cross-cultural/intercultural communication, and its attendant underpinning of fostering cultural awareness and understanding, tolerance and accommodation within a global framework; education and learning, specifically adult learning, and the identified conceptual influences of some adult education philosophical approaches from the progressive and humanistic movements and the attendant holistic, experiential and learner-centred approaches to

²⁰ It has not been possible to verify this angle because it has been confirmed that Dr. North moved to the U.S.A. and, subsequently, "passed away." The latter, Don Simpson, is now living in Vancouver and all efforts to interview him proved unsuccessful. I did manage to obtain an insightful letter from him, though.

facilitating learning; the probable influence of the "Keller Plan", or, the personalized system of instruction (PSI) and that inevitable local-global nexus. It is abundantly clear, then, that the phenomenon under study displays a truly pluralistic perspective. How can we, then, explore this newly-named *Principle of Conceptual Convergence* in research inquiries?²¹

An expectation of the review of related literature is the discussion, selectively, of the research theory, concepts, ideology, and opinion related to the phenomenon under study (see Martin, 1980; Mauch & Birch, 1993). As indicated, the area under investigation has been influenced by an identified *convergence* of various concepts, philosophies, opinions, etc.; thus, I strongly feel that this suggested Principle of Conceptual Convergence could be of immense benefit, especially, in qualitative inquiry.

As stated earlier, this study is a qualitative, or naturalistic one; that is, a "numberless research" (Tesch). How, then, did I collect, analyze and interpret the relevant qualitative data for the requisite illumination of this relatively novel and under-researched phenomenon?

²¹ This question will be dealt with in the section on the implications of the research findings; i.e., Chapter VII.

CHAPTER III

ON PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

No matter what you've read, what you've been told, what films you've seen, it's essential to see something for yourself if you are to understand it.²²

This investigation, as indicated, was a principally "numberless research" (Tesch, 1990) in that it was qualitative, instead of quantitative. As Miles and Huberman (1984) attested, qualitative research is usually focused on the *words* and *actions* of people that occur in a specific *context*. This view is reiterated by Patton (1990) who also asserted that the qualitative researcher talks with people about their *experiences* and *perceptions*.

As described above, the dearth of pertinent literature on this relatively new phenomenon - the cross-cultural learner centre concept - makes it the more imperative to avoid constraining theoretical frameworks and, instead, attempt to generate theory, or explanations, *grounded* in the qualitative data collected; that is, the need "to theorize from data rather than from the armchair" (Glaser & Strauss:14). Should all research, especially of the qualitative paradigm, be based on preconceived (therefore biasing) theories? Do we necessarily have to "embroider" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), or validate, existing (received) major theories when even a phenomenon has been under-researched?

This researcher's dilemma is part of the ongoing paradigm debate (e.g., Cronbach, 1975; Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Patton, 1986 & 1990; & Reichardt & Cook, 1979) and the calls, by some

²² Jennifer Low, "A New Sense of Purpose ...," *University of Toronto Magazine* 21, no.3 (Spring 1994), p.15.

researchers, for strict paradigm orthodoxy (paradigm fundamentalists?). Glaser and Strauss (1967:37) provide an apt summary for the use of *alternative* tested methodologies which are free of constraining preconceptions:

An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be *contaminated* by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established *after* the analytic core of categories has emerged.²³ (Emphases added)

Although Glaser and Strauss discuss "the literature of theory and fact on the area under study" in my case this unique phenomenon I investigated is, as discussed earlier, relatively new and largely under-researched thus my choice of the qualitative paradigm and the subsequent choice of inductively-derived theory grounded in the raw data collected. Brookfield (1984:139) tends to agree with this unbiased, theoretically, approach when he affirmed that "The application of a grounded theory approach is particularly useful in investigating previously non-researched areas ..."

In short, I did not set out to test a hypothesis *à la* Pavlov but to explain a phenomenon in a natural context through the *inductive* process. Patton (1990) summed up this debate by writing that theories about what is happening in a setting are *grounded in direct experience* rather than *imposed* on the setting a priori through hypotheses or deductive constructions.

On Controls

What controls were exercised?

Like Low's (1994) excerpt which introduced this methodology section, this qualitative investigation was *naturalistic* in that I gained entry into the "world", or setting, of the participants;

²³ This - comparing the "similarities and convergences with the literature" - is what I have termed the RE-ILLUMINATION process. I will talk more about this strategy in the section on analysis.

immersed myself in that context and obtained raw data (qualitative) without any deliberate intervention to alter, or control, the setting (see Appendix A). The focus, therefore, was on the *experiences* and *perceptions* of the informants - their "significant realities" (Patton). My objective was to faithfully reconstruct and analyze the words and actions of the participants in a natural setting.

On Analytical Procedure

What analytical approach was used?

As stated above, the qualitative data collected, through interviews and documents, was analyzed to help in the emergence of theories; that is, an inductive analytical approach was used. As some of the authorities (e.g., Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1987; and Miles & Huberman, 1984) have asserted *context* plays a prominent role in the emergence, or discovery, of theory through induction. Patton (1990) affirmed that qualitative methods are particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery and *inductive logic*. Inductive to the extent that the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the phenomenon, or setting, under study (i.e., hypothesizing.) Locke, Spirduso and Silverman (1987:84) reiterated this inductive approach whereby "theory is created to *explain* the data rather than being collected to *test* preestablished hypotheses" (emphases added).

The discovery, or emergence, process is thus central to this analytic approach and Dobbert (1982:269) encapsulated this process by referring to "[the] inductive method wherein analytic categories are permitted to arise from the data." The following excerpt, by Patton (p. 390), provides us with a definition, and a fitting summary, of this analytical approach:

Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data, they *emerge* out of the data rather than being imposed on them *prior* to data collection and analysis (emphases added).

On Context

The pertinent literature on qualitative, and naturalistic, inquiry highlights the entrance of the researchers into the "world" of the participants, or informants, and immersing themselves in that *natural* setting in order to derive credible meanings of the experiences and perceptions embedded in the data collected. *Context* is, thus, of paramount importance in qualitative research and this important aspect is reiterated by Miles and Huberman (1984) when they asserted that qualitative research is usually focused on the words and actions of people that occur in a *specific context*. Their (Miles & Huberman:92) declaration, with regards to context, is more like a dictum: "Contexts drive the way we understand the meaning of events." Other writers (e.g., Mishler, 1979 & 1986; Carlson, 1980; Patton, 1990; Van Maanen, 1990; and Nuyen, 1994) have also written extensively on the primacy of context. In the words of Lincoln and Guba (1985:114): "It is difficult to imagine a human activity that is context-free."

It is apparent, in a context-dependent study like a qualitative/naturalistic inquiry, that the meaning of human action be contextually grounded (Mishler, 1979) whereas in the experimental, logico-deductive, paradigm context-stripping (i.e., context-free assumptions) is a key feature. Mishler (1979) and Miles and Huberman (1984), for example, addressed this context-stripping procedure and how that affects meaning in a natural setting. The following excerpt, by Miles and Huberman (p. 92), faithfully captures this dilemma:

To focus solely on individual behavior without attending to contexts amounts to "context-stripping" with attendant risks of misunderstanding the meaning of events.

In line with the acknowledged primacy of context in a qualitative inquiry I tried, painstakingly, to delineate the influences of both *temporal* and *locus (place)* contexts on the phenomenon under study. After all, as Lucretius (*ca* 96 - *ca* 55 B.C.) - the Roman poet and philosopher; Persius (A.D. 34 - 62) - the Roman satirist; and Shakespeare's King Lear insightfully

observed: *Nothing can be created out of nothing.*

On Sampling

A corollary of the prominence of context, discussed immediately above, is my sampling strategy from the general population of cross-cultural learner centres. As Bailey's (1987:83) dictum categorically states: "Surveying an entire population would take much longer than a sample study, and time is often very important." Again, this unique phenomenon - learner centres - is now nationwide thus the obvious impracticality of surveying the *whole* population. Long and Hiemstra (1980) highlighted this persistent researcher's dilemma when they observed that among the first problems that confront the researcher concerning the sample is the kind of *compromise* to be made: that is, one just cannot investigate everything.

Probability sampling does permit confident generalization from the sample to a larger population but since I was not testing a hypothesis, *à la* experimental/quantitative inquiry, I did not use the much-vaunted analytical tools provided by statistics. My sampling strategy was, therefore, of the *nonprobability* type. Here, I cannot claim that my sample was *representative* of the larger population - the *unique* cross-cultural learner centres - thus I compromised on the question of confident generalization. There is, clearly, no standardization in the learner centre concept thus it would be patently impossible to have a generalizable representative sample. Unlike statistical extrapolation, I cannot claim that my "numberless research" (Tesch) was "accurate within X percentage points." My sampling strategy was, therefore, *purposive* or *judgmental*. What, then, is purposive, or judgmental, sampling?

Bailey (1987:94) provides us with a succinct explanation of this sampling strategy:

... the researcher uses his or her own judgment about which respondents to choose, and picks only those who best meet the *purposes* of the study.

The advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher can use his or her research skill and *prior knowledge* to choose respondents. (Emphases added)

To help answer the main and supplementary questions, and to help validate and generate confidence in my grounded findings, I used my "prior knowledge" of this field to gather multiple perspectives from multiple data sources (Patton). Thus, as mentioned earlier, in addition to my main focus of attention - the pioneer London learner centre, which would illuminate both the birth and internal growth aspects of this inquiry - I added two local (Toronto) learner centres to illuminate the external growth, or spread, and unique/flexible perspectives of this concept. As stated in the requisite entry letter to my prospective informants (see Appendix A), this investigation was neither *comparative* nor *evaluative*. In addition to these centres I investigated the "networking" perspective of this phenomenon by studying the roles of two provincial umbrella groups based in Toronto. Also, these newer centres and co-ordinating organizations, vis-à-vis the London centre, provided useful insights into the adaptability of this concept. For example, what did these relatively new centres learn from the London experiment? How did they do things differently?

In addition to the above-mentioned reasons for this sampling strategy, geographical proximity and prevailing circumstances within the learner centre "family", which was being gutted by a recent (1995) 100% cut in "core funding" by the Federal Government, also dictated this "convenient" choice. The dramatic unforeseen circumstances, with regard to the fate of the learner centres, was clearly inhibiting but it provided, paradoxically, a rare opportunity to capture the perspectives of informants against the background of unfolding events. I had to, virtually, tread through an ethical minefield in the process of interviewing informants facing untimely layoffs and inevitable trepidation.

In all, I interviewed and tape-recorded seventeen informants ranging from current and former co-ordinators; university professors; librarians; outreach workers; teachers; to ordinary citizens. In

London, a general overview of the birth and growth of the Centre was provided by ten informants. These various perspectives often triangulated each other, and some documentary perspectives, thereby ensuring that validity and trustworthiness inherent in triangulation. Two local university professors also provided an insight into the role of the University of Western Ontario. Current and former employees provided a wide range of insights from the co-ordinating, library/resources to the "spin-off" aspects. Other informants provided insights into the L.A.I.D., C.U.S.O. and Crossroads International aspects.

Seven informants in Toronto provided insights into the spread of the learner centre movement. Here, as indicated earlier, I interviewed co-ordinators, outreach workers and librarians in two centres. Two other informants illuminated the networking angle of this phenomenon.

The telephone was used to contact one of the acknowledged founders - Forgie - at Coldwater, Ontario. His brief views triangulated both the human and documentary perspectives. I also succeeded in obtaining a brief, but illuminating, letter from an apparently "busy" Don Simpson who is now resident in Vancouver. His views also triangulated, or validated, other sources.

On Instrumentation

How was data collected?

Since this investigation was a qualitative study of a relatively under-researched area key informants, in addition to existing documents, provided their "informed perspectives" (Patton, 1990) (cf. profound insights) for eventual analysis.

There are two recognized kinds of qualitative data - *Field* and *Documentary*. Patton asserted that qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collection:

i) in-depth, open-ended, unstructured *interviewing*;

ii) direct *observation*; and

iii) *written documents*.

Denzin (1978) specified that documents could either be existing or elicited by the researcher.

Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918-1920 [5 vols.]) seminal work on the Polish peasant and the American immigration question popularized the extensive use of "human" documents as a new source of legitimate data for research and Blumer's (1939:29) appraisal of this work highlighted this "new" research methodology - now an important plank in the qualitative paradigm:

The human document is an account of individual experience which reveals the individual's actions as a human agent and as a participant in social life.

For this study, I interviewed identified key informants and this data-gathering technique has been strongly recommended by Richardson, Dohrenwend, and Klein (1965:19). These writers rightly affirm that "an obvious research situation that makes the interview indispensable" could be an event that took place in the recent or remote past and was totally *undocumented* but from which were survived *interviewable participants* or witnesses.

In my case, the learner centre phenomenon is still relatively under-researched and the documentation woefully inadequate thus the need for interviewing. Patton (1990) reiterated the point that the purpose of interviewing is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective and that "qualitative interviewing" begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit.

The interviewing technique I used was the unstructured, or "intensive interviewing", type whose acknowledged goal was to elicit, from the interviewees, rich and detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis. Unlike "structured interviewing" (e.g., opinion polling and questionnaires) where the goal is to elicit *choices* between alternative answers to *preformed* questions on a topic or situation, the intensive interview seeks to *discover* the informant's experience

of a particular topic or situation. Because of the flexible nature of this latter technique some authorities prefer to highlight its inherent informal, non-threatening nature (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Blum, 1984; Brookfield, 1984; & Patton, 1990). Patton (p. 281) provides an apt summary of the merits of this tested open-ended interviewing technique in qualitative inquiry:

The conversational interview wants to maintain maximum *flexibility* to be able to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate, depending on what *emerges* from observing a particular setting or from talking to one or more individuals in that setting. Most of the questions will flow from the immediate context.²⁴ (Emphases added)

How does this technique work?

Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe this process as one in which, at the beginning of research, interviews usually consist of "open-ended conversations" during which respondents are allowed to talk with no imposed limitations of time. Often the researcher sits back and listens while the respondents tell their stories. Later, when interview and observations are directed by the *emerging* theory, the researcher can ask *direct questions* bearing on identified categories: that is, the post-structured technique. I adopted this strategy and started by asking what Spradley (1979) referred to as the "grand tour questions" whereby informants were encouraged to ramble on and on. But, how can one control the interview situation by probing for specificity?

To introduce a semblance of "control" into this acknowledged flexible approach I sent to prospective informants, through the requisite entry letter (see Appendix A) and subsequent telephone contacts, an agenda of likely issues to be addressed. This need for control also influenced my devising the grounded questions approach to make up for the dearth of information, and a distinct theoretical framework, in this area under investigation.

²⁴ I will discuss, subsequently, the "theoretical sampling" (or "snowball/chain sampling") technique which is a variant of the driving emergent concept in qualitative methodology.

In addition to the agenda of questions/issues to be addressed, I used an *interview guide* (see Appendix B) to help me in probing for the illumination of identified emerging theories (Miles & Huberman, 1984; and Patton, 1990). The interview guide is a specified list of *topics* and *issues* to be covered, in outline form, whereby the interviewer decides sequence and wording of questions in the course of the interview.

In sum, Patton (1990), in highlighting the intrinsic flexibility and spontaneity of this approach affirmed that the interview guide simply serves as a basic *checklist* during the interview to make sure that all *relevant topics* are covered. Also, the interview guide approach presumes that there is "common information" that should be obtained from each person interviewed, but no set of *standardized* questions are written in advance.

In addition to tape-recording my interviews I also wrote the requisite field notes as recommended by writings on depth-interviewing (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985; & Fawcett & Downs, 1992). These authorities, among a host of others, have touched on the descriptive and reflective/interpretive aspects of field notes and the significance of using probe notes to help fill discernible gaps. Since the researcher is the primary instrument in qualitative/naturalistic inquiry these documented reflections provide that much-needed *contexts* for the interviews.

Gorden (1975) highlighted important nonverbal cues in the interview situation - *proxemic communication* (i.e., the use of interpersonal space to convey meaning); *chronemic communication* (i.e., the use of time in interpersonal relationships to convey meaning); *kinesic communication* (i.e., the use of body movement to convey meaning); and *paralinguistic communication* (i.e., the use of volume, pitch, and voice quality to convey meaning). Of these the paralinguistic cue could be captured, to some extent, on tape but the equally illuminating perspective of the kinesic cue was captured in the descriptive and interpretive field notes I wrote.

On Trustworthiness and Validity

How did I ensure that building of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) or the validity of the qualitative data I collected?

Gorden (1975) pointed out that the general objectives of the interviewer in any interview are three: *relevance, validity, and reliability*. Much has been written on the need to use multiple methods to ensure validity. This is what is usually referred to as *triangulation* (e.g., Denzin, 1978a & b; Mathison, 1988; Miles, 1984; & Patton, 1987 & 1990). Patton (1987) wrote that there are strengths and weaknesses to any single data collection strategy and that using more than one data collection approach permits the researcher to combine strengths and correct some of the deficiencies in any one source of data. *Triangulation* is, thus, the process of building checks and balances into a design through *multiple data collection strategies*. He summed up this contention by noting that: "Triangulation is a powerful solution to the problem of relying too much on any single data source or method and thereby undermining the validity and credibility of findings because of the weaknesses of any single method" (Patton, 1987:61). Gorden (1975) also highlighted the efficacy of triangulating to "cross-check" or "supplement" sources. Mathison (1988:13) reiterated the compelling need for triangulation by asserting that: "Good research practice obligates the researcher to triangulate, that is, to use multiple methods, data sources, and researchers to enhance the validity of research findings." But, how could one triangulate?

Denzin (1978a,b) identified four basic types of triangulation:

- i) *Data Triangulation* - the use of a variety of data sources in a study, for example, interviewing people in different status positions or with different points of view;
- ii) *Investigator Triangulation* - the use of several different evaluators or social scientists/researchers;

iii) *Theory Triangulation* - the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data; and

iv) *Methodological Triangulation* - the use of multiple methods to study a single problem, such as **interviews**, observations, questionnaires and **documents**.

For my study I used the *data triangulation* strategy through my purposive sampling and thematic/theoretical sampling strategies. In addition to some key "interviewable participants" I was fortunate enough to obtain some illuminating documents on learner centres. By employing these strategies I was able to canvass various identified viewpoints. In addition to this type of triangulation, I used *methodological triangulation* by ascertaining some facts, gathered in the interviews, by recourse to available documents. For example, Gordon stressed that often by interviewing as soon as possible after an event, we can minimize the effects of forgetting and chronological confusion. Since I also used oral history techniques to trace the growth and spread of the learner centre phenomenon I corrected this inherent temporal lapse (see Vansina, 1972), through methodological triangulation, by checking available documents.

Since I declared my intention of using the *re-illumination* strategy (i.e., corroboration/confirmation) I have devised (see Introduction) I used *theory triangulation* to highlight the "convergence of theory" concept identified by Mathies (1988) and the related "similarities and convergences with the literature ... after the analytic core of categories has emerged" (Glaser & Strauss, p. 37).

Reflective Emergent Writing Style

The mention of triangulation; that is, the use of multiple methods to ensure validity and credibility, again, brings to mind the enhancing illuminating and corroborative qualities inherent in

qualitative/naturalistic inquiry and the need to reflect these in the *style* chosen to report my analysis. In this regard, I have chosen a *bifurcation* method - stylistically - to reflect the emerged illuminating *documented vision* and *reality* on the birth and growth of the learner centre concept. A corollary of this documentary vista is the equally illuminating *expressed* reality as seen through the lived experiences of my key informants (cf. triangulation). On most occasions the latter, the informants' perspectives, corroborated the documented vision and reality and, at other times, opened up undocumented vistas, or clearly illuminating perspectives, into the learner centre concept. This duality would, as stated, thus be reflected in this *iterative* and *stylistic bifurcation*. It should be noted that this chosen style also reflects the *emergent* qualitative picture of my findings. In sum, this iterative and bifurcated style serves as a form of triangulation of the documented data.

The highlighted researcher-as-instrument, and the emergent aspect of the chosen qualitative paradigm, brings to the fore Meloy's (1994) echo of the emergent style used in writing my dissertation. Meloy identified two *alternative* stylistic formats - the "emergent" and the "a priori" - which, incidentally, reflect the two competing, or complementary, research paradigms: that is, qualitative and quantitative.

Although I initially intended following the traditional "modal number" (Meloy; p. 7) of *five chapters* in my dissertation, the emerging picture did not easily lend itself to this traditional "a priori guidepost" (Meloy, p.4). To, again, echo this writer (p. 4) I found my presentation naturally emerging into one "of [those] alternative formats that would provide a more *contextually grounded and interactive* approach based on the given that the qualitative researcher is the human instrument" (emphasis added). The presentation style is, therefore, of the "emergent, nontraditional format" (p. 6).

Unlike the a priori traditional format of a distinct "Analysis" chapter, after the factual

presentation of one's findings, the analysis/interpretation of my dissertation is interwoven into the emerging picture since, in the words of Meloy (p. 86), "qualitative dissertations appear to represent attempts at expressing a 'whole' of experience."

In sum, the nontraditional emergent writing style adopted may look "different." The following excerpt (Meloy, 1994:68) echoes this stylistic choice:

Because qualitative research requires *personal rather than detached engagement* in the context, it requires multiple, simultaneous actions and reactions from the human being who is the research instrument. ... *writing* is one way to make visible what appears to be going on (emphases added).

The generally acknowledged researcher-as-instrument in qualitative/naturalistic inquiry distinguishes this paradigm from the "objective distancing" style acceptable in the "traditional" logico-deductive, experimental, paradigm. Not surprisingly, these paradigms do affect the *style* of reporting findings. In the latter, a "neutral" tone is a traditional expectation but, reflective of the uniquely central role of the researcher in the former, the emerging qualitative style of writing reflects this researcher role. For example, Locke, Spirduso and Silverman (1993:220), in commenting on a specimen proposal, highlighted this stylistic difference:

In the final paragraph [of the specimen proposal] the use of "I" rather than the familiar convention of third person ("the investigator") commonly used in quantitative studies seems unsurprising and comfortable in this context. ... [because] *the person of the investigator is a proper and necessary part of the inquiry process in the qualitative paradigm. Any attempt to seem distanced from method would sound out of place* (emphases added).

It is noteworthy that the ongoing "paradigm debate" has found expression, as highlighted above, in the writing style chosen to report an investigation. For example, Miller (1992) in an encyclopedia entry on "Case Studies" touched on the persisting problem of "The politics and poetics of writing case studies." She (Miller: p.171) also highlighted the use of "such rhetorical devices [like] metaphor, irony, paradox, synecdoche, and metonymy, which ethnographers use both to

describe others and to cast their descriptions as objective and authoritative." But, the other "faction" in the debate defend the "traditional" style of writing. What, one may ask, is the origin of this entrenched traditional style?

The practitioners of the logico-deductive quantitative paradigm vehemently defend the parsimony²⁵ principle which inheres in *scientific* studies. This "Aristotelian principle" was popularized by William of Ockham in what eventually became known as "Ockham's Razor".²⁶ Orum, Feagin and Sjoberg (1991:20-21) provide a revealing summary of this ongoing problem in their excerpt on "Presentation and Proof" in case study writing:

... the assertion that a statistical [quantitative] presentation is a "better" method of proof than a qualitative presentation is only a *conventional prejudice*. (Emphasis added)

They go on to compare the two paradigms and, in the process, provide the following insight:

However, in qualitative presentations one does have the advantage of the *literary* or *narrative* style of communication. *Somehow, for more than six decades in social science, the "scientific" and "literary" have been seen as opposites. But we, like earlier generations of social scientists (see Cooley 1930, 317) need to get this idea out of our heads. The literary-narrative approach can be precise and disciplined - and at the same time graphic, readable, and imaginative. ... Vivid description is not*

²⁵ Rensberger (1986) describes "Parsimony" as "the principle that *scientists* use when deciding between alternative explanations for a phenomenon. The rule of parsimony is that one should choose the *simpler* explanation. It is not necessarily always the right one ..." (emphases added).

²⁶ An encyclopedia entry has it that: 'William of Ockham [also spelled *Occam*] was an English philosopher and theologian ... His attitudes toward knowledge, logic, and *scientific inquiry* played a major part in the transition from medieval to modern thought.

Ockham believed that the primary form of knowledge came from experience gained through senses. He based scientific knowledge on such experience and on *self-evident truths* - and on logical propositions resulting from these two sources.

In his writings, Ockham stressed the Aristotelian principle that "entities must not be multiplied beyond what is necessary." This principle became known as *Ockham's Razor*. In philosophy, according to Ockham's Razor, a problem should be stated in its *basic* and *simplest* terms. In science, the simplest theory that fits the facts of a problem is the one that should be selected ...' (emphases added) (cf. Lloyd Morgan's Canon). *The World Book Encyclopedia* (Chicago: World Book, 1993).

the less scientific because it is descriptive. ... [i.e.] vivid, illustrative material.
(Emphases added)

Unfortunately, this identified "conventional prejudice" manifests itself in a largely unacknowledged conventional expectation by some readers of qualitative writing. To these "traditionalists" a distinct qualitative writing style is often dismissed as "too literary".

In line with this delineated style my dissertation will, at times, reflect this emergent *qualitative* writing style.²⁷ Readers with a conventional perspective are thus advised to willingly suspend their biases and see the writing style from the acknowledged qualitative perspective. There is the need, therefore, to temporarily blunt Ockham's Razor.

On the Relevance of Clio²⁸ and Oralism

An investigation into the growth and spread of the cross-cultural learner centre phenomenon inevitably entails history thus the relevance of the use of an oral history technique as a data-gathering instrument. Since this technique entails interviewing, this approach is a natural extension of my initial choice of the data-gathering instrument discussed above - the open-ended, unstructured (initially) interview. For example, to establish dates/chronology the triangulation of data, as mentioned above, was of immense help.

The originator of the "global village" notion, Marshall McLuhan, in one of his writings (1962) identified two modes of perception - the *written* and *oral* modes - but the oral-literate debate continues unabated (e.g., Havelock, 1991; and Olson & Torrance, 1991) because, as Vansina (1972:413) aptly observed: "Members of literate societies find it difficult to shed the prejudice of

²⁷ See also Meloy (1993 and, especially, 1994:10) for more discussions on the use of the "articulate I" in qualitative dissertation writing.

²⁸ Clio is the Muse, or patron, of history.

contempt for the spoken word." But, why did I choose this oral history technique to complement the unstructured interview strategy?

Thompson (1992:viii) observed that "the voice of the past matters to the present" and, unfortunately, "We cannot, alas, interview tombstones" (p. 4) thus that imperative to mine that remarkable amount of "unexploited" information from living interviewable informants. Hann (1988:42 [Abstract]) provides us with a succinct justification for the use of the oral history technique:

The past lives in the minds of people today. ... Never completely sufficient on its own, oral history provides evidence where little other exists.

The birth and growth of a concept, inevitably, entails history thus the need to seek illumination through the "oral perspectives" of some living seminal informants. Oral history is definitely not passé in a predominantly literate society.

ON THEMATIC EVOLUTION AND THEORY DISCOVERY: DATA ANALYSIS

How was the collected raw data analyzed for relevant themes to help illuminate the phenomenon being investigated?

As discussed earlier on, the analytical approach used to interpret the accumulated data was *inductive* and, in this regard, I relied on the emergent, or discovery, concept (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to analyze the learner centre concept.

Inductive qualitative/naturalistic research is often faulted for not having preconceived ideas to be tested but, on the other hand, its intrinsic imaginative flexibility is a saving grace. Out of this *involved* study *emerge* unexpected themes. What I have decided to call *thematic serendipity* has its pluses. The concept of "emerging themes" (Tesch, 1987) is, thus, of major significance in qualitative/naturalistic inquiry (see also: Filstead, 1979; Patton, 1990).

Castetter and Heisler (1984:12) asserted that "While it is true reverence for facts is essential to the conduct of research, there is a higher level of intellectual effort which makes use of but goes beyond fact finding. This process ... is called *theorizing*, or explaining relationships among a large number of facts" (emphasis added). Theory, the summation of previous knowledge (Dobbert, 1982), is derived either *deductively* (the logico-deductive paradigm with its accent on verifying - i.e., a priori) or *inductively* (the grounded, or discovered, qualitative paradigm - i.e., a posteriori). The latter is what Glaser and Strauss (p. 14) refer to as: "How to theorize from data rather than from the armchair."

Other writers (e.g., Swenson, 1980; Phares, 1980; and Long & Hiemstra, 1980) have written extensively on the primacy of theory in research. Theory, as the relevant literature points out, could be either *formal* or *substantive*. Formal theory is that developed for a formal, or conceptual area of inquiry, such as stigma, and formal organizations. Substantive theory, on the other hand, is that developed for a substantive, empirical area of inquiry, such as race relations and patient care (Glaser & Strauss). These authors (Glaser & Strauss) also asserted that substantive theory is a strategic link in the formulation and generation of grounded formal theory.

My area of investigation, the relatively new cross-cultural learner centre phenomenon, is a largely under-researched area - a veritable virgin territory - thus, I attempted to generate some grounded theories, or explanations, for this substantive area. Do I use a preformed theoretical scheme to guide my research or do I generate theory grounded in the qualitative data of the accumulated lived experiences of my informants and the relevant documents? This was the persistent dilemma I faced. I did choose, as discussed earlier, the second strategy.

Much has been written about the use of predetermined theoretical frameworks in research and some authorities have pointed out the obvious contradiction, and limitations, when a researcher

sets out to research a previously researched area (e.g., Spradley, 1979; Brookfield, 1984; Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1987; and Patton, 1990). Although I do have theoretical insights into some aspects (e.g., adult education and libraries) of my problem my main research question is not based on a thesis, or theory, advanced by someone else. I did not attempt to *presume* relationships but, on the other hand, "explain relationships" (i.e., theorize) (Castetter & Heisler, 1984). This chosen approach is confirmed by Madsen's (1983:53) dictum:

One way to arrive at an appropriate *theoretical framework* is to ask oneself some specific questions that will set the creative thought processes in motion. Examples: "Is there a theory, a variant of some theory, or a set of generalizations to which my research problem has reference?" ... (Emphasis added)

Blumer (1939:80) summed up this approach, in his analysis of Thomas and Znaniecki's seminal work - *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918-1920) - on the use of "human" documents by advising that "It is much better to develop one's theoretical judgments with the aid of such documents than to form them, speaking extremely, in a vacuum." How, then, did I analyze my data to explain relationships, or theorize?

As mentioned earlier, I used the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss to generate substantive theory from the data so that it will help interpret, or explain, the data in a general manner. Other authorities have written extensively on this data analysis procedure (e.g., Darkenwald, 1980; Brookfield, 1984; and Patton, 1990). Blumer's appraisal of *The Polish Peasant* showed that the grounded theory approach predated Glaser and Strauss (1967) although the latter duo should be credited for providing a fitting nomenclature and popularizing it as a viable qualitative inquiry tool. What, then, is this grounded theory?

Glaser and Strauss (p. 23) in highlighting the "emergent perspectives" slant of this approach and the inherent grounding in "real life circumstances," and not from predetermined logical assumptions (hypotheses), explained that: "In discovering theory, one generates conceptual

categories or their properties from evidence, then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept." How is this procedure used to analyze the accumulated qualitative data?

Again, Glaser and Strauss (p. 43) summarize the analytic procedure this way:

Joint collection, coding, and analysis of data is the underlying operation. The generation of theory, coupled with the notion of *theory as process*, requires that all three operations be done together as much as possible. They should blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation to its end. ... [The] definite separation of each operation hinders generation of theory. (Emphasis added)

Tesch (1987), in her article on emerging themes also lauded this analytical approach. She added that the reliance on emergent themes denotes researcher flexibility which eventuates in redesigning/refocusing. Since inductive qualitative/naturalistic research is devoid of predetermined notions, researchers are always in a "questioning" mode - the I-found-myself-asking phenomenon which Tesch highlighted. Tesch, like Glaser and Strauss, recommended that data analysis should be ongoing and should start with data collection. How does one derive meaning from the data?

Tesch, like other qualitative methodologists, recommended that to aid *thematic emergence* there should be *total* immersion and, that, the data should be divided into smaller units: that is, "meaning units" (cf. Glaser & Strauss' "conceptual categories").

Another interesting, and worthwhile, elaboration by Tesch is that an important variant of data analysis is the *pattern detection* stage where the qualities of patience and systematization come into play. This writer went on to highlight two adopted "approaches" - "panning" (highlighting) and "surveying" (line-by-line). The delineating of categories/clusters of commonalities culminates in a list of themes. This initial list is further refined and confirmed for relevance.

Also, the qualitative data I collected qualified as "narrative data" of the perspectives of the informants and Fawcett & Downs (1992) wrote that narrative data usually are analyzed by means

of a *content analysis* procedure. Patton (1987) highlighted the fact that content analysis involves identifying coherent and important *examples, themes, and patterns* in the data. In this regard, the analyst looks for quotations or observations that go together, that are examples of the *same* underlying *idea, issue, or concept*. On the purpose of content analysis Patton (p. 150) summed up by asserting that: "Organizing and simplifying the complexity of data into some meaningful and manageable themes or categories is the basic purpose of content analysis." But, how would one derive these meaningful and manageable themes?

Some methodologists contend that since pure inductive qualitative, and naturalistic, research should be devoid of preconceived plans it is almost impossible to *specify*, in detail, how one will analyze data which is yet to be collected. The following excerpt (Locke et al., 1987:170) highlights that viewpoint: "The test of a qualitative proposal ... is not whether it is so carefully explicit and thorough as to allow replication with similar findings. Details of research *focus, method, and analysis* often are not established in the proposal, because they only can be fully determined once the investigation is in process" (emphases added).

In spite of this methodological advice, which holds true in qualitative dissertation proposals, I built on a *content analysis procedure* I used to process the transcript of a pilot study²⁹, of a local learner centre, I conducted earlier on. I, therefore, used this tested procedure to analyze and interpret the qualitative data I collected to help me answer the main and subsidiary research questions. This process significantly removed that "attractive nuisance" element (Miles, 1990) inherent in qualitative data analysis. Some methodologists (e.g., Kerlinger, 1973; Cooper, 1984; & Patton, 1990) all agree

²⁹ As indicated in the introductory section of this dissertation (Chapter I), this pilot study highlighted the central role of the library in the learner centre concept and the uniqueness of each centre. In addition to this emergent fact, the analytical device used to process the qualitative data collected during that investigation was the embedded categories/themes explained in subsequent pages.

that the first step in any analysis is *categorization*; that is, partitioning according to some rule. This is the first step in extracting meaning from the data; that is, interpretation. Kerlinger (p. 134) provided us with a clear description of this analysis process when he explained that: "The research analyst breaks down data into constituent parts to obtain answers to research questions and to test research hypotheses. The analysis of research data, however, does not in and of itself provide the answers to research questions. Interpretation of the data is necessary. To interpret is to explain, to find meaning. It is difficult or impossible to explain raw data; one must first analyze the data then interpret the results of the analysis." Further, "Analysis means the categorization, ordering, manipulating and summarizing of data to obtain answers to research questions. The purpose of analysis is to reduce data to intelligible and interpretable form ... Interpretation takes the results of analysis, makes inferences pertinent to the research relations studied, and draws conclusions about those relations."

As mentioned earlier, I processed some qualitative data I collected for a pilot project on the learner centre concept and I built on the analytical procedure I used to derive those "meaningful categories", or emergent themes, prior to interpreting. Since context is so paramount in qualitative/naturalistic studies I adapted the **KWIC** (Keyword-In-Context) indexing system used in the library and information science field by devising a strategy I call *embedded categories/themes* which are retrievable by using the *search function* of WordPerfect - a word processing package.

An *index* is described as "a systematic guide to items contained in or *concepts derived* from a collection ... " (Rothman, 1974) (emphases added). Further, indexing has some essential operations including **scanning** the raw data; **analyzing** its content - this **content analysis** being based on a predetermined, control language - and, then **tagging** the discrete items in the collection with appropriate identifiers.

These inherent qualities of indexing influenced my adapting the KWIC index technique for my embedded categories/themes approach. These categories, or themes, emerged from the data I collected through interviews and the relevant documents.

Rothman (1974), again, highlights one significant aspect of indexing which also influenced my analytical tool - *word and concept indexing*. Here, the indexer has a choice of two basic approaches to the text to be indexed. He/she can use as *index terms* the *vocabulary* of the *original* document, or he/she can read the original document for content, *assigning* to the *concepts* discussed, in the document, terms that seem most appropriate, whether or not they coincide with those used by the original author or, in my case, the transcribed perspectives of my informants and relevant documentary information. Word indexing is, therefore, often called *derivative indexing*; *concept indexing* is often called *assignment indexing*.

As discussed earlier, there is usually the need to implement some controls. Rothman's (1974) encyclopedic entry, again, explains that for indexing some type of *list* or *thesaurus* is useful. For example, in word indexing, some vocabulary controls are necessary to avoid "scattering" references under synonyms, near-synonyms, and homographs appearing in the original text. In concept indexing, similar controls are, again, necessary to ensure that the indexer will "consistently assign" the *same* term to the *same* concept. In word indexing, vocabulary controls can be developed in the course of the indexing process; in concept indexing, a list, *prepared in advance*, of basic index terms for the general subject of the material to be indexed is generally advisable. This prepared list should be done after the requisite initial scanning of the transcripts; that is, the control list should *emerge* from the data.

In my case, I adopted the concept indexing technique and followed the "emergent" principle (Tesch) inherent in qualitative inquiry by using categories/themes I derived from the collected data.

I deemed it biasing, as stated above, to have a predetermined - *prepared-in-advance* - list which patently runs counter to acknowledged qualitative methodology.

Context, as discussed earlier, plays a central role in qualitative inquiry thus my decision, again, to adapt KWIC (Keyword-In-CONTEXT) indexing. This acronym - *KWIC* - was coined by H. P. Luhn in 1959 who, in the process, helped popularize an established indexing technique (see Rothman, 1974; Borko & Bernier, 1978).

KWIC index happens to be one of the most immediately successful computer-generated indexes which, since it relied on titles, is also known as *permuted-title index*. How relevant is this technique to content analysis?

In KWIC indexing the *titles* of reports, articles, monographs, and working papers, put into machine-readable form, are scanned by the computer. The computer, then chooses the **significant** word, or words, prints each title out in such a way that each significant word appears in a **designated key position** (usually centre column) and that *all* titles are arranged alphabetically by the significant word and the letters following it. Although such indexes can be produced very quickly and very cheaply, their usefulness, nevertheless, depends on the use of factual, unambiguous, significant words in the title. This, thus, has an intrinsic control characteristic. (For a full description see Rothman, 1974.)

It is the context-specific aspect of KWIC which is most appealing and, as Borko and Bernier (1978) rightly highlighted, contexts for keywords are provided by the other words of the titles, etc. That is; keywords in KWIC indexes are not isolated; they are adjacent to other words in the title, and so *context* serves as an "index modification" that fairly well defines the *meaning* of the keyword. This is a veritably illuminating technique.

Contexts and the derivation of meanings are significant characteristics of the qualitative

paradigm; thus my adapted KWIC indexing technique in the form of the embedded categories/themes derived from the data (see Appendix D). The embedded categories/themes, and the specific location tags (i.e.; line numbers) provide that requisite context which goes a long way in highlighting pertinent illuminating quotes. It should be noted, though, that the use of embedded categories/themes changes the line numbering in the *original* document. It is, therefore, advisable to keep the original working document to ensure the quick locating of relevant parts to be incorporated in a dissertation, or any writing.

Rothman (1974); Foskett (1975); and Borko and Bernier (1978) highlight the need for vocabulary control of the "natural" language of the transcripts and relevant documents (cf. "controlled" indexing language) in the form of a thesaurus. What is a thesaurus? Borko and Bernier (p. 93) provide the following definition:

A thesaurus is an organized list of terms from a specialized vocabulary arranged to facilitate the selection of synonyms and of words that are otherwise related.

As indicated earlier, there was the obvious need to *control* the derived and, subsequently, embedded categories (and subcategories) or themes thus, in line with indexing techniques. I created a thesaurus, or code book, of derived terms. To forestall terminological confusion I used the syndetic element in the thesaurus; that is, the use of cross-references (*see* and *see also*) to indicate links between entries.

KWIC indexing uses the computer for the generation of the indexable terms and my adapted analytical tool, as discussed earlier, relied on the *search* function of WordPerfect 5.1 for eventual retrieval of the derived, and embedded, categories/themes.

In WordPerfect, and other word processing packages, the search function enables one to use an *appropriate* "search string" to quickly locate a specific word, or sequence of characters, *anywhere* in a document. One has to bear in mind, though, the search strategy, or requirements, and limitations

of the specific package being used (see *WordPerfect Reference ...*, 1989; Simpson, 1991). In this case, one can search for specific embedded categories/themes and either print or incorporate specific sections into different documents.

Another invaluable device most comprehensive word processing packages have are "Footers" and "Headers" (or, "Page Headers" and "Page Footers"). These defining elements could be used to keep track of various segments in specified documents.

Footers, or headers, could be used, as indicated, as *tracking* mechanisms since one can make them appear on *every* page of a document. For example, you might want to put a chapter title, a date, a file name, or a combination of all these, at the top (i.e.; headers) or bottom (i.e.; footers) of every page (see, e.g., Simpson, 1991, for a full explanation of these features). (See also Appendix D for an example).

This tracking device, in addition to the KWIC index-inspired embedded categories/themes, are central to the analytical tool I designed for my study.

When should I be satisfied with exploiting the transcribed qualitative data? When is closure appropriate? To echo Tesch, when there is an undeniable saturation - a *thematic drought*. That saturation point was reached when the *same* themes, or perspectives, repeatedly occurred in the transcripts and documents.

On Intrinsic Analytical Avenues

To generate grounded theory qualitative methodologists rely on some avenues like *constant comparison*, *theoretical sampling* and *illuminating descriptions*. Darkenwald (1980), in discussing the constant comparison strategy of Glaser and Strauss (1967), averred that to facilitate the development of theoretical generalizations, grounded theory researchers rely heavily on comparative

analysis. Glaser and Strauss (p. 102), in explaining this analytic procedure of constant comparison, asserted that: "The purpose of the constant comparative method of *joint coding and analysis* is to generate theory more systematically" (emphasis added). They also affirmed that the basic criterion governing the selection of comparison groups for discovering theory is their "theoretical relevance" (p. 49) for furthering the development of emerging categories.

Lincoln and Guba (1985:339) further explain that Glaser and Strauss' constant comparison method is "a means for deriving (grounding) theory, not simply a means for processing data." Again, they observe that "the process of constant comparison stimulates thought that leads to both descriptive and explanatory categories" (p. 341).

The progenitors of this theory-grounding method - Glaser and Strauss (1967:106) - provide us with a fitting summary of this analytical technique. They enjoin that the first rule of the constant comparative method is that "while coding an incident for a category, *compare* it with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category" (emphasis added).

It is interesting to note that Blumer (1939:13) in his appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's work highlighted a similar procedure advanced by these pioneers of the "human" document strategy:

In seeking to establish a relation between given attitudes and values, the authors stress that three considerations must be observed. First, the *comparative method* should be employed in arriving at a law of relation; one should compare many instances of the given attitude and value to determine the relation between them. Second, in this endeavor it is very important not to wrench the attitude and value out of their *context*. (Vol. II:18) (Emphases added)

Given the tried-and-tested nature of this procedure I used it within the framework of Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory approach. In doing this I employed the four stages of the constant comparative method delineated by these authorities to help explain, or illuminate, various aspects of the concept under investigation. These are:

- i) *Comparing* incidents applicable to each category;

- ii) *Integrating* categories and their properties;
- iii) *Delimiting* the theory; and
- iv) *Writing* the theory.

The authors stressed that this is a "continuously growing" process. How did I maintain faithful direction?

