

ADULT EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE:  
THE EXPERIENCE FROM HALIFAX IN THE 1980S AND 1990S

by

James Fletcher Sharpe

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctorate of Education  
Department of Adult Education, Community  
Development and Counseling Psychology  
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the  
University of Toronto

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James Fletcher Sharpe, Doctorate of Education, 2001

Department of Adult Education, Community Development and Counseling Psychology  
University of Toronto

**ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the practice of adult education for social change in Halifax, Nova Scotia during the 1980s and 1990s. The study is based on the analysis by Finger (1989), Hart (1990), Holford (1995) and Welton (1993) of the role of adult educators who work with social movements. The study begins by examining the context of the geography, history and political economy of Halifax and the tradition of adult education for social change in the city. It then examines the lack of a theory of adult education for social change in the North American adult education literature in English of the 1970s and 1980s (Houle 1972, Kidd 1973, Knowles 1980) and the development of the theory of adult education for social change in the 1990s. For the analysis of practice the study develops the concepts of subject positions and social imaginaries from the writings of Foucault (1983) and Mouffe (1988). The dissertation includes narratives describing 18 programs that involve adult educators working for social change. These narratives describe adult educators working with community groups, establishing knowledges and identities and negotiating, establishing and losing power. This is followed by an analysis of the institutional dynamics of adult educators employed by educational and community institutions while working with social movement groups. The analysis includes an

examination of the creation of agency through the formation and development of subject positions and the creation of new social images, identities and communities. The dissertation concludes with implications for the theory of adult education for social change and the need for new social images for Halifax.

## **Acknowledgements**

I wish to thank my thesis supervisor, Budd Hall and my thesis committee of Edmund O'Sullivan and Daniel Schugurensky for their direction and assistance in the completion of this manuscript. Special thanks to Leona English for advice on copy editing and improving the methodology. I also want to thank my proposal committee of Angela Miles, Kathleen Rockhill and Roger Simon for helping me formulate the plan for research for this thesis. Former teachers, colleagues and fellow students who assisted me with comments and discussion include Jack Mezirow, Michael Welton, Elayne Harris, Jean Ogilvie, Bill Randall, and Kaireen Chaytor. Fellow practitioners who provided advice and feedback include Juan Tellez, Joan Hicks, Robert Nichols, and Valerie Mansour. Special thanks to my colleagues and supervisors at Saint Mary's University who provided support and coverage for the time necessary to complete the manuscript including Linda MacDonald, Colin Dodds, Ken Ozmon and Andrew Seaman. My external examiner, Arthur Wilson, and internal reader, Sharzad Mojab, provided questions and insights that improved the final manuscript. Special thanks to my family, Helen, Susan and David for supporting me through this extended journey. Finally, I want to acknowledge the insight and inspiration of the adult educators for social change from Halifax: Guy Henson, William Oliver, Tom Parker, Muriel Duckworth and Betty Peterson. I would like to dedicate this manuscript to their work and achievements.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study examines the practice of adult education for social change in Halifax, Nova Scotia, during the 1980s and the 1990s. This work is inspired by specific insights from the new social movements of feminism and environmentalism and is conducted in solidarity with the Mi'kmaw First Nation and African Nova Scotian communities. The purpose of the study is to understand the motivation, methods, and outcomes of adult educators who work with social movement groups. Of particular concern is the position of adult educators within their institutions, whether they work at universities, school boards, or community agencies, and how they interpret and influence the mandate and vision of their institutions. The study focuses on the power conflicts and results of these struggles and examines how the particular visions of adult educators for social change are able to influence their institutions.

This study is informed by theoretical issues and concerns. It is based on the theory of new social movements as creators of knowledges, identities, and power (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Holford, 1995) and the role of adult educators in working with new social movements for recognition, restitution and remediation. (Hart, 1991; Holford, 1995; Welton 1993). Foucault's (1983) analysis of knowledge/power is used to examine power struggles and outcomes. This study makes use of De Laet's (1984) analysis of subject positions as the embodiment of interests and Mouffe's (1988) analysis of the creation of subjects through the conjuncture of subject positions. In the study, I am especially interested in the creation of the "social imaginary" (Lefort, 1986; Mouffe, 1988), the



vision of new social movements for a better, more just and equitable society that is used to embody the image, practice, and motivation of the social movement.

The study examines both adult educators working with specific social and community groups and the practice of adult educators working in councils, coalitions, and networks to further social movement goals. It examines the intersection and conjuncture of subject positions created through these collaborative activities. Through the examination of specific practice, the study attempts to inform these theoretical formulations and contribute to the development of the theory of adult education for social change. Following Cervero and Wilson (1994), a theory of adult education for social change should not just describe practice (be empirically fitting), but be practically appropriate as a guide to practice (be interpretative) and illuminate the ethical and political issues of practice (be critical). Thus this work should not just facilitate easy solutions that reinforce current power relations, but should be a guide to recreating power relations that favour the varied interests of the subaltern groups. This is my goal for this study, to examine, describe and analyze the practice of adult education for social change in Halifax, Nova Scotia in the 1980s and 1990s to formulate a guide for practice that informs theory, emancipation, and liberation.

### **My Background**

I began my formal study in adult education in 1980 because I was interested in the potential of adult education to contribute to revolutionary change. I had become radicalized when I was a high school student in Ottawa in the late 1960s, taking part in anti-Vietnam War demonstrations and organizing for autonomy for student organizations. In Ottawa, I met with a number of left wing organizers, from free school advocates to

Marxist-Leninists, but decided that I was most interested in the forms of anarchist organization inspired by the American-Russian tradition of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. In the summer of 1970 I attended a United Nations youth leadership conference at Lake Couchiching that had been organized by the Toronto left, with a star cast of resource persons such as Andreas Papandreu, Gerry Caplan, and Dimitri Roussopoulos. I had already decided to return to the Maritimes to university, but the message from the conference was clear: you have received the revolutionary message, when are you going to leave your safe careerist path to make some real change in the world?

At Mount Allison University in New Brunswick, I initially found myself cut off from the political influence of the left. In my second year, I helped form a New Democratic Youth organization and attended a national meeting in Ottawa at Christmas. Yet, most of my interest was on student academic politics, publishing articles in the student newspaper on the power structure of the university and winning an election as a student representative on the University Senate. In my third and last year at Mount Allison, I became active with the Student Christian Movement (SCM), a student led group that had just survived the organizational tumult of the 1960s (the United States equivalent, the University Christian Movement, disbanded in 1968) and was rebuilding by focusing on local issues such as bilingualism in New Brunswick.