Another avenue of the grounded theory strategy is *theoretical sampling* which, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967), provides *constant direction*. Also, theoretical sampling is done in order to *discover* categories and their properties, and to suggest the interrelationships into a theory (cf. Castetter & Heisler, 1984).³⁰ What, then, is theoretical sampling?

Glaser and Strauss (p. 45) described this as a process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his or her data and decides *what* data to collect next and *where* to find them, in order to develop the emerging theory. The basic question in theoretical sampling (in either substantive or formal theory) is: "What groups or subgroups does one turn to next in data collection? And for what theoretical purpose?" (p. 47) (cf. snowball or chain sampling - Bailey, 1978; Patton, 1990). The subsequent gap-filling questions are, thus, structured *after* the initial interviews (i.e., post-structured).

Glaser and Strauss (p. 102) stressed that the comparative analysis method is to be used jointly with theoretical sampling and, in my view, with the gap-filling preliminary *thematic sampling* I have identified. (See footnote on thematic sampling.)

³⁰ I believe that there is a missing link in this theory generation process in that **THEMATIC SAMPLING** (my term) should be the initial step. This will be elaborated later on in this chapter.

On Illumination

Another tool of the grounded theory, qualitative, strategy is the concept of *illumination*. The term "illuminating"; that is, the richness of illustrative detail, was first used by Blumer (1939) in his appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant* and, since then, writers like Patton (1990) have stressed that *what people actually say* and the *faithful description of events observed* remain the essence of qualitative inquiry. He (Patton) elaborated that the *quotations* are, essentially, for what anthropologists call the "emic perspective"; that is, the insider's perspective on reality.³¹ Darkenwald (1980:68) provided a useful connection, and summary, of this qualitative inquiry concept when he observed that "[Grounded theory] has as its major concern the systematic exploration and illumination of social interaction in real-life settings."

In line with the "illumination" principle I felt there was the compelling need for extensive quotes from the data - of the key informants' perspectives - to help explain this relatively new, and largely under-researched, phenomenon. I firmly believe that such a "thick description" - to borrow Ryle's notion (see Geertz, 1973:6) - would go a long way in throwing more light on this novel concept. Again, since my fieldwork coincided with a traumatic upheaval in the learner centre movement - attributable to the total federal funding cuts of 1995 - I did capture a once-in-a-lifetime "snapshot" of emotions which *will*, I believe, never be replicated. Thus, providing that rich illustrative detail - the profound insights - will provide a faithful analysis of that moment and, hopefully, provide future researchers with these "snapshots" for further inquiries.

Generating theory does not denote a tabula rasa approach in that a researcher could have some theoretical insights which could be dredged up, at the appropriate time, when some similarities

³¹ For a full explanation of the "emic" and "etic" perspectives in qualitative/naturalistic inquiry see Lincoln & Guba (1985:359) where it is explained that, unlike naturalistic inquirers, positivistic inquirers "tend toward a construction that they bring to the inquiry a priori (etic)."

are discovered in the constant comparison mode. This is the corroborative, or confirmatory, aspects of qualitative inquiry.

Although some writers like Locke, Spirduso and Silverman (1987:92) identified this corroborative, or re-illumination, strategy a specific nomenclature is yet to be applied to it. These writers (Locke et al.), in highlighting the significance of the researcher as the "primary instrument" on which qualitative research must depend for the acquisition and analysis of data, recommended that there are obvious advantages to beginning a study without knowledge of conclusions reached by others but, that, "The necessary critical comparison of results with the published literature may best be left to the final stage of the research process."

THE ETHICAL DIMENSION

Collecting data in qualitative research requires, in addition to documentary sources, fieldwork and this strategy is, undoubtedly, intrusive (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman). This intrusive nature inevitably highlights that pervasive "ethical dimension" (Patton) and moral issues which inhere in qualitative inquiry. How can we deal with that sometimes "ruthless and devious behavior in the field" (May, 1980:359)? Interviews, in the opinion of Patton (p. 353) "are interventions. They affect people."

The relevant literature highlights the fact that in qualitative, and naturalistic, inquiry one inevitable factor is the researcher as the primary instrument (i.e.; the researcher-as-instrument factor) in field-based studies (e.g., Spradley, 1979; Dobbert, 1982; Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1987; and Patton, 1990). In the concise words of Sanday (1990), the researcher inevitably "filters the data" during the data-gathering and analysis process. After all, the A & E (Arts & Entertainment) television channel has an aphorism which holds especially true in a qualitative inquiry - "Every life

is a biography" - thus the primacy of the researcher as instrument.

A significant aspect of this researcher intrusion is the inevitability of researcher biography and, ipso facto, bias (Spradley; Locke et al.) affecting the course of the investigation. For example, the values, habits of perception, intellectual presumptions, and personal dispositions become potentially relevant to gathering, analyzing and understanding the data (e.g.; Locke, Spirduso & Silverman).

Having accepted this biographical, and ethical, dilemma I endeavoured to keep in mind the need for self-control in the field. I, thereby, to echo Locke et al. (1987:86), activated "the skill of using the self as a research instrument without intruding personal dispositions that *distort* rather than *illuminate* the data" (emphases added).

A corollary of the dilemma of researcher biography is the ethical dimension highlighted above. In the succinct words of Locke et al. (p. 78) "Every human has a right not to be used by others."

The relevant literature is replete with writings on the significance of the ethical dilemma intrinsic in fieldwork; especially, informed consent (e.g., May, 1980; Thorne, 1980; and Wax, 1980). Wax (1980:272) tackled the persistent issue of ethics in fieldwork methodologies from the point of informed consent which "has become a central requirement of the systems which regulate research that involves 'human subjects'."

What is the task of the fieldworker? Are there inherent ethical problems? Wax (pp. 272-3) echoed May (1980) in providing a pithy answer to this dilemma:

The task of the fieldworker is to enter into the matrix of meanings of the researched [i.e., cultures], to participate in their system of organized activities, and to feel subject to their code of moral regulation. Fieldwork is thus a complex interaction between researcher and hosts and is constructed in a process of give-and-take (or exchange and reciprocity) ...

As discussed earlier, my fieldwork coincided with a veritably traumatic moment in the life of the learner centres. Their "core funding" by the Federal Government, through C.I.D.A.'s Public Participation Program (P.P.P.), had just been cancelled (1995) thus I was faced with that researcher's "unforeseen circumstance" of investigating a phenomenon on the brink of extinction and, more importantly, interviewing informants who were facing imminent layoff. This was an unwelcome nightmare for me and, not surprisingly, a major ethical dilemma. Luckily, most of the key informants saw the timeliness of my "project" and willingly co-operated. Thus, I ended up "capturing" the prevailing mood of these genuinely worried informants. To circumvent this unexpected dilemma, though, I had to be both diplomatic and empathic while "intruding" into the lives of these willing informants.

Another ethical dilemma faced by researchers (and something I endeavoured to guard against) is the "imposition of judgments" (May, 1980). This writer reiterated the need for the willing suspension of some of the judgments acquired with earlier socialization. This, inexorably, acts as a check on another ethical problem - stereotyping. I was fully aware of the fact that the professional association I had with the London centre (as a part-time Librarian) could influence my perception of other centres. To control this probable preconception (i.e., stereotyping) I employed the "disciplined intention" approach recommended by Patton (1987:95): "The [researcher] approaches fieldwork with a *disciplined intention* not to impose preconceptions or make premature judgments" (emphasis added).

A corollary of stereotyping is researcher openness and flexibility - two factors that inhere in qualitative research. Research does affect the researcher and this could lead to the revision of initial conceptualizations. Without this openness a researcher could make some ethical compromises.

The emergent concept in qualitative research is also present in the relationship between

researcher and informants. Ideally, this relationship is jointly created and "emergent"; that is, not subject to prior planning.

Gaining access (entry) is another area fraught with ethical compromises and questions. Thorne (1980:287) reiterated the requisite notion of, again, openness in fieldwork. Gaining access through "vague and even misleading initial statements of identity and purpose is downright reprehensible." (See Appendix A)

How could one handle factions at the site(s) under investigation? To Wax, it is unethical to take advantage of "rival protagonists." This dictum, although seemingly simplistic, stood me in good stead since there was the appearance, in the course of my fieldwork, of the inevitable formation of "factions" in this setting. It is only natural that like personalities attract each other.

The relevant literature on the qualitative paradigm reiterates the need for "immersion" in the phenomenon being investigated. Understanding a setting goes a long way in ensuring fair research and, with regard to the notion of informed consent, lack of this prerequisite understanding could lead to further ethical compromises. Thorne (p. 288) highlighted this usually forgotten ethical dilemma when he asserted that: "Gaps in understanding due to different experiential worlds may hamper a researcher's ability to provide informed consent." In line with the "immersion" credo I spent some time getting acquainted with the centres chosen and getting to know some of the key informants. I also did use the telephone, on a number of occasions, to familiarize myself with the setting and some key informants prior to mailing out my entry letters and the subsequent interviews.

In addition to the ethical pitfalls highlighted above one needs to include, in his or her ethical framework, such central issues as promises and genuine reciprocity with collaborating informants; risk assessment (e.g., psychological, stress or ostracism); confidentiality; data access and ownership (e.g., security devised to protect data).

I, again, endeavoured to faithfully follow this delineated thread through the inevitable ethical maze. For example; I assured informants' confidentiality by initially using coded initials in my interview notes and verbatim transcripts of tape-recorded interviews; promised informants copies of interview transcripts if they so wish; used pseudonyms to forestall the obvious recognition of persons and places; kept the audiotapes and transcripts in a secured place and I will see to their destruction after the successful completion of my dissertation.

As mentioned earlier, the investigation of the *birth* and *growth* of a concept inevitably entails a historical nexus thus there was the need for *selective anonymity* of informants. There was the clear and present need to *name* some seminal figures in the evolution and spread of the concept under investigation. In using my judgment, I endeavoured to be critically selective of what I portrayed about these central characters. I also believed that this substantive area is varied and complex and possesses such inevitable "research fecundity" therefore my mentioning some key names will, definitely, help future researchers who would like to follow the inadequate trail I am blazing and, thereby, investigate this innovative concept from different perspectives. There is, certainly, not *one* meaning to be derived from such a phenomenon which exhibits the unmistakable influence of the *convergence* of various personalities and, ipso facto, ideas, or concepts.

Since this is a qualitative/naturalistic, and not a quantitative/experimental, research there was not that psychological distancing between myself and the prospective informants to assure that so-called objectivity. I, nevertheless, tried to be objective by openly documenting my personal insights and reflections, in my notes, in line with the tenets of heuristic³² inquiry (Patton, 1990).

³² HEURISTICS is a form of phenomenological inquiry that brings to the fore the personal experience and insights of the researcher.

Phenomenological inquiry, itself, uses qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. (Patton, 1990)

CONCLUSION

In sum, I used the grounded theory and inductive processes approach and the variants of constant comparison, thematic and theoretical sampling. For controls, I used the naturalistic approach, in that there was no preconception involved in the prerequisite immersion, in the area under investigation, and subsequent analysis of the experiences and perceptions of the key informants.

The analytical tools followed, naturally, from the control mechanisms used. The inductive discovery, or emergence, process was used. The centrality of context in qualitative inquiry was addressed from the temporal and locus perspectives. The context being the complex, and varied, world of the cross-cultural learner centres posed an inevitable dilemma in that surveying the *whole* population was patently impracticable, therefore, my sampling strategy was, necessarily, the nonprobability type - it was purposive and judgmental.

A corollary of the above sampling strategy was the question of samples, or locations. Here, I selected the pioneer London, Ontario, centre and some local "spin-off" organizations to help answer the principal elements of "birth" and "growth". For practical, and prevailing, reasons I focused on some centres in Toronto to help address the "growth" and, ipso facto, influence factors. Also, some related umbrella organizations were investigated to help provide an illuminating vista into the networking and co-ordinating aspects of the learner centre concept.

In general, instrumentation involved interviews of identified key informants and the collecting of additional data from relevant documents, most of them elicited during my fieldwork. I also used, extensively, the public, special, and university library, and special collections, systems in London and Metropolitan Toronto. The telephone was also used extensively. The interviewing technique used was the unstructured, "intensive interviewing", type. For the interviews, the

questions, and issues, to be addressed were derived by using the *grounded questions* strategy I devised. I did, nevertheless, introduce some control mechanisms through the requisite preliminary entry letter; my telephone calls; and thematic/theoretical sampling during the interviews through recourse to my interview guides. To ensure the requisite trustworthiness, validity, and relevance of the qualitative data collected I used the tested method of multiple sources: that is, triangulation.

Again, I used the established qualitative techniques of illumination to throw the searchlight on emerged novel perspectives and corroboration to highlight the emergence of older, received, explanations from the relatively new perspective of the area under investigation. This bifurcation is, thus, reflected in the style I used to report my analysis of the qualitative data collected.

A corollary of the above instruments is the processing of the data itself. Here, I used content analysis with the help of a tool I designed. This was the *embedded categories/themes* strategy which could be retrieved by another adapted technique, from KWIC (Keyword-In-Context) indexing, by recourse to the search function of a word processor (i.e.; WordPerfect 5.1).

Also, I have identified a *procedural gap* in the theory discovery, or emergence, *process* in that after delineating pertinent categories, or themes, one, then, pursues these preliminary promising *themes* which, eventually, form the nucleus of an *evolving*, or *emerging*, theory. It is at the end of this latter stage that Glaser and Strauss' (1967) *theoretical sampling* strategy takes over. In a diagrammatical form, the discovery process should, therefore, be:

CATEGORIES/THEMES → THEMATIC SAMPLING → THEORETICAL SAMPLING → THEORY

This, I believe, would be a *logical bridge* in this influential qualitative process. Also, if the emerging themes are not theoretically promising one can safely abandon the theory formulation process at this *middle* stage; that is, the thematic sampling stage.

Qualitative inquiry is inevitably intrusive thus the paramount need to address some persistent

issues in the ethical dimension. Here, I endeavoured to be explicit in my prerequisite entry letter; my telephone calls; and the interviews. I did, also, assure data confidentiality. I also used my judgment to institute *selective anonymity* of some key personalities because of the inherent historical component. Again, control of the intrinsic researcher "biographical baggage" was assured through a sustained willing suspension of bias.

After highlighting the stated *method* for collecting and processing the qualitative data we can now move into the realm of seeing the *processed explanations* of the selected perspectives or, according to one informant, the "precise experiences" afforded by the key informants and relevant documents.

CHAPTER IV

EMERGENT DISCOVERIES: BIRTH AND SURVIVAL

THE BIRTH OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNER CENTRE CONCEPT

How did the cross-cultural learner centre concept evolve? How did it survive? These are the guiding questions the analyzed qualitative data would attempt to answer in this chapter.

It is interesting to note that the learner centre phenomenon owed much to that convergence of auspicious factors. As discussed earlier, the delineated Principle of Conceptual Convergence owed much to the convergence of personalities (read: ideas), place (locus) and temporal. This significant happening in the latter part of the 1960s in London, Ontario, gave birth to the unique learning experiment under study. How did this concept come to fruition?

The following insight, by two of the acknowledged principal "founders" of this phenomenon, provides a revealing introduction into the history, and rationale, for this experiment in the sixties:

During the middle years of the 1960 decade when we were involved in providing orientation training for volunteers, such as Crossroads Africa³³ and CUSO³⁴, we

³³ CROSSROADS AFRICA: A North American volunteer organization that sends teams to African countries, chiefly to carry out summer work camp or construction projects. It was a progenitor of the famous American Peace Corps.

Operation Crossroads Africa was the brainchild of a Reverend Dr. James H. Robinson in 1958. The Canadian Crossroads, which was inspired by the pioneer U.S. organization, was granted a Canadian Charter as a charitable separate organization in 1968. In 1971, the name of the Canadian organization was changed to Canadian Crossroads International. According to a directory entry (see: *Associations Canada 1994/95*) the organizational profile is: "To provide **cross-cultural learning experiences** in order to create **mutual understanding** and respect among people; to **facilitate** cooperation in living and surviving." (Emphases added)

³⁴ CUSO (Formerly Canadian University Service Overseas) is a government and privately supported organization similar in some respects to the British V.S.O. and the U.S. Peace Corps. Part

found ourselves faced with the same problem that educators and trainers have confronted repeatedly, especially in recent years. The *problem* can be expressed as a question: How can we create a *learning opportunity* and environment which will make for a greater degree of *individualizing* of *when* and *what* the person learns, and do so in a much more *personalized* or humanized manner? (North & Simpson, 1971a:191) (Emphases added)

There was, thus, a felt need for an *alternative* and this need found expression in the cross-cultural learner centre concept. In answer to the central question, regarding the identified pedagogical problem, the organizers of the orientation program duly initiated the first trial of a *manual* learner-centred approach; a trial they modestly acknowledged as "a crude experimental alternative answer to our question" (ibid., 191).

This first illumination of the beginnings of the London centre is again highlighted by the following observation:

Previously, in the summer of 1968, an information or resource centre had been designed and used at the orientation for Crossroads Africa, and the experience with this flexible *manual* way of making *individualized learning* possible, encouraged CUSO to consider a more sophisticated approach, utilizing newer information technologies. Such a facility was envisioned as consisting of a multi-media, computer assisted, information-retrieval and problem solving centre. (North & Forgie, 1969:125) (Emphases added)

It is, therefore, clear that the pedagogical significance of this learner-centred experiment at the orientations was realized thus the inevitable move from the initial 1968 "research demonstration mode" to an 'operational or "production" phase' (North & Forgie, 1969) in 1969 when a formal request was made by the director of the C.U.S.O. West Africa programme, and the orientation directors, that the successful learner-centred facility be made available to *all* the volunteers at the subsequent 1969 orientation.

Satisfying the expressed needs and interests of learners is a central principle in adult

of its profile in a directory entry (see: *Directory of Associations in Canada 1994-1995*) reads: "A Canadian non-profit organization that supports alliances for *global* social justice." (Emphasis added)

education (e.g., Brown, 1963; Grotelueschen, 1980) and the acknowledged significance of this is corroborated by a memorandum, dated May 1970, from the staff of the fledgling London Centre to the 1970 staff of the C.U.S.O. West Africa Orientation headed: "Background Information on the Learner-Centred Project." Because of its revealing significance the memorandum is reproduced below:

The Pilot Model of a Learner-Centred Environment conducted during the 1969 CUSO West Africa Orientation evolved out of the *apparent limitations* of the 1968 CUSO Orientation of one hundred and thirty-five volunteers going to Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. The *structured* orientation program, based on *lectures* and *large group discussions*, did not appear to meet the needs of highly *diverse* groups of volunteers with different backgrounds and learning patterns going to very different assignments overseas which would require a high degree of *individualized* problem solving and adaptation. Therefore, it was hoped that a learning environment could be created which would accommodate differences in individual learning patterns and foster individual initiative and learning.

Again:

Of necessity, because of the large numbers and limited time, much of the orientation training was conducted by the *lecture* and *discussion* method and involved rather large groups scheduled in a timetable fashion. Traditional library resources were also available. (Emphases added)

It is, therefore, demonstrably clear that the organizers of the orientations did not feel at ease in the old, traditional "dispensation" (with due apologies to T.S. Eliot's observation in his poem - *The Journey of the Magi*) thus the felt and expressed need for a more flexible, technology-aided, alternative way of placing the learner in the centre of the new "learning paradigm." It was a learning paradigm which set out to cater to a veritable "kaleidoscope range of interests" (see "What is a Cross-Cultural Learner Centre?").

On Dates and Sustenance

There is usually controversy surrounding the exact *dating* of the beginning of historic occurrences and, also, *who* the real founders are. Not surprisingly, the London learner centre project is not immune to such an historical controversy. Although 1968 was the acknowledged year of the *first* manual learner centre the C.U.S.O. orientations actually started in 1967.

The original concept and the subsequent initial "learner centre project" - for it was not located in any physical place - did find a receptive, nurturing ambience on the campus of the University of Western Ontario where, incidentally, the orientations took place. The appreciative role played by this university is fully documented in the literature and, as will be shown later, by the insights provided by some of the key informants. The following insight (Radcliffe & Radcliffe, 1974:1151)³⁵ provides us with a condensed perspective of the *educational significance* of this novel learning experience and the significant role played by the University of Western Ontario:

Western's involvement in International Education is relatively recent, going back to 1967 when the West Africa section of the Canadian University Service Overseas [CUSO] organisation chose to use the facilities of Althouse College of Education during the summer for the orientation programme of its volunteers. At this time Althouse College provided merely the location for the programme and then contracted services of some of its staff members especially for teacher-training, since teaching was the prime area of assignment. For specifically African context a relationship was developed with Michigan State University [U.S.A.], with its excellent resource base, and generously cooperative faculty and African students, and with the University of London (England) Institute of Education. As a result, however, a small, but growing database was established at Althouse College to serve what has become an *annual* orientation for West Africa in London [Ontario].

In 1968 the idea was conceived of developing the West Africa collection as a multi-media (books, audio-tapes, videotapes, slide-packs, movies, and vertical files)

³⁵ Since most of the documentary evidence came from the invaluable three-volume, and continuously numbered, tomes on the pioneer London, Ontario, Centre (1969 - 1974) there will not be specific attribution to these volumes in the text of this dissertation. Only the specific page number(s) will be provided. The volumes are entered under, in the accompanying bibliography: UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO: Office of International Education. The Cross-Cultural Learner Center: A Documentary ...

computerised "learner-centre." (Emphasis added)

The Centre, then, was a joint project of C.U.S.O. and the University of Western Ontario. Initially, it was administered by the University's Office of International Education, which was responsible to a Senate Committee and the Vice-President, Academic. The educational thrust of this "project" was, thus, never in doubt from the beginning. A speech (June 1972) made by one of the acknowledged principal architects of this novel learner-centred phenomenon, Professor Donald (Don) Simpson, summed up this obvious educational rationale by highlighting their interest in "pedagogical reform"; "better preparing" Canadians going to work in other cultures; and in "attacking racism in our society." The new learner-centred paradigm was the adopted methodology.

Conceptual Convergence and Diversification

As discussed earlier (see Chapter I), the learner centre phenomenon shows signs of the influence of varied conceptual influences. This area also exhibited a distinct pluralistic perspective. These two inherent attributes played an unmistakably prominent role in the evolution of this concept.

For example, in a memorandum, dated January 2, 1974, from the-then Executive Director of U.W.O.'s Office of International Education - Simpson - to the staff of that Office on the subject of the "Future of the Centre and Its Relationship with the Office," he, invariably, highlighted these identified factors in the evolution of this concept:

A great many things have happened since 1969 when the Cross-Cultural Centre was merely a vague idea in the minds of a handful of people in this community. The idea was refined and developed, people from *various* backgrounds became involved, programmes and projects were mounted and a permanent centre was established. Our ideas have had some influence both nationally and internationally. Just before Christmas [i.e., 1973] the Senate Committee on University Development [SCUD] moved a step closer to acknowledging the potential importance of the Center to the University. (University of Western Ontario. Office ..., vol. 3:1290) (Emphasis added)

And, on the deliberate diversified focus, the following excerpt introduces us to this equally important aspect of this phenomenon:

The Cross-Cultural Learner Centre came into being through the work of *several* groups, each representing a different culture, who helped to either select or produce the resource materials they consider most useful for an *accurate understanding* of their particular area. ("Introducing the Learner Centre" vol. 2:521) (Emphases added)

Many people did contribute to the evolution of this unique learner-centred concept and with the people came ideas. This trend, undoubtedly, contributed to the identified conceptual convergence and pluralistic, or diversified, perspective which inheres in this phenomenon.

Growth, Identity and Place

Hamilton, in his 1989 overview of the London centre, highlighted the role of "place" in its evolution. The various moves of this first centre symbolized growth and a continual search for a lasting identity. At various stages the fledgling resource centre was identified as a "Learner Center Project"; the "Learner-Centred Cross-Cultural Resource Centre"; the "Learner Centred Environment Program"; and the "Intercultural Resource Centre" (e.g., see Simpson, 1971).

From the acknowledged "cramped" confines at the Althouse College of Education, the evolving centre moved to a more spacious place, Westminster College, on the university campus in the first and second weeks of September 1971. This "place" clearly symbolized the growth of this initial "idea". On November 22, 1971, the Centre "officially" opened after the departure of the highly successful "evangelizing" Mobile Centre, on November 20th, for a cross-Canada show-and-tell tour. This *internal*, or local, growth element is best captured by the following excerpt from a speech delivered by Simpson in 1972:

The project began as a means of better preparing Canadians to go to work in non-Western culture. We soon moved beyond that and used it as a means of helping

white Canadians regain a sense of the concept of culture, in order that they might see their own culture in clearer terms. In this area we are attacking what some people describe as parochialism, or what others describe as racism among Canadian whites. (P. 486)

It is a truism that all growing organizations feel that inevitable "growing pains" at various stages and the Centre was no exception. Among other growing pains the following reminder (Simpson, 1972:488) from a speech is worth quoting:

It is assumed, hopefully correctly, by me that those who work at the Centre first of all understand the philosophy behind the Centre and have some feeling that they are working for an idea, rather than for a bureaucracy ...

The Educational Influence: An Overview

That the cross-cultural learner centre concept was largely influenced by educational concepts is amply borne out by the frequent references to this fact in the available literature on the Centre. For example, Simpson highlighted the significance of this influence in his 1972 speech:

Educationists have always urged that learning environments and teaching methods should take full account of the *individual differences* among students, and, that the learning environment should be shaped in terms of the *needs* of the individual student. Yet, in practice because certain uniform standards of training become important, and, most importantly, because there is no present practical way of solving the problems of *effective information retrieval* and individualized scheduling, educationists often have to make serious compromises with their learner-centred goals. (P. 473) (Emphases added)

That the evolving phenomenon was influenced by some prevailing educational concepts has already been discussed in the introduction and literature review parts of this dissertation. This conceptual influence was also duly recognized in a commissioned report in 1973 (University of Western Ontario. Report ... 1973) on "The Cross Cultural Learner Centre." Among other observations, and recommendations, the report highlighted that:

... The focal point of all these activities is the Cross Cultural Learner Center [*sic*]. ... Its (Centre) *pedagogic significance* is the emphasis placed upon *informal*

personalized learning rather than formal group teaching. This concept was described by Keller in 1968 [i.e., the "Keller Plan"/"Personalized System of Instruction"] and since that time his methods have been widely used in some social and physical science and engineering programs at the university level. The *original contribution* of the Learner Centre is the application of this concept to the field of international education. (P. 1285) (Emphases added)

That the progenitors of this unique concept had rightly assessed a significant pedagogical problem is borne out by the initial enthusiastic responses to this new learning experiment. For example, the following (North, MacKenzie & Simpson, 1972:1023) observation captured that enthusiasm:

The pilot project [1968] was a success. From a *pedagogical* point of view the responses of the learners were interesting. Let me quote a few - "This system is fast and it sure saves time ... everywhere you go, you get an answer." "A larger system would be a real learning adventure - everywhere you turn there is something interesting that *inter-relates* with what you set out to discover ... for example, health questions lead you to geography to economics and back to health." "You could weave your way in and out *at your own pace and level*." (Emphases added)

In sum, that favourable factors played a role in the historic evolution of this unique learner-centred concept is borne out by the available literature. There was the convergence of people, with influential ideas, at a receptive time and equally receptive locale. There is, also, an identified pedagogical problem which the founders of the learner centre concept set out to remedy. Sustenance for the assured survival of this "learning paradigm" was provided by institutions like the University of Western Ontario and national agencies like C.U.S.O. and Crossroads Africa. Growth was symbolized by the prominence of "place" in the evolution of this concept and the attendant diversified foci and, not surprisingly, there were inevitable growing pains.

But, how did some principal participants see the birth of this phenomenon?

THE BIRTH: ILLUMINATING INFORMANT PERSPECTIVES

The Primacy of Context: The Temporal and the Locus

As discussed earlier, although the 1960s are usually seen as "turbulent" times there was also a paradoxical element present which, surprisingly, was creative. The following informant perspective, albeit anecdotal, really captures that element:

S.: ... you mentioned the "critical events of the 1960s"; some "critical events". I don't know whether it was the whole idea of the 1960s; the so-called '60s ... I don't know whether that was what the critical events meant.

XX.: Well, I mean, I could speak to so many of them but let's start with '68. Eh. I mean, nationally, or continentally, we were all moved by the assassinations and the ... the fires, and all that. I could remember picking up a group of students from Africa that were, we call them the reverse flow; they were Africans that were coming to the Crossroads counterparts, in a sense. They came to Canada and the United States on a small program and, I could remember picking up one team at the airport and they had been in New York, New Jersey, Los Angeles, Chicago and Milwaukee and, I picked them up at Detroit, and in any one of those five cities there were ghetto riots that summer and they hit every one of them ... and I picked them up at the airport and took them across into Canada and it was, almost, as if they had escaped the United States! And for them, who had for the most part been in awe of the power of the United States and the wonderful land of the free, to be exposed to these, fundamentally, race and poverty riots it just blew them away ... And that, of course, was the year [1968] that the Centre had its ... permanent birth. It had operated as a, as a couple of, as summer programs for CUSO but, that was the year that Don [Simpson] started off ... putting it together as the policies and systems ...

This anecdotal insight is again seen in some of the perspectives provided by other informants.

For example, one principal informant asserted that it was "a time of real innovation and energy."

Another "precise" insight highlighted the influence of the much-maligned sixties:

XX.: ... in the wild woolly days of the sixties when imagination knew no bounds and ... when we were unfettered by ... protocol where we were able to utilize the experiment in the innovative ... phenomena of the sixties to our advantage. ...

This aspect is, again, confirmed by another informant who observed that:

XA.: ... Basically, in the early, in the sixties, you know ... you have to respect it *, it was on everybody's lips * and, to do things in international education was great and the President [of the University of Western Ontario], you know, got on the

bandwagon, and so on, and as it moved into the seventies ... it wasn't quite, it wasn't as fancy as much ...

Here, one begins to see the pervasiveness of debilitating shifts which plagued the cross-cultural learner centre concept.

A corollary of the influence of the sixties in the birth, and growth, of this concept is the undoubted influence from the prevailing educational philosophies. As discussed earlier, the "Keller Plan" (1968) and its "individualizing" thrust probably influenced the pre-eminent learner-centred focus of the phenomenon under study. That there was unmistakable influence from the formal educational sector, on this predominantly non-formal educational enterprise, can be gleaned from the observations of some key informants. For example, one informant affirmed that:

XX.: ... And, the idea was that most, and it was consistent with the educational philosophy of the sixties which was going much more towards the needs of the learner instead of the needs of the system or the needs of the teacher which had prevailed for so long. ...

Again, another pioneer volunteer highlighted this influence:

XF.: ... It was quite a mixed bag of people and ... with different, kind of, interests. So, the idea of an orientation: which was a lock-step series of lectures; always you had to have supporting information; but the idea of having a resource base that people could, basically, decide what they want; take charge of it ... that was very much the idea in the schools too. ...

The fact that the temporal influence is unmistakable also brings into focus the locus factor. In addition to the unassailable role of the local university,³⁶ the local community was also appreciably supportive of this fledgling learning concept. The pioneering history of London, Ontario, has been well documented (e.g., Campbell, 1921; Miller, 1949, 1992) and this identified local trait played a large role in the reception, and unflagging support, given to the first centre. As

³⁶ The significant role of the University of Western Ontario in the evolution of the cross-cultural learner centre concept will be discussed, in-depth, later.

one informant rightly observed, the place was just appropriate for such an experiment:

XA.: ... maybe we were the right-sized community for it to happen in a different way that might, I mean, you know, the same kinds of things happening in other places, like Toronto and Winnipeg, and so on. ...

S.: Cohesive, sort of, team.

XA.: ... I mean, I mean the community was small enough for what, or what have you, you know, to make it work in a different way than it might elsewhere. ...

Again, the enviable role played by a receptive community was appreciated by this informant:

XI.: ... So, when CUSO stopped doing one evaluation a year, eh, I'm sorry, one orientation ...

S.: One orientation.

XI.: ... a year the system was not viable. And, although they continued to use the Centre a lot the Centre actually became a learner centre for the community ...

The auspicious convergence of people, and ideas, at a specific place gave birth to the first learner centre in London (Ontario). It is, thus, clear that the birth and survival of this unique learning experiment owe a lot to the commitment, and perseverance, of people and some institutions, and agencies, which saw the potential that inheres in this novel concept.

ON PERSONALITIES AND INSTITUTIONS: BIRTH AND SURVIVAL

In the introductory chapter, I discussed the reason for *selective anonymity* regarding the role of some principal personalities in the evolution of the learner centre concept. Since the birth and growth of an idea entails history I strongly believe that there is the compelling need for that selective suspension of anonymity expected of some research undertakings. In this case, the names of some principal participants in the evolution of this new learning experiment keep recurring in the available literature and, not surprisingly, in the recounting of the "precise experiences" (in the memorable words of one informant) of some informants. The following excerpt, which appeared in a campus

(University of Western Ontario) newsletter ("The Cross-Cultural Learner Centre ...", 1972:1), identified the preeminent personalities and institutions which helped in the genesis, and survival, of the pioneering Centre:

Who Developed the Centre?

It was developed as a joint project of CUSO and Western's Office of International Education with the support of grants from Althouse College [of Education], the Atkinson Foundation, Canadian Crossroads International and CUSO. To select and produce material for each "research area", steering committees were made up of individuals from the major cultural groups concerned. Others involved in establishing the Centre were Professor D. [Don] G. Simpson, UWO Office of International Education, Professor D. L. Forgie, School of Library Science, University of Toronto and Dr. S. [Sid] North, Psychologist, Nathaniel Hughson Institute, Burlington. Western's Althouse and Westminster Colleges, the Lawson Library and the School of Library and Information Science [U.W.O.] provided material, equipment and assistance.

Although many committed personalities from varied backgrounds worked hard to make this new learning dream a reality a mead of praise, for the requisite initiative and drive, goes to these three identified individuals and the institutions mentioned. Other agencies, for example C.I.D.A., also provided that much-needed stabilizing factor in the evolution of this concept.

In addition to the persistent controversy surrounding the "exact" date of the beginning of an historical event, there is also that inevitable controversy of "who" actually started an historical occurrence. It is, therefore, not surprising that one informant highlighted this factor:

XX.: ... As well, there was a lot of debate whether or not the Centre started in '68 or '69. I think it was '69 that we took over the permanent space at Westminster College but it had been operative for the entire year and that is why I look at 1968 as the real starting point. So that, I think, was critical one. Eh, '68 was the election of Trudeau as well ... and, you know, here was our own J.F.K. and an inheritor of that liberal tradition; a man of international yearnings and interests and curiosities. It was also the year, in '68, the Czechoslovakian uprising ...

Here, this astute observer also made that auspicious *link* between the "real starting point" and the prevailing sixties' spirit as symbolized by the election of Trudeau - "our own J.F.K." - as Canada's Prime Minister. As discussed earlier, this *linkage phenomenon* is an important aspect of

the concept under study. But, who actually started the London Centre?

From the available literature two names stand out as the progenitors of this unique learning experiment - Professor Donald (Don) Simpson and Dr. S. (Sid) L. North (hereafter Simpson & North). The former was a lecturer at the Althouse College of Education, the University of Western Ontario, and the latter, since deceased, was a practising psychologist and consultant to C.U.S.O.

Simpson's contribution to the birth and growth of the learner centre concept is unquestioned. He was well-placed, and eminently qualified, to advance the course of this unique concept. The following excerpt shows the central place he occupied during the birth of this concept:

Western is setting up what could be described as an International Answering Service to provide Canadian educational assistance to the developing countries of the world. An Office of International Education will open at Western on July 1, 1969. It will be directed by Professor Donald G. Simpson, of Western's Althouse College of Education, who has had considerable African teaching experience through Operation Crossroads Africa and Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) and has worked with student programs for the United Nations in Canada.

.....
The Office will work in close collaboration with Canadian International Development Agency (External Aid) in Ottawa, and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. ("Prof. D.G. Simpson ...", 1969:3)

The central location of this Executive Director of this new office on the university campus would be beneficial to the survival of the pioneer centre. This was the source of that unmistakable general *educational* component of the concept under investigation.

Gazda and Corsini (1980:Preface) highlight the importance of "psychological development": that is, *learning* in human development thus, it is not surprising that North, a practising psychologist, was part of the founding team of this new "learning paradigm."

The mention of Keller's (1968) "learning paradigm" raises the possibility of North's central role in the learner-centred aspect of the phenomenon investigated. Was he influenced by Keller's new paradigm since his (Keller's) invited speech to the American Psychological Association was in

1967 and the subsequent scholarly article appeared in 1968?

The literature fails to answer this central question but some of the key informants, as will be shown later, appear to have insights as to the "brain" behind the concept.

Documentary sources to help shed light on this aspect of the birth of this novel concept are woefully inadequate but the following assertion, in a speech by Simpson in 1972, opens a vista onto this classic historical controversy:

In 1967-68 I was in West Africa for CUSO. I came home concerned with the number of aid projects that not only were not productive but in some cases were counter-productive. I was also concerned about some of the personal animosities evidenced between Africans and North Americans in projects that in some way were supposed to be building bridges of understanding. I wanted to identify how much of the problem was our fault and to what extent we could move to change the situation. (P. 475)

Although it was impossible to interview Simpson, because of insurmountable logistical problems, I managed to correspond with him and the following excerpt from a note (dated August 16, 1995) sheds more light on the beginning of this concept:

●The concept of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre was created in my head in 1967-68 mostly in Africa

This, thus, confirms the earlier (1972) assertion - immediately above - regarding the *cross-cultural* problem he discerned on his trip to West Africa.

The learner centre concept, as discussed earlier, has two inherent perspectives - the *cross-cultural* and the *learner-centredness*. Did the auspicious meeting of Simpson and North bring about the expedient marriage of these two perspectives in this new learning paradigm?

To unravel this historical dilemma the "precise experiences" of some of the key informants queried helped considerably.

That North, the psychologist and consultant to C.U.S.O.'s orientation programme at Western, played a key role in this new learner-centred concept is amply borne out by the number of

publications, specifically on the learning aspect of this novel concept (e.g., see North, 1968, 1969, 1972, 1974; North & Forgie, 1969, 1970).

Another significant confirmation of North's contribution to the learner-centred perspective is the precise insights of some key informants who were there at the beginning of the first Centre.

On "learning" one informant confirmed the above-mentioned documentary evidence:

XF.: ... There was a psychologist we've lost track of called Sid North.

.....
 ... Sid North was the ... was involved in those kinds of learning styles; learning abilities, as a psychologist.

.....
 ... he was involved; I mean, he did some stuff on learning. ...

North's central role is further borne out by the additional insights some key informants provided. His ideas on the learner-centred concept seemed to have been the "brain" behind the evolution of this concept. For example, one informant confided that:

XA.: ... Well, in the late 60s, could be '67, '68; I can't be sure of the date, the West Africa CUSO program used Westminster College for their orientation and one of the key players in their orientation was Dr. Sid North, a psychologist, who had also been involved with ... Crossroads since its beginning in 195-, 1958. And, Dr. North, or Sid, as we called him ... helped the Crossroads program and CUSO in preparing people for overseas experience and, he had a lot of stuff to say about this. And, one of his more creative ideas, and, I don't know, historically, whether it was all his idea or whether he adapted or borrowed it from somebody else, but, certainly, in this part of the country, in fact, in Canada, it was a brand-new idea. ... a learner-centred orientation and he envisaged computers; and computers were still early in those days ...

Another illuminating informant insight hinted at the specific roles played by the two acknowledged forces behind the creation of the Centre - North and Simpson:

XA.: ... after he [Simpson] came back from CUSO ... he was very much involved with Crossroads. ... He loved to be with Crossroads and he was very close with Sid and, I think, it is true that he probably helped enable the thing to happen. But, the idea of the Cross Cultural Learner Centre was really Sid's but, I think, it was ... Don's drive, interest and connection with the University that brought it to this [Westminster] location. I don't want to underplay Don's importance to it. ... Don brought it into fruition, if you want; but, the idea came from Sid.

And also:

S.: So, the brain behind the whole thing was, actually, Sid North?

XA.: I think so; yeah.

If North's interests in the psychology of learning influenced the "learner-centred" aspect of the cross-cultural learner centre phenomenon another central figure, as indicated earlier, is Simpson. The significant role played by this highly-placed individual is best summed up by the following observation by one informant:

XK.: ... Don Simpson ... he was one of the dynamos behind people like; you know, he was the rock, maybe, or the steady influence, behind ...

And, again, the following observation confirms the central role of this "very charismatic" and "very energized" personality:

XM.: ... it [the Mobile Learner Centre] was a very complicated thing to set up. ... It was a very challenging experience.

S.: Who came up with the idea?

XM.: I think that was, eh, mostly Don Simpson, again. ... He was a very creative man ... and, his combination of ideas and our kind of willingness to pick up those ideas and ... put them into being. That was part of the magic of it. Because he just formed the ideas and we just took them up and run; you know. ...

The central contribution of Simpson, regarding the "cross-cultural" perspective of this phenomenon, has already been discussed. The following informant perspective, among others, confirms this view:

S.: ... So ... could you cast any ... searchlight on the Centre; what's your ideas, or your views, about cross-cultural and, then, the learner-centred aspect and how that merged; and your involvement, briefly, on the campus and in town.

XM.: I guess, the initiative for the Cross-Cultural Centre came from Don Simpson. ... His interest, at the time, was in making cross-culturalism a significant part of Canadian life; which he didn't see as something which was there. Eh, and, developing people's interest; not just ... in a particular aspect of ... life in another country or the characteristics of another country, but looking at it in a more holistic

way ...

The physical London centre grew out of materials accumulated over the years for the original orientations. The fledgling resource centre later became the hub of this new learning experiment. Simpson's role in preserving this valuable resource is unassailable. In that short, but insightful note to me (dated August 16, 1995), he confirmed what some informants had been saying about this noteworthy role:

- the first centre existed in my office at the Faculty of Education at Western U and was carried around in my suitcases from place to place.

Some key informants confirmed this aspect of the birth of the London centre. For example:

XX.: ... But, I told you that Don Simpson had, was the archivist, the holder of the, of the, of all of the resource material that had been accumulated for this overseas, for the CUSO orientation programs. ...

and, again:

XF.: ... And when we arrived here Don Simpson, who was the moving mind behind this collection, was working on the idea that West African collection ... should be kept open all the year and available to students in this faculty and to students around the school [public] system ...

Mention of the central role of the resource centre in the learner centre phenomenon readily brings to the fore the eventual organization of the materials (multimedia) collected for use in a learner-centred environment. Here, the acknowledged two originators - North and Simpson - "invited" another professor then at the School of Library Science, University of Toronto - **Forgie**. In a telephone conversation (July 1, 1995) this "technical" expert confirmed that the design of the pioneering computerized retrieval system was "critically designed" bearing in mind the "key variables" of cross-cultural and learner-centredness.

Although Forgie did play a significant role in providing that much-needed technical expertise in the organization of the multimedia resources gathered over the years, it appears he was more in

the background since most of the key informants accede that he had more to do with the "original ... conceptual design."

It is indubitable that other "committed" personalities played important roles in the birth and survival of this novel concept. Other significant names which qualify on the "visible" side of the selective anonymity test will be mentioned accordingly. There was general consensus, among my informants, about the invaluable help given to this concept by other people. The following informant insights really capture this aspect:

XM.: ... It was, in the early years, a really dynamic group of people that put that together. People who had already lived and travelled overseas; who had a real commitment to ... the concept and who were willing to work endless hours for no pay to make sure that what was in was really good. I've never felt that excitement since; the kind of excitement we had when we developed the Learner Centre.

and, also:

XX.: Yeah; well, it was the, eh, the visions; one of the things that is, has been so inspirational about the Centre is that a large part is dependent, at least at the time I was associated with it, with the creativity that was embodied in each of the, about the people on the staff who came ...

This initial enthusiasm survived and this helped the eventual survival, and spread, of the cross-cultural learner-centred concept. All these committed individuals, from various backgrounds, added to the various conceptual influences which converged to create this unique phenomenon.

Although this personal-cum-ideas convergence proved largely positive in the evolution of this learning concept there were some inevitable paradoxes in that, as one informant trenchantly observed, there appeared to be the unwitting cultivation of a "personality cult". The following anecdote, from one informant, clearly shows this unwitting development:

XX.: Well, I mean, to me each of the people who've been on the staff for any length of time, until the time I left, made in one way, shape or form, an impact upon the Centre. And, in part, that is consistent with the philosophy that we had from the beginning which is that our greatest resources are the people that we had on our staff. And, I think, I have used the anecdote of how when we were at Westminster College,

on the campus, any new staff person was given licence to change, physically, the way things were set out to make a statement about who they were and about their needs, interests and issues were. And, that, to a certain extent prevailed. ... That was a young person's way of defining who they were ...

Another observation corroborates this delineated development:

XI.: ... And, I decided pretty soon, pretty quickly that I didn't want this personality cult; like, I didn't want to be the focus of the program because, look, first of all I don't have, you know, don't have the time for that, for that sort of thing. I mean, I don't have the time for that sort of thing and I had a * for or two. [Laughter] And, secondly, I decided pretty early on that what you were doing, if you did this personality thing, you were limiting the impact of the potential of the Centre, again, to the energy level and talents of one individual ...

On Sojourners and Cultural Bi-Directionality

A subtext of the role of personalities in the development of the phenomenon under investigation is the generally invaluable role of the change factors of *cultural bi-directionality* reflected in the hordes of sojourners (cf. Hamilton's [1989] apt "Global Villagers") who eagerly committed their energies to the growth and spread of this novel learning concept. There is abundant documentary evidence of the role sojourners play on their return home (e.g., McGinnis, 1975; Mathies, 1988) and this persistent fact is, again, confirmed by the profound insights shared by some of the key informants. The literature, as mentioned above, is replete with stories of sojourners who return home "charged" by their experiences. This prevailing fact also holds true of "change agents", or other "cultural ambassadors", and it is this persistent factor I have termed the *bi-directional* element. The arrow of change is necessarily bi-directional; that is, it goes *both* ways.

As stated earlier, this factor played a significant role in the evolution of the learner centre concept. It is, therefore, not surprising that one of the principal architects of this learning phenomenon - Simpson - acknowledged the effect his trips to Africa had on him thus his unassailable influence through the major cross-cultural aspect.

My interviews brought out the widespread nature of this sojourner/bi-direction factors and the "precise experiences" from some of the key informants further illuminate this. For example, one informant highlighted the importance of this cross-cultural "transforming experience":

S.: ... Yeah, you kept referring to, eh, that coincidence of a group - the core - a group of people, dedicated people in London at a specific time and you referred to them as the "Global Villagers".

XX.: Yes! Well, they were, they were a diverse crew ... most, as I say, had served, in some capacity, in a developing country and had had a transforming experience like my own. ...

and, again:

XX.: ... so, the cross-cultural notion was fundamentally ... a notion that somehow multiculturalism had impacted on all of us in our overseas work experience. It was going to be impacting on these young volunteers who were going out to serve with CUSO and why not, sort of, take that experience and put it out to the larger university community; school system within London and, for that matter, anybody else who would be interested in the themes of international development or social justice or ... I mean, the so many euphemisms, or words, which were being thrown out at the time. ...

The pervasiveness of this factor is further corroborated by another informant who confided that:

XI.: ... I mean ... Nigeria was a fundamental forming, eh, like experience. I learned a lot ...

.....
So, yeah: I had a very forming experience. ...

A fitting summary of how the convergence of the "forming" and "transforming" experiences by these sojourners helped shape the evolving cross-cultural learner centre concept is, again, provided by the following informant insight: "It was in the early years, a really dynamic group of people that put that together. People who had already lived and travelled overseas ..."

The cross-cultural aspect of the learner centre phenomenon really owes a lot to this truth about sojourners and the bi-directional cultural change factor.

The "Great Ma": The Sustaining Role of U.W.O.

Although other organizations (e.g., CUSO and CIDA) played significant roles in the birth and growth of the learner centre concept the central role played by the University of Western Ontario, London, is unassailable. In addition to the initial critical financial lifeline provided by this institution it is also noteworthy that it provided that much-needed willing, and appropriate, *educational* ambience for this learning experience. As one informant astutely observed, while comparing the fortunate circumstances of the first centre to others:

XX.: ... You see, they didn't have the luxury of being, sort of, on the university campus with the, sort of, the "great mother", the "great ma" providing, eh, sort of, sustenance when times were difficult. ...

A short documentary trip reveals the invaluable role of the university in the birth and survival of this concept. For example, the C.U.S.O. orientation program, the genesis, started on the campus in 1967 and the significant co-ordinating role provided by this academic institution is reflected in the following report in the campus newsletter:

135 CUSO Volunteers to Train at Western

... A total of 135 CUSO volunteers will take part in the four-week orientation program, beginning July 29. On Aug. 29 the volunteers, representing all Canadian provinces, will fly to West Africa for their assignments in Sierra Leone, Ghana and West Nigeria.

This is the *second year* [1968] that CUSO volunteers have been trained at Western. They will be staying at Westminster College. Professor D. G. Simpson, of Althouse College of Education, is in charge of the orientation program. He has been in West Africa for the past eight months, visiting the 300 volunteers working there now, as a Regional Co-ordinator for CUSO.

The staff for the orientation program will include eight Africans who will provide training in African languages, culture, religion and philosophy. Professor John Wilson, of the Institute of Education, University of London [England], who has spent 23 years in Africa, is in charge of methodology training. (May 16, 1968:2) (Emphasis added)

This excerpt shows the role of Western and, especially, the co-ordinating expertise of Simpson which, unquestionably, played a vital role.

As discussed earlier, the change to a learner-centred orientation approach was influenced by perceived problems with the earlier methodology and the following report, about another orientation program, in the campus newsletter (June 20, 1968:3) highlighted this distinct shift in pedagogical methodology:

Operation Crossroads Africa Orientation 1968 at U.W.O.

Western will be host to 230 Operation Crossroads Africa volunteers taking part in the North American Orientation program June 22 - 28, the first ever held in Canada.

.....
 Before they leave, they will have participated in an *entirely new type of orientation program*, said Neil Campbell, the London representative of the Orientation Committee. Instead of *formal lectures*, the volunteers will be divided into their national and project teams and be given *specific assignments* relating to the historical, geographical, political and cultural aspects of their Crossroads Africa project. The new method of orientation will utilize the experience of veteran Crossroaders, Africans and *University* facilities.

.....
 Last year [1967] Western was host to the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) Orientation program, as it will be again this year in August. (Emphases added)

It is noteworthy that the architects of this new learning concept reacted quickly after noticing the pedagogical inadequacy of the first orientation program in 1967 and, therefore, instituted a new, tailored, programme for specific *groups* with a discerned commonality. This group approach was the bridge between the initial lecture-to-the-whole-group approach of the 1967 C.U.S.O orientation and the subsequent dramatic individualizing, learner-centred, approach the concept evolved into.

Globalization at Western: The Office of International Education

The C.U.S.O. orientation program, the genesis of the concept under study, started at the University of Western Ontario in 1967 and in 1969 one of those memorable historical events occurred on the campus when Western, in the words of one informant, started "the process of internationalization" by the creation of its **Office of International Education**. By coincidence, one

of the acknowledged dynamic forces behind the birth and growth of the cross-cultural learner centre concept - Simpson - "resurfaced" in this new internationalization process. The following report in a campus newsletter (April 3, 1969:3) highlights this historical convergence of factors:

Prof. D. G. Simpson Named Executive Secretary of International Education

Western is setting up what could be described as an international answering service to provide Canadian educational assistance to the developing countries of the world. An Office of International Education will open at Western on Jul. 1, 1969. It will be directed by Professor Donald [Don] G. Simpson, of Western's Althouse College of Education, who has had considerable African teaching experience through Operation Crossroads Africa and Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) and has worked with student programs for the United Nations in Canada.

In announcing Professor Simpson's appointment as Executive Secretary of the new Office, President D. C. Williams said the Office's establishment was one of the first of its kind in Canada, and would open up new channels of international communication and co-operation.

The Office will work in close collaboration with the Canadian International Development Agency (External Aid) in Ottawa, and with the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

.....
Planning for the Office began four years ago.

In his new post as Executive Secretary of the Office of International Education Professor Simpson will report to Western's Academic Vice-President, Dr. R. J. Rossiter. The Office will also be guided by an advisory committee of the University's academic senate under the chairmanship of Mr. A. E. D. MacKenzie, Assistant Dean of Men and Foreign Students Advisor. (Emphasis added)

It should be noted, in passing, that Simpson's liaison role with C.I.D.A. (as highlighted in the above excerpt) would later become an added advantage to the growth of the learner centre concept.

The significant contribution of the University of Western Ontario is, again, seen in a report by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on University Development [SCUD]. This sub-committee³⁷ was constituted in 1972 and requested to undertake a thorough investigation of the

³⁷ The sub-committee members were F. R. Calaresu, T. J. Collins and G. S. Rose (Chairman).

N.B.: It should be noted that there were *three* related committees struck: *Senate Advisory Committee* to the Office of International Education, 1971; *Sub-committee* of Senate Committee on University Development [SCUD], 1972/73; & *Ad-Hoc Committee* of the Faculty of Education on the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre-Faculty of Education Relationship, 1974.

Office of International Education and to make recommendations to S.C.U.D. "deemed to be in the best interest of the University" (see U.W.O. Report of the Subcommittee ... 1973?:1282). Because of the central role played by this Office I deem it necessary to dwell, in-depth, on some aspects of the work of this sub-committee.

On the Office of International Education itself (established July 1st, 1969), the sub-committee highlighted its terms of reference and, in the process, provided an historical vista into the changing role of this unique Office. The terms of reference were as follows:

- To provide information on programs of international studies whereby faculty and student research of an international nature may be facilitated.
- To assist in faculty and student exchange programs.
- To advise on the establishment of contractual arrangements with foreign universities or governments.
- To establish a directory on international interests and experiences of faculty members.
- To gather lists of international research programs relevant to existing or prospective projects at this University.
- To collect library references on international programs.
- To assist in the reception and integration of foreign students.
- To provide a resource group of faculty members with overseas experience for public speaking or community seminars on international programs and issues.
- To provide for inter-faculty and student seminars on international programs and issues.
- To establish a liaison between Western and other universities in North America and Europe engaged in international studies.
- To assist in the evaluation of foreign students' transcripts.
- To cooperate with A.U.C.C. (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada) in the field of International Education.

One additional duty was added by Senate in 1970; namely:

The work of the Office shall include supervision of the work of the Local Committee of the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). The chairman of the Local Committee shall be appointed for a three year term, by the President, on the basis of recommendations by the Advisory Committee to the Office of International Education. The Local Committee of CUSO shall report annually to the Advisory Committee

In 1971 the Advisory Committee to the Office suggested, in a report to the Senate Committee on

University Development (SCUD), that the original terms of reference be replaced, *inter alia*, by the following:

I. The Office of International Education is to assist in developing the international dimensions of this University. To this end the Office is to establish and maintain liaison with departments, faculty and students of the University of Western Ontario, government agencies at home and abroad, foundations, other universities and any other groups interested in international activities to:

- a) advise on the establishment of contractual arrangements with governments or foreign universities.
- b) encourage research of an international nature.
- c) encourage and support curriculum development (including student exchanges and study abroad programmes).
- d) *assist with community education related to international understanding.*

II. [CUSO clause]

III. A subordinate activity of the Office is to establish liaison as required with some groups in Canada so that knowledge gained from working with peoples of the "Third World" can be usefully applied in relating to groups in Canada, and vice versa. (Emphasis added)

In sum, this comprehensive report highlighted the "internationalization process", according to one informant, at U.W.O. which started with the establishment of the Office of International Education in 1969. It is, thus, clear that there was the conscious move to foster "international understanding" within the community and, also, there was that unmistakable linkage phenomenon between the local and the global. These factors inhere in the concept under study.

Another landmark, in the evolution of the first Centre, occurred in 1974 when there was another report (U.W.O. Faculty of Education, Report ... 1974 ...:1349-1350) on the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre - Faculty of Education relationship. Some highlights of the recommendations below symbolize how far the centre had come, since its modest beginnings in 1967, and the continuing support by the University:

- (i) The Senate Committee on University Development has recommended "that the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre be absorbed organisationally and operationally into the Faculty of Education, and its future identification as an entity be the prerogative of and at the discretion of that Faculty." Senate Information Bulletin no. 74-1 of 18-

IV-74.

The ad hoc committee to consider this is in favour of the affiliation of the Centre to the Faculty, provided that satisfactory additional financial support can be given by the University for the affiliation of the Centre.

ii) Committee proposed the appointment of a Coordinator responsible to the Dean, appointed by the Dean with the advice of the Centre Advisory Committee and the Centre Program Committee (to be established.)

.....
iv) The affiliation of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre to the Faculty of Education shall be subject to review by the Advisory Committee to be completed before the end of the first year of affiliation, in order to permit any necessary readjustment of the relationship of the Centre to the Faculty and its programs.

This development heralded the full acceptance of the educational relevance of the Centre within the University structure. The following entry in the *1974/75 Annual Report of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre* (p. 71) announced this extraordinary development:

The Cross-Cultural Learner Centre with its new emphasis on multicultural education is now affiliated with the University of Western Ontario as a Department of the Faculty of Education.

and also:

Services provided by the University have included all accounting for the Centre, screening [*sic*] of and advertising for Center positions through the personnel department, supply of audio-visual equipment and facilities at a lower cost than commercial rates, technical expertise (if required) and financial assistance.

The various reports on the Centre and the Office of International Education highlighted the pioneering work being done in the field of cross-cultural studies. The impact of this new learning paradigm was immediately felt and appreciated. For example, the 1971 report to S.C.U.D. stressed that: "The most significant resource the Office [of International Education] has to offer anyone interested in developing new curriculum work on intercultural studies is our Cross-Cultural Resource Centre." (P. 302)

Along similar lines, the same 1971 report (p. 301) had this to say:

The Office has been encouraging research in the field of *cross-cultural education*. Although some of the Office staff members have personal research interests in this

domain, the main emphasis has been on gathering data on cross-cultural research from around the world and passing it on to interested people on this campus, and in encouraging Funding Agencies to support this type of research. (Emphasis added)

Neddiger and Sissons (1970) also highlighted some benefits accruing to the University community from the new learning concept being pioneered at the Centre:

The Business School [U.W.O.] has continued to employ Miss Heather Pooley to apply the *concepts* developed here to the case study approach and at least one of the courses offered in their program. (P. 98) (Emphasis added)

and, again:

As far as Althouse [College of Education] is concerned, the greatest interest has been shown by the History of Education Department ... Indeed, the existing database, though developed for C.U.S.O. West Africa Orientation, is directly applicable to the Comparative Education Course. For this reason alone the centre must be kept open throughout the year to serve up to 200 students of Althouse. (P. 92)

It should be noted that the growing stature of the Centre within Althouse College of Education, the University of Western Ontario, also highlights the role this entity played in the training of future teachers for the formal education system. This significant angle, though, needs further research.

Intimations of Concern

Although the various reports (1971, 1973 and 1974) all hailed the relevance of the Centre there were, not surprisingly, some *intimations of concern*. This was the harbinger of the rationale, as would be seen later, for the eventual severing of the "maternal" ties between the University and the Centre.

For example, the 1973 report, under the chairmanship of G. S. Rose, drew the following illuminating conclusions:

... a recurring issue in our investigation; namely, that the emphasis of the Office is upon countries of the Third World rather than being truly international. While we

appreciate that this is a result of present public interest in the political, economic and social problems of the Third World, we do not feel that it should detract from the international activities of the Office at the academic level. (P. 1285)

And, also, on the Centre:

The Centre is clearly playing an important role in establishing and maintaining interaction between the University and the community. While we support this concept in so far as the community can benefit from university expertise acquired via the normal pursuit of academic goals, it is not the responsibility of the University to hire expertise in order to provide such services specifically for the community. Public funds allocated by the Provincial Government for university education should not be used for projects specifically aimed at community, public or secondary school education. Thus, in view of the relatively little consistent use of the Centre by university groups and the emphasis of the Centre upon non-university levels of education the sub-committee considers that the funding of the Centre should be separated from that of the University. The Director of the Centre would continue to be responsible to the Office of International Education for its operation and the University would administer the accounts of the Centre but all funds in those accounts should be generated from non-U.W.O. sources. (P. 1287)

In sum, the documentary sources offer us an illuminating insight into the beginning of the first Centre from the 1967 C.U.S.O. orientation program and how the distinct learner-centred, and cross-cultural, perspectives emerged. The ambivalent relationship between the Centre and the University is also evident from these documentary sources. But, how did some of the key informants see this historic development?

The U.W.O. Nexus: Some Informants' Perspectives

The invaluable role of "the great ma" - the University of Western Ontario - was also acknowledged by almost all the informants who were involved with the London Centre. The initial sustaining role of the University was seen by some informants thus:

XX.: ... the "great mother". the "great ma" providing, eh, sort of, sustenance when times were difficult. And, oftentimes, when I look back on the money situation if it weren't for Don Simpson being able to turn the "magic box" from one faculty or another, for services rendered, it would have been real tough.

and, again:

XF.: ... So, the collection began to evolve as a sort of multicultural rather than the original West Africa-specific; an exem-. an exemplary multicultural resource. Eh. it was under the lead of the Faculty [of Education]; it was ... I think, the core staff, in those days, was supported by funding that came through the Faculty budget.

The following observation sums up the role the University of Western Ontario played in the birth and survival of the learner centre concept:

XM.: ... the learner centre concept. I believe. was very enthusiastically supported by the University all along.

THE "CROSS-CULTURAL" AND "LEARNER-CENTREDNESS": THE UNIQUE CONVERGENCE OF TWO PRINCIPAL CONCEPTUAL INFLUENCES

The principle of conceptual convergence is seen in the merging of the central "cross-cultural" and "learner-centred" concepts - concepts which were brought together to help remedy a discerned pedagogical problem during the initial orientation. This acknowledged "pedagogical responsibility" (Friesen, 1985) forms the epicentre of the phenomenon under study.

As discussed earlier (see Chapter II), the importance of the cross-cultural perspective is now a given in this pluralistic world - McLuhan's aptly termed "Global Village". The pertinent literature - both scholarly and popular - is replete with attempts being made to foster that "active understanding" (Sikkema & Niyekawa, 1987) which is a prerequisite for that awareness (e.g., Brislin, Bochner & Lonner, 1975; Asabuki, 1990; Pisani, 1992). This prerequisite "intercultural awareness skills" (Harris & Moran, 1979) is also highlighted in the literature on cross-cultural communication (e.g.: Asante, Newmark & Blake, 1971a) and the necessity for Habermas' "communicative competence" (1970) in that inevitable intercultural, or cross-cultural, encounter in a pluralistic world. The complexity of this cross-cultural concept was demonstrated in the review of the relevant literature (see Chapter II).

The literature, again, attests to the fact that there is the need for well-planned "cultural mediation" (Bochner, 1981) for "intercultural competence" (Fantini, 1991) or "multicultural competency" (Odenwald, 1993). In short, cross-cultural awareness, and understanding, should be taught, or facilitated (e.g.; Brown, 1963; Christensen, 1992). The centres, under investigation, pursued this new "learning paradigm" within the frameworks of Development, or Global, Education (see Barney; Freeman & Ulinski, 1981; Smith, 1982; Taylor, 1982; Miller, 1991).

The learner centres realized the importance of fostering global understanding, and tolerance, through a novel individualized learning concept.

The Cross-Cultural Factor: Some Insights

That the architects of the phenomenon under investigation were fully aware, and convinced, of the necessity for adequate preparedness before the participants, in the orientation programs, were sent out to Africa for their inevitable cross-cultural encounters is borne out by available documentation. For example, in a memorandum, dated May 1970, from the "Resource Centre Staff" to the "1970 Staff, CUSO West Africa Orientation" on the expansion of the nascent information retrieval system, and the use of the "total resource approach," this realization was made abundantly clear:

Last year [1969] the pilot project contained only material on health in West Africa and lasted for a week. This year the program has been extended to a broad base of information designed to enhance the volunteers' *cultural awareness* before arriving in West Africa (emphasis added).

In an undated proposal³⁸, to the Donner Foundation, for financial support, Simpson stated that: "Our hope is we can help other [*sic*] see that this illusion [Eurocentric] is a product of ignorance

³⁸ The following report appeared in the campus, U.W.O., newsletter: "Western's Cross-Cultural Centre Receives Donner Foundation Grant." *UWOnews* 8, no. 1 (July 13, 1972):1

which breeds racial snobbery and intellectual parochialism."

This illuminating insight, regarding the centrality of the cross-cultural aspect of this new learning concept, is further buttressed by some of the insights gleaned from the available literature.

The following insight, from a *CUSO Bulletin* (4/71), posed this question: 'What does "cross-cultural" mean?' and the attempt to answer this central question illuminates this perspective:

Essentially, a 'cross-cultural' experience is one which brings together people and ideas from different cultures in order to correct the misconceptions which people in each culture have about those in the other.

Most people the world over only really understand the culture they are born in. They see the world from the viewpoint of their own country and are influenced largely in their attitudes, decisions and behaviour by their own history, their own traditions, their own social and economic patterns. Too often they see their way of life as being the only logical and correct way.

This source goes on to echo the views held by others, with regard to the consequent cross-cultural communication:

Cross-cultural communication is an attempt to bridge different cultures, to show people within them that illusions of racial and intellectual superiority are simply the product of ignorance. In cross-cultural education, 'culture' is seen basically as an adaptive mechanism. It's the way in which people have adapted to their own particular conditions in order to survive. (See also "Bridging Cultures Through Education", 1974.)

A flyer in an *Annual Report* of the London centre summed up the centrality of the cross-cultural concept when it reiterated the mission of the Centre as: "A Third World and Multicultural Resource Centre Committed to Promoting Cross Cultural Understanding."

Almost all the explanations of what cross-cultural means hint at the link between the local and the global in creating that requisite awareness. The explanations also hint at that expedient marriage between this central concept and the "learning" aspect to create the unique phenomenon under study. The following reiterated "mission statement" in the *1988-1989 Annual Report* of the London Centre demonstrates this linkage phenomenon:

The London Cross Cultural Learner Centre exists to bring together people and resources in an atmosphere in which individuals and groups from across the community can understand the issues of international development - particularly in the Third World, together with cross cultural issues in Canada, and can act together to create a more just community both *globally* and *locally* through mutual support. The Centre is "cross-cultural" in that it seeks to place these issues in their broadest possible context ... (Emphases added)

These perspectives portray the centrality of the cross-cultural concept in the scheme of things.

But, how do some of the participants in this substantive area see this important perspective?

On Culture and the Cross-Cultural: Some Informants' Insights

There is evidence that the genesis of the cross-cultural learner concept acknowledged the reality of multiculturalism and set out to create awareness of this pluralistic factor. As one pioneer informant observed: "So ... it was a cross-cultural, multicultural movement."

That this initial acknowledgment helped shape the evolution of this learner centre concept is confirmed by other key informants. For example, this earlier realization, and prompt reaction, is borne out by the following insights:

XF.: ... So, the collection began to evolve as a, sort of, multicultural rather than the original West Africa-specific; an exem-, an exemplary multicultural resource. ...

Again,

XK.: ... You have a culture too and that forms the basis of a lot of what became the second generation of multiculturalism; which, again, is a term out of favour but, at the time I was exposed to it, it meant not liberal ideas of being tolerant but, in fact, meant something more like [Long pause] working against barriers. Which is, I think, the idea now in terms of equity; ... I feel equity is central to a lot of the ... social and political change movements now.

Functional accessibility - both content and physical - of the multimedia resources at the learner centres reflect the acknowledgement of this inherent pluralistic perspective and, for example, the first Centre endeavoured to facilitate effective use of its important resources, as pointed out by

one informant:

XM.: ... We had lots of films, and tapes, and these kinds of things; slide tapes. ... it was a *self-directed process* so that the persons themselves, without a teacher as such, could educate themselves in all the exciting things there are about *multicultural* life. And, we sorted the resources out in such a way that the self-directed learner could do that. So, it wasn't so clearcut as an, as an ordinary library. It was really a resource centre in the best understanding of the term. ... (Emphases added)

Correcting cultural misconceptions, attributable to ignorance, is a sine qua non of this concept under study and the literature is replete with some ruinous, warped, insights into the restrictive perspective on things cultural. For example, some writers rail against the Canadian official policy of multiculturalism (e.g.: Porter, 1966; Bibby, 1990; Friesen, 1991; Bissoondath, 1994) since they, largely, perceive culture through a restricted "celebratory" vista. The originators of the learner centre concept set out to correct this inhibiting, and patently warped, perception. The following insight, by one of the informants, sums up this initial realization:

XF.: ... I think, you ... ought to be very, very sensitive. There's always the tendency, you see, to say: "Look at these other cultures! Aren't they strange? Aren't they quaint? Aren't they funny?" And, I think, I'd always try to say: "This is not strange; I mean, this is the way people live. This is sensitive. ... You see, a sari isn't quaint or funny; it's certainly exotic." ... You know, I want to get across the idea that these are real, live cultures *. There's a lot of, you know, teaching in schools about other cultures. It's, kind of, appreciative but, you know, appreciative in the sense of it being called exotic, quaint, peculiar ...

It was also recognized that the restricted appreciation of cultural pluralism, born out of ignorance, was ruinous. One informant, in dipping into the history of colonialism, highlighted the effect of the metaphorical cultural blinkers:

XK.: These were the people who originated the *; who were the founding people, not just of the learner centre, of the movement; of this idea that cultural imperialism, not only it doesn't work, it's actually the wrong idea!

To correct this pervasive cultural misconception, as borne out by the relevant documents on this concept, the architects behind this learning concept saw the need for a "cross-cultural"

perspective and the added need to intentionally make people aware of that inevitable global pluralism. Was the centrality of this cross-cultural aspect general within the learner centre community? How did other informants see this?

The collected insights of almost all the informants highlight the fact that the cross-cultural aspect was seen as a "relevant concept" in the stated mission to make people "more cross-culturally aware." This was seen as a way of preparing people prior to their being "confronted with ... different cross-cultural realities." This was the initial problem-solving realization which shaped the genesis of the concept under study - the orientations at the University of Western Ontario:

XI.: ... So, that was the beginning of a realization that this issue was more complex than initially, you know, perceived. So, the initial reaction for orientation was bring in experts. Well, conceptually, the last thing we need is an expert because an expert knows more and more about less and less when, in fact, you need a broadened vision, not narrow it in; okay. So what you are trying to do with these kids going overseas was broaden their capacities to deal with differences. What you are getting from the lecturers was a narrowing of an interpretation, or a particular interpretation of a perception which, of course, began to immediately clash with the need to broaden.
...

The initial realization is, again, confirmed by the following observation by one of the pioneer informants:

S.: I think we talked, talked a whole lot about this cross-cultural and learner-centre[d] aspect of this phenomenon but, what does cross-, why did we have the term "cross-cultural" and "learner centre"?

XI.: Oh, I think, because, I think, there was always an awareness that you were crossing cultures. ... Crossing cultures and preparing them for culture shock, and things like that. ... there was a very real awareness that you were crossing cultures but there was also a real guilt trip associated with it in terms of who you were as a privileged white, liberal, going over there, you know, telling them how to run things.

So, that was the realization and the pedagogical response based on the marriage of two "relevant" concepts - the cross-cultural and the learner-centred. On the initial concept - the cross-cultural - the following observation provides an explanatory re-illumination of the central "very

educational ... and ... sensitizing process":

XM.: ... So, in a way, it was a, what we hoped to do was to challenge Canadians, Canadian kids into examining themselves; and their lifestyles; and *understanding* where they came from. And, what you find from that is that the basis of everybody is the same; it doesn't matter if you are black or white or purple or anything. Eh, the bottom line is that they are all the same. We all value our families; we all value a productive life; we all want to feel comfortable with what we are doing. That doesn't change. ... so, that was what we were trying to convey at that stage. There is no difference between all of us ... So, it was teaching people not to look at other people as different but to start from the assumption that you are the same and it shows in different ways which makes it exciting. If we all started the same way and ended the same way how boring it would be! [Laughter] You know. (Emphasis added)

As discussed earlier, the conscious facilitating of this important cross-cultural awareness was not meant to be all celebratory:

XK.: ... That's the other thing about cross-cultural - cross-cultural is non-judgmental, in the counselling sense; anything is equally valid whether you are, whether you are talking about not liking your mother or, it's not super-Freudian cross-cultural. ... What I understood cross-cultural to mean was not value control let's-just-kind-of-get-to-know-cultures-and-learn-how-not-to-offend-somebody-who's-Arabic-by-using-our-left-hands. These things were, I suppose, had some values. It was rather more the idea that, sometimes I've stated that the only value was in the crossing of cultures but no one culture by itself really stood alone. And, therefore, you have to actually celebrate the cultures you encounter. *And, I don't mean just culture as a native dance!* I mean acquired values even if they were quite alien to your values. (Emphases added)

and, again:

XK.: ... that idea that the ultimate respect for others' cultures and for other ways; and, again, I don't mean native dance. I mean their politics, their culture, the family structure, the economy ...

That that "relevant concept" - cross-cultural - was central is, thus, unassailable but there was an added need, pedagogically, to facilitate this inherent awareness. This influenced the deliberate marriage, or convergence, of the two principal conceptual influences:

XK.: ... And, I thank my mentors, really, for understanding the learner-centred and cross-cultural idea, or ideas; because it was really separate ideas brought together, mind you ...

A corollary realization was the efficacy of cross-cultural communication in the quest for understanding, awareness, tolerance and unhesitating acceptance of others in a truly pluralistic universe. On the central reality of cross-cultural communication, the following insight, by one of the informants, sums it up:

XK.: ... The idea that "cross-cultural" really means, kind of, a collision of cultures so that you gonna make sure you know the details so you can make the business deal was just not what we were thinking about. We were thinking about the idea that *cross-cultural communication* exists. ... communication is, apparently, cultural. (Emphases added)

There was the unshakeable belief that effective cross-cultural communication, after the relevant facilitating, could lead to that needed accommodation born by deepened awareness and understanding. On understanding, these informants provide some illuminating insights:

XE.: ... one of the main mandates is to foster cooperation, understanding, between Canadians and peoples of Asia, Asia/Pacific, Africa, the Americas; you know, and other parts of the world.

and, also:

XM.: ... So, you can never learn eighty-nine different cultures so, it's always, each day is a learning experience. ... So, it's an ongoing process so, I don't think you can say the time is done when we have sensitized people enough for understanding ... I don't think you can ever say understanding has been reached! ...

Awareness, acknowledged as a prerequisite to understanding, was also delineated as evinced by some informants' insights, like the already stated assertion that "there was a very real awareness that you were crossing cultures" and the following assertion:

XX.: ... to address our awareness, our new-found awareness, of the importance of this, the global village; to do our work here that there will always be those who needed the journey to Africa, wherever ...

That facilitated awareness, and understanding, could lead to newer, healthier, perspectives about "others" was an acknowledged factor in the evolution of this phenomenon is unassailable. To the active participants in this area tolerance, inclusive tolerance, is not anathematized. As some of

the informants noted:

XM.: ... What we try to achieve is ... an open mind. That people, once they really look at themselves will always have an open mind about other people.

In sum, there was the felt need to correct a discerned pedagogical "problem" during the initial orientations and this found expression in the new "learning paradigm" (Keller, 1968) under investigation. It was acknowledged that the delineation of the cross-cultural factor should lead to a conscious effort to facilitate the learning of cross-cultural understanding, awareness, and eventual accommodation. This important second realization gave rise to the unique learner-centred approach adopted by the pioneer centre which, eventually, became a central concept of the learner centre movement. How was this concept of learner-centredness viewed?

"LET THE LEARNER LEARN": FACILITATING THE LEARNING OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CONCEPT

The academic surroundings of the University of Western Ontario provided that nurturing ground for an experiment in educational alternatives - the learner centre concept. That this concept was a deliberate pedagogical response to an identified problem is amply borne out by the available documentation. For example, in a submission (North, MacKenzie & Simpson, 1972:1012) the authors highlighted this educational thrust:

... This submission then is aimed at the concern to establish *alternatives* in education with the assistance of educational technology. (Emphasis added)

The following corroborating excerpt, again, sheds more light on this educational thrust of the cross-cultural learner centre concept:

It is difficult ... to separate an interest in the content of the Centre from an interest in the *educational concepts* for the two interact very closely. We do feel that the Centre can be useful in helping Canadians to better prepare themselves for work among other cultures whether within Canada or in developing countries overseas. We also

feel that the *public education* aspects of the Centre may help more Canadians better understand the concepts involved in International Development ... (Simpson, Summary of 1971:253) (Emphases added)

Although there is ample evidence - from both available documents and informants - that the Centre (London), and other centres, have had considerable dealings with the formal education system I chose, as stated earlier, to investigate their facilitative role from a non-formal, adult education, perspective (see Chapter I). In a request, to the Donner Foundation for financial support, Simpson highlighted, among other things, the non-formal objective of this concept:

... To stimulate and support community-based development education programmes aimed at increasing Canadians' understanding of an involvement in Third World problems. The programmes might be part of the formal school system or might be of a *non-formal* nature. (Emphasis added)

Facilitating plays a significant role in the delivery of adult education programs (e.g.: Knowles, 1970; Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980; Brookfield, 1986) and this aspect of non-formal education is amply documented in the relevant literature. For example, MacKenzie, North, and Simpson (1972:800-1), commenting on the learner centre phenomenon, had this to say:

We have come to the realization that the Learner Centre does, in fact, make for a more frequent, close and informal relationship between the learner and the resource person in a situation where they function more as *co-learners* than as role-defined beginner and expert. ...

The Centre appears to *facilitate* the understanding of the relationship between topics, often across different 'disciplines', and particularly where the content involves adapting to changes in the learners' values, attitudes, prejudices and sentiments. (Emphases added)

This facilitating role is, again, highlighted by North in a paper (1974:1329) on the educational role of the London Centre:

Regardless of what the emphasis has been the chief commitment of people in the Centre has been to education as a means of enhancing the uniqueness of cultural groups and *facilitating* effective collaboration between cultural groups. Commitment to education for these purposes has led people in the Centre into many different activities ... (Emphases added)

In an earlier speech (1972:484), Simpson provided the following summary of the non-formal, adult education, role of the novel learning concept:

Our program is a dynamic thing and changes from month to month. We accept the concept of "*continuing education*" which speaks of the learning capacities of man throughout his life, working in dynamic interaction with a rapidly changing environment. (Emphases added)

The vehicle for this cross-cultural educational perspective was the unique "learning paradigm" (Keller) which acknowledged the importance of the *individual learner* in the learning transaction. Learning was, thus, the driving force of this new concept.

On Learning and the Supremacy of the Learner

A corollary of the broad educational framework of the phenomenon under study brings to the fore the mechanism devised to achieve that cross-cultural awareness, understanding and, eventually, accommodation. There was the felt need for something *deliberate* thus the novel learning concept adopted. That the accent was on *learning* is unassailable and that the supremacy of the *learner* was acknowledged is evident in the very name of that phenomenon - *learner* centres.

As discussed earlier (see Chapter I), learning, in the lexicographical words of Rowntree (1981), denotes "a long-lasting change in knowledge, attitude or skill, acquired through experience (rather than, say, through maturation)" and this inherent psychological quality of learning is, again, highlighted by many a writer (e.g.; Keller, 1968; Gazda & Corsini, 1980).

Although learning does take place in formal, non-formal and informal situations, the learner centre concept took place mainly in the formal and non-formal education spheres. Since I opted to traverse the phenomenal terrain through the adult education tributary, it is interesting to note that the inherent change in "knowledge, attitude, or skill" attributable to the process and outcome of learning (Rowntree) is again evidenced in another dictionary definition of "Adult Education" (Good, 1973)

which is defined, inter alia, as "any process by which men and women, either alone or in groups, try to improve themselves by increasing their *knowledge, skills, or attitudes ...*" (emphases added). Rowntree's (1981) definition highlighted the *experiential* aspect of learning and the literature, on Adult Education, is replete with the primacy of experience (e.g.; Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980; Brookfield, 1986).

An inexorable consequence of the primacy of the learner in this new learning paradigm is the highlighting of the inevitable *individualizing* factor. As Collier and Horowitz (1990:16) identified, the paradoxical sixties nurtured an epochal, and noteworthy, "expansion of consciousness ... of tolerance, of prospects for *individual* fulfillment" (emphasis added). That this individualizing trend was prevalent was also identified, from the adult education perspective, by Blakely (1960:4) who observed that "adult education implies respect for the purposes and integrity of the *learner ...*" (emphasis added) (see also Kidd, 1983; Brookfield, 1984 & Thomas, 1991).

That the choice of the individualizing, learner-centred, concept in this phenomenon might have been influenced by the convergence of other concepts has been discussed earlier on. This factor is confirmed by the following observations, after the concept had been in existence for some time. For example, in a 1971 report (#2) by the Learner-Centred [*sic*] Committee, London (Ontario) Board of Education, a parenthesized commentary hinted at some obvious "influences":

Incidentally, what is so new about the learner-centre? Aside from its title and the use of the computer terminal, the committee suggests that a modified, more structured version has been going on in some "progressive" departments for years. (P. 167)

Again, in the 1972 final report of the cross-Canada tour of the Mobile Learner Centre³⁹ it was reported that:

³⁹ The influence of this tour, and the eventual national spread of the learner centre concept, will be dealt with later.

It is unfair to generalize naturally as to who was most interested and who was least interested for there were many fluctuations. On the whole, it would not be unfair to say that our most enthusiastic response came from secondary school teachers, students ... high school students particularly affiliated with free or *progressive* schools ... (P. 409) (Emphasis added)

In sum, learning to appreciate that global pluralism was the vehicle chosen and the primacy accorded the central figure in this concept - the learner - was evidenced in the battle cry of this novel experiment - "Let the learner learn!" In the perceptive words of Brown (1963:v): "The sober truth is that different peoples must *learn* to get along together ... " (emphasis added). It is this central realization which gave birth to the second plank of this novel concept in cross-cultural understanding - the "learner-centred" plank. How was this concept viewed?

On Learner-Centredness: Some Perspectives

The initial acknowledgement of a perceived pedagogical problem after the initial orientation - the genesis of the cross-cultural learner centre concept - has already been discussed. The consequent need for a novel approach to learning is, again, borne out by the available documentation. The following excerpt, from an undated [1972?] memorandum from Simpson to the staff at the London centre on "Future Plans for the Centre" vividly provides a background for a closer look at this individualizing, learner-centred phenomenon:

We have ... been slowly articulating the basis of our mutual need to develop cross-cultural programs. Our *learner centred* approach ... was a *technique* ... It was developed out of our respect for *individual differences*, but also because it is a *pedagogical tool* which can be used very successfully. Thus, we have an interest in basic *educational reform*, apart from our interest in cross-cultural work. One might say we are promoting a revolution but not a military one. (Emphases added)

But, how was this central individualized *Personalized System of Learning (PSL)* (cf. Keller's (1968) influential **Personalized System of Instruction [PSI]** in the formal education system), in a decidedly non-formal, education-wise, setting interpreted?

In an illuminating proposal (1968:1-2), North spelt out the rationale for this novel learning paradigm:

Practical necessity has forced orientation programmes to deal with the problem of preparing the fledgling volunteers for their overseas assignments in a way that is in some respects at variance with the realities of the overseas situation. The volunteers are oriented in many kinds of *group learning*, with minimalized *individualized learning* where progress is made at a relatively standard rate and in a fairly rigidly prescribed order -- much like the usual university or teacher college situation. Overseas, the volunteers have to learn, adapt and work much more as individuals, making many more individual decisions about what to learn and how to learn it. It is a truism that volunteers do not come to orientation equally prepared, with identical interests, expectations, motivations or concerns. Some do read the books recommended to them prior to orientation, do spend time with returned volunteers or with people knowledgeable about West Africa, and do therefore find some of the lectures at orientation unnecessary or redundant. Nor do all volunteers learn new *knowledge, skills, or attitudes* best in the *same* [Emphasis in original] way -- viz., some learn best on their own, some need a group, some profit from lectures, some reason individually from examples to principles, others learn best in a deductive mode applying general principles to separate situations, some are prone to conformity, some require greater freedom to learn, etc. All this is well known to educators generally, and is well known to the people who have created and staffed the West Africa orientations in London in the past. The problem has been what to do about it, given limited time, a great deal to learn and large numbers of volunteers involved.

The present proposal will not solve these problems entirely -- it may make it possible to allow the volunteer to participate more in identifying and satisfying his or her individual needs for acquiring information and knowledge, developing teaching skills, and modifying attitudes. ... The volunteer may be able to determine more readily what he or she needs and wants to learn *relevant* to their specific assignment. The staff may be enabled to lecture less and serve more as discussion leaders, resources to be consulted and as guides and *facilitators* to individual learners. The proposal further would make it possible to give practical outlet to the volunteers' oft made plea to be allowed to perform at the orientation more as the reasonable effective *adults* that I would agree they are in most instances. (Emphases added)

This proposal, among other things, reinforces the adult education rationale for my study. After all, this learner-centred thrust reiterates one of Carl Rogers' (1969) principles that "significant learning" takes place when the subject matter is perceived by the student/learner as having *relevance* for his, or her, own purposes.

The literature, again, attests to the central role of the learner in the scheme of things. As North and Forgie (1969:153) attest, it is a "non-structured learning environment." This inherent *flexibility* - a characteristic which aided the concept's eventual spread to other jurisdictions - is, again, highlighted by these two principal architects of the computerized information-retrieval system - North and Forgie (1970:58) - in their illuminating observation that "the learner-centred system was developed with a view to maximum flexibility and with an emphasis upon the needs of the learner."

The following opinion (see "Introducing the Learner Centre") provides a documentary summary of the learner centre concept:

... The whole system is set up to suit your needs, interest, and abilities and self-motivation.

.....
It's called the Learner Centre because it is completely centred on you, the learner, not, as in more traditional learning methods, on the staff, study course schedule, or any systems which caters only to the common interest of a general group.

The Centre also encourages the understanding of the relationships that exist between different topics and across different disciplines. Educators have for years stressed that subjects like history, geography, politics, literature and the arts ought to be studied in such a way that the student perceives a total, comprehensive picture rather than just fragmentary aspects of it.

Since it is the attitude taken toward the world which is decisive in what one learns about the world, the Centre encourages the learner to become aware of and to analyse his own attitudes and values.

Thus, this opinion affords us a view into the central learner-centred concept that inheres in the phenomenon studied. It is a complex world of innovative learning principles geared towards meeting individualized needs and interests in a holistic, non-fragmented, fashion. Did the identified principal informants see this central concept differently?

Learner-Centredness: Perspectives From the Field

That cross-cultural understanding, and accommodation, was to be achieved through a unique learning concept - learner-centredness - is amply borne out, as discussed earlier, by the available

literature. Naturally, I was curious as to how some participants in this setting viewed this novel learning concept.