When I was awarded a graduate scholarship to study mathematical physics, I chose to study at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. My plan was to become involved in real political activity and leave behind my interest in the SCM. However, when I landed in Edmonton in the fall of 1973, I found it hard to find real political

activity. I did meet a small collective of anarchists who were establishing Erewhon Books, Edmonton's only subversive bookstore. I turned once again to the SCM, which was re-establishing a unit (it had been very politically active on campus in the late 1960s). They offered me an opportunity to work on southern African solidarity issues, Latin America liberation theology and First Nations support work. By Christmas, I was ready to leave graduate studies, to do political work. That Christmas, visiting my family in Ottawa, I met Florence O'Neil, the Newfoundland adult educator who was the first Canadian to receive a doctorate in adult education. Finish your graduate work, she advised me, then work with the people. I could not follow the first part of her advice, the second part was too appealing.

I arranged to be the part-time SCM secretary (\$200 a month with responsibility to raise my own salary) and spent the rest of my time in political work: Erewhon Books, Free Southern Africa Committee, food cooperatives, and Edmonton Cross Cultural Learners' Centre. The political organizing was quite energizing, but I realized that I needed to find a position more secure than a \$200 a month salary that I had to raise myself. I decided to become a teacher, because I always was interested in education and I needed to support myself.

After 4 years of teaching in rural and First Nations communities in northern Alberta, I was ready again for graduate school, so I applied to Teachers College, Columbia University, following in the foot steps of my mother and grandfather who had gone to New York to study. When studying at Teachers College from 1980-1981, I was impressed by the interest from students and faculty in the practice of adult education for social change, specifically in the work of Paulo Freire in Brazil and Myles Horton,

founder of Highlander Folk School. However, the text books used to introduce the field of adult education, Cyril Houle's The Design of Education (1972) and Roby Kidd's How Adults Learn (1973) made little reference to this experience and explained adult education in terms of "planning programs for organizational circumstances" and "self-directed learning." The foundation for adult education theory was the developmental psychology of Rogers (1961), Maslow (1943), and Kohlberg (1969) and the program planning adapted from Tyler (1949). From my background in the Maritimes I knew of the Antigonish Movement for cooperatives and adult education founded by Moses Coady (1939) and Jimmy Tompkins (1921), but this tradition had disappeared in the descriptions of program planning for professionalized practice. The writings of Paulo Freire (Pedagogy of the Oppressed was first published in English in 1970 and I had been using the ideas for almost 10 years) were often discussed but not often understood, as Freire's writing was from a Global South context and used European social theories from structuralism and Marxism. I found it difficult to translate his clear analysis of poverty, illiteracy, and oppression in the Global South to the "manipulation of desire" present in the consumerist industrial and post-industrial societies.

### **Adult Education and New Social Movements**

It took 10 more years for my interest in adult education for social change to be reflected in the adult education journals such as the Adult Education Quarterly. In the early 1990s, the new social movements from the 1960s, those of feminism, environmentalism, civil rights and movements for intentional and participatory democracy (e.g., students, peace, back to the land, cooperatives) were having an effect on theoretical discussions in the adult education journals. The discourse in the adult

education journals was starting to include the experience from social movements that was missing in the work of Houle (1972), Kidd (1973) and Knowles (1980). Three examples of this new discourse include articles from the Adult Education Quarterly by Hart (1991), Welton (1993) and Holford (1995).

Mechthild Hart's (1991) critique of the "bias to rationalism" in adult education theory was the first feminist-based analysis published in the Adult Education Quarterly. In the article she called for a moral environment based on caring and nurturing and overcoming the need to control or be controlled. Her analysis was based on 2 decades of feminist work in epistemology, ethics and practice.

Michael Welton's (1993) article on "Social revolutionary learning: The new social movements as learning sites" called for a theory of adult education based on the work of new social movements. He summarized this new adult educational theory with four principles. First, ecology provides the unifying form for the new paradigm; all theory must understand our relation in the world. Second, our sense of social responsibility must contest the culture of nonbinding commitments and resist the atomization of individuals. Third, direct participatory democracy leads to an ethic of caring. And finally, the resulting creation of a "partnership society" is based on a pedagogical process of nonviolent action.

The theorizing of the importance of social movements for adult education for social change was featured in John Holford's (1995) analysis of knowledge creation in new social movements. His analysis provided a role and purpose for adult education in the creation of a new society. Holford showed the shift from the use of knowledge by the adult education movement of the 1930s where "Knowledge, freely available and

undistorted by sectional interest, would lead to Truth" (p. 108) to the new social movements of the 1990s where "knowledge and reality are significantly constructed by social movements, and adult education is key in this process" (p. 109). In Holford's theory, adult educators help to create a communicative culture, thus they become central to the emergence of new knowledge in society, and to social change itself.

### **My Interests and Questions**

My interests during this 20-year period (1980-2000) were to return to the Maritimes and work as an adult educator at a university to develop continuing education programs that meet social and educational needs. I also worked both with other university and community educators and with social movement organizations -- including a cooperative bookstore, an alternative budget coalition, or an organization of popular educators -- to build a vision of participatory social change.

When I returned to graduate school in 1987 at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto to work on my doctorate in education, my intention was to use critical theory to generate a theory of emancipatory adult educational practice. However, my encounter with post-structuralist and feminist theorists such as Foucault (1983) and De Lauretis (1984), led me to question the grand emancipatory narratives from the Enlightenment and look for support for a theory of adult education for social change from the resistances of subaltern groups and the knowledges created by social movements. This led to my proposal to study the practice of adult educators who work with social movements to develop theoretical insights into the practice of adult education for social change. Specifically, I was interested in the following questions:

1. What motivates people to join in social movement groups and organizations?

2. What learning takes place, both by the those in the social movement group and those within the educational institution in terms of values, assumptions and principles?

What knowledge do social movements produce?

3. What concepts of power are being used by the participants in the institutions and the social movement groups? Are they rule based, confining or enabling?

4. What dynamic exists between the ongoing mandate, funding, and control of the individual institutions (universities, continuing education units, community organizations, councils, coalitions, and networks) and the struggle for community control?

5. What are the relations between the different forms of power and the learning that takes place? How do community struggles and institutions structure power that enable them to resolve conflict?

### **My Setting**

My spatial setting for this study is the municipality of Halifax, Nova Scotia, which was founded as a garrison in 1749 by the British to dominate British North America from threats from Acadians and the Mi'kmaq First Nation. Halifax has always been a port city, with the free circulation of people and ideas and a mercantile culture (Fingard, Guildford and Sutherland, 1999). In the 19th century, there was a significant reform movement, based on the ideas of the Mechanics Institute, the interest for public involvement in politics, and a strong temperance movement. In the 20th century, after the horror of the Halifax Explosion of 1917, when a munitions ship exploded in the harbour, and the depression of the 1920s and 1930s in the Maritimes, Halifax entered a period of rapid growth following the second world war based on science, education, health, and

public sector expansion. This new growth, focused now on new information technology, health, and education sectors since the curtailment of expansion of public sector expansion in the 1980s, has led to a new image of the community, based on media, outward orientation, and knowledge production. The new social movements have had an important impact on this image, with cultural industries of film, theatre, and music as the leading public symbols.