There were some revealing "snapshots" like: "We, eventually, try to address the needs whichever way possible." And also, "But, if you don't start from where they are you are going to be structurally unfair, biased and wrong in your dealings ..." These revealing perspectives show that the vision evinced from the documentary sources was translated into reality by the various "practitioners" of this novel learner-centred concept. There were, not surprisingly, various perspectives about this concept but one undeniable fact was a common understanding of the underlying factor of an *individualized learning* focus. As one key informant put it:

XI.: ... the original concept and the dilemma that was confronting C.U.S.O., at the time, when they were sending several hundred volunteers overseas at the same time. And the dilemma was these volunteers were going to many different places as well as those volunteers were at many different levels of preparedness and knowledge so they found that when they use the lecture system that a good number of the people the information that they were being lectured on was irrelevant and a good number of people weren't prepared enough to deliver at that level so it went over their heads and another number of people they already knew what they were talking about because they were prepared. Okay, so they found that, in the end, the lecture method only addressed the need of a very small percentage of the total number of people that were attending the lectures. So, in response to that, what they tried to create a *learner-directed environment*; and the learner-directed environment basically meant that they wanted *individuals* to gear their information needs and to access information needs to what they needed; both at the level of awareness that they had and the concerns that they had. ... (Emphases added)

and, another revealing reiteration:

XI.: ... But, you know, if you only have films, you know, you use what you have. So, the range of resources you could carry because of video is, of course, infinitely larger. Which meant that you could address the needs of the learners far more specifically because you don't just need a range of information *you also need to be able to be specific to the need of the individual learner if you're gonna be a learner centre.* ... (Emphases added)

As discussed earlier, context plays a significant role in qualitative research and this reality played itself also, as established, in the temporal context with regard to the birth of the concept under

investigation. The literature reviewed shed some light on this significant temporal context (e.g., Keller, 1968.) It is, therefore, not surprising that some of the key informants also recognized this pervasive temporal pedigree. For example, one informant's insight went thus:

XF.: ... but the idea of having a resource base that people could, basically, decide what they want; take charge of it; eh, that was very much the idea in the schools, too. ... So, all sorts of ideas happening in education about, about ... learning, learners' control of their; and so, I think, that is what we were experimenting. To what extent could you use computers ... to, we knew very early in computer technology, to develop ... a system which the learner controlled their environment?

This was a central learning question in this area and the following excerpt, because of its reflective pertinence, confirms this learning concept and the influential temporal context:

XX.: ... And, *the idea was that most, and it was consistent with the educational philosophy of the sixties which was going much towards the needs of the learner instead of the needs of the system or the needs of the teacher which had prevailed for so long.* And, the notion that each person coming into the ... the Cross-Cultural Centre's arena came from a different need base; from a different ... age base, perhaps; certainly from a different experience base, had to be addressed. How do you, how do you provide for people whose ... learning styles, and all of those other variables, were infinitely varied? And the answer lay in this learner-centred concept that, rather than pretend to be a provider in a schematic, or a systematic, way why not leave it to the learner to identify the starting point and the progression. ... (Emphases added)

It was, in essence, a significant learning concept which clearly stipulated that: "If you can't access as an individual; can't find your way as an individual, then, you can't have the learner [-centred] concept." "Let the learner learn" was the driving force and the following anecdotal summary captures the inherent vitality, and flexibility, of this central learner-centred concept:

XX. ... Because, certainly, looking back on the overseas programs that were first started ...

S.: The orientations.

XX.: ... the orientations. The needs of; I can remember the orientation program that was directed towards Nigeria in 19-, what was it? '68/69 and everybody thought they had a grasp of what was going to take place but, the, [Laughter] * blew up and, all of a sudden, we had to, to find new placements for, I think, it was something like sixty or seventy different people. And if we had come at it from a systematic base

with this is what you are going to do; this is the format of your learning we would have been completely off-line because we all knew that even, within the Nigerian context, the picture is so diverse; the languages are different; the cultures are different; the urban-rural split is different; so, depending upon the C.U.S.O. volunteers, we knew we had to yield towards the specific needs of the learner. And that's the merger. It was decided that the cross-cultural concept was integral to, eh, along with the learner-centred concept, in terms of our framework. So, that was born, I guess, I guess it was in '69 we took over to Westminster College and began the development of the resource centre ... and, of course, out of that various services emerged in the subsequent twenty-five years.

In sum, as these insights indicate, you cannot have a learner-centred approach without an equally flexible resource base, and framework, to advance this individualizing approach. Unhindered, computer-based access of the multimedia resources became the cornerstone of this learning experiment.

MEDIA-TED INDIVIDUALIZED LEARNING: A PIONEERING INFLUENCE

So, we set up a system whereby it became possible ... to retrieve, on an *individual* basis, information. (Emphasis added)

INTRODUCTION

This revealing observation, by one of the key informants, sets the stage for an in-depth look at the unique and, undoubtedly, pioneering multimedia, computer-assisted, retrieval system which was established to aid the central learner-centred concept. Individualized accessibility - both physical and content - was the *raison d'être* of the unique culturally pluralistic collection which grew.

It is interesting to note that one of the principal architects of the concept under study was Professor D. L. Forgie, who was a media specialist at the University of Toronto library school. He was instrumental in collaborating the designing of the technical aspect, of the delivery process, for this novel learning experiment - a system which facilitated individualized retrieval and, ipso facto, learning. The prevailing description for the "critically designed" system, as he put it in a telephone

conversation with me, was a computer-assisted "Multimedia" retrieval system.

The delivery methodology was mediated and as Good (1973), in the dictionary definition of "Teaching, mediated" indicates, it is "in general, teaching [read: facilitating] that is conducted with communication media rather than the direct face-to-face interaction of the teacher with the student, for example, by print, film, recording, telephone, radio, television, or computer terminal."

The term "multimedia" featured prominently in the resource-based learner centre concept and, as Gayeski (1994) has indicated in an encyclopedia entry - "Multimedia Systems in Education" - the term has itself undergone some changes. The following excerpt (Gayeski) reinforces the temporal context thesis I indicated earlier on. The period did influence the cross-cultural learner centre concept and the following opinion sums up that thesis:

The word "multimedia" is gaining popularity in educational technology, but it is not new. In the *1960s*, the term was used to mean a "collation of media emanating from disparate presentation devices" (Baker and Tucker 1990 p. 20), such as learning packages consisting of printed materials, slides, audiotapes, and so on. In the *1990s*, the term refers to " a class of computer-driven *interactive* communication systems which create, store, transmit, and retrieve textual, graphic, and auditory networks of information" (Gayeski 1992 p. 3.) (Emphases added)

Multimedia, Technology and Individualized Learning

On the "roles" of multimedia in education, Gayeski highlighted its inherent *flexibility*. In addition to this inherent flexibility, a factor also present in the concept under investigation. Gayeski also identified the role of multimedia systems in "individualized" instruction when he asserted that "multimedia systems are typically associated with individualized instruction." This individualizing aspect probably appealed to the architects of the learner-centred concept.

The appealing nature of multimedia systems is further highlighted by the same author who, in discussing their benefits, echoed the original rationale for the genesis of the concept under study:

Traditional "live" instructional settings are constrained by *time* (the process must be synchronous) and *place* (the parties must be contiguous) ... Research projects have ... generally found that students enjoy learning through multimedia. The ability of students to work *independently* and to *receive instruction suited to their needs* and learning styles is inherently attractive.

And, on the attractive individualized facet:

Individual media programs tailor themselves to the levels, pace, learning styles, and even languages of individual students. *Instruction can be provided for individual students* without the need to form classes taught in a central location. (Emphases added)

This is a familiar echo which clearly shows, again, another influential conceptual convergence on our phenomenon - one of an unmistakable conceptual provenance of the "multimedia" idea which played such a crucial role in the collecting and organizing of materials; that is, resources, for a computer-assisted individualized access. From the two data sources - document and informant - one sees the importance of this influence.

Gayeski's (1994) encyclopedia entry, as highlighted, traces the role of multimedia, and technology, systems in education. It is, therefore, not surprising that a major influence on the individualized, learner-centred concept - Keller (1968:87) - also expressed the following opinion:

The need for *individualized instruction* is widely recognized, and the most commonly suggested way of filling this need is *automation* (emphases added).

Surprisingly, North (1969?:22) also made this insightful observation:

Development of a flexible system of human beings and multi-media information assisted by an information-retrieving and scheduling computer could go a considerable distance towards the sort of *individualized* learning that educationists all advocate (emphasis added).

The excerpt below, by North and Forgie (1970:32), provides a fitting summary of this innovative approach. This, also, confirms that earlier observation by Keller (1968):

With the variety of equipment presently available to educators, it is possible and vitally important that the design and use of equipment, and technological methods be required to fill the needs of the learner, and not require the learner to fit himself,

in the manner of Procrustes, to the characteristics of technology. In a learner-centred environment, the learner has a real opportunity of choosing what he learns, when he learns, and largely how he learns it, without being dominated by the system.

But, how was the system actually designed to facilitate the adopted learner-centred approach?

North and Forgie (1970:33), the two principal designers, again, describe their technological dream:

It seemed possible to store information concerning a significant item of knowledge in the computer memory, gain rapid access to this information through a teletype terminal linked to a time-sharing computer by telephone line, and use the resulting print-out as a guide to a variety of multi-media sources relevant to the volunteer's [CUSO] interest.

"Let the Learner Learn!" was the obvious rallying cry for the designers of that innovative automated retrieval system. An individualized learning approach offers an inherent freedom of informational choice from a veritably large menu. This culinary metaphor is an echo of an earlier observation by North and Forgie (1969:131) which, invariably, captured the spirit of this pedagogical experiment:

In designing the demonstration model, it will be recalled that the researchers were attempting to create a kind of *learning cafeteria*, wherein each volunteer could select the questions he or she wanted to ask ... and follow out the particular set of learning sequences that were meaningful to the individual ... the researchers were attempting to meet the individual learner's need in a more meaningful way than had been attempted previously. (Emphases added)

It was, undoubtedly, a "sort of total information system" of technology and people which grew into the cross-cultural learner centre concept. It was, indeed, a convergence of various conceptual influences which formed the unique characteristics of this movement. "What is a Learner Centre?" This was the central question posed on a flyer and the following proffered answer provides a fitting documentary reiteration:

In formal terms, it's a multi-media, computer-assisted information retrieval and problem-solving system providing a learner-centred environment.
This simply means that:

Information on many subjects is available in a variety of forms, e.g., films, slide-sound shows, books, videotapes, etc.

You can, if you wish use a simplified computer system to help you find the answers you want, faster than by other methods.

The whole system is set up to suit your needs, interest, and abilities and self-motivation.

Many people think of the Centre as a "learning cafeteria". It's a place where you, as an individual user, can choose what you want to learn, the way or medium in which you prefer to learn, and the rate at which you progress toward the learning goals you set yourself. ...

The learner centre concept was unique, and Thomson (1972?:517) echoed the sentiments of many observers: "In its innovative use of the latest educational technologies, its emphasis on providing an individualized learner-centred experience, the Centre is unique."

Resource Growth: A Study in Symbolism

A study of the growth of the resources of the pioneer centre - from the original West Africa perspective - shows, symbolically, the growth of the cross-cultural learner centre concept. There was an unmistakable *perspective diversification* and this was an undeniable sign of growth from the modest collection to a fully computerized retrieval system. Simpson highlighted this modest beginning in a letter (dated August 16/95) where he intimated that "the first centre existed in my office at the Faculty of Education at Western U and was carried around in my suitcases from place to place."

With the diversification of the focus of the Centre there was the need for a truly representative collection to reflect the new, more global, perspective of the fledgling Centre. The following excerpt (MacKenzie, North & Simpson, 1972:800) captures that move:

To select and produce material for the ever expanding "resource areas", steering committees were made up of individuals from the major cultural groups concerned, with the chairman of the Resource Area Committees and a majority of the committee members Nationals from that area.

This resource development policy was, again, highlighted in an unattributed paper, aptly titled "Resources - How they Are Obtained and How They Are Organized" - in 1972:

In general, the individual steering committees - Canadian, Black, Native Peoples, Caribbean, Asian, African, etc. - are responsible for selecting and acquiring materials on their own particular areas. (P. 741)

As highlighted earlier, this resource-based "learner-centred environment centre" created was a *multimedia* one in that different formats of materials were collected and organized. For example, in addition to books, there were vertical files, artifacts, and various audiovisual materials. This novel approach to organizing a resource centre/library was noted by two students (Gonnason & Storey, 1971:179) from the School of Library and Information Science (SLIS), the University of Western Ontario:

Of equal importance is the concept of equating or balancing all media whatever their format as units of information equally useful in the learning process.

And, not surprisingly, they also noted the educational potential of this novel approach:

We feel that concept of a multimedia centre operating as a method of individualized instruction and learning is an exciting and successful *new trend* in the field of education and librarianship (emphases added).

In sum, as North (1969?:16) noted, the resource centre had "individualized, flexible learner-centred capabilities that an interactive information system of people and equipment could provide."

On Models and Librarians

As discussed in the introductory part of this dissertation, my curiosity was piqued, as a librarian, by the organization of the learner centre library, to reflect the central learner-centred and cross-cultural concepts. It is, therefore, not surprising that Forgie had a library and information science connection. This nexus, it appears, played a crucial role in the evolution of the resource-based learner centre concept.

In line with the need to organize the accumulated resources, to aid the learner-centred approach to facilitating cross-cultural awareness, a model was designed in 1969 "to by-pass the usual, difficult problems of more traditional classroom and library approaches to learning" (North & Forgie, 1969:153).

The literature attests to the unique role library science personnel played in the learner centre concept. For example, North and Forgie (1970:32) offered this historical perspective:

In the summer of 1969 a pilot project was launched to provide expanded use of audiovisual media for the West African orientation program of Canadian University Service Overseas [CUSO]. The test model was designed by the authors [North & Forgie] and developed in the Media Centre⁴⁰ of the school of library science at the University of Toronto, in liaison with colleagues from CUSO and Althouse College of Education, University of Western Ontario.

This crucial historical perspective is, again, reinforced in an earlier paper, by North (1969?:12), on the individualized, learner-centred orientation programme for C.U.S.O.:

Since February, 1969, out of some limited funds from CUSO's West Africa Orientation budget, work has been proceeding (in co-operation with the Media Centre of the School of Library Science at the University of Toronto) on the development of the demonstration model.

In sum, pertinent materials were accumulated to aid the original orientation programme at the University of Western Ontario. Naturally, these grew and there was, therefore, the need to organize these for effective, learner-centred accessibility. It was at this juncture that technology played a crucial role in the facilitating of this learning concept. As Simpson noted in his note to me (dated August 16/95): "the centre was computerized in 1969 which put it away [*sic*] ahead of its time in many ways." This was a vision fulfilled, as borne out by documentary information. What was the reality provided by the perspectives of some key informants?

⁴⁰ Professor (Emeritus) D. L. Forgie was in charge of the Media Centre, School of Library Science, University of Toronto.

On Resources and Automation: Some Informant Perspectives

The resource centre, or library, really played a key role, as seen, in the learner centre movement. The multimedia materials collected, and organized, for individualized access, reflected the unmistakable convergence of the two principal conceptual influences of the phenomenon - the cross-cultural and the learner-centred approaches.

As discussed earlier, librarians, through the pioneering role of Forgie of the Media Centre, School of Library Science, University of Toronto, played a leading role in the designing of this veritable hub of the pioneer centre. This view is reflected in the following observation by one of the key informants:

XK.: ... in fact, Library Science specialists, although infrequent in the learner centre movement, ... was so important because they understood things long before the rest of us; many of them. They were the most forward-thinking of the people in the profession; many of them young. Many of them accepting dirt wages and much, much tough, tougher working conditions than they would have got in mainstream systems. ... the idea is about ten years before its time, or needed about a hundred times more capital! ... some of the most terrible prices you pay, occasionally, when you are so far ahead is you get ignored. ...

On Reflective Convergence and Hub: The Resource Centre/Library

The literature clearly shows the central role the resource centre/library plays in the learner centre phenomenon. For effective facilitating of learning; that is, the acquisition of cross-cultural knowledge, skills and the appropriate attitudes, there was the need to collect and organize materials reflective of the two central conceptual influences. That the evolved resource collection became the centre of activity is amply borne out by the unanimous acknowledgment by the key informants. For example, one informant identified the humble origin of the learner centre concept and its

unmistakable evolution from the resources collected:

XA.: But, the material was gathered together for the orientation. Eh, gradually it became the core stuff that was used; it became the Learner Centre.

The following insights, from another learner centre, confirm this perspective:

XB.: Yeah! I, everybody on the staff here might not agree, but I should think so. ... certainly we wouldn't have the amount of traffic in this Centre without the library.

and, again:

S.: Do you rely on the resources in your library to help you mount these workshops?

XB2.: Yes, to a great extent. We use mostly the A/V materials and other pertinent printed materials. The library is of great help to us. The librarian keeps us abreast of materials in our various areas. ...

The centrality of the library/resource centre in the facilitating of this novel learning concept is aptly summed up by the following insight:

XK. ... You can't go from simple principles to action without the tools to analyze things.

S.: The tools.

XK.: And, that's what they are. They are just tools but they are vital tools! I wouldn't try to build a house without hammer and nails and a saw; even if I knew how it wouldn't do me any good. I sure couldn't teach anyone else how to do it without the tools, or theory. ...

The perennial funding crunch - which will be discussed later - faced by the learner centre movement did, inevitably, affect this hub of activity. This unfortunate turn of events did, undoubtedly, jeopardize the work of these centres. To paraphrase the thrust of a popular poem (W. B. Yeats' *The Second Coming*), things fall apart when the centre can no longer hold. This debilitating phase of the concept under study is echoed in the general sentiments shared by most of my key informants. For example, one informant lamented thus:

XK.: ... Our shrinkage was terrible! ... All libraries have shrinkage problems but, our shrinkage problem was ridiculous; it wasn't shrinkage, it was haemorrhage. ... On the

other hand you cannot have a learner-centred idea without having the resources open.
...

The following plaintive cry, in highlighting the "shrinkage" problem, also highlighted the unmistakable central role of the library/resource collection:

XL.: ... Our library could close in September [1995]. Eh, you know, it is silencing a voice in our community and ... we are very concerned; we feel very strongly that it is not only the development education program that is going to suffer but the community is going to lose access to information but we are also going to hurt the whole community around settlement issues as well because the two have to be connected.

Collection Development and Diversification: The Face of Pluralism

As discussed earlier, the libraries/resource centres, necessarily reflected the inherent pluralistic perspective of the cross-cultural learner centre concept. There was, thus, a distinct diversification from the original West Africa perspective to something more global; a stance which was subsequently replicated in the other learner centres across the country. The uniqueness of the resources was generally acknowledged by the informants and, as one summed it, "the type of information that is available here, at the Centre, is very *unique* in our community" (emphasis added).

That the centres strived to reflect the cross-cultural, pluralistic, aspect of their mission is a given and the following excerpt captures this central policy in the development of their collections:

S.: ... But, how about the cross-cultural reflection?

XJ.: I guess, well, I guess that is, kind of, reflected in the library; in the kinds of materials because they are international ... it's an international collection from, you know, different countries and, also, in the multicultural section ... specifically the cross-cultural aspect; and things like that.

As indicated earlier, the novel learner-centred approach was also deliberately fostered. For example, the following excerpt captures that central policy in collection development and organization:

XM.: ... you know, so the learner centre concept was developed and it was different from ... regular library in that we mixed our resources in such a way that people could follow their interest; track it through the, through the whole, eh, through the, through the Centre ... it was a self-directed process ... And, we sorted the resources out in such away that the self-directed learner could do that. ... you had print resources; you had visual resources; you had people; ... you had knowledgeable people, that is; we also could direct you, then, to other community resources that would help to expand your scope of interest. And ... that was, that was really the theory behind it and the way that we set it out.

And, again, a reiteration:

XI.: ... But, you know, if you only have films, you know, you use what you have. So, the range of resources you could carry because of video is, of course, infinitely larger. Which meant that you could address the needs of the learners far more specifically because you don't just need a range of information you also need to be able to be specific to the need of the individual learner if you're gonna be a learner centre. ...

A natural consequence of the central pluralistic stance in collection development was the *diversification* element which shaped the cross-cultural learner centre phenomenon. This aspect of the evolution is captured in the following insight by one of the informants:

XF.: ... as part of that process [orientation] a collection of West Africa materials was put together for the orientations ... So, the collection began to evolve as a, sort of, multicultural rather than the original West Africa-specific: an exem-, an exemplary multicultural resource. ...

Earlier on the bi-directional factor was identified and this aspect was, again, reflected in the deliberate move, in collection development, to cater to that identified linkage phenomenon between the local and the global. The following informant faithfully captures that evolution:

XM.: ... so, then, we broadened the scope of the resources, and the programming, to provide the orientation to other people coming into Canada. You see, so we needed to get up-to-date stuff on Canada. Especially, we had to identify, then, where those people were going to be working ... when they came here. So, you are looking at, I mean, they are going to Toronto but most of them were going more to rural areas. What kind of information they would need; basic information on Canada; lifestyle skills; what they could expect; eh, orienting them to the Canadian way of life. So, it became, slowly, a *two-way process* ... And, in fact, it was a very educational one because suddenly Canadians who were going overseas began to see what people from outside saw about Canada. It was a very educational process and a sensitizing process. Because, suddenly, here were Canadians, for the first time, being asked to

look at their own country as if they were foreigners. This is what the foreigner sees!
(Emphasis added)

Indeed, the collection was diversified to reflect the distinct shift from a narrow perspective to a truly cross-cultural, pluralistic, stance to best facilitate the acquisition of that much-needed knowledge, skills and attitudes for that intercultural encounter. As described earlier, the resources were "multi-media" in the sense of the *variety* of formats and "that was ... really the theory behind it and the way that we set it out."

Customized learner-centred accessibility was implemented through the use of computers - a pioneering effort - to facilitate use of the multimedia resources available. The following informant insight highlights that effort:

XF.: ... At the same time, in the early days of computers; and these were, sort of, computers which worked by steam, of course; and the idea of having all these resources on the, sort of, computer accessible basis was explored. And ... so, quite some pioneering work was done in getting the database ... on to the computer; cross-reference and, eh, computer accessible and user-friendly way. When you're talking about 1969, 1970 computer accessing, and stuff; you're talking a whole different world than today. And, so ... but that was the idea that people would, eh, and this was brand-new technology and pretty cumbersome too; and the whole idea was people could go and type in any question and, sort of, get a response. Say, if you want to find out about West African religion or dance or politics, well, we've got videos, tapes, books, and so on. ...

In sum, there is ample documentary evidence, corroborated by informant insights, that for unhindered, learner-centred access to the resources computer technology was used. As one informant rightly concluded: "You have to make materials available in a different way so people don't feel embarrassed to look for the stuff ..."

Organizing for Learner-Centred Access: Some Corroborating Perspectives

The flexible and unique aspects which inhere in the learner centre concept did play a significant role in its spread beyond London, Ontario. Another unique aspect, as discussed earlier,

is the customized, learner-centred, accessibility of the resources gathered. This was based on the central premise that "if you can't access as an *individual*; can't find your way as an *individual*, then, you can't have the learner centre concept" (emphasis added).

Technology was seen as the medium to achieve this learner-centred approach to information retrieval because, in the words of one of the key informants, "what it [the computer] does is it decentralizes knowledge. That's the main impact of the computer. You don't need a couple of million bucks and expensive programming staff, you know, to have access to information ... So, I was aware, very early on, that the potential of this was *individual access*" (emphases added). This was seen as facilitating learning in that "you facilitate access to information; you don't make it difficult."

Technology, as the pertinent documents show, played a significant role in the evolution of this unique concept since it facilitated a veritable learner-centred information retrieval from a patently pluralistic multimedia resources. Some of the key informants re-illuminated this aspect of the evolution of this unique learning phenomenon.

History affords us the opportunity to see that the initial problem realized, after the group orientation - which eventually gave rise to the "remedial" learner-centred approach - also influenced the use of computer technology. The following excerpt reinforces this:

XA.: ... And, one of his [North] more creative ideas, and, I don't know, historically, whether it was all his idea or whether he adapted, or borrowed, it from somebody else, but, certainly, in this part of the country, in fact, in Canada, it was a brand-new idea. ... a learner-centred orientation and he envisaged computers, and the computers were still early in those days ...

Another informant confirmed this development and, in the process, also shed more light on the delineated temporal context:

XF.: ... computers were beginning to be used in the schools. So, all sorts of ideas happening in education about, about ... learning, learners' control of their; and so, I

think, that is what we were experimenting. To what extent could you use computers, eh, to, we knew very early in computer technology, to develop ... a system which the learner controlled their environment? ...

There was, thus, a discerned pedagogical problem and steps were taken to remedy this through the mediation of technology. This aspect later influenced, and helped forge, the unique character of the area under investigation. The following insight captures the modest, but unassailably influential, beginning of this technological trend in individualized learning:

XI.: ... Okay, so they found that, in the end, the lecture method only addressed the need of a very small percentage of the total number of people that were attending the lectures. So, in response to that, what they tried to create a learner-directed environment ... And, so, what they came up with was, in fact, in anticipation of a simple version of the Internet system; ...in that way, you know, they could direct their information needs to the information that they wanted to get rather than being fed stuff that they already knew ...

This was a laudable pedagogical dream but, unfortunately, it turned out to be a cash-strapped one which eventually proved debilitating. The pervasive plaintive, and often trenchant, observations highlight the price some pioneers pay because "occasionally, when you are so far ahead is you get ignored."

As indicated, there was a persistent funding crisis which, unfortunately, stunted the growth of this novel learning experiment. The following excerpts faithfully capture this funding dilemma:

XK.: ... Yeah; so, it was ten years ahead of its time; minimal. Or, it was in the vanguard of what was going on in the early to mid-80s but we didn't have the resources to follow it up; these things are too expensive.

and, also:

XK.: ... What they meant is now available, but it ain't available through learner centres because learner centres were, probably, ahead of the game and, probably, never had the money to do it right.

CONCLUSION

In sum, the founders of the phenomenon studied set out to create an alternative "learning opportunity" emphasizing an individualized, learner-centred, and holistic approach in a truly cross-cultural setting. A setting which sought to create an awareness, and acceptance, of the reality of cultural pluralism and, also, of the inevitable link between the local and the global. This, it appeared, was a reaction to the obvious pedagogical inadequacy of the initial *group* orientations.

The project was a "joint" effort between the University of Western Ontario and C.U.S.O. These two played significant roles in the birth and survival of this learner-centred concept. The crucial supervisory role of the Office of International Education, U.W.O., also helped in the evolution of this concept. The relevance of the first centre was seen in its full acceptance by the "mother" University in 1974 when it became a department of Althouse College of Education. An internal growth was also seen in the identified symbolism of "place".

It also emerged that some identified personalities - Simpson, North and, to some extent, Forgie played significant roles in the birth of this concept. Also, some prevailing conceptual influences impacted on the evolution of this novel phenomenon.

It also emerged that the facilitators of the original orientation, as highlighted earlier, realized the inadequacy of the "traditional library resources" therefore multi-media, varied, resources were accumulated to reflect the pluralistic nature of the learning concept. Here, the various formats - books, periodicals vertical files, artifacts and A/V materials - were recognized as equally legitimate "units of information". For an unhindered, individualized, access of these varied resources computers were used. In sum, a discerned pedagogical problem was remedied through the available evolving technology.

Unfortunately, there were expressions of concern, from some University sources, with regard

to some unexpected developments in the new Centre. These expressions were largely centred on the "Third World", instead of the expected truly international, focus of the Centre; the increasingly community focus and, significantly, the financial "drain" on university funds. This was the reality attributable to the inevitable growth of this concept.

Unfortunately, there was a perpetual funding crisis which, invariably, stunted the growth of the phenomenon investigated. This cash-strapped dream accentuated, as would be seen later, the inevitable political aspect of growth and survival.

CHAPTER V

FUNDING: POLITICS, PERILS AND PARADOX

As mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, funding was a persistent, and stunting, problem within the learner centre movement. Their reliance on, especially, governmental sources highlighted the paradoxical and perilous aspects of their growth; a fact attributable to the politics of funding.

How did the funding process affect the growth of this phenomenon? Did the centres try to cultivate more reliable sources of funding?

The influential sixties was a decade of contradictions and paradoxes, as discussed in the introduction (see, e.g., Gold & Ross, 1976; Levitt, 1984; Collier & Horowitz, 1990). It is in the funding of the centres that one clearly sees a reflection of this paradox.

There is an inevitable political realism in the planning and execution of adult education activities. This "political dimension" (Fordham, 1976:56) is also identified by other authorities (e.g., Ewing, 1969; Ducanis, 1975; Howlett, 1991). The prevalence of this political aspect is sharply illuminated, as indicated, through the crises-prone funding aspect of the phenomenon under study.

On Diversified Funding

It is paradoxical that sustained funding nurtured the learner centres to grow and spread and the lack of it - funding - has been the persistent bane of this area. The following observation (Radcliffe & Radcliffe, 1974:1512) illuminates this dilemma of necessary diversified funding, for

survival, and the inherent threat to survival: (See Appendices Ei,ii,iii)

Funding has been *erratic*, with support from a *variety of sources* such as CUSO, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Department of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of State, Canadian Crossroads International, the Donner Foundation, and ad hoc grants tied to particular aspects of the project for a succession of specific purposes. Overall supervision and sponsorship of the operation has been in the care of the University of Western Ontario's Office of International Education. (Emphases added)

This perspective on funding from, as one informant generalized, "a variety of financial contributions," became the hallmark of the phenomenon under study. Unfortunately, as both the documentary and informant sources show, this aspect of funding became a persistent peril since the paradoxical nature of this funding dilemma was exacerbated during a distinct shift in political - both federal and provincial - re-alignments. The inevitable mix of politics and funding proved disabling thus the prevailing intimations of mortality of the learner centre movement. It should be acknowledged, though, that the centres investigated did strive to comply with that *funding diversification* expectation, from governmental sources like C.I.D.A., in order to qualify for "matchable dollars." For example, the attached appendices (Ei,ii,iii) reveal the overwhelming contribution by the various levels of government as compared to "other" sources. This revealing picture highlights the steady, stabilizing, importance of such governmental sources; especially from the federal level of government. Therefore, the loss of financing from such sources is, unquestionably, devastating.

How reliable are the "other" sources of funding? As the specific examples indicate (see Appendices Ei,ii,iii) this source consists mostly of individuals, some companies and/or organizations, the local Board of Education and the usual fund-raising activities. It is widely held that in the field of external aid most countries, or donors, are suffering from an identified "donor fatigue." Likewise, in these "leaner and meaner", and uncertain, times most individual and corporate

donors show unmistakable signs of *donor hesitancy*. This reveals the persisting uncertainty of funding thus the general plaintive cries with regard to the *total* loss of the hitherto reliable, and sustaining governmental sources.⁴¹

Before this debacle, though, one sees the significant role these "erratic" sources of funding played in sustaining the cross-cultural learner centre concept.

The Uniqueness and Inherent Weakness of Funding

As demonstrated, the learner centre concept grew into a unique personalized system of learning. This uniqueness was, not surprisingly, also evident in the funding system which sustained the concept. The following excerpt (Ellwood, 1995:4), in highlighting this inherent uniqueness, also introduces the paradoxical element of peril:

The Canadian system of government funding to global education inside the country was widely admired by NGOs abroad. Few other Western countries could match the extensive network of community-based groups working on aid issues that had developed over the last two decades. *State support for public education on international issues* began in the 1960s during the era of Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. The *original goal* was to strengthen *public support* for government aid programmes. In fact Global Education advocates were rarely cheerleaders for government policies. (Emphases added)

Funding, "erratic" funding, did help the initial growth and eventual spread of this unique individualized learning concept but, as the available documentary sources indicate, the closure of one source of funding proved to be a persistent dilemma. For example, a look at the critical role of C.U.S.O. in the establishment of the London centre also highlights this perilous, and paradoxical, funding nexus. The following excerpt, from a 1975 report of the Centre, clearly shows this dilemma:

The Centre was originally established as a resource base to service the needs of

⁴¹ For example, see Ellwood (1995:4) for a graphic impact of the total loss of funding from the Federal Government through C.I. D.A.

CUSO volunteers going to Africa. Up to and including July - Aug. 1974 intensive summer CUSO orientation programmes were hosted each year by the Centre and much of its basic resource material was geared to the specific needs of volunteers. Over the years, however, the Centre evolved a much wider scope and new directions for its activities as an increasing number of its programmes penetrated out into the community. Culminating this trend, in 1975 the Centre's servicing role for CUSO was terminated and it emerged as an exclusively community-focussed organization.

The funding crises, which dogged the Centre, and frequent intimations of mortality were a disturbing harbinger. There are available documentary insights into this dilemma which dogged this experiment in individualized learning.

For example, an "urgent" memorandum, to the Office of International Education (U.W.O.) in November 1973, from Simpson lamented this identified crisis:

... If there are funds scattered in different accounts for Centre use, why are they not collected in one account? We cannot help but have difficulty carrying out our plans when no money is available. ... It is frustrating and disillusioning ...

Again, in a report (Butcher, 1973:1151) on the use of the London Centre, this writer highlighted this funding bane:

From the data, it can be concluded that the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre is fulfilling a need that exists within the London [Ontario] school system. *The Centre, though, is undergoing monetary strain.* For the Centre to continue and improve the services provided to teachers and students, it is hoped that the London School Board can contribute financial support. (Emphases added)

The persistence of this debilitating financial dilemma is also confirmed by the candid observations of Simpson. In a memorandum on the "Future of the Centre" (January 1974) he reminisced that:

As I have said again and again all of these successes have been accomplished in spite of the *very limited and insecure financial resources* which we have had at our disposal. This has been possible only because of the dedicated and unselfish commitment of the staff members. (P. 1290) (Emphases added)

Incidentally, in spite of the dedication and "unselfish commitment of the staff" he was candid about the perennial financial crunch and, inevitably, intimated on the possible mortality of the concept they

had assiduously fostered:

At this point financial concerns may be the major cause of our difficulties. We must decide soon if we have the minimum resources to continue in a manner that would be acceptable to us. (P. 1292)

Yes, there were clearly-expressed apprehensions and unmistakable intimations of mortality attributable to the persistent perilous nature of funding. Were governmental sources of funding reliable?

"He Who Pays the Piper ... ": The Perils and Paradox of Governmental Funding

Of all the government funding sources the Federal Government's role in partially funding the learner centres brings out the perilous and paradoxical elements. The Federal Government aided the various centres through, paradoxically, the Canadian International Development Agency (C.I.D.A.). This was achieved through C.I.D.A.'s Public Participation Program (P.P.P.).

C.I.D.A. had a specific mandate which was spelled out, briefly, in a mimeograph dated December 2, 1971, aptly titled "Mobilization for Development":

The Canadian International Development Agency is Canada's official means of contributing support to the advancement of the developing countries. (P. 307)

But, as the Canadian government rationalized, there was the need to create that awareness within Canada regarding the interconnectedness which inheres in that inevitable local-global nexus. This was to be achieved through the support of Development/Global Education initiatives.

In the same mimeograph (1971:307) mentioned above, this official rationalization is hinted under a subsection aptly titled: "Development Education: A New Focus for CIDA." Among the various rationalizations the following provides an insight into this seemingly paradoxical policy:

The *increasing awareness* of international issues on the part of Canadians is expanding the perimeters by which Canadian society views its international role. (Emphases added)

The Development Education initiative, and rationale, was also amply spelled out in the "mobilization" mimeograph (1971). In addition to the following objectives, C.I.D.A. invited applications from groups and specified conditions for their "matching" grants:

Development Education Program

I. The Objectives

- 1) to enable Canadians to develop an *understanding* of development in its historical and social contexts;
- 2) to *involve* Canadians in actions which *relate* Canada to the Third World;
- 3) to strengthen Canada's response to the UN's goals for the Second Development Decade;
- 4) to increase the flows of development assistance to the developing countries, especially through non-governmental channels. (P. 308) (Emphases added)

These objectives confirm the linkage phenomenon, identified earlier, prevalent within the learner centre movement; that is, the inevitable link between the local and the global. It was this rationale which echoes the "relate[dness]" in CIDA's objectives (see immediately above) which was transformed into action through its **Public Participation Program (PPP)**. The "mobilization" mimeograph (p. 307) again confirms this perspective:

The United Nations has also called for the mobilization of greater public support for international development as a part of its efforts for the Second Development Decade.

Recognizing the many imaginative and innovative programs that are being initiated by national, regional and community groups across the country to involve Canadians in international development, CIDA has initiated, on an experimental basis, a development education program. Its main purpose will be to support initiatives to stimulate public interest in international development and, by doing so, to strengthen Canada's international development effort.

In this regard, the Federal Government, through C.I.D.A.'s P.P.P., went out to actively "support initiatives to stimulate public interest in international development" as spelled out in the excerpt immediately above. But, as the following revealing excerpt indicates, that support was not unconditional. Thus, one sees that imperceptible hint of possible perils in the future. In undertaking to fund the establishment of local cross-cultural learner centres C.I.D.A. spelled out their, as

highlighted earlier, criteria for support and, among these, were the following as it appeared in a June 22, 1972, mimeograph:

CIDA and International Development Learner Centres

-
- 2) The centre should be community-oriented; the activities of the centre should be drawn from *international development interests* and the needs of the community.
- 3) The Centre should be intended as permanent and should work toward *self-sufficiency*. Because the CIDA Program [Development Education Program of the NGO Division] is an *experimental one*, there is no assurance that CIDA will be able to give *continuing support* to a particular project. (Emphases added)

Herein lies the paradox of governmental funding.

As discussed earlier, a distinct shift in political alignment, from the truly "liberal" ideas forged in the crucible of the sixties' philosophy and championed by Pierre Trudeau - "our own JFK" - to the obviously right wing-influenced "leaner and meaner" nineties, really bring out this identified paradoxical element in funding exacerbated by politics. This harsh reality hit home in 1995 at the time, coincidentally, I was in the field collecting the salient perspectives of my key informants.⁴²

That the times they are a-changing to meaner times is evident in the pervasiveness - both national and international - of that misnomer "winds of change." That the harsh reality of politics in, specifically, funding is pervasive is abundantly evident in both the popular and scholarly literature. For example, Landsberg, in a trenchant contribution in the *Toronto Star* (August 19, 1995:L14) highlighted this "destructive" trend under the title: "Demolition Derby Damage is Irreversible."

Again, Toughill, in a report on the then-new Harris Tory government in Ontario (*Toronto Star*, November 2, 1995:A1.A6) highlighted this stunting he-who-pays-the-piper phenomenon in government funding of community groups: "Foes Say Tories Threatened Them: Women's Groups

⁴² I will share the corroborating views of my informants regarding the politics, perils and paradox of funding later.

Allege Warnings of Funding Cuts." This issue was also editorialized later (*The Saturday Star*, November 4, 1995:C2) under the probing title: "Did She or Didn't She?" wherein "Women's Issues Minister Dianne Cunningham says there's no truth to the allegation that she told a community group to *play ball* with her Tory government or lose its funding" (emphases added).

The persistent intimations of mortality within the cross-cultural learner centre movement, attributable to "erratic" funding and, specifically, the unpredictable funding from governmental sources came to a head, as mentioned above, in 1995. This decisive year saw the abrupt silencing of the public participation "voice" and the various reactions clearly highlight this funding dilemma which has dogged this laudable learner-centred concept.

For example, a lead story, titled: "Feds Cut Funding for Educational Programs ... Time for a Celebration?" (1995:1) clearly placed this dilemma in context:

This is not the place to analyze the "deficit mania" that governs our lives at present. ... The litany of cutbacks continues to grow and the fallout widens. Part of that fallout is the termination of all educational programs solely aimed at providing the millions of Canadian children an opportunity to be informed and active participants in their world. These are the issues of environment, development, peace, equity and rights and sustainability; all issues that the Federal Government deals with on a daily basis.

Yet, in *one abrupt stroke* the Federal Minister abolished programs whose roots stem back to the *liberal values* of the 60's and 70's. (Emphases added)

But, as Ellwood (1995:4) pointed out, this paradox in the perils of funding was not unanticipated - a view shared by other commentators:

Canada's unique development-education system has been gutted as a result of severe government budget cuts. The \$11 million slashed from the government aid agency CIDA's 'Public Participation Program' is part of a planned \$540 million cut to the country's foreign-aid budget which Jean Chrétien's Liberal Government announced in its February [1995] budget. The voluntary sector of CIDA, under which most non-governmental organizations (NGOs) receive funding, was cut by \$45 million.

Although NGOs across the country knew the cuts were coming, few were ready for their severity. Most expected a series of phased cuts over two or three years. Instead, for those groups doing Global Education work in Canada, the cuts were total and immediate. More than 100 organizations nationally were affected.

Ellwood (p. 4), again, offers us an insight into the unexpected "total and immediate" devastation through the recorded "precise experience" of an employee of one of the affected learner centres:

For people like Paddy Campbell of the Arusha Centre in Calgary, 'It's 25 years of community work down the drain.' CIDA's \$120,000 grant to the Centre provided three-quarters of its budget, enough to hire eight part-time staff. ... 'It seems to me a tremendous waste.'

Although Ellwood (p. 4) speculated that: "With these devastating cuts to global education there will be even less co-ordinated opposition to this business agenda" he, nevertheless, offered the official view for this sudden turn of events:

Government officials justify the targeting of public education programmes in terms of CIDA's aid mandate: their priority, they say, should be NGOs working overseas.

However, global education activists believe the decision was motivated more by politics than foreign policy. Christine Smiley is Director of the Saskatchewan Council for International Co-operation, one of seven provincial co-ordinating councils that had their funding cut completely. 'To me the cuts are an attempt to silence those voices that have held the Government accountable on foreign policy decisions.' (P. 4)

(See also Appendices F and G for examples of a concerted campaign mounted by the learner centres to have their funding restored and the official explanation from the Federal Minister).

In sum, these documentary sources illuminate the undoubtedly contentious issues of the perils, paradoxes and politics inherent in funding. It is interesting to reiterate that during my fieldwork which, incidentally, coincided with these cuts, I was afforded that rare opportunity to record a "live coverage", to put it lightly, of the perspectives of some key informants on this complex issue of funding. These views provide that much-needed corroborating evidence.

THE FUNDING DILEMMA: A "LIVE COVERAGE" BY INFORMANTS

There was a general acceptance of the "stabilizing" factor provided by the various sources of funding. There was also an unwavering unanimity that this provided that much-needed sustenance for the growth, and eventual spread, of the individualized learning concept. (See Appendices Ei,ii,iii)

But, the other side of the funding coin provided a paradoxical image, as the documentary sources indicate, of constant crises, and fear, with regard to, especially, the persistent politics of funding. As the documentary sources illuminated, the informants' perspectives confirmed this paradoxical bifurcated view.

On Stability and Diversification: A Welcome Sustenance

As discussed earlier, the University of Western Ontario, among others, provided the initial help to foster the birth and growth of the pioneer Centre in London, Ontario. As one informant summed up: "... the learner centre concept, I believe, was very enthusiastically supported by the University all along." This nurturing enthusiasm, as highlighted earlier, translated into a welcome financial input, a fact which was appreciably acknowledged. The following reiterated excerpt, which compares the relative luck of the Centre to the latter centres, sums up that fact:

XX.: You see, they didn't have the luxury of being, sort of, on the university campus with the sort of, the "great mother", the "great ma" providing, eh, sort of, sustenance when times were difficult. And, oftentimes when I look back on the money situation if it weren't for Don Simpson being able to turn the "magic box" from one faculty or another, for services rendered, it would have been real tough.

The funding sources, as demonstrated, were necessarily varied and, in addition to the "great ma" - the University of Western Ontario - there were other "stabilizing" sources like C.U.S.O. and C.I.D.A. On the latter, C.I.D.A., the following excerpts clearly confirm their significant contribution

to the general learner centre movement:

XM.: ... It was a very, very productive time and ... but ever since then, after the University; eh, after the break with CUSO; the CUSO funding was stable, in a sense: when that part was over we were struggling to get private funding. And, for a while, a good part of it came from CIDA - the Canadian International Development Agency - because they were very supportive of the Public Participation Program.

S.: Oh! the P.P.P.