### **Structure of Dissertation**

This dissertation, then, focuses on developing the literature and theory of English North American adult education, in particular adult education for social change. Through an examination of the practice of adult education in one location, the analysis will attempt to show how social movements create new subject positions that are used, both within and outside educational organizations, to create a new social relations and a new society.

The thesis begins with a description of my context, the setting of Halifax. This includes a description of the founding legend of Halifax, the geography and demography, a review of the history of Halifax through the founding, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, a description of the political economy of the city, and a description of the social problems of poverty, literacy, and unemployment. This background is necessary to situate the description and analysis of the community and social movement organizing that forms the main part of the dissertation. I also provide description of the work of four 20<sup>th</sup> century adult educators who worked in Halifax: Guy Henson, Tom Parker, Muriel Duckworth, and William Oliver.



After reviewing the setting for my research, I examine the theory of adult education, starting with the work of Houle (1972), Kidd (1973) and Knowles (1980). I review the lack of a theory of adult education for social change in the 1970s and 1980s and the development of new theoretical writings in the last 10 years. I end with a summary of five of the most relevant papers from the Adult Education Research Conference of June 2000.

In the fourth chapter, I explain my methodology and form of analysis. I describe the interviews and process of narrative formation that I used for the dissertation. I then explain my analytic use of the terms subject from Foucault (1983), subject position from De Lauretis (1984) and social imaginary from Mouffe (1988) and Lefort (1986). This section explains the form of analysis that I use for the narratives.

The next three chapters (5, 6 and 7) are the narratives of the practice of adult education for social change from my own and my colleagues experience. Chapter 5 contains narratives that focus on the motivation for social change, both with the formation of community groups and the work of adult educators. Chapter 6 describes the production of knowledge within social movement groups and educational institutions working with them. Chapter 7 describes the power dynamics in social movement and adult education groups, especially their effect on institutional mandates, their ability to command resources, and the production of an effective social imaginary to unify the group.

The next two chapters (8 and 9) use the concepts of subject position and social imaginary to analyze the practice presented in the previous three chapters. Chapter 8 focuses on institutional dynamics and how they support or restrict subject positions and

the development of adult education for social change. Chapter 9 analyzes the creation of spaces for action through the creation of new mandates or reinterpretation of old mandates, the creation of leadership, and the creation of new social imaginaries.

The dissertation ends with a concluding chapter that summarizes my analysis of adult education for social change and the findings from my research. This chapter shows the use of creative reinterpretation of the founding stories, mandates, and traditions we possess, both as adult educators and as specific residents of a city during a specific period of time.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This study is limited by the location and scope of my research and analysis. I have only surveyed English language sources in Canada and some in the United States, and have limited my analysis to a few social and educational theorists. My research is limited to a group of adult educators in Halifax that I have known or whose activities and achievements are chronicled in public published sources. I have consciously chosen adult educators and adult education programs that work with social movement groups to demonstrate the links between adult educators and social movements. My analysis is limited to assisting adult educators who are interested in social change to understanding, managing and resolving the contradictions that they find themselves involved. From this experience, the study develops a description and analysis of adult education for social change. I hope that this analysis is helpful to others who are in institutional and organizational settings similar to my own.

## CHAPTER 2

### HALIFAX: THE CONTEXT

#### **Introduction: Overcoming the Founding Legend of the Garrison**

Founding stories are often apocryphal, in that they are based on false legend (Burrows & Wallace, 1998). Yet, they are reflective of the motives of the story tellers and the writers of history -- those who possess the power to form the narrative of history. They also reflect the self image of the community, for legends are made by retelling, which is only done if it serves the purpose of the narrator and the listeners. As a founding story becomes a legend it becomes apocalyptic, revealing, and disclosing the collective motives, values, and priorities of the community it describes. These prescient stories help to bind the community to itself, to create a regime of truth that validates knowledge.

A famous story of the founding of a city is that of Rome (Duckworth, 1993). Romulus and Remus were the children of Mars. Abandoned, they were rescued by a she wolf and raised by the shepherd Faustulus. After deciding to build their city on the Palantine Hill, they quarreled, with Romulus killing Remus to become the first ruler of Rome. The founding legend of Rome emphasizes the military origin (sons of Mars), the alienation from other surrounding groups (raised by a she wolf), and the rule of force through fratricide to establish the first ruler. This founding legend projects a military image of Rome as a conquering people during the empire when Rome dominated the Mediterranean world.

The founding of New York is a similar moral tale (Burrows & Wallace, 1998). According to this story the Dutch bought Manhattan Island for \$24 worth of trinkets from the indigenous people. The founding as a real estate transaction reflects the image of New

Yorkers from the 19th century as a commercial people. The story gives the sense that the Dutch (Europeans) got the better deal over the First Nation people (Algonkin tribe) so it codifies the notion that New Yorkers always get the better deal. Underlying the story is the nature of investment, with \$24 in the 17th century now worth billions and billions of dollars in real estate. The story is based on the 17th century custom of giving gifts of beads and wampum as a peace offering. In fact wampum, beads made from shellfish, was legal currency in colonial North America during that time. However, the story does not reveal that the Algonkin tribe accepted the offer as a peace tribute, for they had no intention of selling land or surrendering their rights for fishing, hunting, and travel. Thus an offer that was made to establish peace was later turned into a moral tale of swindle and investment.

The founding story of Halifax has elements of the militarism of Rome as well as the commercialism of New York. The most common version is the creation of the "Warden of the North," the founding of a military garrison in 1749 by Edward Cornwallis to enforce British military superiority over Nova Scotia and northern North America. Thomas Raddall, who developed this founding story in his 1948 history of Halifax, The Warden of the North, emphasized two elements that he used to define the city. First was the "garrison mentality" where the town prospered during times of war and languished during times of peace. Second was the classist nature of the Halifax population, in which the colonial elite was in charge while a diverse underclass formed to serve the garrison provisions, whiskey, and sex.

This image of a garrison town with a constant party atmosphere reflected the reality of Halifax through its first 70 years with events such as the expulsion of the

Acadians, the conquest of Louisbourg and Quebec, the United States Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812 (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999). This period also included the war with the Mi'kmaw First Nation and the settling and emigration of the Black Loyalists and Jamaican Maroons. The stagnation of Halifax after the War of 1812 showed that only war could make Halifax prosper. This cycle was repeated with the First World War, when Halifax boomed with the establishment of the base for the Canadian Navy and then fell into depression as soon as the war was over.

However, this pattern of war time boom and peace time depression did not characterize Halifax after the Second World War. From 1891 to 1941, the population of Halifax barely doubled, from 44,688 to 96,636 (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999, p. 7). However, in the next 50 years the population increased more than three times, to 320,521 in 1991. In 1891 Halifax and Dartmouth had 10% of the Nova Scotia population, in 1941 this had risen to 16%; by 1991 over 35% of Nova Scotians lived in the Halifax metropolitan area. Clearly, a different view of the garrison mentality is necessary to explain such growth in a time of peace.

Historians, Fingard, Guildford, and Sutherland (1999) in their recent book Halifax. The First 250 Years have developed a more sophisticated analysis to update Raddall's (1948) image of the "Warden of the North." They challenge the conservative view of Halifax that emphasizes tradition, hierarchy, and deference. Their thesis is that "Halifax has acquired a complex personality, one which includes hunger for innovation, a willingness to engage in protest and a talent for creative reconstruction." (p. 7) How then could a founding story reflect this new view of the character of Halifax?

Sutherland, who writes (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999) about the first 90 years of the city, gives two stories which resonate with this more complex personality. The first is a utopian image of the founding of a new society, the New Jerusalem, the city on the hill. Sutherland quotes an assessment made by Ronald Romkey who published the Journal of Lord Salisbury in Halifax, 1749-53: "Optimists saw Nova Scotia as 'a kind of Utopia where class distinctions dissolved, the common miseries faded from the memory and riches abounded in vast expanses of land'" (p. 12). Sutherland contrasts this with those pessimists who satirized the 2,500 settlers leaving London in 1749 to sail to Chebucto to found Halifax. They penned the following verse:

There is nothing there (Chebucto) but Holidays  
 With Music out of Measure;  
 Who can forbear to speak the Praise  
 Of such a Land of Pleasure;  
 There you may lead a pleasant Life,  
 Free from all Kind of Labour,  
 And he that is without a Wife,  
 may borrow of his Neighbour. ( Fingard, Guildford, Sutherland, 1999, p. 12)

This image of a utopia of dissolving class distinction, disappearing miseries, and riches of land along with a bacchanalian party, fits the new thesis of Halifax as a centre of innovation, protest and reconstruction rather than that of the garrison mentality. Halifax was founded as a city, not just a garrison, and the images of innovation and protest along with the vision of a pluralist society striving for its future resonates more with its current

self image than that of the “Warden of the North.” This new self image is reinforced by key events of the history of Halifax including the 19th century movements for social reform, the reconstruction from the Halifax Explosion of 1917, the response of community groups to the urban redevelopment of the 1960s and the growth of the “new technology” industries in the 1990s.

Based on this new self image, this chapter describes Halifax, the location of my work, research, and reflection on adult education for social change. I review the settlement patterns and growth of the communities that make up the metropolitan area. I recount the 250 years of history from the colonial beginnings to the creation of 19th century institutions to 20th century protest and reconstruction. I describe and analyze the political economy of the city, including the division of labour, new employment and industries and the pattern of current elites. This is followed by a description of current state of social problems including poverty, unemployment, racism, and literacy. The chapter ends with a description of the work of three Halifax adult educators who have worked for social change in the last 50 years: Tom Parker who built up the Nova Scotia Teachers Union and founded Extension and Part-time Studies at Dalhousie University; Muriel Duckworth who worked for parent education, community organizing and peace; and William Oliver who founded many of the institutions in the African Nova Scotian community.

### **Geography and Population**

Halifax, like New York City and Sydney Australia, is a city built around a harbour, one of the largest in the world. The harbour, called Kjiptuk by the Mi'kmaw and Chebucto by Champlain, consists of three parts (Canada Map Office, 1992). The

outer harbour is 10 km long from Devil's Island to Eastern Passage on the east side and 14 km long on the west side, from Chebucto Head to Point Pleasant. The inner harbour stretches 8 km from McNab's Island to the Narrows. This includes Georges Island, the downtown waterfronts of Halifax and Dartmouth, the ocean terminals and the industry of Woodside. In the north the harbour narrows to a stream less than 600 metres wide. This stream is bracketed by the two harbour bridges. After the second narrows, the harbour widens again creating the Bedford Basin, 8 km long and 4 km wide.

Jutting into the west side of the harbour is the peninsula of Halifax, 8 km long by 3 km wide. Across the inner harbour on the east side is the community of Dartmouth founded a year after Halifax, in 1750. The Halifax peninsula is joined to the mainland by a 2 km isthmus between the North West Arm and Fairview Cove. The mainland west of the peninsula is a granite batholith, extremely rough land that is very poorly drained. This includes the highest point at Geizer's Hill, 500 feet above the city (Canada Map Office, 1992). The peninsula and east and north of the harbour contain a series of glacial drumlin hills deposited over shale bedrock. The three hill forts of Halifax -- the Citadel, Needham Hill and Fort Massey -- were all built on drumlin hills. The coast line east of the harbour, from Devil's Island to Porter's Lake exhibits a classic drumlin field being cut off by the ocean, with the characteristic headlands, beaches, and spits. The soils where they exist on the peninsula and east and north of the harbour are clay glacial tills. The communities of Spryfield, Clayton Park and Bedford, west of the harbour are built directly on bedrock. The blasting of bedrock to create the industrial and commercial Bayer's Lake park west of the city, has created a landscape similar to the surface of the moon -- boulders, rock and desolation.



The Mi'kmaw had used Kjiptuk, the great harbour, for millennia (Fingard, Guildford & Sutherland, 1999). They came each year in "Tquoluiku," the frog croaking month of May, to their summer fishing camps on the North West Arm (Horseshoe Island) and at the Narrows (Tufts Cove). By the 16th century they were trading with Basque fishermen and Champlain traded with them on his 1604 visit, calling the harbour Chibouctou. With the founding of Halifax in 1749, Edward Cornwallis quickly displaced the summer native community of Horseshoe Island. In the 19th century, a native community stayed at Tufts Cove, but were displaced to Millbrook, near Truro after the 1917 Halifax explosion. The only remaining native land in the Halifax area is a small reservation in Cole Harbour, part of the Millbrook band.

Edward Cornwallis, the governor of Nova Scotia who led the 1749 settlement venture, chose the steep eastern slope from the highest hill on the peninsula (now called Citadel Hill, 275 feet high) to the harbour for the town site of Halifax (Fingard, Guildford & Sutherland, 1999). He laid out a rectangular grid of 35 city blocks 200 feet wide and 600 feet long with eight streets north and south (Water, Bedford Row, Hollis, Granville, Barrington, Argyle, Albermarle, and Barrack) and six streets east and west up the hill (Buckingham, Duke, George, Prince, Sackville, and Blowers). Thus Halifax was one of the first cities in the new world to be founded with a rectangular grid, 60 years before New York established its grid north of 4<sup>th</sup> street. In the first year, St. Paul's Church on the Grande Parade was erected as well as the governor's house at the site of the current legislative assembly.

As the town site filled, suburbs were established to the south in German town (Spring Garden Road) and to the north along Brunswick Street. Dartmouth was settled by

whalers from Nantucket and was connected to Halifax by the harbour ferry. For the first 100 years, most of the rest of the peninsula was farms and estates. Growth quickened in the second half of the 19th century, so by World War I there was the northern industrial suburb of Richmond, the black community of Africville on the Bedford Basin, and the suburbs of Dutch Village, Cole Harbour, Preston and Bedford.