XM.: The P.P.P. And that formed a *stabilizing factor* and, then, we would go out and get private funding. But now, of course, we are reaching another crisis, as you know, because all that funding is being withdrawn! ... (Emphases added)

Again, as reiterated below, one could see that the Public Participation Program funding from

C.I.D.A. really sustained the movement:

XM.: ... under the Public Participation Program. ... That was after CUSO had really bowed out and CIDA had taken over. And, at that time, the Public Participation Program was very heavily supported by them. ... And, I think, a lot of the local, for the seed money to start these ... cross-cultural centres was given by them and, then, after that they were expected to develop local sources of, which they all did ... for the matching fund.

Another informant illuminates this significant funding angle which, also, went a long way in ensuring the growth of the learner centre concept:

XI.: ... You know, like, we went up from, I think, \$30,000 a year from CIDA ... to, I think, \$125,000 in 1980. ... That's the dollar grant from CIDA. You know, since then the grant stayed virtually the same. I think the most we ever had was \$150,[000].

The C.U.S.O. orientation programme, as highlighted, was the genesis of the learner centre concept and the following excerpt, in lamenting the end of C.U.S.O.'s involvement, also identified one of the perils of funding:

XM.: ... that was when CUSO; I mean, the first time it happened when CUSO was well-funded and they supported the Learner Centre all during that period. But, then, it became too expensive to run these countrywide orientations.

S.: Oh, because you had to bring people in ...

XM.: You had to bring people; you had to bring staff to come and look after them; you had to, eh, have accommodation, the meals. You know, it is a very expensive thing. And, because they only came for a certain time each year all the resources we collected had to be housed. ...

The varied, "erratic", sources of funding highlight the pervasive theme of necessary funding diversification for an assured survival.

Funding Diversification: The Need for Survival

The highlighting of the "matching" component of funding above pushes to the fore concerted efforts made by these fledgling centres to diversify their source of funding. The following excerpt indicates that this phenomenon has a long history stemming from the earlier days on the campus of the University of Western Ontario:

XF.: ... Quite apart from the cross-cultural database they were quite successful, Don Simpson was quite successful in getting funding from some companies who were interested in demonstrations of the databases, KWIC index ... And, they also got money from people like Bell Canada ...

Another informant, from a different centre, corroborated this funding diversification drive:

XE.: ... People had been talking about *diversifying their funding base* or doing different things ... (Emphases added)

But, in spite of the concerted efforts to diversify, the centres never freed themselves from this continuing funding dilemma. This paradoxical situation, again, exposed the inherent weakness of the learner centre movement. As one key informant observed:

XE.: ... There are so many concerns that we have to look at and for me I'm seeing that this coming period, the next ten to fifteen years, we'll have to contend with the fact that there will be little or no funding for the kind of organization that we work for. It gives us a tremendous opportunity to retool; and one of the ways of doing that is ... if you are really involved in solidarity and you could really believe in global education we have to educate ourselves, vindicated by the experiences, organizations. For example, the South African experience. At the time when they had one of the most fascist, most repressive governments they had a very vigorous and very vibrant civil society; there were so many civic organizations, including what we could term,

in the Canadian context, global education centres, which managed to do a lot of work even during the period in emergency ... were able to defy repressive legislation. or were able to do a lot of work and it was precisely because, one, they were living in their own realities; two, *for their own survival they had to have real, as opposed to, token community support* because, here, sometimes one gets the impression that when you call, when you talk of community-based organizations it's community-based in terms of its stated objectives ... (Emphases added)

Was the movement weakened by the lack of "real ... community support"? But, in spite of the emerging picture of concerted efforts at funding diversification, that persistent paradox is, generally, evident. On the devastating 1995 federal cuts, this informant had this insight:

XD.: ... The problem of this community is that it has been very dependent on C.I.D.A. [DevEd] funding; ... and, as you know, C.I.D.A. has cut its funding to this community by a hundred percent ...

.....
 ... That was large; and that's going to be devastating too to the learner centre phenomenon across Canada because many of these organizations are, maybe eighty percent, dependent on C.I.D.A. funding, or receive eighty percent of their funding dollars; that's why some of them are closing down. Some of them have funding up to Fall [1995]. *Very few of them have actually been able to find alternative sources of funding to complement this C.I.D.A. funding.* ... (Emphases added)

In sum, the obvious mistake was that, in the perceptive words of one informant, "they never developed an independent base for funding."

On Stunted Growth: Impact of Funding Dilemma

History frequently reveals that most pioneers suffer because they happen to be far ahead of their time. This *pioneering fact of life*⁴³ was also evident in the learner centre movement and, as the facts reveal, this was aggravated by the pervasive funding crises.

The first Centre, for example, had laudable dreams to exploit the latest computer technology

⁴³ Since this pioneering factor is a recurrent *trend* in history, the phrase "fact of life" is used in the sense of "something that exists and must be taken into consideration." (*Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*. Markham, Ont.: Allen, 1986.)

in their quest for individualized learning. Unfortunately, as some documents reveal and corroborated by some key informants, this was largely a cash-strapped dream. The following excerpts capture this historical factor:

XK.: ... and some of the most terrible prices you pay, occasionally, when you are so far ahead is you get ignored. ... Yeah; so, it was ten years ahead of its time: minimal. Or, it was in the vanguard of what was going on in the early to mid-80s but we didn't have the resources to follow it up; these things are too expensive.

.....
 ... And so, what I would say is it's one of the things you pay, sometimes, when you are so far ahead of the, of the way ... Just like computer usage. You talk about computers as tools for development, for people; you know, all the, all the basic vision and philosophical issues, people in the Learner Centre knew them. Jack Sterken [Director] was one of them, and so was Gillian Phillips [Librarian], who were trying to get this stuff done in the early '80s when it cost \$12,000 to buy what was, essentially, a word processor!

And, also:

S.: Because at that time they were into indexing and computers, and all that.

XM.: Yeah; we were way ahead!

S.: You were way ahead. Then, something happened and ...

XM.: I think it's money that happened! I think it's money that happened!

On the pervasive dilemma of jettisoned dreams and stunted growth there was general unanimity. The pervasiveness of this debilitating cash crunch could be seen in almost all facets of the learner centre movement. Technology-driven individualized learning, in a unique cross-cultural setting, meant keeping up-to-date in all facets of development. Unfortunately, that was not to be.

For example, on the vital front of collection development and maintenance the perennial funding crises adversely affected this hub of the learner centre programme - the resource centre/library:

S.: So, there's always this problem of funding.

XB.: Well, all community agencies face that; yeah. And, I guess, we all feel like not

being able to reach out *; we hope the government would see. I guess, it's something you learn to live with. You know, I'd love to have this but I can't buy it so, maybe, next year. I put them in my special file. That; the whole shelf over there [pointing] is stuff I'd like to ... It stalls the development of the collection and, if it continues for too long, the collection goes out-of-date.

Another aspect of this picture of shelved dreams was the optimum sacrifice some of the centres had to make when, in the words of one informant, there was the "defenestration ... of the development education program before the funding cuts." This view is confirmed by the following insight from another centre:

XB.: Because one of the reasons, for instance, that we stopped doing, the Centre changed from development education was also the fact that as race relations, as the whole field grew there's a lot more publications; there's more videos; more books, and it became difficult to do both. To both try to look at what was happening here in Canada on racism, immigrant settlement, and to look at other countries as well; you see. So, the idea was to focus the collection, but also the ... to be able to spend the money; we don't have to spread the money so thinly.

The unrealisation of these cash-strapped dreams and the persistence of the funding crises which dogged all the centres did have an inevitable disabling impact. The general gloomy picture is best captured, and reiterated, by the following insight:

XD.: ... The problem of this community is that it has been very dependent on C.I.D.A. funding ...

.....
I think your thesis is probably timely because you may be documenting something which just had the door closed on it and we'll be entering some sort of a new era that; I mean this, 1995 would be seen as the year that significantly changed this phenomenon that you're researching because there's going to be an enormous reduction in capacity in the centres to, actually, do education to these constituencies. ... so that is the, sort of, broad overview.

The full impact of the "abrupt" and "total" federal budget cut of 1995 is vividly portrayed in the following plaintive cry:

XE.: ... Now we are back to * previous relationship but we're still a distinct organization which ... now what is happening, though part of the fallout from the, eh,

...

S.: The budget.

XE.: ... budget is that some of these centres; last year we were fourteen members; one went under at the end of December [1994]. It is the fear that two, or three, may close their doors before the end of 1995.

Paradoxically, C.I.D.A.'s Public Participation Program (PPP) was intended to galvanize the participation of ordinary Canadians in international development. Their collective voice was, thus, assured by the decidedly stabilizing cash flow to the learner centres. This ironical twist is best captured by the following insight:

XE.: ... CIDA said they were not going to fund anything through us. This had a destabilizing effect on, eh, *. It had a destabilizing effect on ... on our work because we were just in the middle of trying to be really more strategic in terms of where we were going and where we were coming from, and stuff like that.

The voice of the people, *vox populi*, has been, thus, paradoxically curtailed. In the words of a couple of informants, the "authentic voice" of the people has been silenced - " ... you know, it is silencing a voice in our community." Strangely enough, some informants are optimistic despite the patent "encircling gloom":

XD.: ... but I think the voices that will remain would be much more authentic but, they'll be small voices and they all won't be heard because our collective voices have diminished as an NGO community.

The emerging paradoxical theme is pervasive and this, not surprisingly, resurfaces with regard to the inevitable impact of the total federal funding cut of 1995. On the emerging question of the lack of an organized national voice in the learner centre movement this identified picture re-emerges in the following representative exchange which, undoubtedly, reinforces this view:

S.: Oh, just, just I was very interested in the national organization. Since there wasn't anything; but you didn't have this national net-, networking?

XE.: There was, eh, but very, very minimal; I must say. Really, it was more centre-to-centre ... But, I don't think that ...; for example, just during the whole, in the events leading up to the loss of funding, I know there was a flurry of phone calls that we made to the other centres in Saskatchewan to see what is going on and we talked about doing a national campaign. But, that was more like ... the lines of convenience because it wasn't, like, we were preparing; we were not really together.

S.: You were not organizing.

XE.: It's unfortunate that adversity had to force us to learn that we had to ... pool together.

As some of the documentary sources indicate, this paradoxical theme is, again, confirmed from that political perspective:

XD.: ... despite all that Chrétien said, about wanting to renegotiate free trade, one of the first things he did was to sign the agreement after he came to office. So, the Government, so these learner centres often end up being critical of the Canadian government and the Canadian government has looked into this and they're asking themselves: "Why should we fund these people who are critical of us? They're doing this to us!"

S.: Was that not supposed to bring in public participation into these, into the making of these policies?

XD.: Yes! But public participation that suits the government's objectives; that's the better part of fact that you don't hear.

.....

XD.: ... I mean, sure, on the one hand the government espouses this public participation; wants Canadians involved in foreign policy-making but if you look at the Canadian populace about 95 percent of the Canadian public don't know anything about Canadian foreign policy and, furthermore, they don't give a damn; and the 5 percent that do care about foreign policy, of that 5 percent about 90 percent of people, like the learner centre people, who are critical and taken interest because of their interest in international co-operation issues; and the other 5 percent are business people who want Canada's foreign policy to serve their commercial interest and they've been much more successful in influencing the foreign policy agenda than the other, the 95 percent are. Why, so, yes! the government says they want public participation but they don't like the kind of * that doesn't serve their interests. ...

Political Realism: The Perils and Paradoxes of Funding

"Dependency on government is definitely, eh, not ... a good place to be right now"⁴⁴

That there was a subtle, unwritten, political subtext of he-who-pays-the-piper ... is generally evident in the shared "precise experiences" of almost all the informants. For example, the following perspective posits that subtle question:

XX.: ... And, it was quite apparent that we were gonna have to play the game by a set of rules and, in many cases, those rules were set down by the grants we were given by the government. That produced a host of problems; like, to what extent should we be beholden to government?

This seemingly apparent political reality clearly emerges when placed in a comparative stance:

XE.: ... if you look at the objectives of the global education centres ... in a nutshell, out to change the world and the belief in the issue of social justice and, yet, in contrast to what similar organizations in Asia, in Africa and Latin America are doing, we seem to, all these seem to be predicated on continued government support and some of us who are involved in the global education movement in Canada but who are [*sic*] not born here; who come from experiences in countries where to form non-governmental organizations, in spite of the definition of non-governmental organization, eh, to form a community-based organization, to form a global education centre is almost, ipso facto, a subversive act. So that the last place you are going to get your funding is going to be from the very government that you're challenging, you are criticizing; so, there's been a lot of some of us feel, within the global education community, that there's been a lot of complacency because people tended to take government funding for granted so that it almost became, at some levels, just a game - a game of saying what the funders want and continue to do the same things in the church basement ...

Was there an unwitting complacency, or ignorance, in the learner centre movement; or, was the movement an unmistakable victim of a distinct destructive political shift? The following insights illuminate this emerging factor:

XI.: ... So, the type of * attitude towards CIDA, for instance. I defy you to find a learner centre that didn't look at CIDA as the enemy. Somewhere, like, treated them

⁴⁴ An informant's [XL] perceptive summary regarding the emerging pervasive political aspect of funding.

as CIDA was a threat; CIDA was this; CIDA was that. CIDA was the one who fed them! They wouldn't exist without CIDA. And for twenty-five years, every year, when they have a meeting with learner centres they were convinced that CIDA was going to do something to them. You go through the history of CIDA, you'll see very few people who are cut off up until this year [1995] when everybody got cut off, okay. Nobody gets cut off. ... yet, there was a perception of CIDA as the enemy; which is very destructive. It's part of a conception that says that once should you feel threatened and marginalized because, then, you see, you can justify not having done anything because you have to be defensive all the time. So, that's a very important concept of the way learner centres and their community performed because they always looked at themselves as victims. They really didn't feel they ought to be measured by objective terms, in terms of performance. That's a very important part of it, you know, and a lot of the community had become, you know, in the '80s and '90s, extremely self-indulgent and inward looking, you know; and couldn't stand, you know, objective assessment because they couldn't stand up to objective assessment because they were not doing anything. ...

And, again:

XI.: ... then it becomes a negotiating process between individuals, like between equals rather than, you know, supplicant/benefactor. And, that's something they've lost track of. The whole of the DevEd community has lost track of that. ... See, it used to be that CIDA donated to your agenda, okay, within certain criteria; now, you are being asked to donate to CIDA's agenda; contribute to CIDA's agenda. Big difference but, you know, don't blame CIDA; blame the NGO community.

S.: That's a sad, sad aspect but that's the reality.

XI.: Yeah; this is what I call the "oink factor"; you know. They all line up at the trough and go [makes sound of the grunting of pigs].

S.: That's what you refer to as the "oink factor"?

XI.: Yeah; you know. See, what happened was they compromised their value base for continuity and the needs of the staff. So, the institutional imperative took precedence over the value imperative. And, when you look at the NGO community in Canada you can see that most of them have lost track of their traditional, and original value-based constituency. Look at all the big NGOs; look at what happened to WUSC [World University Services of Canada]; they no longer have a constituency. They became an executing agency. CARE is an executing agency. The only exceptions are what I call the development equivalent of televangelists; you know, like Christian Children's Fund, World Vision; people like that, you know, who, basically, lay on the guilt trip and say, "God will redeem you if you only give money to this poor bastard; you'll redeem the poor bastard too."

The prevailing general sober wisdom was that:

XF.: ... Honestly, they [the pioneer centre] spent a lot of time gazing at their own navels and getting nowhere. ... Because of their idealism they went through a period when they didn't seem to understand that they depend, for funds, on the government. When you are dealing with the government the bottom line is you ought to be able to get your proposals in; you got to be able to manage your budget ... and, whether you like it or not, that's the name of the game. You may have reservations about dealing with the government ... but, that's the way it is and you've got to compromise in that otherwise you gonna go nowhere. ... You can't take this holier-than-thou attitude. ... In a sense [it] has been very unrealistic. ...

Was this idealistic dilemma a hangover of the paradoxical sixties of "Fists and Flowers" (Gold, Christie & Friedman, 1976)? Some of the key informants delineated this emerging relatively static nature of the movement. Were they, therefore, overtaken by inevitably dynamic socio-political forces? The following observations highlight this "idealistic" paradox:

XI.: ... We were looking poor and dispossessed, you know; that hangover of the sixties, that is; like that's gonna change things. I think if you gonna change something you have to change the mind of the people who have power not the people who are the victims. Eh, but there was the general, sort of, refusal to deal with people who have power because they were dirty. ...

Also:

XX.: ... consistent with ... sixties group of people who founded the organization in the, in the wild, woolly days of the sixties when imagination knew no bounds and ... when we were unfettered by ... protocol; where we were able to utilize the experiment in the innovative, eh, phenomena of the sixties to our advantage. But, just as the seventies and eighties framed a lot of that enthusiasm some would say they dampened that enthusiasm. ...

Juxtaposed to the "leaner and meaner" nineties this apparent stagnancy in the sixties' rut becomes clearer:

XI.: ... So, I look at this [cut] as an opportunity, you see, because international development, as an issue, isn't going to go away; international issues aren't going to go away; Canada's role isn't going to go away; okay. So, if it is not important you make it important; if it becomes important the resources to address it will become available. And if it is not considered important, or you are not relevant to the issue, then, there shouldn't be resources for it. These are the '90s; and that's exactly what happened.

Was the union between the learner centres and the various levels of government unholy?

Was this union destined to fail? One of the eternal certainties is the inevitability of dramatic ideological shifts in politics. Paradoxically, these shifts could either benefit or inhibit some institutions. Did the acknowledged general "shift to the right" prove to be the bane of the learner centre movement? The following significant insight provides a fitting summary of this dilemma:

XE.: ... and just when we thought that we had a plan in place, we were going to be more specific about evaluating our work, looking at the impact, then CIDA pulled the rug from under us and tells us: "No, we don't think you have enough support in the public; people don't seem to be supporting the government - CIDA's, eh, ODA programs;" because CIDA's expectations of the learner centres, the global education centres, was not so much that we would achieve our stated objectives, but we would help CIDA achieve its objectives which, CIDA's main concern was that there was continued public support for the government's ODA program which was like a sort of, self-serving expectation because ... it drives the goals of CIDA bureaucracy. So, I guess, what happened was that, eh, * this, the budget and subsequent CIDA estimates for '95/96 has exposed a *strategic shift in the, in the thinking of the federal government*. Of course, we know this type of ...: it's a whole culture of cutbacks, deficit fighting; you know. The paranoia about deficit, and stuff like that. It's, sort of, like *ironical* because the Liberals were the ones to, who so many decades, two or three decades ago, were the ones who started funding ...

... Actually, some people say it's ironical; some people say it's the Liberals who started bankrolling the "revolution" but, as the organizations which do global education had become [*sic*] more critical, for example, of government policy more recently, not just had come under the attack, the Liberals moved away from linking human rights, or integrating a human rights perspective in the foreign policy and preferring trade as an instrument of foreign policy over human rights and oppression, made us more and more of a liability to the government and, this came out quite clearly in the foreign policy review because most of the centres were very critical of the trend of the Liberal government policy. ... ironically the Tories had started in the process of decentralizing; having less government; less bureaucracy; so that, and moving towards a community-based model even in terms of funding and in the administration of the whole program. ... Now, the Liberals seem to want to turn the clock back and recentralize and this seems to be a revival of the argument that bigger is better ... (Emphases added)

Was this move, by the federal Liberal government in 1995, politically motivated? One informant aptly summed up the mood, and views, of most of the key informants: "I think there is some deliberateness to it."

What was the considered motivation? It emerged, earlier on, from some documentary

sources (e.g., Ellwood, 1995) that the Liberal government was pushing a decidedly "business agenda." This widely held view is corroborated by some of the key informants. For example, the following perspective reiterates the in-depth observation immediately above:

XD.: ... So, they're shifting from Cold War interests to commercial interests ...

The Federal Government, though, defends its "destructive" decision by rationalizing along different lines (see Appendix G). This view, though, is seen as a cynical ploy in development/global education circles:

XD.: ... because, according to the government, the rationale for cutting the learner centres and the OCIC [Ontario Council for International Cooperation], provincial councils like the OCIC, was that as much money as possible should go overseas out of the aid budget. ...

CONCLUSION

Funding became the proverbial Achilles' heel of this movement. Despite concerted efforts to diversify their funding base and, thus, enjoy that necessary independence by not relying on governmental sources of funding they, paradoxically, ended up relying heavily on these same sources for funding. The ideal independent, private and sustained, funding source never materialized. Funding was, at best, "erratic" and the sources varied. This pervasive factor highlighted the baneful influence of the convergence of the *paradox* of politics and the attendant perils present in such a funding nexus. The persistent question was: "To what extent should we be beholden to government?" Herein lies one inherent weakness of the learner centre movement. Was this factor attributable to complacency or idealism?

The emerging picture was one of frequent *intimations of mortality* attributable to the persistent funding crises. The final total cut in governmental (i.e., federal) funding in 1995 highlighted that variation on a theme: "He who pays the piper can silence the tune."

The final paradox which emerged was the optimistic *phoenix phenomenon* of eventual survival of the learner centre movement. The following comment, by a key informant, provides a fitting summary:

XD.: Well, I think, those NGOs that survive are the ones who will be able to raise their support from the public and not the government. ... Our community is going to be smaller. Eh, I think ... it's a blow; we've lost a lot of political ground. ... I mean, on the other hand there's a silver lining here and that is that those NGOs that do survive, without government funding, would be much, feel much freer to implement their actual agendas, not the government's agendas. I mean, you obviously know this thing that, in reality, was restricted by the dependence on government funding in terms of actually speaking against the government when we felt we had to, to go back so, because there is always that fear that if you stuck your neck too far you could get chopped off. [Laughter]

.....
 ... So ... but I think, the voices that will remain would be much more authentic but, they'll be small voices and they all won't be heard because our collective voices have diminished as an NGO community.

Before the decisive, and patently debilitating, federal budget cut this concept, though, did grow within the London, Ontario, community eventuating in the move from the "gown" (i.e.: the University) to the "town". The growth was also external in that this novel learner-centred concept did spread all over Canada and, briefly, to the West Indies. How did this "little acorn" grow and spread?

CHAPTER VI

EMERGENT DISCOVERIES: GROWTH AND SPREAD

The auspicious beginnings of the phenomenon under study - from the original 1967 orientations on the campus of the University of Western Ontario - has been discussed earlier. It is also noteworthy that in spite of the persistent cash crunch this cross-cultural, individualized, learning experiment did grow on the campus and, later and more significantly, in the London, Ontario, community and beyond. Growth was, undoubtedly, an unmistakable measure of acceptance and success.

Growth: The Symbolism of Place

The London Centre moved a couple of times thus *place*, inevitably, accrued some significance. Place, interestingly, came to symbolize growth and, paradoxically, the gradual *communization*, of this phenomenon. This "nomadic" aspect of the Centre and the influence and symbolism of "place" was identified earlier on by Hamilton (1989:17-19) who observed in his short, but seminal, overview of the Centre that:

Though people, process and projects have been the focus of the Cross Cultural Learner Centre's endeavors, there is no question that our facilities have affected our character. If nothing else buildings serve as containers. ... "Place" [*sic*] in the form of our three locations will definitely take on a new and significant part of our public profile.

Hamilton then goes on to highlight this "nomadic" aspect of the growth phase of the Centre from their "crammed" quarters at Althouse College of Education and their move to the more spacious Westminster College. Here, the hub of the Centre is clearly identified in that: "At this new

site, the *heart* of the new and expanding Centre was the Resource Room" (emphasis added).

The identified "nomadic" existence then took on the formal communization phase when the pioneer centre finally left the University campus in 1978 and, first, settled briefly at the "old Broughdale Public School" and, later, at the vacant St. Peter's [Catholic] School building at 533 Clarence Street.

Hamilton goes on to paint a vivid picture of sustained growth symbolized by the various places the Centre moved to. Now effectively part of the local community, the next symbolic move was in 1987 when "Ontario's first transition accommodation and orientation facility for refugees" - aptly named "Global House" - was opened. An annex - Global House Annex - was duly opened in 1989. At the same time growth was also symbolized by the "movement of our full development education program and staff to rented facilities ... [to] the historic Lilley Block site." This last move afforded an unprecedented access to the community.

In sum, "place" symbolized growth - both on the University campus and in town. Hamilton sums up the significance of this aspect in the following excerpt:

"Place" therefore has had a definite bearing on the Centre's history. Our initial university years dictated our services and our clientele. Next came the downtown years which added a broadly based community outreach to our programs.

Another notable aspect of place, which symbolized both growth and focussed diversification, occurred through an unexpected gift from a local benefactor. This phase is, again, best captured by Hamilton, the chronicler: "The next dimension of our *physical expansion* came as a complete surprise. In 1981 Joe Barth, the Centre's first elected Chairman of the Board of Directors, offered the Centre a hundred acre farm situated at the northwest corner of the city. The gift had no strings

attached. Jeremiah's Field⁴⁵ was the gesture of a remarkable man committed to the Christian principal [*sic*] of charity in its broadest, most profound sense. ... The gift of Jeremiah's Field then brought a distinctively environmental thrust to our mandate."

The above insights clearly demonstrate the growth of this inherently flexible phenomenon with a definite formal educational nexus, through the symbols of the University of Western Ontario, Broughdale Public School and St. Peter's [Catholic] School, to the decidedly full community 'storefront ... "Main Street" frontage' on Dundas Street - with unhindered accessibility, as indicated, the operative word.

The move to the old Hunt Club at Westminster College, the University of Western Ontario, amply demonstrated, as discussed earlier, the growing influence of this novel individualized learning concept. A report to the Senate Advisory Committee on University Development [SCUD] (1971:302) corroborated this obvious growth when it noted that the move was "giving us residential and dining facilities to accommodate outside groups." According to documentary sources, the Centre moved to Westminster College "in the first and second weeks of September [1971] after the C.U.S.O. orientations, and was not open to users, in theory, during that time" (Univ. of Western Ontario, Office ... The Cross-Cultural ..., vol.1:503). The Centre officially opened, though, on November 22, 1971, after the departure of the Mobile Unit for the influential cross-Canada tour on November 20.

A cross-cultural learner centre endeavours to reflect *diversity* and when this reality was acknowledged by the Centre it duly set out to provide that pluralistic perspective in its growth. As discussed earlier, to fill this expressed need there was a distinct *diversification of focus*. For

⁴⁵ This "environmental laboratory" (Hamilton, p.18) aspect of the pioneer Centre will not be dealt with in-depth. It did, however, demonstrate that delineated focus diversification, and flexibility, of our phenomenal area.

example, North and Simpson (1971:193) made this observation:

This summer [1971], the system is being expanded further to include data for East Africa for CUSO, data concerning contemporary social issues in Canada (of special interest in training social science teachers) and data concerning native peoples of North America (of special interest in training teachers and for helping native peoples to preserve and share their own culture.)

This desired diversified approach which reflected the inherent pluralism in cross-cultural studies was, again, confirmed in an annual report covering the activities of the Centre from September 1971 to March 1972. by Shanthi Radcliffe:

ii) GROUPS AFFILIATED WITH THE CENTRE

Of more significance to the *growth* of the Centre than either its improved physical conditions [i.e., move to Westminster College] or the *extension* of itself that the Mobile Unit represents, however, are the changes that have developed from within *expanding its scope, character and composition*. While work was proceeding on the Mobile Unit, and especially so after its departure on the 20th of November [1971], *three affiliated groups* were engaged in the dynamic process of transforming the "West Africa Learner Centre" of February last year to the "Cross-Cultural Learner Centre" which it is now, a year later (pp. 509-510) (emphases added).

The "three affiliated groups" were the Native Resource Centre; the Canadian Black Studies Committee and the Caribbean Resource Centre.⁴⁶ This move, according to the reporter, gave the fledgling centre "a new international dimension" (p.510).

The inevitable cultural bi-directional nature inherent in cross-cultural, or intercultural, encounters was highlighted earlier. This fact is seen more in the role of sojourners in the development of the phenomenon under investigation. To prepare for this focus there was another significant "dynamic process" as reported in November, 1972. by Donna Butcher:

... In order to facilitate the goals of the Centre, a White Steering Committee has been formed to amass information about the group to which most of the users belong - the dominant white culture.

PURPOSES:

⁴⁶ In 1974, the Canadian Black Studies Committee amalgamated with the Caribbean Resource Centre to form the Committee for Blacks in Canada.

The White Steering Committee will attempt to disseminate information about dominant Canadian culture to be used by:-

- 1) immigrants or overseas students as an orientation in Canada
- 2) returned CUSO volunteers as a re-orientation back into Canadian life
- 3) Secondary and University students for courses on Canadian society.
- 4) those interested in trying to change the dominant society
- 5) and those wishing to examine comparative aspects of the culture. (P.

1029)

This "dynamic process" demonstrates the growth - internal - of this novel learning concept: a dynamism which, not surprisingly, reflected the inherent *cultural pluralism* of this phenomenon. Again, one sees that identified linkage phenomenon inherent in the local-global nexus of this unique and flexible learning concept; that is, the Development/Global Education framework. It is this noteworthy aspect which stood the Centre in good stead when it eventually moved into the local community and, also, in its spread outside London.

The Paradox of Communization: Intimations of Dissonance and Divorce

Universities are sometimes accused of their seclusion, and aloofness, from the surrounding social reality; that is, ivory-towerism. To ensure a meaningful link between the "town" and the "gown", universities endeavour to establish and cultivate that "university-community symbiosis" (Thomas 1971). History is replete with such endeavours; for example, the famous Antigonish Movement of St. Xavier University, Nova Scotia. A movement which, in the words of Laidlaw (1958:3) was "in essence adult education based on activities at the community level."⁴⁷ Surprisingly,

⁴⁷ Laidlaw (p. 3) also highlighted the likelihood of friction attributable to the possibility of such a relationship becoming, over time, "at variance with traditions of long standing within the university." It was this identified fit/non-fit factor which plagued the London centre and U.W.O.

But, it should be noted that another study (Armstrong, 1977:7) highlighted some similarities between the Antigonish and learner centre movements in that "In both the Coadian and Freirian philosophies, the position of the learner is central. The educator must start from where the learner is, his/her problems, ideas and attitudes ... " This is an echo of the individualized, learner-

the success of the cross-cultural learner centre concept - nurtured by the University of Western Ontario - later proved to be a bone of contention.

The year 1974 was a significant one in the development of this novel learning concept since that was when the Centre was officially affiliated with the University of Western Ontario as a Department of the Faculty of Education because of, as the report indicated, its "new emphasis on Multicultural Education" (*CCLC Annual Report 74/75*).

Paradoxically, in a 1973 report of the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on University Development (SCUD), on the Office of International Education, there were distinct *intimations of dissonance*, or concern, with regard to the apparent *gradual communization* of the activities of the Centre. Among other findings, and recommendations, the following revealing excerpt (pp. 1286-7) illuminates this emerging concern:

The other activity ... namely, the encouragement and support of curriculum development is somewhat less visible at the University level. Indeed, most of this work has been directed towards secondary, public school and *community education* ... The focal point of all these activities is the Cross Cultural Learner Centre ... The Centre is clearly playing an important role in establishing and maintaining interaction between the University and the community.

Although this was seen as laudable the report highlighted the unacceptable fact of using "public funds ... for University education" for community and public, or secondary, school activities. In view of this obvious communization trend the report duly recommended that: "... in view of the relatively little consistent use of the Centre by university groups and the emphasis of the Centre upon non-university levels of education the subcommittee considers that the funding of the Centre should be separated from that of the University."

This obvious intimation of growing friction is, again, highlighted in other insightful

documentary sources. For example, in a signed memorandum, dated November 6, 1973, from the "Centre Staff" to the "Office of International Education" ("Re: An urgent request for a Meeting between the Office staff and the Centre staff at the Centre") this emerging dissonance is highlighted:

Over the past few weeks, the staff of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre has been engaged in an examination of its philosophy and objectives and listing priorities in order to carry out its functions with reasonable efficiency. A remarkable spirit of cooperation ... has encouraged a feeling of optimism at the future progress of the Centre. This optimism has, however, been somewhat dampened by our growing concern over what appears to be a lack of confidence in our sense of responsibility and capabilities on the part of the Office of International Education. We hope that our fears will prove to be unfounded, and we would be grateful to receive some clarification of the issues that seem to provide most cause for alarm.

Among other issues, it was intimated that:

- ii) The most important problems of the moment seem to be inter-related but for easy reference may conveniently be divided into three areas:
 - a) The Third World Course ...
 - b) Staffing Needs at the Centre ...
 - c) Financial Problems. (P. 1244)

The emerging dissonance between the Centre and the University around the town-gown discord is, again, the focus of the following prescient observation made by Simpson - in a memorandum, written in January 1974, titled: "Future of the Centre" where he, among other things, had this to convey:

... The past year and a quarter have not been easy ones for the Centre ... A sense of *estrangement* between the Office and the Centre which became apparent over a year ago still hampers our effectiveness. ... The Centre staff may decide that trying to accommodate themselves to both the *University* and the *community* is unsatisfactory and that *they would be better off working out of a community base*. We should start to work out when resources would have to be returned to the Office of International Education, Althouse College [of Education] and CUSO and what resources could be taken to the new Centre. Some committees such as the Native Resource Centre could consider establishing themselves as a separate organization in the community. (Pp. 1290-91) (Emphases added)

Yes, there were unmistakable intimations of dissonance, and friction, attributable to the emerging communization of the concept under investigation. But, in spite of these "rumblings", the

eventual break from the University was eased by the generosity of that academic institution and the general preparedness of a receptive community. The eventual town-gown divorce turned out to be a gradual financial weaning exercise which eased, and sustained, the entry of the Centre into the community at large.

The "Velvet Divorce" and Entry Into the Community

There was an inevitable separation from the University, the "gown", and this move was another phase in the growth, or evolution, of this cross-cultural learner-centred concept.

In a signed general membership drive letter, dated April 21, 1981, sent out by the first Chairman of the Board of Directors of the London Centre - the late Joe Barth - the finality of the "divorce", from the hitherto nurturing "great ma", was highlighted:

Dear Friends,

A year ago [1980] the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre became an *independent* organization, separate from the University of Western Ontario, with its own Board of Directors representing a variety of sectors of the London community. While our links with the University remain strong, the results of our 1980-81 operations indicate to us that the Centre has a community-wide appeal. (Emphasis added)

What was at the root of this eventual "defenestration" of this novel personalized learning concept from the University?

In spite of the documented growing philosophical differences between the University and the Centre it was that persistent financial ogre which, eventually, prompted the severing of that cash, and locale, nexus. This reality is clearly borne out in the minutes of the first Annual Meeting of the London Cross-Cultural Learner Centre held on April 30, 1980, at 533 Clarence Street. Among other things, this illuminating report affords us this insight:

BACKGROUND TO SEPARATION FROM THE UNIVERSITY

Jack Sterken [Director] thanked all present ... He briefly described the history of the Centre and its relationship to the University of Western Ontario in the past. He pointed out that this relationship with the University will no longer exist as of May 1st, 1980 and that although it is not necessarily happening at a good time, it is necessary for various reasons. ... He pointed out that the University and the Centre are breaking away on good terms and emphasized the fact that the University has been very cooperative with the Centre in the past. Unfortunately, at this point, they did not feel that they could *financially support* the Centre and hence the separation. (Emphasis added)

As highlighted above, the separation, although inevitable, was "on good terms" and that was reflected in the noteworthy gradual weaning, especially financially, arrangement between the University and the Centre which, undoubtedly, provided a much-needed financial lifeline and the ensuring of a smoother communization phase. The following report also appeared in the same minutes quoted immediately above:

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

Mr. Sterken [Director] stated that in the past year [1979] the University has contributed cash towards the operation of the Centre. In previous years they had contributed between \$22,500 - 35,000. The fiscal year of the U.W.O. ends April 30, 1980 and the Cross Cultural Learner Centre will be on its own as of May 1, 1980. ...

In line with the "divorce" and weaning provisions the University and the Centre signed a "subsidy agreement" on May 30, 1980, whereby the former duly promised two cash instalments:

- i) May 1, 1980: \$20,000
- ii) 1982: \$10,000

Again, an "Asset Transfer Agreement" was signed between these two on the same date; that is, May 30, 1980.

These arrangements, thus, ended the nurturing phase of this innovative personalized system of learning (PSL) which evolved from the 1967 cross-cultural orientation on the university campus. How did this significant communization phase take place? What guaranteed the smooth transition

from the "gown" to the "town" environment?

On Uniqueness and Flexibility: Into the Community

The *uniqueness* of the learner centre concept is well documented but it is the *flexibility* which inheres in this innovative learning experiment which helped, firstly, its transition from the university campus to the town and, secondly, its eventual spread beyond London, Ontario. North and Forgie (1970:58) highlighted this inherent flexibility when they stated that: "... the learner-centred system was developed with a view to *maximum flexibility* and with an emphasis upon the needs of the learner" (emphases added).

Along similar lines, one of the pioneer workers, in echoing Pisani's (1992:39) "infinite diversity" observation, also confirmed this inherent flexibility of this phenomenon. The worker, Shanthi Radcliffe (p. 513), in a report on the Centre covering September 1971 - March 1972, observed that:

The diversity in the types of users ... implies also that the Centre proved itself sufficiently *flexible* to provide *diversity* in the type of services it could offer.
(Emphases added)

Ian Thomson (1972:409), the-then Project Coordinator of C.U.S.O., in his final report on the cross-country Mobile Centre tour, highlighted how this flexible concept was able to fill a need in the community. Among other things, Thomson averred that: "It is basic to the concept of a Learner Centre that it be the kind of place that is not only created by the community but is one which the community itself needs and wants."

As discussed earlier, there was this long association between the fledgling Centre, on the university campus, and the town; a fact which proved to be a bone of contention between the University and the Centre. In spite of the obvious friction the community links grew and this,

undoubtedly, helped the eventual transition into the community. As the 1971-72 report by Shanthi Radcliffe clearly shows, there was this emerging pattern and, again, the influence of "place" in the evolution process:

... the type of users ... various differences will be noticed as compared with last year. In 1971, students, especially university students, formed the majority of our users while in 1972 students from the public school system and of high school age played an equally prominent role. ... This may be due in part to our *change of locale* from Althouse College to Westminster and to some loss of easy accessibility for casual users. However, *the most significant change* has been the increased usage of the Centre by *community* and *church* groups and by specific organizations, both local and national. (P. 511) (Emphases added)

Both the local popular press, especially the *London Free Press* and, as discussed earlier, some books on London (e.g.; Miller, 1992) and the available literature point to the continuing interest exhibited toward this concept within the local community and beyond. It is noteworthy that there is unanimity, within the appropriate circles, that one local organization played a significant precursor role in performing a community "outreach" program for the London Centre - the *London Association for International Development (L.A.I.D.)*.

The LAID Factor in the Communization Process

The contentious growing communization of the first Centre was, paradoxically, fostered by the Office of International Education, the University of Western Ontario. A 1971 report by the Senate Advisory Committee, to the Office of International Education, illuminates this noteworthy role in the fostering of that town-gown nexus and, invariably, the spread of the unique learner-centred approach to learning in a cross-cultural ambience:

Aided by a grant from C.I.D.A., the Office [of International Education] has assisted in the establishment and operation of the *London Association for International*

Development,⁴⁸ a community based organization working to educate the public about issues of international development. (P. 303) (Emphases added)

When this "outreach arm of the CCLC" (Hamilton, 1989:1) was formed it went through that inevitable groping-for-an-identity phase which took it from "London Committee - International Development" to the final nomenclature *London Association for International Development*. According to available documentary sources (i.e., minutes) at an "Impromptu Meeting" on November 2, 1970, and after much deliberation it was agreed that "our organization" should be incorporated "as previously decided" but under the name **London Association for International Development [LAID]**. Incorporation, according to the records, was to make this community outreach association "eligible to receive and disburse funds."

In a 1974 report (p. 1401) it was highlighted that "Laid [*sic*] is a community group, its main objective being Development Education. ... LAID has functioned as the community outreach for the Centre." Development Education, also the driving force behind the concept under study, is further illuminated by a LAID newsletter which, inter alia, averred:

... the aim of this group is a straight forward one: to create *awareness* among Londoners of the key issues related to international development. Past effort and projects have been aimed at explaining and communicating the reasons behind the vast economic differences between the western world and the nations commonly denoted as the "Third World", taking a critical look at Canada's role in international development, and creating an *understanding* of the social, economic and cultural differences between all nations of the world. (Emphases added)

This Development/Global Education commonality in the phenomenon under investigation is echoed in the delineated objectives of L.A.I.D. (Radcliffe & Radcliffe, 1974:1514-1515) which

⁴⁸ It should be noted that in the annual report on the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre covering September 1971 to March 1972, the reporter, Shanthi Radcliffe, noted a sister organization run by the University: "The London Intercultural Coordinating Committee (L.I.N.C.C.), directed by the Foreign Student Advisor at the University, has also been closely associated with the Centre. L.I.N.C.C. is a program whereby foreign students at the University, upon request, speak to school and community groups about their countries and cultures." (p. 512)

confirm the emerging communization of the cross-cultural learner centre concept:

... outreach projects designed to heighten *community awareness* of international problems and affairs.

The main "community arm" of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre has been a "town-and-gown" organisation called LAID (London Association for International Development). LAID was established in 1970 with the following objectives:

1. to be the stable foundation for the critical examination of current policies of public and private development programmes.

2. to *educate the community* concerning the constructive and significant force of international development in achieving stability in the world.

3. to increase the effectiveness of Canada's contribution to international development.

4. to *promote increased awareness and understanding of other cultures* leading to a mutually beneficial relationship in the global community. (Emphases added)

It is interesting to note that this outreach program was pursued with academic efficiency by means of a 1970 survey of the community. Satisfying the expressed needs and interests of learners is one of the central tenets of adult education and this 1970 survey was in that direction. The primacy of the learner is also the *raison d'être* of the "new philosophy" (Hamilton, 1989) in learning practised by the cross-cultural learner centres. The aforementioned significant report of a survey of attitudes of Londoners was prepared by the Office of International Education for the-then London Committee for International Development and it represented "the attitudes of three hundred London citizens toward International Development" (p. 51). The objective of this survey was explicit:

The main purpose of the survey was to assess the attitudes of a cross-section of the London community towards international development to enable the London Committee for International Development to better plan its program of *public education* about *international development*." (P. 52) (Emphases added)

The survey discovered that "Generally, the more education a person has, the greater his understanding of what is going on in the developing countries and what Canada is doing. However, education does not appear to be as critical a factor as age in shaping a person's opinion toward international development" (p. 59).

The thrust of L.A.I.D. was decidedly educational and a testimony to the deliberate communization of the concept under study. It was not only the founding of an organization - L.A.I.D. - which is noteworthy. In both the pioneer learner-centred concept of learning and the "outreach arm" - L.A.I.D. - people and ideas converged and, consequently, there was effective cross-fertilization of ideas, or concepts, in that it was, largely, the same group of dedicated people who donned different hats, as one key informant observed, to work in both organizations. It is, therefore, not surprising that *activity fatigue* inevitably set in culminating in the fusion,⁴⁹ or merger, of the Centre and L.A.I.D. Hamilton (pp. 1-2), the chronicler of the activities of the Centre, provides us with an illuminating summary of the historic, and influential, *L.A.I.D. factor* in the communization, or growth, of the concept investigated:

Two further elements added to the CCLC [Cross-Cultural Learner Centre, London] are important to note. In 1970 the same Global Villagers who set in motion the embryonic CCLC created a *companion organization*. This organization was to be community based, incorporated as a non profit charitable corporation, staffed separately and located in the London Urban Resource Centre. Initially, the London Association for International Development, or LAID, functioned as the *outreach arm* of the CCLC. The close association and cooperation of the two groups was maintained throughout the 1970's until 1978 when LAID finally closed its doors and fully *integrated* its projects and programs into the CCLC. The confusion of having two groups applying for similar grants, of having *staff and volunteers wearing dual hats at overlapping activities* and of creating a double vision in Londoners' eyes was unnecessary. Besides, those respective meetings were beginning to wear down the small, common core of overworked, committed people.