By World War II, suburban expansion began in earnest, with the communities of Armdale and Fairview just off the peninsula. By 1955 the first harbour bridge was built, leading to the suburban expansion of Dartmouth into the farming areas of Abro Lake, Westphal, and Cole Harbour. Spryfield and Rockingham extended the communities of Armdale South and Fairview North. In the 1960s suburban growth was encouraged by the provincial government through the expansion of highways and the purchase of land in the Sackville and Forest Hills areas to control the pace of development. When the second harbour bridge opened 1970, these communities, along with the areas of Colby Village, Bedford and Clayton Park, were the centres of metropolitan growth. The decades of the 1950s and 1970s were the greatest growth of Halifax's population (see Table 1).

Table 1

Population of Halifax Metropolitan Area

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<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1749	2500
1802	8532
1851	19165
1901	45638
1911	51677
1921	67726
1931	79352
1941	96636
1951	138427
1961	193353
1971	222627
1981	277727
1991	320518
1996	332518

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In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there have been several periods of reconstruction and planned development that changed the character of Halifax. The most dramatic was the reconstruction after the 1917 Halifax Explosion that leveled Richmond, a northern suburb of Halifax and destroyed 15,000 dwellings. The Hydrostone townhouse development, inspired by the English “garden town” movement, was the first large-scale public housing development in Canada. After World War II, the Westmount subdivision was built on a surplus airfield in the west end of peninsular Halifax, with the integration of parks and walkways throughout the subdivision. In the 1960s, the slum clearance and urban renewal movement leveled 30 blocks of downtown Halifax, much of the Gottingen neighborhood and Africville, displacing the residents to public housing in Uniacke Square (Gottingen Street), Mulgrave Park (Richmond), Bayers Westwood (Fairview Cove), and Rockingstone Heights (Spryfield). In downtown Halifax, the Scotia Square office, commercial and apartment development included the Cogswell interchange, the beginnings of an expressway into downtown Halifax. Only heroic opposition from a broad coalition of community groups led by the Heritage Trust stopped the destruction of the Historic Properties and the building of a harbour expressway that would have separated downtown Halifax from the harbour. In the 1960s and 1970s, the province bought land for suburban development in Sackville and Forest Hills, to control speculation and allow for orderly development. In the 1970s and 1980s, the province created the Waterfront Development Commission to develop public access to the waterfront of Halifax, Dartmouth, and Bedford.

The architectural style of Halifax neighborhoods varies from the Victorian ginger bread and Queen Anne Revival of the affluent south end (Young Ave and Point Pleasant

Park) to the row houses and “salt box” with Scottish dormers (Gottingen-Agricola street older working class area), to the detached bungalows of the suburbs. More than half of the dwellings in Halifax are multiple units (duplex, townhouse, or apartment) and over 40% of the dwellings are rented rather than owned (Statistics Canada, 1999). Both of these rates for multiple units and rental are higher for Halifax than for cities of comparable size such as London, Kitchener-Waterloo or St. Catherines, Ontario. Even in the newer suburbs of Clayton Park and Bedford, the majority of the new dwellings are row houses and apartments.

In terms of income distribution, information from the 1996 census reveals the disparity among Halifax neighborhoods (Statistics Canada, 1999). The south end of peninsular Halifax, the area around the North West Arm, (census tract 5), has the highest average household income of \$110,007 with less than 2% incidence of low income. The Gottingen street area (census tract 10) has a household average household income \$22,389 and 57% incidence of low income. Other affluent census tracts include west end peninsula along the arm (census tract 13, \$69,552 and 9% low income), Bedford (census tract 123.02, \$76,675 and 9% low income) and Colby Village South (census tract 121.04, \$70,469 and 4% low income). Other low income areas include Spryfield (census tract 15 \$31,804 and 37% low income), downtown Dartmouth (census tract 110, \$21,939 and 55% low income), and north end Dartmouth (census tract 114, \$25,938 and 44% low income). The middle income areas include the newer suburbs of Clayton Park, Sackville, and Forest Hills.

The distribution of achievement of educational level compares very closely with income distribution. In the Halifax south end census district 5, 63% have university

degrees while only 11% have less than Grade 12 and no one has less than Grade 9. In Gottingen Street census district 10, only 17% have university degrees while 44% have less than Grade 12 and 16% have less than Grade 9. In the two poorest Dartmouth census district 110 and 114, only 7% have university degrees while 38% have less than Grade 12 and 11% have less than Grade 9.

In 1996, the Liberal provincial government merged the cities of Halifax (pop 118,000) and Dartmouth (population 65,000), the town of Bedford (population 13,000) and the municipality of Halifax county (population 152,000) to form the municipality of Halifax. It was doubly ironic that the two politicians promoting the merger, the premier John Savage and the minister of municipal affairs, Sandra Jolly, were both representatives from Dartmouth, which had the most to lose in identity, profile, and development from the merger. In the 1998 provincial election, dissatisfaction with the municipal merger, along with strong opinion against the merger of hospitals and government pressure to rationalize universities, resulted in the loss of 13 of the 15 Liberal provincial legislature seats in the Halifax region to the New Democratic Party.

## **History of Halifax**

### **Beginnings**

Halifax was founded in 1749 by the imperial British to wrest control of northern North America from the French and the Mi'kmaw First Nation. In 1748, the Duke of Bedford, urged on by the Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, had proposed to the British cabinet in London a plan to settle Chebucto Harbour for the security of the northern colonies and the preservation of His Majesty's Dominions in America (Fingard,

Guildford & Sutherland, 1999). Halifax was to counter the French fortresses of Quebec and Louisbourg.

In the Treaty of Utrecht on 1713, France had ceded Acadia to the English crown. Founded in 1605, with the major settlement later in the 1600s, Acadia had been peopled by Bretons who had a unique dyking technology to utilize the tidal marshes of the Bay of Fundy (Clark, 1968). The Acadians had made a unique peace with the Mi'kmaw First Nation based on respect and trust and their unique religious concordat with the Roman Church. After the 1713 treaty, France maintained sovereignty over Isle St. Jean (present day Prince Edward Island) and Isle Royale (present day Cape Breton). To protect the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the entrance to Quebec, they established the fortress at Louisbourg on Isle Royale to guard the French interest in North America. In the treaty, the main Acadians settlements at Port Royal and Grande Pre were abandoned to the English crown. The British had made unsuccessful attempts to settle the colony of Nova Scotia in the 1640s so they accepted the Acadians as neutrals, not allegiant to either power. The capital of Nova Scotia remained at Port Royale, renamed Annapolis Royal, until the founding of Halifax. The Roman Catholic priests encouraged the Acadians to resettle on Isle Royale, Isle St. Jean, and the new settlement of Beaubassin, at the head of the Bay of Fundy on the Isthmus of Chignecto. The last settlement was on disputed territory, the undetermined boundary between the colony of Quebec and Nova Scotia.

The Acadians had developed a distinctive culture of rural Arcadian pastoralism, utilizing the tidal dykes and aboiteau to farm the rich tidal marshes and at peace and allies with the Mi'kmaw First Nation (Clark, 1968). However, the British colonies of New England resented the military presence of the French at Louisbourg and in 1745 sent a

force north that captured Louisbourg. In 1746, France sent an expeditionary force to recapture Loiusbourg and Acadia. Led by Duc D'Anville, the force of 61 ships and 11,000 men occupied Chebucto Harbour (Raddall, 1948). The French fleet was tormented by storms, starvation and disease, with Duc D'Anville and many of his men dying and being buried on the shores of the Bedford Basin, above Fairview Cove. Fewer than 10% of his force returned to France. After the British crown returned Louisbourg to France by the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1748, Governor Shirley of Massachussets lobbied the English crown to establish a military presence and settlement at Chebucto Harbour to counter Louisbourg.

On May 14, 1749, Edward Cornwallis led a British fleet of 13 ships and 2,576 settlers down the Thames River, leaving London to establish a new capital for Nova Scotia (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999). After arriving in Chebucto Harbour on June 21, 1749, he decided to call the settlement Halifax after George Dunk, Lord Halifax, Commissioner of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the government agency charged with the settlement of Nova Scotia. In establishing the military presence in Nova Scotia there were two countervailing forces that the British had to come to terms with to dominate Nova Scotia, the Mi'kmaw and the Acadians. Cornwallis first tried to placate the Mi'kmaw with small presents but was not willing to recognize their sovereignty or negotiate with them over the building of Halifax. In the fall of 1749, a small force of Mi'kmaw killed several English wood cutters on the eastern side of the Harbour. This led Cornwallis to recruit a group of New England mercenaries under John Gorman to exterminate the Mi'kmaw First Nation. His intention is clear in the following



proclamation offering a reward of 10 guineas for each Mi'kmaw scalp. On October 1, 1749 Cornwallis had this entry in the Colonial minutes:

That, in their opinion to declare war formally against the Micmac Indians would be a manner to own them a free and independent people, whereas they ought to be treated as so many Banditti Ruffians, or Rebels, to His Majesty's Government.

That, in order to secure the Province from further attempts of the Indians, some effectual methods should be taken to pursue them to their haunts, and show them that because of such actions, they shall not be secure within the Province.

That, a Company of Volunteers not exceeding fifty men, be immediately raised in the Settlement to scout the wood all around the Town.

That, a Company of one hundred men be raised in New England to join with Gorham's during the winter, and go over the whole Province.

That, a further present of 1,000 bushels of corn be sent to the Saint John's Indians, to confirm them in their good disposition towards the English, And,

That a reward of ten Guineas be granted for every Indian Micmac taken or killed. (Paul, 1993, p. 108)

As evident in this quotation, Cornwallis used the tactic of divide and conquer by sending 1000 bushels of corn to the Malisset First Nation (Saint John Indians) to establish an alliance against the Mi'kmaw. This bounty lasted until the Treaty of 1752 was negotiated by Cornwallis' successor, Governor Hopson with Chief Jean Baptiste Cope of Shubenacadie Mi'kmaw District (Paul, 1993). This treaty referred to earlier treaties, but it also specifically granted fishing and hunting rights:

It is agreed, that the said Tribe of Indians shall not be hindered from, but have free liberty of Hunting and Fishing as usual and that if they shall think a Truckhouse needful at the River Chibenaccadie, or any other place of their resort, they shall have the same built and proper Merchandise lodged therein, to be exchanged for what the Indians shall have to dispose of, and that in the meantime the said Indians shall have free liberty to bring for Sale to Halifax, or any other Settlement within this Province, Skins, Feathers, Fowl, Fish or any other thing they shall have to sell, where they shall have liberty to dispose thereof to the best advantage.” (Paul, 1993, p. 116)

This 1752 treaty, along with the Royal Declaration of 1763, were critical in the Supreme Court decision of 1999 granting Mi'kmaw First Nation access to fishing rights for a reasonable livelihood.

The result of the struggle with the Acadians was equally tragic (Clark, 1968). Quebec had established Fort Beausejour near the Acadian community of Beaubassin to assert their right to access to the Bay of Fundy. In 1755, the British governor Charles Lawrence established Fort Cumberland and laid siege to Fort Beausejour. After the defeat of Beausejour, Lawrence decided to expel the French by deporting all of the Acadians from Nova Scotia. Immortalized in Longfellow's (1847) poem, Evangeline, 20,000 Acadians were deported from Annapolis, Minas, and Beaubassin. Some fled into the woods to hide with the Mi'kmaw First Nation. This expulsion, or ethnic cleansing, freed land in the province for settlement by New England planters.

Halifax was the key military centre for the Seven Year War (1756-63) in North America. It was the staging ground for General Wolfe's conquering of Louisbourg (1758)

and Quebec (1759). Settlement of Halifax during this period was slow until the British evacuation of Boston in 1776 and the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. With the 10,000 loyalists who came to Nova Scotia, there were approximately 2000 black loyalists who had been promised land and freedom (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999) .

However, when their promised land grants never materialized, a large proportion of the Black Loyalists decided to leave for Sierra Leone in 1792 where they founded the city of Freetown. They were followed by over 600 Maroons from Jamaica who did not find work or freedom in Halifax and joined the second exodus to Sierra Leone in 1796. So Halifax was founded upon a triple exclusion, that of the Mi'kmaw, the Acadians, and the Black Loyalists. Halifax had imported the internal class and racial divisions of the 18th century metropolis to North America.

Raddall (1948) describes the class distinction of the early Halifax. The 2,500 colonists were not eager to work for the governor, but wanted to receive their own land and build their houses for the winter. Many left for New England. Some New England merchants came, attracted by the law that protected them from being sued for their former debts. With the military garrison and freewheeling trade in rum and commerce, Raddall describes the slums that resulted:

Here (Barrick or Brunswick Street) gathered an evil slum of grog sellers, pimps and prostitutes who battered on the dissolute soldiery. On the waterfront the seamen resorted to dens along "the Beach": and when for a bit of spice the tars went roistering up the hilltop Barrack Street, or the redcoats ("lobster-backs") came down to sample the delights of Water Street, there were scuffles and sometimes riots, with the seamen swinging their cudgels and the soldiers drawing

bayonet, and all the queer denizens of those parts diving to cover. Thus in its earliest days the heart's core of Halifax became sandwiched between two slums, a situation which long remained a reproach and a problem to its citizens. (pp. 42-43)

This negative view of social life and Raddall's garrison mentality has been critiqued and reinterpreted by Fingard, Guildford and Sutherland (1999);

Having begun as a military enterprise it evolved, according to Raddall, into a community with a garrison identity, a place where soldiers and sailors, rather than civilians, set the pace of life and defined urban values... Without the stimulus of war, not much of significance happened. Moreover, Raddall suggested that, because of the garrison mentality, the locals learned to stoically accept their fate, becoming more watchmen than entrepreneurs. This was the explanation of why Halifax, which began life far ahead of other North American cities, ultimately fell behind in the quest for urban achievement. (p. 5)

For Raddall (1948), the garrison was the defining force in shaping Halifax, because work and commerce were determined by its patronage. This image of an armed camp surrounded by a large party has come back to haunt Halifax, a persistent image with resounding resonance. However, this image does not include a number of important strands in the history of Halifax, the image of a utopia without class division, the emphasis on reconstruction and social reform and the view of Halifax as a meeting place for many nations and cultures.