However, from LAID, the CCLC gained a number of important characteristics that remain fundamental features of our present organization. Certainly the *community foundation* rather than the *University foundation* [i.e.; the town-gown phenomenon] was a legacy of LAID. Our status as an incorporated non-profit corporation⁵⁰ with its own charitable number is inherited from the LAID

⁴⁹ The fusionary/fissionary tendencies in this area will be discussed later since it was symbolic of the growth aspect of this concept.

⁵⁰ In 1980 the London Centre incorporated "as a non-profit *educational and service* organization." (Letter, dated 1980-04-15, from Jack Sterken)

tradition (emphases added).

This historical insight clearly shows the "critical role" L.A.I.D. played "in expanding the Centre's public profile" (Hamilton, p. 2). There was a decidedly "dynamic emerging philosophy on international development" (p. 2) which is traceable to the learner-centred educational thrust of the learner centre movement. As discussed earlier, the common philosophical thread running through this phenomenon was Development/Global Education which was evident in both the lives of the influential Centre and, later, L.A.I.D. The same educational philosophy provided the common *raison d'être* of the other centres across Canada and also outside the boundaries of this country.

In sum, the communization of the cross-cultural learner centre concept, and the subsequent inevitable severing of ties with the nurturing University of Western Ontario, marked the second significant phase in the growth - local - of this new learning paradigm. The move to town symbolized the spread of this unique concept from the academic confines to the community at large and this, appropriately, ushers in that "final element that gave the CCLC a national and not just a local profile" (Hamilton, p. 2) - the historic Mobile Resource Centre project of 1971-72.

SOWING THE SEEDS: THE SPREAD OF THE LEARNER CENTRE CONCEPT

The unique and flexible nature of the learner-centred concept naturally made its adoption, and subsequent adaptation, by other localities quite easy. These two inherent qualities made the learning concept appealing. The seeds were sown far and near and the role played by the Centre and its "companion organization" - L.A.I.D. - is best summed up by one of the ardent supporters of L.A.I.D., Charles Brown (a local lawyer), as recorded in *Minute of Public Meeting # 2*, February 23, 1970: "The real key is the fires we can start. We must act as a catalyst." This spirit saw its

manifestation in the historic, and highly influential, **Mobile Resource Centre Project**⁵¹ of 1971/72 and the subsequent workshops mounted by the Centre in London. This was the final "push" to sow the seeds of the largely community-based cross-cultural learner-centred "dynamic emerging philosophy in international development" (Hamilton, 1989:2).

Precedent, Inspiration and Push: The "Mobile Centre" Concept and the National Spread of an Idea

In the final report (1972:407), after the highly successful cross-Canada tour by the mobile centre, it was stated that: " The *principle, concepts and techniques* of the Centre had previously been largely *restricted* to the people who had been able to personally experience the original Learner Centre in London. The Centre's basic ideas have now been *spread* literally from coast to coast" (emphases added). But, why and how, did this decidedly influential "road show" start?

In a 1971 (p. 272) mimeographed "draft copy only" entitled "C.U.S.O. - U.W.O. Cross-Cultural Resource Centre" it was reported, inter alia, that "CUSO committees and other groups across Canada have expressed interest in having the *material resources* and *technical facilities* of the Centre made available to them in a mobile format" (emphases added). To meet this expressed national need a "Proposal for a Mobile Development Education Centre" was duly submitted in 1971 and, among other things, the preliminary objective of the proposed mobile centre was spelt out:

OBJECTIVE: To stimulate and support community-based development education programmes by making available to them in a mobile format the material resources and technical facilities of the Learner Centre. (A secondary objective is to demonstrate this innovative technique to people concerned with creating resources

⁵¹ It should be noted that this mobile aspect of the learner centre movement was akin to an earlier educational experiment - the Chautauqua Movement's "travelling Chautauqua". Unlike this movement, though, the cross-cultural learner centres lacked *structured* components like "correspondence courses". (see *American Educators' Encyclopedia*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991)

and learning experiences as a means of stimulating and organizing community education programmes on development.) (P. 306)

The first step in the spreading of the innovative cross-cultural learner centre concept, within the framework of development education, had been taken. There were, naturally, apprehensive moments as seen in the following observation by Simpson in a speech in 1972:

I should be frank with you - when CUSO first picked up our crazy idea of a mobile centre, the staff was concerned lest it be just regarded as a travelling road show - a gimmick. But because of the work of Wilf, Ian, Ron and Donna and your response, this did not happen. (P. 490)

The "crazy idea" received a favourable response - an unwavering testimony of the growth, and acceptance, of this novel learner-centred approach. C.I.D.A., C.U.S.O. and the Office of International Education, the University of Western Ontario, saw to the transformation of this "crazy idea", seeming "gimmick", into reality. The 1971 report of the Senate Advisory Committee to the Office of International Education reported thus:

We have recently been given a grant by CIDA and CUSO to make a mobile version of the Resource Centre and take it on a cross Canada tour from Halifax to Vancouver ... *Particular emphasis will be placed on assisting local groups to establish resource centres in their own community which fit local needs.* (Emphases added)

This, also, showed the inherent flexibility of the learner centre concept; something which, undoubtedly, helped its ready adoption, adaptation, and spread beyond the borders of London.

The Mobile Centre was finally set up in Ottawa by November 22, 1971, and left from there on an "eight month odyssey across Canada with *ideas* and *resources* borrowed from the Centre" (Hamilton, 1989:13) (emphasis added). It operated for periods between two to three weeks each in Toronto, Halifax, Montreal, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Calgary and wound down in Vancouver from May 23 to June 5, 1972.

Many people were involved in the planning and execution of this unique, and undoubtedly influential, "road show" but prominent among these was the couple - a Librarian-Teacher and an

Audio-visual Technician - who accompanied the Mobile Centre as "travelling staff." In the revealing words of the Hamilton (p. 13), the chronicler, this couple, Ken and Donna Butcher, "played Johnny Appleseed⁵² with the CCLC [Cross-Cultural Learner Centre] concept." These two central personalities were aided by a Project Co-ordinator who travelled in advance of the Mobile Centre to contact all potential user groups and prepare a programme schedule for each city. C.U.S.O. committees and other local organizations were asked to provide voluntary staff support. The enthusiastic support of the volunteers was duly reported in the final report (1972) of the historic Mobile Centre: "Of very special help were the animateurs of CCIC's [Canadian Council for International Co-operation] Development Education Animateur Programme who were usually a first contact for the advance person in any city." For example, the Manitoba Association for World Development, Saskatoon International Association, Development Education Centre [DEC] (Toronto), and the Calgary and District International Development Society; just to mention a few.

The seed was, thus, planted in prepared, fertile, areas and this, unquestionably, helped the rapid, successful, spread of this concept. The underlying philosophy of "Let the Learner Learn" was an instant hit in all the cities visited by this unique "road show." That this central element was not abandoned is seen in the following echo of the final report (1972:407) on the Mobile Centre:

The Learner Centre was an *educational* project designed to bring about informational and attitudinal change - *starting with the needs of the learner as he or she saw them.*
(Emphases added)

⁵² **Johnny Appleseed** (a.k.a. John Chapman) was a legendary folk figure who was a nomadic orchardist who, according to legend, was certainly influential in "hastening the spread of apple orchards westward" in the U.S.A. - spreading orchards from the Allegheny River to the Saint Mary's River. In spite of the inevitable mix of legend and fact John Chapman's (i.e.; Johnny Appleseed) place in American pomology is assured. (Thomas D. Clark. "Chapman John (1774-1845)." *The Encyclopedia Americana: International Edition*, 1993) (For a definitive work on John Chapman (a.k.a. Johnny Appleseed) see Robert Price. *Johnny Appleseed: Man and Myth*. Gloucester, Mass.: Smith, 1967 [c. 1954])

As discussed earlier, the response to this unique "mobile format" was enthusiastic and the following unattributed mimeograph (p. 343) put out by the Ottawa Miles for Millions Office, in 1971, is a glowing testimony of the ready acceptance of this learning experiment:

THE LEARNER CENTRE IS COMING!

Q: Just what is a Cross-Cultural Learner Centre?

A: It's been called a "learning cafeteria". It offers you in the most flexible form many types of information about life in other countries and other cultures. You can put together enough from it to have a whole feast of information on hundreds of subjects, but you'll do it your own way and in your own time. You won't be dominated by the system, or force-fed by some lecturer. That's why it's called a Learner, not a Listener Centre.

Yes, the feast metaphor clearly illuminates the centrality of the learner, in the scheme of things, and the pluralistic perspective - information wise. Not unlike some central principles of adult education, the "system", in addition to being learner-centred, would not be intimidating and was patently voluntary.

A headline of a 1972 *CUSO Bulletin* read: "Learner Centre Tour Successful" and went on to report that: "The mobile version of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre has completed its eight-city Canadian tour with results exceeding all expectations" (p. 495). Radcliffe and Radcliffe (1974:1517), in a joint paper on the "kind of experience of community education in international understanding that has developed in one community" had this to say about the successful germinating of the seeds planted:

... As a result, 1972-73 has seen the beginning of similar operations in Halifax, Antigonish, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary. *These centres are individual projects, variation on the London model to suit local needs and circumstances, stimulated by the mobile unit but not directly interlinked although there is a bond of common purpose and effort which leads to a continuing exchange of ideas.* (Emphases added) (See Appendix C)

The success also owed a great deal to the extensive coverage given by the popular press. This noteworthy aspect was, as the following insight from the final report (1972:408) of the tour

indicates, a deliberate move which went a long way in helping the spread of the concept:

In each city visited, usually on the second day, a press conference was held to make the Centre's presence known to interested people in the community. The conference also encouraged people in the community to begin thinking in terms of a possible permanent centre being established. As a result of these press conferences, every city visited provided news coverage in its major media.⁵³ There was a minimum of one newspaper article, usually with picture, in each of the daily newspapers in the cities visited. In addition, there was usually television news coverage and some radio coverage that included interviews with staff and users. National T. V. news coverage on C.B.C., while the Centre was in Halifax, and on CTV while the Centre was in Toronto, provided inquiries from many parts of the country. Articles about the Learner Centre also appeared in a number of national agency publications and national papers such as the *Financial Post* and a report by *The Canadian Press* was carried in over 40 daily newspapers.

The "mobile format" phenomenon was a huge success thus ensuring a national spread of a novel learning approach which had such modest beginnings in cross-cultural orientations for would-be sojourners to Africa.

On the final leg of this mobile unit it was deemed desirable that an evaluation of the its impact, beyond that of the amount and kind of use, was to be undertaken. In this regard, North used the survey questionnaire methodology to carry out a pilot study, in May 1972, in Vancouver, the last stop of the unit: it was aptly titled: "A Pilot Study of Knowledge and Attitude Change in 'Average' People in Response to the CUSO Mobile Learner Centre." The rationale for this study is evident in the following illuminating excerpt:

It was understood that C.I.D.A. was planning "to provide an opportunity for these interested community groups to receive help, advice, guidance, and some training in setting up their community development education centres." However, "while we know something about how the educational and international development "elite" have reacted to the Mobile Learner Centre approach, we do not have more than casual information about the more average, ordinary, modestly educated person's

⁵³ For example, Kathleen Rex, "Man, Wife Travel in 7-Ton Truck with Cultural 'Learning Cafeteria'." *Globe & Mail*, February 1972; Mike Gillespie, "Students Help Themselves at the 'Learning Cafeteria'." *Ottawa Journal*, November 30, 1971; and Al Bowron, "A Learning Cafeteria." *Quill & Quire*, February 1972.

response. The concern here was "about those major portions of our Canadian citizens not usually involved in a learning situation about development, aid, Canada's role in it, etc. These people may be members of service clubs, labour unions, church congregations, who work as electricians, salesman, bus drivers, secretaries - in short, the average persons.

Unless there is some systematic collection and analysis of how non-elite averagely informed people react to and are changed by involvement in the present C.U.S.O. Mobile Learner Centre, the interested community groups and C.I.D.A. could well find that centres across the country were created without knowledge of the ultimate users. ...

It was, therefore, suggested "that a study be conducted to measure or estimate change in knowledge and attitudes in some samples of groups who could be involved in the ... Mobile Learner Centre during its final sessions in Vancouver, May 22 - June 6. This would not be in the nature of a lengthy, large-scale study, but a piece of action-research based on carefully selected groups" (pp. 384-5)

The findings of this pilot study were subsequently summarized in the final report of the Mobile Unit tour highlighting the emerged fact that it "significantly ... showed appreciable informational and attitudinal change among average Canadians who used the Centre" (p. 407).

The success of this Mobile Learner Centre is, again, seen in the fact that, according to records, at the end of the tour in June 1972, it was purchased by St. Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The selling of the original mobile unit did not signify the end of the "mobile unit" phase of the spread of this concept. According to a 1974 mimeograph on the pioneer Centre-L.A.I.D. programmes a "Mini-Mobile (Development Education Mobile [DEM])" was set up:

Because of the success of the cross-Canada mobile tour and the difficulty of attracting people from other communities to the permanent Centre, we moved the Centre, in a real way, into these communities. A small version of the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre went to districts outside London. The "mini-D.E.M." attempted to respond to needs of the communities in which they found themselves. (P. 1404)

This mini version of the original mobile unit visited six local communities in the summer of 1974 and made one return trip.

It is, thus, clear that this phase significantly contributed to the spread of this communized learner-centred concept (e.g., see Appendix C). This was the local, Canadian, scene but the seeds

of this concept crossed the seas to the West Indies - Barbados, to be precise. Although this overseas experiment was short-lived it did prove that this new "dynamic evolving philosophy" of learning could be adopted and adapted, because of the identified inherent flexibility, in other far-flung places.

The International Dimension of a Concept Which Grew

The flexibility which inheres in this cross-cultural learner-centred phenomenon ensured, as discussed earlier, ready adaptability in *any* community. This factor was also highlighted in a 1981 position paper by a Tom Owen, then Education Coordinator of the London Centre, who talked about "The Learner Centre as a Community Development Philosophy." In this paper he asserted that: "Learner centres ... are still in their early years of existence. They have grown from local interests and resources and reflect the priorities of the communities."

Not surprisingly, it is this ready adaptability characteristic of this learning concept which found expression outside Canada. Thus, this significant spread gave the Canadian-inspired cross-cultural learner centre movement an *international dimension*. The pluralism of cultures worldwide is a given and the need to acquire the appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes; that is learning, to help foster that ideal intercultural awareness, understanding, tolerance and accommodation is also a pervasive fact. In the internalization of the cross-cultural learner centre phenomenon there was a distinct reverse sojourner factor, and cultural bi-directionality, in that the brain behind the Barbados experiment worked with the London centre. The following documentary sources show the "parenting role" and influence of the Centre. For example, in a March, 1972, "Report on the Caribbean Resources Centre" (part of the London Centre) it was revealed that: "The Caribbean section of the Resource Center started in the fall of 1971 under Dorothy Allsopp (née Bell). She left to be married in Barbados ..." In yet another report on the Centre, covering September 1971 to

March 1972, it was revealed that:

The youngest of the three groups which has already contributed to the Centre [the other two being the Black and Native Resource groups] is the Caribbean group, which has given to it a new international dimension. The collection consists mainly of material on the larger Caribbean islands. This is to be supplemented by information on the smaller islands which is to be collected by a *related centre in Barbados* by Mrs. Dorothy Allsopp, a former staff member of our Office of International Education. (P. 510) (Emphasis added)

In a proposal for funds, dated 8th March, 1972, and titled: "COMCARC: A Proposal for a Commonwealth Caribbean Resource Centre," Dorothy Allsopp, among other things, highlighted the "parenting role" of the pioneer Centre, through the Office of International Education. The following excerpt, in showing the evidently ambitious nature of the Barbados venture, also shows the unmistakable influence of the cross-cultural learner centre concept:

To develop a *cross cultural resource centre* in Barbados "with the function of making and storing as complete a collection as possible of information written, recorded or photographed and of other items that may be collected which relate to any aspect of life in the Caribbean ... being limited in space for purely practical purposes, to the English speaking territories, to be called the COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN RESOURCE CENTRE or COMCARC." (P. 618) (Emphases added)

The initial success of the spread of this concept to the Caribbean, and the possible use in other areas, is further illuminated by the following observation by North, MacKenzie and Simpson (1972:1026):

In the Caribbean some West Indians who helped to develop our Centre in London when they were students here are now working on a similar project in their home island. We are now involved with them in developing the COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN RESOURCE CENTRE [COMCARC] in Barbados. One of our staff⁵⁴ has been given a grant of federal funds to examine the relevance of our learner-centred techniques to development work in West African [*sic*] and the Caribbean. As well discussions are being held with some Native people in the Canadian North to see whether or not our concepts might be of some use to them.

Yes, there was an international dimension of the unique, Canadian-inspired learner-centred

⁵⁴ See Sissons' 1972 Masters thesis.

concept in a decidedly cross-cultural setting. A corollary of this inevitable spread, especially after the historic Mobile Unit phase and a conscious move to sustain the, obviously, aroused interest in this communized learning concept, the "parenting role" of the Centre entered another predictable phase - the *workshop phase*.

Cultivating the Conceptual Seeds: the Spread Phase

Simpson, in an undated memorandum on the future plans of the Centre, averred that: "Many useful and worthwhile activities will take place within the Centre itself, but we should also see the Centre as a source of ideas and inspiration for people to go out and do something in their own community" (p. 639). The ideas and inspiration agenda transformed, later, into moves to husband the genuine interest generated after the successful cross-Canada tour of the Mobile Unit in 1971/72. This realization was buttressed, as indicated by an unattributed and undated paper on the L.A.I.D. - Centre relationship, by the acknowledgment that: "... Other Learner Centres across Canada are asking the London Centre for ideas and programming ..." (p. 1299). To satisfy this expressed need, C.I.D.A. and the Office of International Education sponsored a workshop on the University campus from the 23rd to the 26th of June, 1972, with the following stated initial objective:

To encourage the early establishment in eight to ten cities of permanent community resource centres focussed on development. (P. 459)

The direct influence of the Mobile Centre in creating this need, as seen below in the final report (1972) of the tour, is also an indication of the successful spread - the external growth phase - of this concept:

Following the visit of the Mobile Centre, an average of 50-60 people attended a meeting in each city for the purpose of beginning the lengthy task of forming a permanent centre. In addition to these eight groups, representatives from groups in Moncton, Antigonish, Hamilton, Edmonton, Regina and Castlegar, B.C., attended a three-day workshop in London, Ontario, to discuss both the principles and practical

aspects of developing permanent centres. (P. 407)

The flexible and unique aspects of the learner centre concept are reflected in the explicit objective of the workshop which, not surprisingly, corroborated Hamilton's (1989:2) assertion that "these centers were variations on the London model that suited local needs and local circumstances."

In the 1972 report on the workshop itself the following insight appeared:

The workshop is not intended to lay down exact or absolute specifications for one "model" resource centre which would then be followed by all, but rather to provide a framework for a) relaying information and experience gained to date and b) suggesting solutions to the practical problems involved in creating and operating such centres. (P. 549)

Thus, the workshop covered the following basic points:

- i) Basic principles (i.e.: the cross-cultural angle and the learner-centred approach)
- ii) Staff and resource people
- iii) Resource materials
- iv) Equipment
- v) Location
- vi) Financing and administration
- vii) Other forms of support
- viii) Community involvement and user groups
- ix) Cooperation among various centres
- x) Use of non-local resources

It is noteworthy that the workshop phase of the spread of this concept did not end with the above-mentioned three-day workshop as attested to by the September 1971 to March 1972 report on the activities of the Centre:

Another feature has been the *workshops* requested by small groups from towns in the environs of London. These have included student groups from Amherstburg, Stratford and Brantford, and educators from further afield - Michigan State University, the Ontario Institute of [sic] Studies in Education in Toronto, and Columbia University.

In sum, it is unassailable that some of the "many useful and worthwhile activities" which took place at the influential pioneer Centre were the mobile units and the subsequent inspirational and guiding workshops. These phases, undoubtedly, assured the spread of the learner-centred approach

in a culturally diverse environment. Both the growth and the spread aspects of this phenomenon bring to the fore the question of co-operation in this far-flung, fledgling field. This, briefly, eventuated in the formation of the defunct, and patently restricted, **Learner Centres Association of Ontario (LCAO)**. This later evolved into the **Global Education Centres of Ontario (GECO)** which was part of the **Ontario Council for International Cooperation (OCIC)** which, in turn, was part of the national **Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC)**.

The original learner-centred concept was to be technology-driven: that is, it was to be a computer-assisted retrieval system of the multi-media materials collected. This central computer-assisted accessibility was, again, the central element in the highly successful cross-Canada mobile unit tour. It is, therefore, not surprising that there was another short-lived attempt at networking in the technological field. In a quarterly report (September 1986), it was revealed that the provincial Learner Centres Association of Ontario (LCAO) received funds from C.I.D.A. to hire a computer programmer to work on this project. This programmer spent the summer of 1986 working with other library staff to develop the program which was aptly named the **Global Alternative Information Network (GAIN)**. London (Ontario), again, played that central "parenting role" in co-ordinating the development of this joint resource database to be shared by eight of the ten Ontario centres, and stored in I.D.R.C.'s [International Development Research Centre] Ottawa mainframe computer.

This networking phase, unfortunately, also fell victim to the perennial cash crunch generally experienced by the learner centre movement. In spite of this pervasive financial dilemma the expanding cross-cultural learner movement had a common cementing philosophy - the Development, and later Global, Education framework - which assured a commonality within the movement. There was, thus, unity in the apparent diversity of this concept which spread beyond its birthplace - London, Ontario.

Development/Global Education and the Linkage Phenomenon

As discussed earlier, the two principal planks of the learner centre phenomenon - the cross-cultural and learner-centredness - operate within the framework of Development/Global Education. The global perspective and the inherent linkage phenomenon, between the local and the global, are two significant aspects of the learner centre movement and this is attested to by the available documentation. Acquiring the relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes; that is, learning, and being able to function in a global, cross-cultural, setting was the goal and this necessitated that global framework.

For example, in a *Minutes of Meeting # 1*, January 4, 1970, of the "community arm" of the Centre - L.A.I.D. - this globalization was highlighted in the recorded contribution of Simpson, then Executive Director of the Office of International Education, the University of Western Ontario:

Education of the public in international involvements is a tremendous job because it has so many sensitivities when related to countries and people who are ancient but new to us. We can be concerned and can give money, but these are not enough. We expect to be able to solve "their" problems but we must realize that "they" know their problems so we should go out to learn from them. It's not ignorance of needs we would find but a desire to accept our technical skills and some financial support to speed up the process. In the view of the emerging nations there are too many arrogant whites so we must *learn* to treat as equals people who have needs but also pride in their traditions. Cooperation on a meaningful basis is a challenging job. (Emphasis added)

"Sensitizing people to global issues" thus entails learning. This learning, with a decidedly global perspective, again, finds expression in a policy paper by Dan Curtis, then Assistant to the Executive Director, Office of International Education, on the topic: "Community Education: a Philosophy." Here, inter alia, he stated that: "Hopefully the educational programs that we develop will provide people with a more *global* integrated view of man's existence" (p. 901) (emphasis added).

The central, guiding, framework of Development/Global Education resurfaces, predictably, in an undated (c1972) report on the historic cross-Canada mobile tour. In this report by Ian

Thomson, then Public Affairs Coordinator of C.U.S.O., under the revealing title: "We're Putting Wheels on the Learner Centre", he highlighted this essential educational framework:

The general objective [of the Mobile Unit] is to stimulate and support community-based *development education* programmes aimed at increasing Canadians' *understanding* of and involvement in Third World problems. Another important aim is to demonstrate the Centre's innovative techniques to people concerned with creating resources and *learning* experiences for use in development education programmes with the hope that they will establish similar operations in their own communities on a permanent basis. (P. 316) (Emphases added)

That the development/global education role of this novel "learning paradigm" is central was unequivocally spelled out by Simpson in a 1971 speech on the utilization of the London Centre. Here, his observation confirms this educational framework. This also provides a succinct preview of the involvement of C.I.D.A. in a domestic; that is, Canadian, public educational effort:

It is difficult to separate an interest in the content of the Centre from an interest in the *educational concepts* for the two interact very closely. We do feel that the Centre can be useful in helping Canadians to better prepare themselves for work among other cultures whether within Canada or in developing countries overseas. We also feel that the *public education* aspects of the Centre may help more Canadians better *understand* the concepts involved in International Development and make them more anxious to financially support this work. ... We must help Canadians to raise their thoughts beyond the concept of charity when they think of *relating* with other cultural groups who are not as well off financially as we are. (P. 253) (Emphases added)

Mention of "public education", immediately above, brings to mind the significant role played by, especially, C.I.D.A. in the growth and spread of this learning phenomenon. As discussed earlier, C.I.D.A., through its Public Participation Program (P.P.P.), sought to enhance the development education aspect of these learner centres. In the previously-mentioned mimeograph from C.I.D.A., dated December 2nd, 1971, and entitled: "Mobilization for Development", development education was duly highlighted as "A New Focus for CIDA" (p. 307). Here, it was also observed that: "The increasing awareness of international issues on the part of Canadians is expanding the perimeters by which Canadian society views its international role." And, in the same paper on mobilization,

C.I.D.A. expanded on its "new" development education focus by highlighting, among its objectives, the creating of awareness and the pervasive linkage phenomenon in development/global education:

The Objectives

1) to enable Canadians to develop an understanding of development in its historical and social contexts:

and,

2) to involve Canadians in actions which relate Canada to the Third World.
(P. 308)

Carl Rogers, in his seminal work on learning (1969:158), affirmed that: "Significant learning takes place when the subject matter is perceived by the student [learner] as having relevance for his own purposes." It is this adult education credo which finds expression in the learner-centred concept. The "relevance" aspect also finds expression in the efforts made, through the identified linkage phenomenon, by development/global educationists. The following insights show the prominence of this linkage phenomenon in development/global education.

For example, Simpson, in a 1972 workshop speech made this observation:

Social Development implies some balanced approach to development. We also feel that it doesn't make sense to be concerned with social development in the Third World and not be concerned with similar situations in Canada. Thus we are interested in *linking* Social Development overseas with social development in Canada. (P. 469) (Emphasis added)

Another corroborating observation was made in the final report on the 1971/72 cross-Canada mobile unit tour in that "an ... encouraging aspect was the way in which many users of the Centre were able to see the *relationship* between Canadian development and cultural issues and international ones" (p. 407) (emphasis added).

Thus, this linkage phenomenon which afforded a comparative "whole picture" was a significant learning device within the central development/global education framework of our substantive area. This link brings out the relevance of the learner-centred learning experience - a

prerequisite for, in Rogers' (1969) words, "significant learning."

In sum, these are the illuminating documentary insights on the spread of the cross-cultural learner centre concept and some intrinsic facilitating factors. A critical look at this important phase through the "perspective glass[es]" (with due apologies to Swift's Gulliver) of some key informants would, undoubtedly, shed more light on this phase. These informants' perspectives necessarily corroborate, and sometimes expand the documented insights.

GROWTH AND SPREAD SEEN THROUGH INFORMANTS' PERSPECTIVE GLASS[ES]"

The documented *duality of growth* - internal and external (spread) - of the learner centre concept is also confirmed by the insights provided by some informants. The role of the University of Western Ontario in the birth of the pioneer Centre is evident in its role in the internal growth phase of the trail-blazing Centre. The identified role of the "'great ma" providing ... sustenance when times were difficult.' as poignantly expressed by one informant, is also confirmed by the "magical" role provided by Simpson who, in the words of another informant, was 'able to turn the "magic box" from one faculty or another ... [otherwise] it would have been real tough.'

Hamilton's (1989) finding of the symbolism of place in the evolution of the cross-cultural learner centre concept is also seen in the significance of "place" in the growth phase of the Centre. For example, the documented move, from the "cramped" quarters at the Althouse College of Education to the nearby relatively roomy Westminster College, was a symbol of growth. This factor is re-illuminated by the following short excerpt:

XF.: ... it moved to Westminster College; yeah. And, eh, it, sort of, grew there for a time. ... in a sense, it continued to grow ...

Internal growth was not only manifested in the physical expansion, and subsequent moves.

but also evident in the philosophical evolution of this flexible learning concept. As one informant observed: "Philosophically, I think, there's been some serious changes over the last two years."

Another aspect of the evolution of the cross-cultural learner centre concept was the role of the formal educational systems in sustaining this learning paradigm. It is, therefore, not surprising that this nexus aided the growth of the London centre. The following informant sums up this important role:

XA.: ... But, people like John, working through the school system, also helped make the Learner Centre work more educational because they wanted, they encouraged, you know, the schools to use it, and so on, you know: and the Learner Centre couldn't have survived without that help from the other side.

As discussed earlier, this formal education sector also aided the growth of this fledgling learning concept as seen in the symbolism of place in that the moves, first to Broughdale Public School and, later, to St. Peter's [Catholic] School did, undoubtedly, help in the local growth of this concept. This "halfway house" aspect, prior to full communization, confirms this formal educational nexus; a fact acknowledged in the following brief, but insightful, informant perspective:

XI.: ... Anyway, so, we had to move and we moved to Broughdale School, which is just off the campus; okay. We were there for about two years; for about two-and-a-half years and, then, we had to move again. And, three weeks' notice; okay. And, then, we had a deal and we went to St. Peter's School. ...

It should be noted, in passing, that apart from the encouraging use of the Centre by the formal education system, the London Board of Education helped financially over the years (e.g.: see Appendix Eiii). Although their contribution was relatively less than the significant funding from the two levels of government, this appreciative "vote of confidence" from the Board, which went a long way in sustaining the concept under study, should not be underestimated.

The inhibiting, and paradoxical, role of C.I.D.A. funding, under its Public Participation Program (P.P.P.), has already been discussed but it is, ironically, noteworthy that this same funding

lifeline, aptly described by one informant as a "stabilizing factor". also went a long way in ensuring the growth, and eventual spread, of the concept studied. The significance of the "matchable dollars" from C.I.D.A. is confirmed by some key informants. For example, the following *reiterated* insight highlights this significant contribution to the growth phase of this concept:

XM.: ... under the Public Participation Program. ... That was after CUSO had really bowed out and CIDA had taken over. And, at that time, the Public Participation Program was very heavily supported by them. ... And, I think, a lot of the local, for the seed money to start these ... cross-cultural centres was given by them and, then, after they were expected to develop local sources of, which they all did ...

In sum, the local growth of the pioneer Centre was sustained mainly by the University of Western Ontario and C.I.D.A., through the latter's Public Participation Program, and other bodies and individuals. But, as discussed earlier, the Centre was undergoing a discernible change in the direction of communization. This phase, as indicated, prompted *intimations of dissonance* but, as confirmed by some key informants, the documented move into the community was inexorable.

Communization: Some Informants' Insights

As discussed earlier, the gradual communization of the Centre generated intimations of dissonance from the nurturing "great ma" - the University of Western Ontario. This dissonance is, again, corroborated by the insights of some of the key informants.

One informant confirmed that: "They [the London Centre] always wanted to send people out into the schools, you know. I think that was the whole idea. ... because it is an unusual kind of animal ... the University of Western Ontario was not entirely happy with it ..." This persistent insight is, again, elaborated by the same informant as evident in the following observation:

XA.: ... it don't, didn't meet the ... traditional university methods of doing things, and so on. It didn't fit in anywhere; you know. Eh, it wasn't interested in publications; it wasn't interested in, you know, in all those things. ... it was working out in the community rather than in the university; you know. It just didn't fit within ... The

framework and ... I don't know what; I'm sure because it, eventually, became an issue but ... there were all sorts of questions of priorities but, but the Learner Centre never really fit into, I mean, it must be really creative, innovative university to make that a permanent part of it. ... the truth of the matter is that they don't match very well.

The highlighted expressions of concern inevitably led, as illuminated earlier on by the documentary evidence, to the final severing of that nurturing umbilical cord between the Centre and the University of Western Ontario. This break signalled the beginning of the full communization phase of this innovative learning experiment. The following informant insight sheds more light on this phase of the learner centre phenomenon:

XM.: ... the learner centre concept, I believe, was very enthusiastically supported by the University all along. ... what they gave us was enough money to support ... like, our jobs would have been okay but, we couldn't have run those programs. We couldn't have maintained the system. And, that is when we had to go and look for other money to supplement our income. And, I think, that is right ... they couldn't go on supporting it because it was, it was more connected with the ... schools than with the University. ... And, they felt that the schools should be supporting it and the community and, you know. So, that was part of the reason why it went because they did see that more and more from being a Canadian Universities Services Overseas [CUSO] it was becoming a London high school and a London community at large ...

As highlighted earlier, the inevitable break from the University was not abrupt. In the words of one informant, it was a welcome "gradual weaning off." This fact is confirmed by some of the key informants, as seen earlier in the funding discussion. The following insight, albeit at times risible, paints a faithful picture of the sustaining role played by the University of Western Ontario in the communization process:

XI.: ... Also ... we left the University: like until, I think, 1979; by 1979 we were operating as part of the University; we were operating under the university and, then, the university came one day and said: "Well, you know, I think you should go on your own" thinking we'll yell and scream and cry, and stuff like that. ... So they ... paid us a lot of money to go away. [Laughter] Eh, and, basically handed over ownership of everything that we had including everything that we borrowed permanently from the University. [Laughter] Such as television sets and VCRs, and stuff like that. All our equipment had been bought by the University, you know, and it was owned by the University so when we negotiated a deal to become independent; oh yeah, we had to incorporate and stuff like that; as a non-profit agency; get a

charitable number: all that sort of stuff. But, also, we had to negotiate our own dollar stuff so we, basically, negotiated that kind of and we got all that we wanted plus a lot more; like \$150,000 a year for three years; access to the phone system; eh, all kinds of stuff; okay. So, we had a diminishing, I don't remember exactly what the details were, but we had a diminishing grant from the University ... So, that gave us a nice cushion and it also gave us matchable dollars; you see. ...

This appreciable move by the University is, again, confirmed by the following insight:

XI.: ... So ... we negotiated and ... so we got all our assets ... and, I think it started, I am not sure right now: I think it started, the first year subsidy was a \$150,[000]; the second \$100,[000]; the third \$50,[000].

S.: It was a gradual ...

XI.: Yeah: a gradual weaning off: you know. ...

As documented, the communization phase was highly successful because of the apparent preparedness, of the community-at-large, for this novel learning concept. As one informant intimated, "We had legitimate credentials in terms of this community involvement." What perceived factors helped this phase?

Entry Into the Community: Some Views

The L.A.I.D. (London Association for International Development) factor in the successful communization phase is well documented (e.g.; Hamilton, 1989) and the fact that this success could be attributed to the precursor role of L.A.I.D., in preparing the way for the entry of this novel learning concept, is also attested to by some key informants. For example, the following insight is an eloquent testament to this noteworthy L.A.I.D. factor:

XX.: ... there was this community organization that was all volunteers. ... but their specific thrust, as the name implied, was to put international development into the community and, it was to be the outreach part so when the Cross Cultural Centre decided to move into specific issues like refugee settlement in the later seventies, it was appropriate that the resources base that was of people and ideas that was ... created by LAID be blended right in. ... And, that began the emergence of this, somewhat rarefied academic library that you had emerge. There were a lot of little ideas but the ideas usually were taken on by LAID. ...

A confirmatory perspective could also be gleaned from the observation that: "They said LAID was functioning as our team in the outreach program and that's where a lot of the learner centres started out."

Another notable affirmation is the hats' metaphor identified by Hamilton (1989), with regard to the various roles played by some committed personalities in the London community. This documented factor, in the birth and growth of the cross-cultural learner centre concept, is corroborated by the following informant perspective:

XX.: ... And LAID was, actually, merged in about 1978 with the Cross Cultural Centre but it functioned as the community outreach in development and it was, I mean, most of us were wearing two or three hats at that time and LAID was there as the link with the ... the larger London population; because the physical centre itself was on the University campus.

and, again:

XX.: And everybody who was part of LAID was part of the Cross Cultural Learner Centre. [Laughter]

The mention of the hats' metaphor readily brings to mind another sign, largely undocumented, of the preparedness of the London community for this unique learning concept. It appears that another organization was also functioning in the community and this was introducing Londoners to, especially, African students. This was the largely unsung **African Students Foundation (ASF)**. One informant observed that:

XA.: ... well, in London there is another organization called the African Students Foundation, in the early sixties ... brought Africans, from East and West Africa, to study in Canada and a parallel, or similar, thing was happening in the States.

Here, we again see that hats' metaphor at work in that some familiar names associated with both the pioneer Centre and L.A.I.D. were also involved in A.S.F.:

XA.: And, Don was very, Don Simpson was very much involved in all that. You know; he was on the board of the African Student [*sic*] Foundation, and Crossroads and CUSO; eh, really overlapped. You know what I mean? The same people; yeah.

In sum, the communization phase of the concept under investigation proved successful because of the preparedness of the local community. There were some notable community organizations, usually staffed by the *same* committed personalities who were also involved with the campus-based learner centre. There were distinct intimations of dissonance, with regard to the town-gown phenomenon, which led, inevitably, to the final break with the University of Western Ontario.

On the Reality of Community Politics

The reality of *funding politics* has already been discussed but the final entry of the cross-cultural learner centre concept, from the academic ambience of Western, brought to the fore another form of political reality the learner centres usually face - *community politics*. Although this pervasive factor was not documented some informant perspectives duly opened an illuminating vista into this aspect of the growth and spread of the phenomenon under study. For example, the following insights bring out this factor:

XK.: ... a learner centre/cross-cultural idea ... was the deep sense that the dignity of others is ... not based on how closely they conform to your ideas of what is morally right. So, the Learner Centre [London] was constantly in trouble with one group or another because we didn't espouse quite the right set (?). It didn't matter whether it was those who had, who espouse a set of values, eh, that represent, say, the political authority and institutions of southern Ontario, or Canada, or the Western world; or whatever ... Sometimes, because we, because we didn't, properly, espouse the values, beliefs and worldview of any one particular ... group who were in the minority in our society. So, the Jewish community was often upset with us for, in fact, we had a wealth of resources and a clearer willingness to put forward the beliefs, issues and political stands, not by bigwig (?) politics; but by making the resources available: hosting conferences and speakers, of the Arabic world and the Palestinians, for example. You know; I find it interesting that we were criticized for that: not just by the Jewish community.

and, also:

XI.: ... You know, we had lots of crises and problems; you know. Quite incredulous, sometimes; ... none of them happy. They were challenges. I mean, I was passed off as a known marxist trying to subvert the education system in London. You know, I

mean, that came from the, at that time we got a right-wing Ukrainian guy who was, you know, and they went to our local MPs and, you know, and said why is the government giving money to this known communist front, which was the Learner Centre; right. Because one of the things I was working was saying, hey, multiculturalism, to me, means multiculturalism not uniculturalism; you know, where you paid the Polish community so Polish boys could meet Polish girls and make Polish parents happy; you know. ...

It is, therefore, clear that our "phenomenal context" (Wagner) did not escape that inevitable political reality associated with things educational. This was evident mostly in *funding* and the eventual *communization* of this learning concept.

But, in spite of the identified problems associated with the growth of this individualized learning concept this phenomenon did spread beyond the borders of London, Ontario. How was this external growth phase - the spread - seen by some informants?

On Flexibility, Uniqueness and Relevance: Perspectives on the Spread

The documentary and informant data revealed the importance of the sowing of the seeds of the cross-cultural learner centre concept through the Mobile Centre phenomenon. This cross-Canada itinerary of ideas, "material resources", and "technical facilities", and the subsequent spread of learner centres across Canada demonstrated the flexibility and relevance of this concept. The data also revealed the uniqueness of each centre which, to a large extent, is determined by its specific *context* and not by a form of model phenomenon - standardized - based on the pioneer model. London, however, did play a unique "parenting role" (Hamilton). On the general *relevance* of the learner centre concept, the following exchange illuminates this factor:

S.: And, how do you make yourself important?

XI.: Well, by being relevant. Okay; the issue in and of itself is important; okay. There's no getting around it. For a country like Canada what happens in Africa; what happens in Asia; what happens in South America; Central America fundamentally impacts on Canada. ... We have to know; we have to have a level of knowledge and

awareness of what is going on. ... And, if you are not relevant to that and why should you receive money for?

As demonstrated earlier, this individualized, learner-centred, concept of learning did spread and the fact that the various centres did receive financial help from governmental and other sources underscores this *relevance* factor.

Another identified significant factor which helped the spread of this learning concept was its inherent flexibility. As one informant observed, "you have to package it in a different way" for each locality. This *flexibility*, as the following excerpt indicates, evolved with the first centre:

XM.: ... I think, one of the ... continuing questions for the CCLC [Cross Cultural Learner Centre, London] is it's changed characters all the time. I mean, even when I was there ... it was very clear what we were doing at the beginning, which was CUSO training volunteers and, then, Canadian Crossroads and Canada World Youth.⁵⁵ and all that. Now, they don't do that anymore and we began ... opening up the world to the residents of London and the area: and the southwest area.

A corollary of this flexible quality is the acknowledged uniqueness of each centre. As one informant observed: "... the individual centres have unique programmings which set them apart ..."

This view is reiterated by the following informant insight:

XC.: ... We, certainly, do regard ourselves as a learner centre. Eh, although we ... we're not like the other learner centres. We don't do the same kind of programming that they do. ...

The inherent flexibility and uniqueness of this novel learning paradigm did ensure its general relevance in various contexts thus its ready adoption and adaptation beyond London, Ontario. How did the inevitable spread occur, as seen through the informants' perspectives?

⁵⁵ A directory entry indicates that **Canada World Youth (CWY)**, founded in 1971, has a mandate "To increase people's ability to participate actively in the development of just, harmonious and sustainable societies; to create exceptional learning opportunities for communities, groups and individuals wishing to acquire skills and explore new ideas; to work in partnerships based on integrity and respect for differences."

Like the cross-cultural learner centres, the C.W.Y. is affiliated with the Canadian Council for International Cooperation. (See *Directory for Associations in Canada 1996-1997*)

Concept on Wheels: Perspectives on the Spread of a Concept

The significance of the "parenting role" of the Centre identified by Hamilton (1989) is, again, confirmed by the "precise experiences" of some informants. For example, one key informant averred that:

XL.: ... I guess, the Cross Cultural Learner Centre, in London, because it is the first, or was the first of its kind, and because we've been involved in the development of many offshoots of this Centre ...

As identified earlier, the historic Mobile Centre phenomenon played a significant role in the spread of this concept. This factor is also corroborated by the insights of some informants; for example:

XX.: ... so, the notion was why not take the * elements of what we have done and we just take it across the country with the idea that if empowerment works: if autonomy and, eh, is our end goal: independence and, yet, interdependence - those two very closely-related sides of the same coin - then what we got to do is to ensure that B. C. and Nova Scotia have a sense of what it is that's possible with ... a good idea, committed people and ... lots and lots of energy. So, the two Butchers, in their early married life ... took across the country the ... enthusiasm and the elements of what we thought were important and criss-crossed little towns and schools and jurisdictions and drew together people at various centres across the country and, fundamentally, they inspired ... by drawing to them like-minded people who, probably, just needed that little extra push and the precedent; that it could be, I mean, if it could be done in London, Ontario, it could be done in Halifax and it could be done in St. Johns, and so forth. ...

The external spread of this concept, as showed earlier, went beyond the borders of this country. This interesting "international dimension" of this phenomenon further underscored its flexibility and, ipso facto, relevance and adaptability. The following assertion by one key informant confirms this international dimension:

XM.: ... But, as you know, there were learner centres; there was one in Vancouver; one in Winnipeg, I think; then, a couple in Toronto ... there was even one in, eh, Bermuda [Barbados] ...

.....
Oh yeah! For about five years. Dorothy Bell, who worked for the Centre for a while;

she was from there and, then, she went back home and ... she started one. There was a lot of back and forth with that ... and, then, she left and went. I think, came back here ... and, I don't think it got resurrected. We even had an international learner centre!

The perspectives of some of the key informants thus corroborate the significant role of the mobile unit in the eventual spread of this learning concept. The identified "international dimension" was also not lost on some informants. The successful growth - both internal and external - underscores the flexibility, and adaptability, of this unique concept in various contexts without necessarily following a standard pioneer model. That cultures differ is a given: that the prevailing culture, that is, the context, affects the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes - learning - is also a given thus the appealing nature of this demonstrably flexible, and unique, learning concept.

The growth, and spread, of this concept was challenging and this raised, as identified earlier, the question of *networking* within the evolving learner centre movement. Some informant perspectives, not surprisingly, re-illuminate concerted moves to network.

Perspectives on Networking

A natural growth of the spread of the cross-cultural learner centre concept across Canada was the impetus for networking. As discussed earlier, the pioneer learner centre championed the formation of the short-lived provincial Learner Centres Association of Ontario (LCAO). This is corroborated by the following informant:

XJ.: ... Gillian [former Librarian at the pioneer Centre] was one of the main factors. ... It used to be called the Learner Centres Association of Ontario and, I think, I think it, kind of, died off.

Another informant sheds more light on this laudable attempt at provincial coordination:

XD.: ... Many of the agencies that made up OCIC [Ontario Council for International Cooperation], at the beginning, would have been the global education centres - they [were] called learner centres - and, in fact, after OCIC was formed a working group

of OCIC, called the Learner Centres Association of Ontario, or LCAO ... was formed to discuss the interests of, eh, and to, sort of, look after the interests of the learner centres.

Technology, as highlighted, played a central role in the novel learner-centred concept and this aspect resurfaced during the earlier attempts at provincial networking; that is, the L.C.A.O. Out of this vision grew that short-lived Global Alternative Information Network (GAIN) project. Again, as the following excerpt shows, the Centre was instrumental in this:

XJ.: We don't, we don't have any longer what was developed originally, which was GAIN - Global Alternative Information Network - ... Gillian [the Centre Librarian] had hired a couple of people to write the program and, I think, Windsor [centre] is still using that ...

.....
That was one of Gillian's big dreams; to develop that. A database ... involving all the development education centres and there was some initial interest by the I. D. R. C. [International Development Research Centre] in helping but, that * . So, of course, there is no network now.

The demise of L.C.A.O. and G.A.I.N. did not spell the end of the networking spirit because out of the ashes grew another provincial body - Global Education Centres Of Ontario (GECO). The documented *phoenix factor* is confirmed by the following insight which also highlights the mandate of this umbrella organization:

XE.: ... the Global Education Centres of Ontario [GECO]; this is the umbrella body which serves, supports learner centres across the province. what ... our umbrella organization does is to try and provide a provincial vision, or voice, for global education in Ontario and to network ... with similar organizations. ... Now ... we've been around for a number of years. Eh, our earlier incarnation was the Learner Centres Association of Ontario [LCAO] but about two, three years ago, sort of, metamorphosed into the Global Education Centres of Ontario. The name change is not just purely cosmetic. ...

But, GECO also formed part of a wider network through the provincial Ontario Council for International Cooperation (OCIC):

XE.: ... In fact, we [GECO] started working out as an arm of the OCIC but, then, what happened later on was that we became a full-fledged organization and we incorporated in 1993, April 1993 ... so it had its own board, and stuff like that; and,

basically, what happened was ... it just decided to get a separate organization. in and of itself, while maintaining very close ties with the Ontario Council for International Cooperation in its first year because it hasn't gotten, like, all its letters of patent, you know, the whole legal stuff about being able to ...

S.: Being incorporated.

XE.: Yeah; being able to apply for funds on its own. ...

And, on the relationship between GECO and OCIC:

XE.: ... we've always had ... close relationship because we deal with similar issues. Organizationally, we are separate. The Global Education Centres [of Ontario] is a distinct organization with its own board; OCIC is a distinct organization with its own board but we have a close relationship; all our members are members of OCIC. The best thing, like I said, our activities which were funded by CIDA were merged within the OCIC programs. So, in fact, in terms of CIDA we became just a section, or a department, of OCIC. ...

Mention of the tenuous relationship brings to mind the emerged role of O.C.I.C. As one informant asserted:

XL.: Most of the learner centres, I think, are members of OCIC. OCIC being our provincial umbrella; ... GECO is for only global education centres, I think. ... OCIC has a broader membership; it's not only global education centres; it's also other institutions and organizations that are involved in international concerns; in international issues. ...

Again, the following insight re-illuminates the role of O.C.I.C.:

XD.: ... The OCIC has been the broad council to look out, broadly, for the interest of ... any agency that is either doing global educational issues in Ontario, or doing overseas development work.

In addition to these provincial networking initiatives, there was a national umbrella organization - the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC). The following plaintive cry, on the circumscribed role of this national body, attributable to the debilitating federal budget cut of 1995, also highlighted its role in the scheme of things:

XD.: Yes, so they're a bit handicapped in terms of their ability to, but, I mean, I think, they'll continue to do what they've been doing; be advocates in Ottawa. Keep an eye on what the government is doing; to try to influence the government foreign policy;

to try to build the capacity of the membership to implement sustainable development [in] all its facets. ... At least, they're a very important voice for our community ...

Unfortunately, the national picture did not show a strong, coordinated, inter-provincial relationship within the learner centre movement:

S.: Oh, just, just I was very interested in the national organization. Since there wasn't anything; but, you didn't have this national net-, networking?

XE.: There was ... but very, very minimal; I must say. Really, it was more centre-to-centre; you'll find some of the global education centres having a lot of connections with some of the organizations in B. C. and Quebec.

It is, thus, clear that to enhance the national spread of the cross-cultural learner centre concept genuine attempts were made to harness the efforts, and activities, of the growing movement through networking. Presumably, the sheer size of the country, and the perennial cash crunch, militated against this dream at strengthening this movement.

The mention of "global education" brings to mind the identified common framework of development/global education highlighted earlier on and the discernible shift from Development Education (DevEd) to Global Education (GlobEd). How did some informants see this common framework and the identified paradigm shift?

"The Global Village is in Our Front Yard Right Now": Perspectives on Some Educational Commonalities

Globalization, as discussed earlier, played a significant part in our substantive area as seen in the persistent local-global nexus. This factor is also evident in the perspectives of some of the key informants. This nexus also underscores the linkage phenomenon discussed earlier.

This global perspective - "the globalization of local problems and the localization of global issues," as averred by one informant - is also highlighted by the following insight; a point highlighted earlier on under the birth of this concept:

XM.: I guess, the initiative for the Cross Cultural Learner Centre came from Don Simpson ... His interest, at the time, was in making cross-culturalism a significant part of Canadian life; which he didn't see as something which was there. Eh. and. developing people's interest; not just ... in a particular aspect of ... life in another country, or the characteristics of another country but looking at in a more *holistic* way ... (Emphasis added)

Yes. the initial documented vision of seeing the whole. or global. picture in development issues gave birth to that linkage phenomenon which inheres in the cross-cultural learner centre concept and which, not surprisingly. was pursued within the initial framework of Development Education.

It is noteworthy that before the "defenestration ... of the development education program" as one informant intimated. Development Education framed the activities of the evolving concept. For example. one informant provided the following insight:

XI.: ... So ... you know. the Centre [London. Ontario] was fairly well-respected and had quite a good profile in the community because of *development education* where we were very active ... (Emphases added)

This initial fact is. again. seen in the birds-of-a-feather relationship between the fledgling Centre and Crossroads International:

XA.: ... the purpose of Crossroads ... Our role is to go out ... In other words. our way of attacking development issues is to provide people with an overseas experience which. we hope. will make them movers and shakers in things that we don't * in the future. So. that. Crossroads has always been interested in *development education*. (Emphases added)

That the global perspective and the inherent Development Education paradigm initially provided the framework for the evolving individualized. learner-centred. concept is clearly evident in the insights of some informants. For example. one informant observed that:

XK.: ... It was the Learner Centre's [London] capacity to see a social need locally because of its ability in the past. before 1979. to define problems *globally*. And. I know. that is almost a truism these days! (Emphasis added)

and. again. from another informant perspective:

XI.: ... it's always been a sense, with the learner centre approach, that what was crucial was tying the international issues to domestic Centre issues. That, from day one at the Centre, has been one of the intentions and one of the strategies: okay.

The discussion of the central local-global nexus concept in the learner centre movement which was initially seen in the Development Education (DevEd) paradigm and, later, in the Global Education (GlobEd) paradigm, again, confirms the centrality of the linkage phenomenon. That this phenomenon is significant is also seen in the almost unanimous views expressed by my informants and seen through the perspectives offered by the following representative samples:

XD.: ... So, the remarkable thing about the learner centres is they are able to make the *links* between these issues - global issues ... and what happens to the ordinary Canadian. Why do we have such a large debt in Canada? Why are our social programs being eroded? ... These sorts of questions. So they're able to make the links between the global and the local and, I think, that's one of the unique contributions of that, that community which the large overseas-oriented NGOs don't do very much of. (Emphasis added)

And, the following excerpt provides a fitting summary of this linkage phenomenon:

XL.: ... The global village is in our front yard right now; it's no longer across the sea ...

But, this local-global nexus has other facets; for example, on the local front the linkage phenomenon takes other context-bound forms, as seen in the following comment on awareness-raising:

XB2.: We try to raise the awareness of participants to racism from the institutional perspective. We, then, endeavour to *link* this to other societal-isms like ageing, etc. (Emphasis added)

Views on the educational framework of DevEd also highlight the shift from an acknowledged restrictive DevEd to a relative all-encompassing GlobEd: although, as discussed earlier, implicit in DevEd is a *global*, or holistic, perspective. But, as documented, the shift is real and some key informants confirm this fact. But, first, how do some of the informants see Global Education?

A comprehensive, illuminating definition of Global Education is provided by the umbrella

organization - the Global Education Centres of Ontario (GECO) (see Chapter I). In addition to this, some informants' insights shed more light on this aspect. For example, one informant observed that: "basically ... what we have come to see as Global Education, we talk about a vision which implies working for issues such as justice, equality, interdependence ..."

The prominence given to global education is also seen in the central role of the provincial coordinating body - the Ontario Council for International Cooperation (OCIC) - as evidenced in the following view:

XD.: ... The OCIC has been the broad council to look out, broadly, for the interests of ... any agency that is either doing *global educational* issues in Ontario, or doing overseas development work. (Emphases added)

An explicit term in the lexicon of the GlobEd camp is "equity" and, as stressed earlier, this concept was also implicit in the activities of DevEd practitioners in the learner centre movement:

XK.: ... I feel *equity* is central to a lot of the ... social and political change movements now. And what I identify when I hear it is something very much like places like the Learner Centre [London] at the time and, maybe, they did not use those terms, at least, as early as the early '80s; maybe before. And it's, sort of, like seeing the same thing come around ... We were quite right at home because the idea of equity is, in current terms, everything starts from where the person is. ... But, if you don't start from where they are you are going to be structurally unfair, biased and wrong in your dealings with somebody else. ... Well, I think, that is a learner centre/cross-cultural idea! (Emphasis added)

It is interesting to note that one of the learner centres studied manifests this global education perspective in its name: "Counterpoint: A Resource Centre for *Global* Analysis" (emphasis added). It is also noteworthy that not unlike the central learner-centred approach in the genesis of this phenomenon, the global education paradigm also prevailed in the formal education system:

XL.: ... I mean, we have students coming in here ... or the teachers are sending them here; in the schools they have, now, seen *global education* as a necessary component of learning and they are putting global education as part of the curriculum. ... (Emphases added)

But, as shown earlier, there was a "distinct shift" from the earlier forming Development

Education (DevEd) paradigm to the apparently more "holistic" Global Education (GlobEd) paradigm.

Why this "paradigm shift"?

The insights of some key informants illuminate, and thereby explain, this distinct, but sometimes tentative, shift. For example, the following exchange highlights this perceptible shift: a shift which amplifies the inherent flexibility of the learner centre concept:

S.: ... Why do you call it "Global Education" now?

XJ.: Eh, as opposed to "Development Education"? I suppose it is because development education has all those overtones - of colonialism, and paternalism, you know. Countries of the developing world striving to be where we are: you know. ... Global Education, you know, doesn't have that.

S.: "Global" in what sense?

XJ.: "Global" in that: I mean, I guess, "global" is overall ...

And, also:

XL.: ... I think, there is a distinct shift. When we, and I remember when I first came to this Centre and I worked Development Education, funded through CIDA ... they did not recognize some of the issues, and racism is one of them. Eh, when you are talking about development education sometimes ... that is limited to concerns and issues that are coming out of developing countries.

S.: North-South type thing.

XL.: That's right! And, there are some issues, where you want a truly global in your perspective, you've got to allow influences outside of just development to play part of your program. And, you know, you can't talk about development without talking racism. You know, it's a fact: it's there; we've got to be informed; we've got to try and eradicate racism if, in fact, development is going to occur in a proper way; I guess. ... There are issues which impede development and racism is one of those. So, it used to be when we were doing anything on racism we had to take it out of the development education focus and put it in another educational stream where, now, with this movement towards global education it allows more discussion in more concrete ways and, it brings both all those equity issues and ... development issues together and allows for dialogue on a broader range.

S.: So, global education is more inclusive.

XL.: Yes, yes.

S.: And, development education wasn't.

XL.: Well, I know, it was causing a problem for us. And, I don't know if it was because of CIDA's ... definition of development. We, certainly, had a different idea of development education and ... so, it's been only in the last two to three years that there's been discussion that has allowed the expansion of the educational services into the anti-racism, multicultural aspects. ... I think, global allows us to integrate. ...

The emerging picture, then, is one of a conscious move to accommodate a more holistic perspective without losing the learner-centred aspect of their operation. How profound was this paradigm shift? The following insight sums up a widely held view on this issue:

XE.: ... Of course, there are competing concepts ... But, the usage of the term "Global Education", as opposed to "Development Education", seems to reflect not just administrative, semantic, cosmetic shift; it is also in terms of these centres evolving from just being resources where people just come and find newspapers, or newspapers about, from other parts of the world but it is showing, it is that, sort of, like showing the issues around justice which the kind of solidarity work that you, the kind of work that you do; for example, around Mexico, or Kenya, or whichever country, like East Timor, has to, sort of, has the flip side, local aspect. What happens in the world affects what happens here, and vice versa, so that they're that interdependent; of having an integrated world perspective on issues ...

But, the emerging picture is not one of unanimity thus the use of the word "tentative" earlier on. The following excerpt sheds light on that minority view:

XD.: ... the learner centres are more concerned about analyzing the prevailing economic and political ... frameworks persistent, that prevents [*sic*] us from attaining global justice and sustainable development and tend to focus on issues ... that affect both North and South like trading agreements, and racism, the I.M.F. [International Monetary Fund], structural adjustment, and all those sorts of things. So, there's always been this tension between the two communities within the OCIC [Ontario Council for International Cooperation]; that's partly why the learner centres have formed their own organization within the OCIC network. ...

In sum, despite the "distinct shift" from Development Education to Global Education, it is clear that these common educational paradigms helped forge a common framework for the growth, communization, and eventual spread, of the learner centre concept outside the confines of London, Ontario.

Interestingly, the growth and spread aspects of this learning concept showed some two opposite aspects which, undoubtedly, went a long way in sowing the seeds of the novel learning experiment further.

On Fusionary and Fissionary Tendencies: Some Insightful Perspectives

The investigation of the growth, and spread, aspects of this cross-cultural learner-centred phenomenon identified two paradoxical tendencies - *fusionary* and *fissionary*. Interestingly, these two tendencies appear to be circumstantial.

Both the documentary and informant sources illuminated the circumstances surrounding the birth and, later, fusion of the community-outreach-arm role of the London Association for International Development (LAID). It became apparent that in educational undertakings, like the cross-cultural learner-centred concept under investigation, prevailing circumstances compel the fusion of forces to maximize efforts. At other times circumstances, again, determine inevitable fissionary, or dispersal, tendencies.

Concerning the delineated *fusionary tendency* in the growth and spread of the cross-cultural learner centre concept, some insights provided by key informants, corroborate this factor. For example, the following perspective on the birth of the learner centres brings out this tendency:

XC.: ... "Counterpoint" [a learner centre] is fairly new in the picture of the learner centre. We opened, officially, as a learner centre in 1993. ... but the project particularly * started, I think, at the end of 1991. *And, we actually came about, originally, at the prompting of CIDA to save another library: a learner centre that would be, basically, a library to start off. And, it was, sort of, seen by groups in Toronto as a chance to amalgamate some of the better resource, some of the alternative resource centres around the city that were all having their own financial problems too. ...*

S.: So ... "Counterpoint" grouped a whole lot of, eh, yeah.

XC.: It grouped three organizations.

S.: Three?

XC.: Yeah. One, the Latin American Working Group [LAWG], their library; the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa [TCLSA] and their library; and DEC's [Development Education Centre] library. (Emphases added)

It is noteworthy that this factor also sheds more light on the persistent paradoxical role of funding identified earlier. This pervasive, and patently debilitating, dilemma thus compelled this fusion of like-minded organizations in order to ensure their survival.

Initially, I set out to examine the fissionary tendency factor, of the concept investigated, after being guided there by the identified (see Hamilton, 1989) "parenting role" played by the London Centre. The following reiterated significant identification by Hamilton (p. 14), in his seminal historical overview of the Centre, highlights this tendency:

1986 - The Multicultural Youth Association [London, Ontario] was set up by Mike O'Malley to assist the CCLC [Cross Cultural Learner Centre, London] in developing programs for a specific constituency. *As has been the case with a number of similar projects, the MYA was spun off from Centre sponsorship* and continued to offer its services as an autonomous, self-supporting agency. (Emphases added)

It is interesting to note that this identified fissionary tendency was corroborated by some "precise" informant insights. For example, one informant provided this opinion:

XX.: ... But, I think, it is important that the Centre always, I think, it was genuine in its notion that empowerment meant taking responsibility for your own awareness and growth and so that leaving your own house and setting up your own. And, certainly, history would demonstrate that because those groups all did function; and they're still functioning; they're still struggling, in some cases, as are all non-profit groups but, they're there and alive and well and providing full programs.

The following excerpts, from other informants, undoubtedly reinforce this emerging aspect:

XM2: ... one of the very important things was that when a party was ready to move on to become its own agency, or association, it was always the Centre, like, preferred it.

.....

XM1: ... So, that was, eh; and as [XM2] said, there were other, sort of, spin-offs in the sense that ... it gave, the, the Learner Centre [London] gave a haven to many

people who had bright ideas to develop things but, then, outgrew the Learner Centre and got a life of their own.

It is, again, noteworthy that this fissionary tendency in the growth, and spread, of the learner centre concept provides additional evidence of the *seeds metaphor* identified earlier.

In sum, the cross-cultural learner centre concept manifested its growth, and spread, through the two paradoxical and circumstantial fusionary and fissionary tendencies. But, just as organizations grow, there are inevitable instances of intimations of mortality attributable to that pervasive reality of decline and demise. Our "phenomenal context" showed evidence of this reality.

Intimations of Mortality and the Phoenix Metaphor: Some Final Paradoxical Perspectives

Earlier on we saw the delineation of *intimations of dissonance* between the the nurturing University of Western Ontario and the fledgling Centre regarding the creeping communization of that centre, and other factors, which eventuated in the final severance and move into the community. There were also intimations of a different kind - of decline and possible *mortality* of the learner centre movement.

Both the documented vision and reality, and the evolving empirical reality, as seen through the perspectives of some key informants, painted a picture of constant apprehension within the movement attributable to the persistent funding crises. As intimated earlier, this dilemma led to the jettisoning of many a cash-strapped dream. How did some informants see that inevitable decline after the spread from the cradle of this concept - London, Ontario?

In addition to the shift in the political wind, from the conducive 1960s under ex-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau - "our own JFK", in the words of one informant - to the "leaner and meaner"

nineties under another Liberal government under Jean Chrétien.⁵⁶ there were other factors which led to the decline of the movement and the inevitable intimations of mortality.

The learner centre movement did triumph in its growth, spread and acceptance over the years. But, the other side of the growth coin showed a fundamental "weakness", as highlighted by the following informant perspective:

XK.: ... Its weakness, perhaps, is it takes too long: it's almost grassroots and I don't know how you get around that. There's that amount of weakness in the idea: ... a real logistical problem in the world we live in; in the western world. Maybe everywhere.

The "grassroots" aspect of this phenomenon brings to the fore another likely problem which could have contributed to the decline of this movement - *involvement fatigue*. In the following words of the above-quoted informant an attempt at explaining the problematic nature of the grassroots factor is provided:

XK.: ... It may be, simply, a consequence of grassroots work; or it may be a particular danger, or problem, for individuals associated with the learner-centred ideal and cross-culturalism ... But, I think, I now know, given the other experiences I've had in life since then, that the potential for *individual burnout and movement fatigue* is greater than I could expect from anything other than imminent and constantly-pressed trauma. In other words, it would look to an outsider that it wasn't a particularly traumatic movement to work in day-to-day because we weren't in development. We were in development education; social change, which, of course, all grassroots movements have - the *burnout component*. ... (Emphases added)

Does this echo the implications of the hats' metaphor identified by Hamilton (1989)?

As highlighted earlier, the learner-centred concept realized the importance of harnessing technology for the efficient delivery of this novel learning methodology. But, as discussed earlier,

⁵⁶ For another illuminating perspective on the paradoxical "policy turnabout" under the Jean Chrétien Liberal government see an article, by Marci MacDonald, in *Macleans* magazine (July, 1996; pp. 46-7.)

Another trenchant insight into the policy shift of the Chrétien government could be found in Barlow and Campbell's (1995) book - *Straight Through the Heart: How the Liberals Abandoned the Just Society* (cf. Axworthy & Trudeau, eds. *Towards a Just Society*, 1960 and Chrétien's *Straight from the Heart*, 1985)

this pioneering effort also fell victim to that debilitating funding dilemma. Again, one informant advanced the opinion that "none of the learner centres, for instance, adapted to the opportunities of technological advancement." Realistically, could these centres have "adapted to ... technological advancement" without the necessary financial wherewithal?

In spite of the evident turbulence in this setting another emerging picture is that it is not all that gloomy. In fact, there was the noticeable emergence of the final paradox - the *phoenix metaphor*. After the inevitable plaintive cries by one despondent informant she, paradoxically, captured this noticeable metaphor when she observed that: "So, funding is tight: it's crucial but we are gonna find a way and, I think that, when we do find a way it will benefit ..."

Surprisingly, this irrepressible mood was almost unanimous among the key informants I interviewed. The following insights, in echoing this pervasive mood, also buttress this aspect:

XE.: ... There are so many concerns that we have to look at and, for me, I'm seeing that this coming period, the next ten to fifteen years, we'll have to contend with the fact that there will be little, or no, funding for the kind of organization that we work for. It gives us a tremendous opportunity to retool; and one of the ways of doing that is, actually, if you are really involved in solidarity and you could really believe in global education we have to educate ourselves, vindicated by the experiences ...

And, also:

XL.: Yeah; and, I mean, we are, what we are doing right now is trying to, we are looking at different partnerships; partnering with some of the international organizations to broker their global ... education to the community on their behalf, or in partnership with them. ... *where there is a will there is a way*; and, I think, if everybody feels very strongly that the work we do is valuable and essential to the country, to the communities and to the province and, so, we are not willing to give up and, I think, between us - the international and the local and the provincial - *we gonna find a way to survive*. (Emphases added)

CONCLUSION

In sum, growth was both internal and external. The latter was the spread phase of the

movement. Internal growth was evident in the eventual focus diversification of the first centre: the symbolism of "place"; the contentious communization and the final break from the University of Western Ontario. The spread phase highlighted the inherent uniqueness, relevance and flexibility of the concept investigated. This phase - external - was aided, to a significant extent, by the cross-Canada Mobile Resource Centre tour of 1971-72. Genuine, but ephemeral, attempts were made to network. Also, since the Development Education concept apparently became problematic a "distinct shift" occurred toward the more acceptable Global Education.

Growth and spread also manifested itself in the decline of this cross-cultural learner centre movement. This was attributable to a number of factors like the shift in political winds, from the more conducive sixties to the decidedly "leaner and meaner" nineties, which eventuated in the debilitating funding cuts in 1995. In addition to the funding cuts and the obvious inability of the centres to diversify their funding sources, to ensure reliable sustenance, the failure of the learner centres to continue with the technological trail they blazed, in the earlier days, also contributed to their decline. Also, there was an unmistakable involvement or "movement fatigue" and that inevitable "burnout component" associated with the movement. But, amid the intimations of mortality there appears that metaphorical phoenix because, in the words of one informant, "the people doing this work ... obviously very committed: all of them are looking for ways to keep it going. ... It's gonna hurt ... People aren't gonna go away and stop caring about those issues." History will be the best judge of this undying enthusiasm.

What, finally, is the emergent overall picture, or findings, from this qualitative journey as seen from the adult education perspective?

FINDINGS: A WRAP-UP OF EMERGENT THEMES

It has been a long qualitative journey, from the chosen adult education perspective, encompassing a unique learner-centred "learning paradigm" of the cross-cultural kind. This journey took in the various concepts converging on this area. It was a journey which started with the principal question: "How did this cross-cultural learner centre concept *evolve* and what *sustained* this phenomenon?" There were other supplementary questions, or sub-problems, *grounded* in the limited literature on this learning concept. The journey highlighted the mission of the cross-cultural learner centre concept which, not surprisingly, echoed the widely held given that "Diversity need not divide." It is an accepted fact that there is a local, and universal, linguistic and cultural pluralism characterized by disunity and disharmony; a dilemma largely attributable to ignorance. This is the emerged Babel phenomenon. The concept studied endeavoured to go beyond the much-maligned celebratory, potluck-dinner-and-dances type of appreciating and accommodating cultural pluralism. The practitioners in this area endeavoured, through the individualized, learner-centred, concept to build bridges of socio-cultural awareness, understanding, tolerance and unwavering accommodating of others. In this regard, the influential frameworks of Development Education, and later Global Education, were called into play to demonstrate that inevitable interconnectedness between the local and the global. It is this pervasive local-global nexus I have named the *linkage phenomenon*.

This study also highlighted the importance of context in our qualitative/naturalistic study. Thus, we saw the centrality of the *locus* and *temporal contexts* and how these impacted on our substantive area. The concept evolved in the 1960s, a period of paradoxes - of "fists and flowers" and individualism. In the words of the acknowledged troubadour of the decade - Bob Dylan - " ... the times they are a-changin'."

The change factor also highlighted the truth about *sojourners*; the fact that cultural change

could be *bi-directional*, and how this factor influenced the commitment of the, mostly, volunteers who helped realize the dream of the "fathers" of this innovative learner-centred concept. The triple *convergence of concepts, locus* and the *temporal* in this substantive area underscored the importance of these personalities in the birth and growth of this concept. Out of this convergence factor emerged what I have named the *Principle of Conceptual Convergence*.

The importance of the trail-blazing Centre at London, Ontario, and the sustaining, and stabilizing, roles of some institutions and agencies like the University of Western Ontario (London), C.U.S.O., and C.I.D.A., to name a few, was also revealed during our metaphorical journey. The "parenting role" of the pioneer Centre and the eventual spread of the concept, through its influential cross-Canada Mobile Unit tour and subsequent workshops, was also revealed.

Our relative new substantive area suffered from a discernible dearth of established, evolved, theories to help explain the concept. Fortunately, there are still some living participants, with distinct perspectives, thus my investigation was necessarily of the qualitative, or naturalistic, kind. This was my methodological compass and this journey was undertaken without preconceived assumptions (i.e. hypotheses). In line with the chosen methodological paradigm, I chose the *grounded theory* approach and the emerged explanations were derived inductively through content analysis.

As indicated, the "map" for the journey in our delineated area was a qualitative/naturalistic one which, in the words of one authority - Tesch - is "numberless research." Here, the experiences and perceptions, or the "significant realities" reflecting the "emic perceptions" of my key informants, in addition to documented visions and reality, played a major guiding role. It is, necessarily, a complex world since there were a number of distinct conceptual influences converging on our phenomenon. This complexity dictated my choice of sampling strategy. My choice was the non-

probability type: that is, *purposive* or *judgmental sampling*, where my prior knowledge of the substantive area played a determining role.

As indicated earlier, my *instrumentation*; that is, data-collecting strategy, was characteristically dual. I relied on available documentary sources and the "informed perspectives" of my key informants. In the latter field I relied on the "intensive interviewing", open-ended, and inherently flexible, interviewing technique to gather part of my data. The *grounded questions* approach, as indicated earlier, was used to derive an interview guide for my field work during which I duly tape-recorded my interviews and took the requisite field notes.

Although I guaranteed the usual anonymity of sources I used the *selective anonymity* process I devised to identify some acknowledged key personalities in the birth and growth of the learning concept studied. This, I believe, enhances the historical aspect of this study.

Since the concept of "emerging themes" (Tesch) and context are paramount in qualitative research, I used the device of *embedded categories/themes*, aided by the adaptation of the KWIC (Keyword-In-Context) strategy and the help of the search function of a word processor - WordPerfect 5.1 - to help in the content analysis process.

A corollary of the "emergent" aspect of qualitative inquiry determined my use of the trail-blazing grounded theory, or discovery, approach. The avenues utilized were the familiar *constant comparison*, *theoretical/thematic sampling* and *illuminating descriptions*. Since the illuminating, and corroborating, informant perspectives used were not *always* descriptive I chose to name my style *profound insights*. While using the above-mentioned grounded theory avenues I discovered a procedural gap prior to theoretical sampling. I, therefore, chose the appropriate description - *thematic sampling* - to help close this discernible gap in the theory-generating process.

The reporting style chosen was of the *bifurcated* and, sometimes, *iterative* nature to faithfully

reflect the documented vision and reality and the "emic" reality afforded us by my key informants: the latter sometimes confirmed (cf. triangulation) documented information or, at times, illuminated new facets of the concept studied. This *triangulating* style went a long way in validating, and ensuring trustworthiness, the documentary data collected and analyzed.

The emergent picture, after the end of our metaphorical journey, showed some distinct findings. Findings which showed *how* the concept evolved on the campus of the University of Western Ontario; its sustained growth and gradual communization. A factor, among other things, which elicited expressions of concern from the University. This, inevitably, led to the amicable severing of links between the first centre and the University. This phase, the campus location and the move into the community, showed the *internal* growth of this learner-centred concept. An initial growth which was also sustained by agencies like C.U.S.O., C.I.D.A., Crossroads International and, generally, a varied source of funding.

Also highlighted was the deliberate foci of *learner-centredness* and *cross-culturalism*. The inherent flexibility of this inspired *Personalized System of Learning (PSL)*, probably influenced by Keller's (1968) Personalized System of Instruction (PSI) practised in the formal educational setting, was also identified. This deliberate move from the more "traditional lecture method" at the national orientations, the genesis of the learning concept studied, was to satisfy the expressed needs of the learners. The emergent picture also afforded us the opportunity to see a much-needed diversification from the initial West Africa-specific focus.

To satisfy the learner-centred thrust of this novel learning paradigm pertinent multi-media resources were accumulated and for individualized access - both physical and content - a computer-assisted retrieval system was devised. It was, as aptly described in the literature, a veritable "learning cafeteria" which afforded learners an individualized opportunity to be self-directed in the learning

process.

There were, inevitably, *intimations of dissonance and mortality*. On the former, the gradual *communization* of the pioneer Centre, coupled with the principally "Third World" (and not truly international) perspective and the use of University funds for community work, generated an expressed dissonance from the sustaining, and stabilizing, University of Western Ontario. As highlighted, this eventuated in the severance of relations and the full communization of the concept. Luckily, this inevitable phase was aided by the prior preparedness of the local community through the agency of an affiliated "community outreach arm" of the Centre - L.A.I.D.

Despite the persistent funding dilemma, and the inhibiting factor of the politics of funding, this concept grew both locally and, also, beyond the borders of London. These were the *internal* and *external* growth phases. Growth was, unfortunately, stunted attributable to that persistent cash crunch, which led to jettisoned dreams and, probably, that *pioneering fact of life* of being far ahead of one's time.

The inherent flexibility, adaptability and relevance assured the spread of this concept to other parts of Canada and, briefly, to Barbados, the West Indies. This was facilitated, to a large extent, by the memorable Mobile Unit of 1971-72, which took selected "material resources" and "technical facilities" across the country. Subsequent founding of similar centres across Canada owed much to this requested "road show" - a *joint* project of the Office of International Education (U.W.O.), C.U.S.O. and C.I.D.A. Luckily, interested C.U.S.O. alumni and other volunteers, like the animateurs of the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, assured the success of this "mobile format". Subsequent workshops, mounted by the London centre, helped solidify the spread phase of this concept.

Another manifestation of the growth, and spread, phase of the concept studied were the two

distinct *fissionary* and *fusionary tendencies* largely determined by prevailing circumstances. The former was manifested in "spin-offs" from the learner centres.

Growth also highlighted the concerted efforts at *networking* within the movement and the reality of politics in, as indicated earlier, funding and within the community.

Also highlighted was the "distinct shift" from the generally acknowledged restrictive, and patronizing, Development Education concept to the more holistic Global Education. This was a patent "perspective transformation."

My journey also exposed some inherent weaknesses like the time-consuming, and "*involvement fatigue*" aspects of the substantive area. This weakness was also evidenced in the failure of the learner centres to reliably *diversify* their funding base and the debilitating consequences attributable to the governmental "policy turnabout" from the more conducive sixties to the "leaner and meaner" nineties. There were, thus, intimations of mortality but, as the final paradox shows, there was that unmistakable *phoenix factor* present in the plaintive cries after the devastating "abrupt" and total cut in funding by the Federal Government in 1995. The mood was, paradoxically, upbeat and the resolve unbowed with regard to the survival of this unique individualized learning experiment in a cross-cultural environment.

To echo Pradervand (1989), I have taken a preconception-free qualitative journey and I have endeavoured to faithfully interpret the multiple perspectives afforded - both documentary and informant. This interpretation highlighted the emerged findings which helped answer the initial guiding questions. The terrain traversed was, necessarily, circumscribed but some of the emergent explanations have relevance beyond that substantive area thus their applicability could be widened. Again, I have endeavoured to filter the perspectives through my personal biography thus there will, certainly, be other facets to be illuminated by other researchers. This study, therefore, yields some

distinct pointers to other researchers. This demonstrates the "fecundity" of our substantive area. We can, now, safely move to address these two emerged aspects - applicability, or implication, and the need for further research to help solidify the emerging explanations, or theories.

CHAPTER VII

DERIVED IMPLICATIONS, EMERGENT POINTERS AND LIMITATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The findings from this qualitative investigation could be applied in other areas. The interpretation, though, will be necessarily my analysis of the documented and informant data. Thus, there will be some gaps for subsequent researchers to investigate and, hopefully, illuminate to advance the evolution of substantive and formal theories which could help describe and explain this unique learning paradigm.

There is a discernible bifurcation in this phase of my thesis - the *derived*, or *emerged*, and *possible* implications. Some aspects of the utility of the discovered explanations readily emerge from the data - both documentary and field. This is what I refer to as the derived/emerged implications. The second part is the possible use of the findings in other areas.

The emergent and possible implications could be seen in both the methodology used and, inevitably, from the substantive area.

On Methodological Implications

For my imaginary journey from the Adult Education perspective, I used the qualitative inquiry methodology as my map (see Chapter I for rationale). Although qualitative, and naturalistic, inquiry is expected to be free of preconceived notions prior to a researcher embarking on his, or her,

investigation there is always the need to have an interview guide (see Appendix B) which is necessarily flexible to accommodate the emerging themes and, later, the emergent theory, or theories. In line with this requirement, and in view of the fact that my chosen area lacked in-depth literature and established guiding theories, I decided to use an approach I devised - the *Grounded Questions* strategy - by deriving my subsidiary questions from the relatively little available literature (see Chapter I). This *grounding* principle was borrowed from the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Thus, I "grounded" my initial guiding questions from the available literature.

I believe that this emergent strategy of **grounded questions** could be used by qualitative/naturalistic researchers in a relatively new, or evolving, "phenomenal context" (Wagner) which lacks in-depth literature and established theories to help illuminate a beginning researcher's way. By extension, one can ground one's initial "guiding lights", in the form of the interview guide, by conducting preliminary field work; for example, a pilot study and, thereafter, derive some guiding questions. Thus, this strategy could be of help in the two acknowledged data sources in qualitative inquiry - documentary and field. This evolving strategy, though, needs further testing.

Another methodological implication discovered is what I choose to call the *Principle of Conceptual Convergence*. How can we explore this principle in research inquiries? This was the question posed in the literature review section (i.e., Chapter II). As noted earlier, people come to evolving, or established, organizations with ideas and these are, undoubtedly, influential in such settings - like our substantive area. By extension, in other Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) where there is the presence of numerous volunteers and other workers, this identified principle could be used to study such organizations from that "Big Picture" perspective.

It is a certainty that the competing logico-deductive, and principally quantitative, paradigm often displays an inherent procedural rigidity because researchers start their inquiries with

preconceived "theoretical frameworks" based on received theory. The biasing effects of this inherent a priori procedure have been discussed in-depth in the relevant scholarly literature. On the other hand, the inherent preconception-free flexibility of the qualitative paradigm gives one that added advantage to see, as indicated, the *whole* picture. In reconstructing this reality, then, this convergence principle could help a researcher, free from the inhibitions of a rigid received theoretical framework, to explore the converged - conceptually - immensity of any phenomenon under investigation.

Like all new principles, though, this also needs further research to prove its general efficacy.

In my methodology section (Chapter III), I discussed the need to, at times, willingly suspend that anonymity requirement expected in research dealing with human subjects. I argued that since there is an obvious historical component in my research and, also, since it is an area which needs more investigation, I strongly believed that I had to, at least, name some of the acknowledged key personalities who significantly contributed to the birth and growth of the cross-cultural learner concept. This identifying strategy I chose to call *selective anonymity*. This strategy, I believe, could be judiciously used by subsequent researchers in an historical, or quasi-historical, inquiry. Sometimes, there is the pressing need to willingly suspend that restrictive anonymity requirement. This novel notion, though, needs further testing.

Although Glaser and Strauss' discovery (1967) of the grounded theory process has been widely used, to varying degrees of success in various fields I, nonetheless, found the established theory emergence process problematic. Problematic in the sense that there seems to be a discernible leap in logic - a *procedural gap*, to be precise - between the emergent categories, or themes, and the important step of *theoretical sampling*. As highlighted in my methodology section (Chapter III), I strongly believe that there is this identified procedural gap in the theory-discovery process in that

after delineating the preliminary prominent categories, or themes, one, then, logically pursues these *themes* which, eventually, form the nucleus of an *evolving*, or emerging, theory. This gap-closing process I decided to call *thematic sampling*. In fact, it is at the end of this middle stage that Glaser and Strauss' theoretical sampling strategy takes over when a distinct, or promising, theory is seen emerging. In a diagrammatical form, as indicated earlier, the theory-discovery, or emergent, process should, therefore, be:

CATEGORIES/THEMES - THEMATIC SAMPLING - THEORETICAL SAMPLING - THEORY

I believe that future researchers will corroborate this process while using the grounded theory approach.

Interpreting data, through content analysis, is often a time-consuming undertaking in qualitative research. (e.g., see Miles' [1990] views on qualitative data as "attractive nuisance"). Since, as the adage goes, necessity is the mother of invention, I decided to use my initial training in librarianship to devise a process - the *embedded categories/themes* strategy (see Appendix D) - to help analyze my qualitative data. As described in the methodology section, I was influenced by the flexibility of KWIC (Keyword-In-Context) index and the search function of most word processors. An added incentive for devising this analytical strategy is the importance of *context* in qualitative/naturalistic inquiry and the fact that this analytical strategy affords one that *contextual ambience*.

With the emerging sophistication of the search function of most word processors, I believe that other researchers could use this relatively simple, and inexpensive way - if one already has a word processing package - to conduct more complex compound searches for more than one category, or theme, at a time. Incidentally, the search and retrieval times of most word processors are being

improved all the time.

In sum, these are some of the emerged methodological implications of this investigation and there is the need for further use. in research. in order to solidify their usefulness.

The Educational Front: Some Implications and Pointers

The available literature - both documentary and field data - attest to the educational importance of the concept investigated as implicit in the individualized learning paradigm adopted. The literature also yields, at times, instances of how the participants in this substantive area viewed the possible implications of this *Personalized System of Learning (PSL)*. The expressed, or derived, implications cover the whole formal educational spectrum - elementary, secondary, tertiary and, also, non-formal. For example, from the available documentary sources the following reiterated view, from an undated memorandum from Simpson to the Centre staff titled: "Future Plans for the Centre" (p. 638), sums up this prevalent view: "It [concept] was developed out of our respect for individualized differences, but also because it is a *pedagogical tool* which can be used very successfully. Thus, we have an interest in *basic educational reform ...*" (emphases added).

The envisaged "educational reform" has many implications, as derived from some documented sources. For example, MacKenzie, North and Simpson (1972:794) believed that the evolving concept possessed "educational alternatives with particular emphasis on *curriculum* approaches to studies of world development and cross-cultural learning experiences" (emphasis added).

In addition to curriculum development, as the following insight clearly reiterates, "the Centre [London] has run workshops for numerous Boards of Education and groups of teachers, dealing with the learner-centred concept and cross-cultural communication" (North, MacKenzie, & Simpson,

1972:1024-5).

The documented *expressed* implications of the concept investigated (see immediately above) is also generally confirmed by the perspectives of some key informants. For example, the following brief excerpts sum up this pervasive perspective:

XM.: ... I think, it was as that happened that we got more and more into ... the third, sort of, phase of development which was educating, especially, kids from schools about the Third World. ...

and, again:

XL.: ... we have students coming in here ... or the teachers are sending them here. In the schools they have now seen global education as a necessary component of learning and they are putting global education as part of the curriculum. And, so, the Boards are really supportive of the resources at the Centre. ...

In addition, interest in the learner-centred approach to learning was shown by some tertiary institutions. For example, in a report, covering January 3rd to March 3rd, 1972, on one of the central committees of the London centre - the Native Resource Centre (N.R.C.) - it was revealed that: "Some members of the N.R.C. are involved to some degree with the O.I.S.E. [Ontario Institute for Studies in Education] Cross-Cultural Education programme at Ridgeway Public School. Support has been offered in the way of materials, human resources for the teachers in the project." (P. 529)

Nedigger and Sissons (1970:98) also shed more light on the educational implication of the concept investigated within tertiary education circles. They reported that: "The Business School [University of Western Ontario] has continued to employ Miss Heather Pooley to apply the concepts developed here to the case study approach and at least one of the courses offered in their program." By extension, this concept could be of use in tertiary educational institutions which use the highly individualized seminar methodology as the mode of teaching. Again, in the formal education system students undertaking "Individual Studies" could benefit from this individualized concept.

That the individualized, learner-centred, concept has relevance beyond the cross-cultural

learner centre circles is again borne out by a recent (1996) report⁵⁷ about the admirable qualities which won a Dr. Young, a History professor at the University of Winnipeg, a prestigious national award. The following excerpts illuminate the general applicability of the learner-centred concept:

I have yet to see a professor who demonstrates more respect for students' opinions and shows (such) an interest in them as *individuals* ... (p. 8) (Emphasis added)

The recipient, Dr. Young, sheds more light on the above observation by one of his undergraduate students:

You've got to work with *individuals* and you can't do that effectively with really large classes ... (p. 8) (Emphases added)

This last assertion, though, brings out one of the inherent drawbacks of this learner-centred concept. It is patently time-consuming but, nevertheless, its lasting relevance is still unassailable. An in-depth study would, I believe, confirm that its benefits far outweigh the costs - both temporal and financial - involved in using this learning concept.