### **19th Century Halifax**

With the War of 1812, Halifax flourished as a naval base to enforce the American blockade. The crown licensed "privateers" to harass and capture American ships, the booty which became the foundation of many Halifax fortunes. In the late 18th and early 19th century there was an influx of immigrants, mostly Catholics, including Scottish highlanders and the Irish. The Catholics, being discriminated against, founded their own institutions, including their own social clubs, fraternal societies, schools, and Saint Mary's College. Many banks were formed to promote the maritime trade. Halifax was a prime metropolis of British North America, rivaling Montreal in financial power and economic might.

The fortunes of the privateers and the custom duties of the War of 1812 formed the basis for power, privilege and relative prosperity of Halifax in the 19th Century (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland). The Castine endowment, custom duties collected by the British in the occupied area of Castine, Maine in the War of 1812, were used to erect the Cambridge Library for the military and the first building for Dalhousie University, on the Grand Parade across from Saint Paul's Church. The Collins, Uniacke and Cunard families began trading companies and founded commercial interests including some of the first banks of British North America -- the Collins, the Merchant and the Bank of Nova Scotia. The location of Halifax as the closest port of continental North America to Europe led to the establishment of steamship lines and the first Atlantic cable. In 1840 Samuel Cunard won the contract for the first steam powered mail service across the Atlantic, from Liverpool to Boston by way of Halifax. Although Halifax did not have the timber trade of Saint John or Quebec, it was an important entrepot, a location for regional

and international trade and the home port to one half of Nova Scotia's shipping, at that time one of the largest shipping fleets in the world.

The social life of Halifax in the 19th century was dominated by rigid class, racial, gender, and religious divisions (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland). The south end society was dominated by the church and the military. The working class north end had numerous social, athletic and ethnic clubs. From the black community of Africville, the boxing star George Dixon went to New York in 1890s to win the world boxing title. The Commons was the meeting ground for the city with military exercises, athletic, and social events, and even a few cows competed for the space. Temperance and social reform societies were major forces in 19th century Halifax. The poor asylum was built in 1850 and destroyed by fire in 1880. A "bird's-eye" map of 1879 (Canadian Geographic, 1999) shows the location of many of these institutions including the provincial prison by the Northwest Arm, the poor asylum, the general hospital, the school of the blind, the convent school and Dalhousie College. Social reform focused on promoting temperance and moral renewal so that by hard work and abstinence the poor would be led to righteousness and salvation. Fingard (1999) describes Isabella Cogswell, a leading reformer:

Cogswell, a co-founder of the Protestant Orphans' Asylum.... Her activities expressed the way in which women were beginning to participate in public while maintaining their "proper sphere." Daughter of Henry H. Cogswell, a financier, evangelical and "Halifax's leading philanthropist," Isabella used the wealth left her by her father on his death in 1854 to promote most Protestant charities during the last twenty years of her life. A wealthy single woman with time for good

works, she adopted a hands-on approach to philanthropy and emphasized self-help for the poor. This was becoming the dominant middle-class approach to social welfare. Through her work on “ladies’ committees” and enthusiasm for women’s organizations, Isabella Cogswell promoted the sisterhood of emergent female benevolence and set an important precedent for a later generation of Halifax women. (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999, p. 89)

In the 1830s, Halifax had an intellectual awakening with the establishment of bookstores, newspaper, magazines and the Mechanics Institute. The promotion of education and enlightenment as a cure for social problems was evident throughout the 19th century with the establishment of schools, churches, and social and cultural organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association. However, religious divisions continued, especially in the fight for control of universities and higher education. After the arrival of the Loyalists in 1789, Kings College was established in Windsor, Nova Scotia, first as a secular institution, but soon became exclusively for Anglicans. This led to the founding of Saint Mary’s School of Catholics in 1802 by the Catholic Bishop Burke. In 1818 Dalhousie College was founded by Lord Dalhousie with the Castine endowment to build a building, but denominational bickering meant that the building was not used as a school until the 1840s. From 1876-1881 there was an attempt to form the University of Halifax with constituent colleges. When this attempt failed, the colleges attempted to survive without government funding.

By the late 19th century, industrialization was transforming New England, the mid west and central Canada. However, most heavy industry bypassed Halifax in the 19th century. There was the establishment of some manufacturing industries including textiles,

metal works, sugar refineries, and shipyard. However, the commercial interests of Montreal favored the St. Lawrence for the staple trade of fur, timber and wheat while the branch plant industrialization of John A. MacDonald's National Policy favored central Canada. By the turn of the century, Halifax had already lapsed into industrial and commercial decline. The textile factory was only marginally profitable, wooden shipbuilding was a declining industry and the British were leaving their garrison. By the end of the century, confederation had moved the centre of commerce to Montreal and Toronto and Halifax had again become a provincial capital.

### **20th Century Halifax**

By the first of the 20th century, the population of Halifax and area had reached 45,000. Industrial centers had emerged in Richmond (sugar, shipbuilding, textiles), Dartmouth (Starr's skates) and as well as the waterfront (ship repair and flour milling). The importance of the military was declining with the departure of the British garrison in 1905-1906. The Canadian Navy was established in 1910 with two old British cruisers.

This abruptly changed with the mobilization for World War I. Halifax became the staging ground for convoys of troops and supplies sent from North America to Europe. On a war footing, all industries were fully operation and housing and labour were scarce. This war mobilization was the cause of the Halifax explosion of 1917 (Ruffman & Howell, 1994). On December 5th, 1917, the Mont Blanc, carrying almost 3,000 tons of explosives arrived at the entrance to the Halifax harbour (Bird, 1962). After waiting all night for entry, on the morning of December 6th, it sailed up the harbour through the stream toward the Bedford Basin to await its convey. Suddenly, a Belgian relief ship, the Imo, came out of the basin through the narrows heading directly for the Mont Blanc's hull. Whistles



blared as both ships turned to the west, making a collision inevitable. The Imo's bow cut into the front section of the Mont Blanc, the scrapping metal sending sparks starting a fire in the gun cotton and benzol on the deck of the Mont Blanc. The Imo pulled back and disengaged, however, the Mont Blanc crew, knowing that a fire would quickly lead to an explosion, abandoned ship and rowed to the Dartmouth side of the harbour, taking shelter in the woods.