As mentioned earlier, this personalized system of learning started in a non-formal education setting thus, as North indicated, it has "applications relevant to other learning settings" (An Individualized ... ; p. 18). It has been demonstrated that this "learning paradigm" (Keller, 1968) could be used in, for example, training individuals in a less formal educational setting.

Unfortunately, my study did not delve much into the impact of this learning concept on formal education. I hope other researchers will investigate, and help illuminate, this aspect.

The library is often seen as an adjunct of the education system; thus, one sees implications of this learner-centred (read: "user-centred" in library and information science circles) concept in the library field. As the previous emergent themes (Chapters IV and VI) showed, the library plays a

⁵⁷ "Old Fashioned Teacher Wins Professor of the Year Award." (See bibliography section for full entry)

central role in the learner-centred concept. This central importance of individualized retrieval of information, from the multi-media resources, is generally acknowledged by the two data sources - documentary and informant. Since the professed aim of libraries is user-centredness (or, "user friendliness") this individualized learning concept is not far removed from this generally accepted view. The following observation (Gonnason & Storey, 1971:180) lends credence to the utility of this concept in the library and information science fields:

We cannot help but feel that something like CUSO's Learning Centre [London, Ontario] will fulfill the library's role in the future or conversely, that libraries in the near future will move towards the concepts behind the Learning Centre.

The learner centres operated within the framework of Development/Global Education thus the relatively inexpensive way, vis-à-vis the established public library systems, of setting up and organizing these libraries could be "exported" to, for example, developing countries. This view underscores Pradervand's (1989) contention that external aid could be in the form of financial or pedagogical. That is; since the library is usually seen as an "adjunct" of the educational system its function is, therefore, more pedagogical thus a certain percentage of foreign aid could be allocated to the adaptation of this type of library in other less fortunate parts of the world. Could this be the evolution of *Development and Global Librarianship*?

"Diversity Need Not Divide": Some Community Implications

That diversity, or socio-cultural pluralism, is a given influenced the deliberate drive by the learner centres, through an individualized learning paradigm, to help build lasting bridges of awareness, understanding and uninhibited accommodation in that inevitable "intercultural encounter" in a pluralistic world. As demonstrated, the practitioners deeply felt that "Diversity Need not

Divide." In an age where there is the need for "multiple literacies"⁵⁸ there is, therefore, a pressing need to adapt in order to function adequately. Functional literacy calls for a "Level of literacy necessary for the pupil [learner] to function normally and effectively in society" (Page, G. Terry & Thomas, J. B. *International Dictionary of Education*, 1977). In line with the prevailing multiplicity of literacies, Fantini (1991) called for "cultural literacy" (cf. Odenwald's, 1993, "multicultural competency"); thus, to function "normally and effectively" in a veritably pluralistic world, there is the need for the intentional promotion of a new kind of literacy - what I may term *functional cultural literacy*.

It is also interesting to note that the gradual communization of the pioneer London Centre triggered the dissonance, and eventual separation, between the Centre and the University of Western Ontario - the cradle of the concept investigated. The available literature attests to the acknowledgment of the implications of this learning concept within the community at large (see Amoroso, 1973; Radcliffe & Radcliffe, 1974; Owen, 1981).

The emergent themes amply highlighted the expressed need to go beyond the mere *celebration* of cultural diversity and foster long-lasting change in people through the acquisition of knowledge and skills; that is, learning. For example, within Canada the learner centres attempted to move people away from that, apparently, static and divisive *heritage fixation* to a more understanding and appreciative stance. By extension, this concept could be effectively used in any

⁵⁸ Plowman (1986:xxv), for example, highlighted this phenomenon when he talked about "recent reflections" with regard to "traditional literacy" in that: "... Conventionally, the concept of literacy has been applied to one medium alone; the written/printed word. Today, there is a trend towards a *larger concept* of literacy which seems to link up with traditional concepts beyond the narrow confines of conventional literacy. *Traditional literacy* in the form of the ability to read spatial forms, to interpret features of the natural and social environment, is now *complemented* by the expressed need for new, modern forms of literacy; visual and audio-visual literacy, computer literacy, or overall media literacy ..." (Emphases added)

culturally diverse area to help avert such tragic situations like the dilemma in former Yugoslavia when Bosnian muslims were conveniently ethnicized and ruthlessly "cleansed". Again, we have seen numerous tragic consequences of, for example, inter-tribal and inter-faith misunderstanding and mistrust all over the world.

Almgren (1992), writing in the *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, averred that the *sociology of community* has been a dominant source of sociological inquiry since the earliest days of this discipline. He further stated that: "Each of the three most influential nineteenth century sociologists (Marx, Durkheim, and Weber) regarded the social transformation of community in its various forms as a fundamental problem of sociology and sociological theory." Could some researchers from this field, and allied disciplines, add to the evolving theory of the concept investigated by researching and, thereby, illuminating this decidedly "community education" learning concept since the learner centres actively promoted desirable social transformation?

Although this investigation focussed on the evolution of this learning concept it was not a comparative, or evaluative, study per se. It clearly emerged that there were commonalities in this substantive area but the general we-do-things-differently-here acknowledgment highlighted the striking differences within the learner centre movement. This was an affirmation of that flexibility and uniqueness which inhere in this concept. But, as highlighted, this study was undertaken to investigate the *birth* and *growth* aspects of this concept and, especially, the inherent flexible and unique factors; factors which aided its adoption and adaptation. Again, since I pledged in my entry letter (see Appendix A) that this study will not be evaluative I adhered to the letter and spirit of that undertaking. A corollary of evaluation is the comparing and contrasting of, for example, organizations. But, comparisons sometimes tend to have an evaluative element, a fact which could have derailed my investigation. In light of this, other researchers could undertake truly evaluative.

and/or comparative, studies of this concept at the *appropriate* time; ideally, this should be *after* the post-budget cut dust has settled.

A corollary of the above admitted gaps is the need to conduct a critical analysis of this concept to help determine its *general* socio-cultural relevance.

External Assistance: Some Emergent Implications

The *linkage phenomenon* underscores the Development/Global Education framework of the learner centre concept and external, or foreign, aid is one visible and, sometimes, contentious aspect of this area. This form of assistance almost always engenders intercultural encounters thus the need to forestall any unwitting faux pas, during this inevitable encounter, through appropriate cross-cultural training. The following imaginary conversation⁵⁹ illuminates the need for appropriate cross-cultural training for, for example, change agents before they leave to work in other cultures:

Ms. X: By the way, I understand you've landed another contract in another Third World (said derisively) country. What are you up to this time, Tom?

Tom: Oh, that contract! Well, I'm leaving next week for [country X] on the west coast of Africa to evaluate an ABE (Adult Basic Education) project on behalf of C.I.D.A. I'll be away for three weeks. Thank God I'm leaving this lingering, indecisive cold weather!

Ms. X: Just a matter of curiosity. How did you land this contract? It sure sounds like it's going to be fun.

Tom: Well, the usual referral. I undertook a similar project in Ecuador for I.D.R.C. and, I believe, they advised C.I.D.A. to contact me. They've done the "legwork" already so that, surely, makes my work easier. Luckily, it's an anglophone country so I don't have to grow grey hair over the usual linguistic block. I plan using my Ecuador experience, though, in this new setting.

Ms. X: But, Tom, Ecuador is different?

⁵⁹ This is taken from my M.Ed. Integrative Paper titled: **Change and Flux: the Role of Adult Education in a Rapidly Changing World: An Integrative Perspective**, 1992; pp. 53-4.

Tom: I see your point. No reason to get unduly concerned because they're all the same, you know.

Tom, a consultant, is undoubtedly well-meaning and, probably, possesses the requisite credentials as a Subject Matter Expert (SME), for the evaluation at hand, but, frankly, is he well-prepared for the comprehensive role he is being paid to play? Being competent in a specific language does not, automatically, mean facility in that specific culture. It is, also, a fact that spectacular advances in technology has brought the world closer together but, in spite of that near-realization of McLuhan's ideal "global village", there are still distinct, and unique, socio-cultural differences which *will* remain different. A standardized global culture is only a figment (or pigment?) of the imagination. In reiteration, a truly *functional cultural literacy* is a sine qua non in this pluralistic world.

It is the fostering of that much-needed lasting cultural awareness, and genuine understanding, the cross-cultural learner centre concept seeks. The utility of this individualized learning concept, in this regard, is unassailable. Luckily, this "culture concept" in development is now an accepted fact but it is its implementation which should be concerted, and sustained, through deliberate acts like learning.

Other Pointers and Limitations

Some areas which need further research have been identified above but there are other areas which need more illuminating insights to help in the evolution of a theory, or theories, to aid the understanding of this relatively new cross-cultural learner-centred concept.

For example, the genesis of the concept investigated was the orientations in London, Ontario, for C.U.S.O. and other volunteers going to Africa. Unfortunately, I did not talk to any of the participants, apart from documented reactions, on how they saw these orientations. An in-depth

study is thus required to find out how the participants saw the-then novel learning concept and, with the aid of hindsight, how they see its impact now.

The undeniably significant role of the University of Western Ontario in the birth and growth of this concept, and the relationship between the first centre and the University, was not treated in-depth. The impact of the Centre on the campus and the eventual separation from the University need more study.

Focussed committees played a crucial role in the evolution of this concept thus it would be illuminating to study their roles and how they evolved with the concept. Was the focussed committee system adopted by the other learner centres? Also, what became of the "international dimension" - the Barbados experiment?

A corollary of the focussed committees factor is the often tentative management styles which characterized the evolution of these centres. Is this unique or generalizable to other NGOs? Again, are the problems faced by these centres unique or common to other NGOs which rely, to a considerable extent, on government funding? How did some learner centres survive the drastic budget cut of 1995?

As discussed earlier, the libraries of these centres occupied a decidedly central position in the individualized learning concept thus more studies are needed on how they *adopted* and *adapted* prevailing library practices. Could such adaptations help in established library and other learning situations?

Technology played a key role in the individualized information retrieval system designed for the multi-media libraries, or resource centres, of the learner centres but, as Sloan (1995:17) observed: "The problem with revolutions, unfortunately, is that they tend to make more sense to historians armed with hindsight than to those who experience them." Nevertheless, the pioneer learner centre

blazed a generally acknowledged trail in the use of available computer technology in the "learning domain" (Thomas, 1991). Why did companies like Bell Canada and Polycom Systems Ltd. show such an interest in this technological adaptation?

It is interesting to note that Tough, in a contributing entry on the future of "Adult Education" in the *Encyclopedia of the Future* (1996), had this to say about "educational technologies":

... In addition, artificial intelligence may enable computers to function as sophisticated mentors to the *learner*, making the instruction much more *individualized*. (Emphases added)

Is this a "back to the future" scenario since the London centre in used this "future" technique?

Mention of Thomas' (1991) domain theory brings to mind his confirmation of the centrality of the learner; that is, learner-centredness, in his "Learning Map." He rightly concluded that the primary role in the "learning domain" is that of the learner but although he uses the "template" metaphor to describe his map this usage, unfortunately, conjures an image of a rigid, and constraining, plastic thus I would prefer the maintenance of that inherent flexible "framework" of the learner centre concept.

A corollary of the above domain theory is the emerged imperative that, within that encompassing "social domain" of learning, and its subsections of "learning" and "educational" domains (Thomas), the government has a key role to play in sponsoring this cross-cultural transaction. As Styler (1984:79) rightly observed: "... the dominant force in adult education today is the state." It is incontrovertible that for a desirable learning outcome there must be sustained help and an unwavering recognition, and acceptance, of learning programmes. As Styler (p. 19) rightly stated:

There is ... the fact that in our world when the *state* gives its support an activity is recognized as enjoying full social approval, *for the State is the instrument used by society to ensure desirable development and change*. (Emphases added)

It is, thus, unfortunate that in a country like Canada, a microcosm of our pluralistic world, with a national policy of multiculturalism, a mostly community-based learning experiment which endeavours to build those requisite lasting bridges of awareness, understanding and tolerance is being denied the financial means to ensure its survival. The importance of the cross-cultural learner centre concept in multicultural education is clearly evident and its importance in formal, non-formal, and informal educational circles has been proven. Is the Liberal-sponsored "revolution" really over?

In addition to some identified limitations of this qualitative study: for example, the impact of the personal "biographical baggage" element in qualitative research; the lack of perspectives of, for example, some participants in the orientations; and the lack of a truly comparative, and critical, study there are other identifiable limitations which can also act as "pointers" to subsequent researchers.

How did the surviving acknowledged "founders" - Simpson and, to some extent, Forgie - see this cross-cultural learner-centred concept? On the former, attempts made to interview him or have him put his views on audiotape (and later mailed to me) proved unfruitful. On the latter, his (Forgie) contribution was adequately covered in the literature. Future researchers can endeavour to talk to him, though.

How did some users of the centres see their relevance? For example, users from "the other side"; that is, the formal education system and, also, ordinary users from the specific communities.

Since these centres received financial help, over the years, from various sources the views of some of these should be collected and analyzed.

A corollary of the limitation immediately above is the inability to acquire some of the evaluations into this phenomenon. As indicated earlier, copies of these evaluations could be in the archives of the various funding bodies like the provincial and federal governments; C.I.D.A. and

C.U.S.O. Although continued funding demonstrated the *relevance* and *acceptance* of this learning concept, a critical study of these evaluations should shed more light on its birth and growth. As discussed earlier, although there was a specific write-up of one such evaluations (see Christie, 1983) a critical analysis of the *primary* sources will be beneficial.

Development and Global Education: The Need for a Redefinition

The emergent picture from my investigation, with regard to the "distinct shift" from Development Education to Global Education, is that that discernible shift, as one informant put it, is not "cosmetic" and various informants' insights adduced reasons for this generally welcome shift.

In fact, although the much-maligned concept of Development Education *implicitly* recognized some of the expressed characteristics of Global Education; for example, its "holistic", or global stance, the equity, societal transformation, and ecological perspectives; to name a few, the obviously grating patronizing tone (re: the North-South development axis) has a lot to do with this accrued opprobrium.

In light of this welcome shift and, also, the emerged picture of the debilitating hats' metaphor, there is the need to effect a final fusion of these two similar fields. In these "lean and mean" days *turfism* (my term) is detrimental to these two cognate areas since they will have to fight for the same "scarce dollars." Thus, there is a crying need to merge these two identical educational perspectives into a new amalgam reflecting this shift - *Global and Development Education*.

Both the Development and Global Education concepts portray - implicitly and explicitly - the intentionality of facilitating learning to foster that "awareness" and "understanding" for effective cross-cultural relations. Again, that learning entails the awareness and understanding for that persistent *disparity factor* in global development and the compelling need to effect societal change.

or transformation, through action and advocacy, in a global/holistic context, to achieve that desirable equity outcome. Both paradigms - DevEd and GlobEd - also highlight sustainability in the ecological sphere and that inevitability of interdependence between nations. In the move for a new, perspectival, amalgam there is still the need to maintain the *development* aspect to, faithfully, reflect the identified *disparity factor* between nations without unduly sacrificing the holistic, global, aim of this emerging paradigm. The larger holistic picture, without the hitherto unwitting move to bifurcate along unequal developmental lines - developed/underdeveloped or developing; North-South axis; the haves and the have-nots - is the essence of this new move at "globalizing" this definition.

In view of the emerging similarity in perspectives the suggested amalgam should exhibit all the characteristics of these two paradigms and, thus, be defined as:

Global and Development Education is an ongoing and mutual learning process which seeks to facilitate an increased genuine awareness and understanding of the developmental disparity, and inevitable inter-dependence, between nations at whatever developmental level they are. In facilitating this desirable outcome, Global and Development Education seeks the equitable and holistic transformation of society by promoting solidarity through relevant, accessible, participatory, respectful and participant-centred flexible practices. In encouraging this desirable socio-economic, and political, change Global and Development Education also seeks to promote community-based ecological sustainability.

I hope that other researchers will add to this evolving definitional amalgam to help describe and explain this distinct shift.

CONCLUSION

The implications - emerged and possible - of my qualitative journey are methodological and substantive. The emerged *grounded questions* approach; the emerged *Principle of Conceptual Convergence* which affords researchers that holistic perspective; the need for *selective anonymity*:

thematic sampling - in the grounded theory approach; and the context-reflective *embedded categories/themes* strategy in the content analysis process, I believe, could be of service to other researchers.

Also, from the substantive area, the emerged *Personalized System of Learning (PSL)* (cf. Keller's Personalized System of Instruction [PSI]) could be an invaluable educational tool in various settings despite its acknowledged time-consuming and demanding delivery process. In our evolving "Global Village" there is the need for a sustained facilitating of the acquisition of the appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes; that is, learning, for that inevitable intercultural encounters both within and without national borders - the delineated *functional cultural literacy*. Again, in that inexorable globalization drive some aspects of this learner-centred concept could be utilized in the field of foreign aid.

Since there was a noticeable, and acknowledged, shift in the conflicting paradigms of Development Education and Global Education I have proposed a fusion of these two perspectives in an effort to redefine an emerged amalgam - *Global and Development Education*.

In sum, despite some acknowledged limitations, this qualitative insight into the uniquely Canadian cross-cultural learner centre concept again confirmed the centrality of the learner - an adult education principle - in the learning transaction. Many committed, and dedicated, people dreamt together and the individualized learning concept, for global awareness and understanding, became a reality. All along, in promoting that requisite functional cultural literacy, the prevailing rallying cry was: "*Let the Learner Learn!*"

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ENTRY LETTER/CONSENT FORM⁶⁰

The Cross-Cultural Learner Centre Concept

To participants in this study:

I am a graduate student in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (O.I.S.E.), University of Toronto, who is investigating the unique cross-cultural learner centre phenomenon which originated in this province. The subject of my doctoral research is: *The Birth and Growth of an Idea: A Qualitative Insight into the Cross-Cultural Learner Centre Concept*. As part of the data-gathering strategy I am talking to some identified key informants in this area under study. You are one of the identified key informants.

As part of this study, you are being asked to participate in, possibly, a couple of in-depth interviews. These will focus on your experience in the growth and spread of this unique phenomenon. As the interviews proceed, I may ask an occasional question for clarification or for further understanding, but mainly my part will be to listen as you recreate your experience within the structure and focus of the interview.

My goal is to analyze the materials from these interviews in order to understand better your experience and that of other key actors. I am genuinely interested in what led up to your decision to take part in the evolution of this concept. I would like to assure you that this study is in no way evaluative. As part of my dissertation, I may wish to use some of the interview material for journal articles or presentations to interested groups.

Each interview will be audiotaped and later transcribed (verbatim) by me. In all written materials and oral presentations in which I might use materials from our interviews, I will not use your name, names of people close to you, or the name of your city. Transcripts will be typed with initials for names, and in final form the interview material will use pseudonyms.

You may at any time withdraw from the interview process. You may withdraw your consent to have specific excerpts used, if you notify me at the end of the interview series. If I were to want to use any materials in any way not consistent with what is stated above, I would ask for your

⁶⁰ This was adapted from: Lawrence F. Locke, Waneen Wyrick Spirduso, and Stephen J. Silverman, *Proposals That Work*, 2nd ed. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987), p. 201

additional written consent.

I hope, in signing this form you are consenting to helping me investigate this unique concept.

Sincerely,

Ishmael Doku
Doctoral Student.

You may keep the top part of this form

.....

I, have read the above statement and agree to participate as an interviewee under the conditions stated above. I realize that I may withdraw without prejudice at any time after signing this form should I decide to do so.

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Date

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

As highlighted in the sub-problems section [i.e., in my Proposal], especially my use of a new device - the Grounded Questions strategy - to derive subsidiary questions to help answer my main question I will use the following tentative guide, extracted from the above-mentioned section, to direct my interviews.

In line with Glaser and Strauss' theoretical sampling procedure I do expect more issues/questions, for subsequent probing, to emerge to help me explain this phenomenon. The following, therefore, are my grounded issues/questions to guide me:

1. Problems/setbacks in the evolution of the centres.
2. Impact of stay (by the founders) in the Third World on the gestation of this concept (i.e., the bi-directional element in acculturation).
3. The LAID (London Association for International Development) factor in the development of the learner centre concept (re: London, Ontario).
4. The issue of financial aid/funding.
5. The issue of the "parenting role" of the London CCLC with regard to the spread, nationally, of the learner centre concept.
6. The flexibility/adaptability factor (corollary of the above - #5) that inheres in the concept and, obviously, helped in its spread (i.e., variations-on-the-London-model phenomenon)
7. The Education/Learning philosophy of these learner centres.
8. Support services provided by the centres.
9. Networking within and without the learner centre family.
10. Any committed environmental stance?
11. The town-gown phenomenon (the role of the University of Western Ontario in the inception of this concept) and current links.
12. The role of the library/resource centre and relationships with other libraries in the locality.
13. The identified fissionary tendency phenomenon (i.e., the spinning off of other agencies from a parent learner centre).

14. The management/running of the centres (e.g., historical and current).

15. Women's issues and other special/targeted services.

Canada's learner centres

Newfoundland

St. John's Oxfam Committee
Box 18000
St. John's, NF, A1C 6C2
(709) 753-2202

Prince Edward Island

Cooper Institute
81 Prince Street
Charlottetown, PEI, C1A 4R3
(902) 894-4573

Nova Scotia

Development Education Resource
and Information Centre
(DEVERIC)
3115 Veith Street
Halifax, NS, B3K 3G9
(902) 429-1370



International Education Centre (IEC)
St. Mary's University
Burke Education Centre
St. Mary's University
Halifax, NS, B3H 3C3
(902) 420-5436

New Brunswick

While there are no learner centres in New Brunswick, the following organizations have educational materials and work with schools to varying degrees:

Interchurch Committee for World
Development Education
c/o Tom McIlwraith
39 Cliff Street
St. John, NB, E2L 3A8,
(506) 693-1361

and c/o Doreen Kissick
792 Burden Street
Fredericton, NB, E3B 4C4
(506) 455-5900

Canadian Red Cross N.B. Division
Education Coordinator
Box 39
St. John, NB, E2L 3X3
(506) 648-5010

Fredericton YM-YWCA
28 Saunders Street
Fredericton, NB, E3B 1N1
(506) 458-1186

Québec

Centre de solidarité internationale
(Alma)
530, rue Collard O.,
local 206, C.P. 278
Alma, PQ, G8B 5V8
(418) 668-5211

Carrefour Tiers-Monde (CTM)
454, rue Caron, 1^{er} étage
Québec, PQ, G1K 8K8
(418) 647-5853

Comité régional d'éducation pour le
développement int'l de Lanaudière
643 Notre-Dame
Joliette, PQ, J6E 3J3
(514) 756-0011

Carrefour de solidarité internationale
(CSI)
555, rue Short
Sherbrooke, PQ, J1H 2E6
(819) 566-8595

Carrefour international
5129 St. Denis St.
Montréal, PQ, H2J 2M2
(514) 272-2247

Ontario

World Inter-Action
Box 2484, Station D
Ottawa, ON, K1P 5W6
(613) 238-4659

MATCH International Centre
1102-200 Elgin Street
Ottawa, ON, K2P 1L5
(613) 238-1312

International Centre
Queen's University
Kingston, ON, K7L 3N6
(613) 545-2604

Kawartha World Issues Centre
106 Murray St.
Peterborough, ON, K9H 2S5
(613) 745-1380

Development Education Centre
(DEC)
394 Euclid Street
Toronto, ON, M6G 2S9
(416) 925-8480

Cross-Cultural Communication
Centre (CCCC)
2909 Dundas Street West
Toronto, ON, M6P 1Z1
(416) 760-7855

Interfaith Development Education A:
sociation Burlington
44 Paisley Avenue South
Hamilton, ON, L8S 1V1
(416) 528-4811



Shair International Resource Centre
514 25 Hughson Street South
Hamilton, ON, L8N 2A5
(416) 528-9055

Worldwise
P.O. Box 296
St. Catharines, ON, L2R 6T7
(416) 641-2525

Guelph International Resource Centre
34 Essex Street
Guelph, ON, N1K 3K8
(519) 822-3110

International Education Services and
Centre for International Programs
15 University Avenue East
University of Guelph
Guelph, ON, N1G 2W1
(519) 824-4120 ext. 6914



Global Community Centre (GCC)
89-91 King Street N.,
Waterloo, ON, N2J 2X3
(519) 746-4090

London Cross-Cultural Learner
Centre (CCLC)
617 Dundas Street
London, ON, N5W 2Z1
(519) 660-8850

Third World Resource Centre
125 Tecumseh Road West
Windsor, ON, N8X 1E8
(519) 252-1517

Village International Sudbury
Resource Centre
435 Notre Dame Avenue
Sudbury, ON, P3C 5K6
(705) 671-1760

Global Awareness Project of North-
ern Ontario
283 Bay Street
Thunder Bay, ON, P7B 1R7
(807) 345-0914

Manitoba

The Marquis Project (MARQUIS)
200 107th-7th Street
Brandon, MB, R7A 3S5
(204) 727-5675



Inter-Cultural Development Educa-
tion Association (IDEA)
60 Maryland Street
Winnipeg, MB, R3G 1K7
(204) 786-2030

International Development Resource
Centre
541 J University Centre,
University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg, MB, R3T 2N2
(204) 474-6842

Saskatchewan

South Saskatchewan Committee for
World Development
(SSCWD)
1602-12th Avenue
Regina, SK, S4P 0L6
(306) 522-6619



One Sky, the Saskatchewan Cross-
Cultural Centre (ONE SKY)
136 Avenue F South
Saskatoon, SK, S7M 1S8
(306) 652-1571

Alberta

Unisphere (Cross-Cultural) Learner
Centre
101-6th Street S.E.
Medicine Hat, AB, T1A 1G7
(403) 529-2656

Edmonton Learner Centre
10920-88th Avenue, 2nd floor
Edmonton, AB, T6G 0Z1
(403) 439 8744

World Citizens Centre
1011-4th Avenue South
Lethbridge, AB, T1J 0P7
(403) 328-5725



Arusha International Development
Resource Centre
233-10th Street N.W.
Calgary, AB, T2N 1V5
(403) 270-3200

Camrose International Institute (CII)
4802-49th Avenue,
Camrose, AB, T4V 0M7
(403) 672-8780

Barbara Ward Centre
Box 3190
St. Paul, AB, T0A 3A0
(403) 645-2454

British Columbia

Victoria International Development
Education Association (VIDEA)
407-620 View Street
Victoria, BC, V8W 1J6
(604) 385-2333

South Pacific Peoples Foundation of
Canada (SPPF)
415-620 View Street
Victoria, BC, V8W 1J6
(604) 381-4131

Queen Charlotte Islands Dev. Ed.
Box 347
Port Clements, BC, V0T 1R0
(604) 557-4240

Northwest Development Education
Association (NWDEA)
P.O. Box 207
Terrace, BC, V8G 4A6
(604) 635-2436

International Development Education
Resource Association (IDERA)
2524 Cypress Street
Vancouver, BC, V6J 3N2
(604) 732-1496



Global Village (Nanaimo)
101 259 Pine Street
Nanaimo, BC, V9R 2B7
(604) 753-3322

Kootenay Centre for a Sustainable
Future (KCSF)
Box 727
Nelson, BC, V1L 5R4
(604) 354-4445

Yukon

Yukon Development Ed. Centre
P.O. Box 5722
Whitehorse, YK, Y1A 5L5
(403) 668-7224

Thanks to Pat Huggins (Global
Community Centre, Waterloo),
Linda Slavin (Kawartha World Is-
sues Centre, Peterborough),
Randy Keats (Canadian Council for
International Cooperation, Ottawa),
Jim Petrie (N.B. Global Education
Centre, Fredericton), and Pat Clarke
(B.C. Global Education Project,
Vancouver) for their assistance in
preparing this list.

APPENDIX D

1 ... So, I either helped him . or he helped me, develop development-based unit, which for the time was
 2 multimedia ... the whole attitude that there was another way for development. for development
 3 countries ... That's the other thing about cross-cultural - cross-cultural is non-judgmental. in the
 4 counselling sense; anything is equally valid whether you are. whether you are talking about not liking
 5 your mother or, it's not super Freudian cross-cultural. ... What I understood cross-cultural to mean
 6 was not value control let's-just-kind-of-get-to-know-cultures-and-learn-how-not-to-offend-
 7 somebody-who's-Arabic-by-using-our-left-hands; those things were. I suppose. had some values.
 8 It was rather more the idea that. sometimes I've stated that the only value was in the crossing of
 9 cultures but no one culture by itself really stood alone. And. therefore. you have to. actually.
 10 celebrate the cultures you encounter. And. I don't mean just culture as a native dance! I mean
 11 acquired values even if they were quite alien to your values. And. if you could do that. you could
 12 do that imaginatively. not just everybody could go and spend two years in CUSO. [DESCRIPTION]
 13 [CROSS-CULTURAL] (Not Celebratory) (124-38) And that was one of the things. if I
 14 contributed anything it was knowing that I couldn't. I wasn't the sort to drop everything and go get
 15 my development experience but I sure it's help bring it into my work and into my daily life and. of
 16 course. therefore. to those that I work with which is. again. mostly the students and teachers. The
 17 idea that "cross-cultural" really means. kind of. a collision of cultures so that you gonna make sure
 18 you know the details so you can make the business deal was just not what we were thinking about.
 19 We were thinking about the idea that cross-cultural communication exists [CROSS-CULTURAL]
 20 [CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION] (143-7) ... His point was. and it was in a pithy. sort

File Name/Date: INTV.MS1 (22/06/95)

APPENDIX E

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES BY PROGRAM AND CHANGES IN RESTRICTED FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1989

SCHEDULE 1

(with comparative total amounts for the year ended March 31, 1988)

	C.I.D.A.	ISAP Host	MC Capital	ISAP Reser.	MSPG	Male Imm.	Others (Schedule 2)	Totals 1989	Totals 1988
Revenue									
Grants	\$174,627	\$ 41,700		\$ 131,168	\$ 68,400		\$ 72,712	\$ 488,607	\$ 656,786
Donation			60,443				100	60,543	4,384
	<u>174,627</u>	<u>41,700</u>	<u>60,443</u>	<u>131,168</u>	<u>68,400</u>		<u>72,812</u>	<u>549,150</u>	<u>661,170</u>
Expenditures									
Salaries & benefits	120,853	28,735		107,653	57,660	12,993	19,157	347,052	334,491
Equipment rental/maintenance	4,455			1,740	900			7,095	8,973
Library	8,717	20			643	3,370		12,750	13,493
Supplies	4,954	1,112		124		281		6,472	7,571
Postage & Telephone	9,623	121	1,165	407	210	332	10	11,868	12,835
Printing, Publicity & Promotion	7,328	610	1,705	1,125	582	738	8	12,096	15,832
Agencies	1,132							1,132	
Administration		8,640		9,350	3,942	1,600		23,532	21,435
Travel	2,120	600		5,769	1,930	242	1,463	12,124	22,996
Rent/accommodations	12,000			5,000		675		17,675	27,373
Professional fees			3,221						3,706
Insurance	1,110							1,110	1,394
Miscellaneous program									3,733
Workshop		131			660	19	15	825	2,826
Programming									31,200
	<u>172,293</u>	<u>39,970</u>	<u>6,091</u>	<u>131,168</u>	<u>66,527</u>	<u>20,251</u>	<u>20,653</u>	<u>456,952</u>	<u>507,858</u>
Excess/(deficiency) of revenue over expenditures before fixed assets financed through operations	2,334	1,730	54,352		1,873	(20,251)	52,159	92,198	153,312
Fixed assets financed through operations	2,334		113,415				743	116,492	101,939
Fund balance beginning of year		2,008	60,030		16,449	23,050	133	101,668	50,297
Prior year adjustment		(2,006)						(2,006)	
Fund balance end of year	<u>\$</u>	<u>\$ 1,730</u>	<u>\$ 966</u>	<u>\$</u>	<u>\$ 18,322</u>	<u>\$ 2,799</u>	<u>\$ 51,549</u>	<u>\$ 75,368</u>	<u>\$ 101,670</u>

THE LONDON CROSS CULTURAL LEARNER CENTRE

**SUMMARISED OPERATING STATEMENTS AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
FOR THE PERIOD ENDED 31.03.89 (with comparative amounts for 1988)**

	1989			1988		
	GENERAL	RESTRICTED	GLOBAL HOUSE	GENERAL	RESTRICTED	GLOBAL HOUSE
GRANT INCOME:						
CIDA		174627			197323	
CEIC		172868	158585		150193	70063
MINISTRY OF CITIZENSHIP		114643			244228	
SECRETARY OF STATE		22230			23050	
HEALTH & WELFARE CANADA					41799	
OTHERS		4239			193	
		488607	158585		656786	70063
DONATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS	24309	60543	839	21609	4384	
BANK INTEREST	2586			1614		
FUNDRAISING EVENTS	51600			60803		
OTHER INCOME	16388			53363		
	94883	549150	159424	137389	661170	70063
EXPENDITURE	76087	573444	163130	198732	609797	66357
EXCESS/(DEFICIENCY) OF REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURE	18796	-24294	-3706	-61343	51373	3706
FUND BALANCES 01.04.88	-29197	99666	3706	30140	50299	
FUND BALANCES 31.03.89	-10401	75372		-31203	101672	3706

Eiii FUNDING

- **Canadian International Development Agency** 266
- **Secretary of State for Multiculturalism**
- **Employment and Immigration Canada**
- **Ontario Ministry of Citizenship**
- **Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services**
- **Board of Education for the City of London**

DONATIONS

The Cross Cultural Learner Centre is grateful for the support and interest expressed by a growing number of individuals, foundations and corporate donors.

In 1989, we received support from many individual donors as well as from the following:

- **Blackburn Group**
- **London Foundation**
- **Sisters of St. Joseph**
- **Kellogg-Salada Canada**
- **Metropolitan United Church**
- **Bill's Carpentry**
- **Family and Children's Services**
- **City of London**
- **Pro Comp**
- **Roman Catholic Diocese of London**
- **Amery Associates**

VOLUNTEERS

The Cross Cultural Learner Centre would like to extend sincere thanks to the many people whose time, energy, ideas, resources, humour and friendship have contributed to making the Centre a vital, people-oriented organization.

May 1995.

The Honourable Andre Ouellet,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
House of Commons,
OTTAWA, Ontario.
Fax: 613-995-9926

Dear Mr. Ouellet:

URGENT

As a supporter of the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre and global education, I must express my concern at the Federal Government's recent decision to eliminate all funding to global education centres, a decision made without consultation and without any previous indication of the severity or immediacy of the cuts.

At a time when issues of international development, trade, debt, human rights and the environment are the focus of increasing global concern, the necessity of fostering greater public awareness and understanding of these issues has never been greater. As a part of a local community, global education centres are uniquely placed to do just this.

I ask that the Canadian government rethink its position on global education and continue to fund the work of global education programs so vital in ensuring a leadership role for Canadians as citizens of a just world.

Sincerely,

Signature _____

Name (print): _____

Address: _____

Postal Code: _____

APPENDIX G



Minister of Foreign Affairs

Ministre des Affaires étrangères

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0G2

JUN - 2 1995
JUIN

Ishmael Doku
351 Westmoreland Avenue North
Toronto, Ontario
M6H 3A6

Dear Ishmael Doku:

Thank you for your letter concerning budget cuts affecting the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

The 1995-96 budget reflects the federal government's commitment to eliminating the deficit and achieving greater efficiency in its activities. CIDA has to bear its share of responsibility in participating in this government-wide effort. CIDA will focus its resources on support to non-governmental organizations and institutions that, together with their partners in developing countries, contribute particularly to meeting basic human needs, protecting the environment and integrating women in development. Development education for Canadians will remain important for CIDA, but will now have to be included in the regular programming of organizations and institutions working in developing countries.

Thank you again for taking the time to share your views with me.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "André Ouellet".

André Ouellet

APPENDIX H

TIME LINE: SOME IMPORTANT DATES IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT⁶¹

1958 - Operation Crossroads Africa started in the United States - brainchild of Rev. Dr. James H. Robinson.

1967 - Creation of Canadian Universities Service Overseas (CUSO) volunteer program.

1967 - First C.U.S.O. West Africa Orientation on the campus of the University of Western Ontario.

1967 - Formation of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP) by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Canada. Its mission was to sensitize Canadians to international co-operation through education.

1968 (June) - First Operation Crossroads Africa Orientations (North America) in London, Ontario.

1968 - First **Manual** learner centre piloted at Orientation.

1968 - Canadian Crossroads granted a Canadian Charter.

1968 - Creation of Canadian Council for International Co-operation to serve as an umbrella organization for the growing constituency of development education groups across Canada.

1969 (July) - Office of International Education, the University of Western Ontario, opened.

1969 - Publication of the report of the Commission on International Development (Pearson Commission): *Partners in Development*.

1970 - London Association for International Development (L.A.I.D.) established by the Office of International Education, University of Western Ontario, with the aid of a grant from C.I.D.A.

1970 - Publication of report on Canadian Universities and International Development.

1970/71 - CUSO's mandate extended to include education of the Canadian public. CUSO made a de facto crown corporation.

⁶¹ Adapted from Hamilton (1989) and Gallagher (1983).

- 1971 - Canadian Crossroads became the independent Canadian Crossroads International.
- 1971 - Pioneer Centre (London) moved to Westminster College, University of Western Ontario.
- 1971 (November) - 1972 (June) - Cross-Canada Mobile Learner Centre Tour.
- 1971 - Formation of Development Education Centre (DEC), Toronto, as a non-profit making, independent, organization committed to critical education on Canada and the Third World.
- 1971 - Creation of CIDA's (Canadian International Development Agency) program of financial support to development education efforts, named Public Participation Program (PPP).
- 1973 - Inter-Church Committee for World Development Education begins its annual pre-lenten "10 Days for World Development" campaign.
- 1974 - Pioneer Centre (London) formally affiliated with the Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario. First Co-ordinator hired.
- 1974 - UNESCO declaration on "Education for International Understanding".
- 1975 - Significant changes in CIDA's PPP funding policy including the creation of the matching grants system.
- 1976 - Founding of IDECO (International Development Education Committee for Ontario) as a resource centre for Ontario teachers.
- 1978 - Pioneer Centre left University of Western Ontario campus for town. CCLC Moves to temporary quarters at old Broughdale Public School building on Epworth, London.
- 1978 - London Association for International Development (L.A.I.D.) integrated into C.C.L.C.
- 1979 (July) - CCLC Moves to new facilities at St. Peter's [Catholic] School on Clarence St., London.
- 1980 (April) - First Annual General Meeting (A.G.M.) of C.C.L.C.
- 1980 (May) - C.C.L.C. amicably severs ties with the University of Western Ontario and becomes incorporated as a non-profit charitable organization.
- 1986 - Multicultural Youth Association [London] established.
- 1986 - (June) - First Annual Ontario Learner Centre Conference hosted by C.C.L.C. at Jeremiah's Field, London.
- 1987 (May) - First Annual National Conference of Learner Centres (30 involved), organized by London staff, held in Montreal.

1989 - Development Education program moves to 617 Dundas Street, London. (Including Library)

1995 - UNESCO declaration of 1995 as the "Year of Tolerance".

1995 - 100% Funding cut to centres by the federal Liberal Government. (Announced in February budget)

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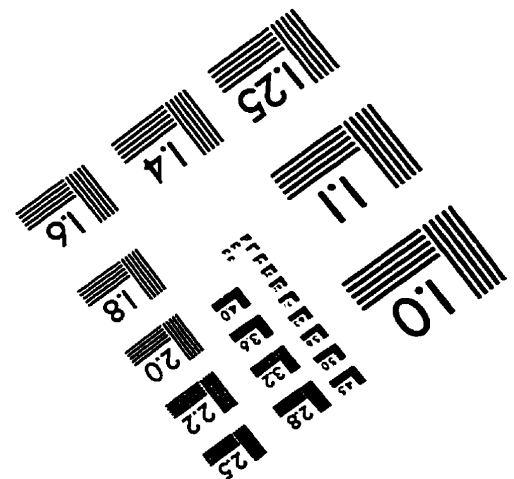
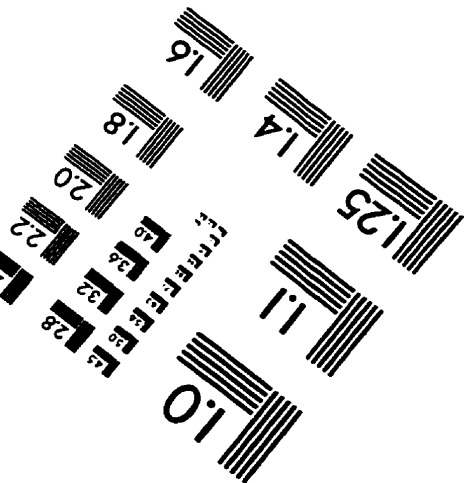
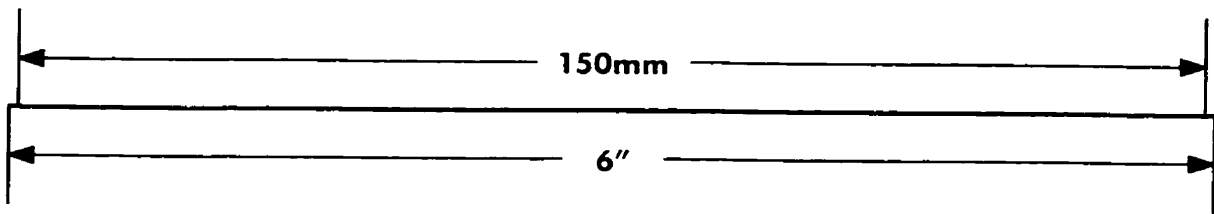
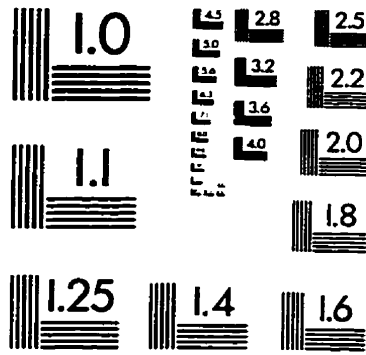
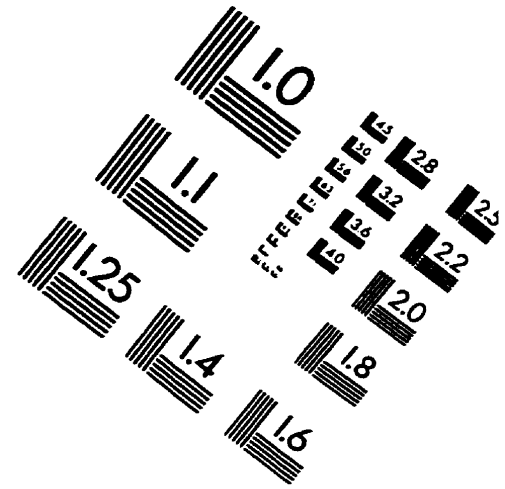
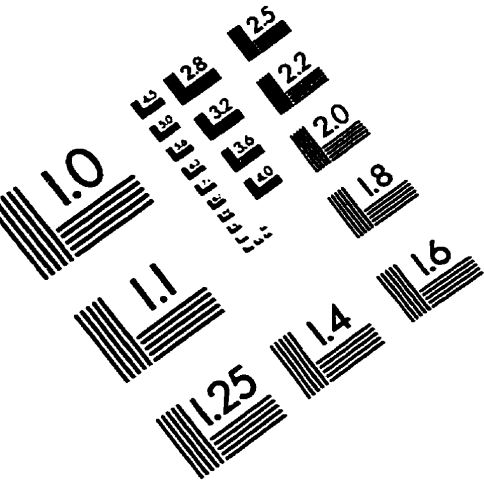
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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