The Mont Blanc drifted to the Richmond docks, while the harbour firefighting boat came to douse the flames. By this time, many from the working class suburb of Richmond were watching the blaze and came to the wharf to help. The Mont Blanc drifted to the wharf, which caught on fire. At 9:05 a.m., the Mont Blanc, with its almost 3,000 tons of picric acid and TNT, exploded. This explosion was the largest the world had ever seen. Almost all of Richmond, the wharfs, factories and houses were leveled by the explosion. Barbara Orr, a girl of 7, recounted how she was blown from her house 2,000 feet through the air and landed on the top of Needham Hill. Most of North Dartmouth was also leveled including the First Nations community at Tuft's Cove. Most of the houses in the northern part of Halifax were damaged, with fires started throughout the city. All windows throughout Halifax were shattered; many who were looking out the windows suffered eye damage and blindness. A tidal wave drown many working on the docks and on the ships in the harbour. Sixteen hundred were killed, 7,000 were injured and 20,000 were left homeless.

The response was an immediate sending of relief, from the Maritimes, from the rest of Canada and the rest of the world. An entire relief train, with medical supplies and personnel was sent from Boston. The Halifax Relief Commission was established with

broad powers to expropriate land, to grant disability and relief pensions and to build temporary and permanent housing. The north part of Halifax was rebuilt. This reconstruction included both the docks and shipyards of Richmond and a new relief housing development, the Hydrostone. This public housing, the first in Canada, was designed in the "garden terrace" plan of recent English town planning. The North Street train station was replaced with a new railway line to the south end of Halifax and the development of the deep sea terminals including Piers 20, 21, and 22.

The period between the wars was a period of rebuilding and attempted recovery for Halifax. Many of the north-end industries, including sugar refining, rail car manufacture, and textiles, never were reestablished. The 1920s and the Great Depression of the 1930s were not prosperous times for Halifax or the Maritimes. The population of Halifax increased from 68,000 in 1921 to 97,000 in 1941 (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland).

World War II brought a boom similar to the World War I, with Halifax the main assembly harbour for Atlantic convoys to supply Britain from North America. War was closer to home as the Battle of the Atlantic included German submarines off the coast harassing coastal shipping. At the end of the war, sailors and soldiers stationed in Halifax staged a two day riot, looting liquor and downtown stores and enjoying the freedom of the city. The national press blamed the price gouging of local merchants and the lack of hospitality for wartime service men for setting the conditions for the riot, but the commission of inquiry blamed the navy brass for not being prepared to control their men (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland).

After the war, many feared that Halifax would slip into a depression; however, the growth of the state funded employment in science, education, health, and government

services, supplied the jobs for an expanding economy. The population of the Halifax area increased from 97,000 in 1941 to 194,000 in 1961, almost three times the rate of growth of the 1920s and 1930s (see Table 1). The growth of the state in the 1950s and 1960s had a profound effect on Halifax. The growth of scientific research included the expansion of universities and the founding of the Bedford Institute of Oceanography that focused on geologic and ecological exploration of the oceans. The Cold War provided a continued rationale and funding for the Canadian Navy. The baby boom of the post-war period fueled the growth of education, first the primary and secondary schooling in the 1950s and then the expansion of higher education in the 1960s. An example of this expansion is Saint Mary's University, in 1960 a small Catholic college of 300 men, which by 1970 became a secular coeducational university with 2,500 students. The introduction of medicare in the 1960s greatly helped to expand medical services, both hospitals and medical research. And government itself became a major employer, with over 30% of the urban work force employed directly by the provincial and federal government.

The urban redevelopments of the 1960s and 1970s lead to the substantial opposition being mobilized throughout the community. The clearing of Africville and downtown Halifax for Scotia Square met with substantial resistance. The lack of community consultation, consent, and restitution is still an open sore for the former residents of Africville. The opposition to the destruction of the downtown historic buildings and the building of a harbour expressway lead to the creation of Heritage Trust and the establishment of the Historic Properties and the Waterfront Development Corporation. In 1970, a coalition of community groups formed MOVE, the Movement for Citizen Voice and Action, to present an alternative view and model of urban development

and students and activists formed the Ecology Action Centre to promote environmental awareness (Kerans, 1996). Here is a description of the new reaction to this development from above:

A new coalition, Movement for Citizen Voice and Action (MOVE), quickly became a force to be reckoned with, demanding much greater public input into the urban planning process. In late 1970 a number of community groups began meeting to discuss their dissatisfaction with the process of the newly created Metropolitan Area Planning Committee (MAPC). By mid-May the coalition had incorporated as MOVE and was beginning the difficult job of juggling the responsibilities of lobbying all levels of government for social change with providing services and training programs for its member organizations. (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999, p. 177)

In the early 1980s off shore oil and gas exploration led to a construction boom. By the end of the 1980s this boom had passed but the development of the waterfront led to increases tourism and conventions. By the 1990s job losses in government operations, especially the coast guard and the military, were being replaced by new technology jobs in software, new media, and film. The transformation of a waterfront electrical power generating station into the Electropolis Sound Stage in 1996, is symbolic of this transformation. Halifax, freed from its military and industrial past, is now building a new economy based on image, electronics, and communication.

## **Political Economy of Halifax**

### **Halifax's Work Force in the 1990s**

Most employment in Halifax is in the service and knowledge industries (Statistics Canada, 1999). Of the 1996 workforce of 173,000, over 146,000 or 84% work in these industry divisions. This includes 25,000 government workers, 31,000 in wholesale and retail trade, 23,000 in business and financial services and 26,000 in accommodation and other service industries. As well, 14,000 work in education, 20,000 work in health and social services and 7,000 work in communications. This compares with 27,000 in the primary and secondary industries: 11,000 in manufacturing; 9,000 in construction; 7,000 in transportation; and 2,000 in primary industries.

If each industry division is examined in detail, interesting patterns emerge. The 25,000 government workers are divided between employees of the federal government (12,000), the provincial government (10,000) and the municipal government (3,000) The federal government employees are officers and enlisted ranks of the department of defence (7,000), civilian employees of the department of defence (2,000), fisheries and coast guard (1,500) and other federal departments of health, environment, human resource development, Canada Mortgage and Housing Commission, National Research Council, and public works (1,500). The provincial government employees include both administrative and clerical workers in government departments such as justice, transportation, economic development and tourism, social services, health and education as well as employees of a variety of government run agencies including the Nova Scotia Liquor Commission, sport and recreation commission and the Nova Scotia Museum, Art Gallery, and Archives. The provincial government number does not include employees of

hospitals, school boards, social service agencies and universities which would add another 34,000 workers to the 10,000 directly employed by the provincial government. The 3,000 municipal employees work in public works, protection services (fire and police), administration, recreation and libraries. With the addition of the employees in education and health, 59,000 or 34% of the employees in the Halifax area, work directly or indirectly for the three levels of government (Statistics Canada, 1999).

The largest group working in the private sector are 31,000 workers in wholesale and retail trade. Halifax is the center for wholesale trade in the province, with major distribution warehouses in the two large industrial parks of Burnside and Bayers Lake. These industrial parks are also becoming retail centres, with the advent of “big box” retail “power centres” with stores such as Costco, Home Depot and WalMart. Most of the employees in retail are part-time or commission employees, with low average wages. The difference between working conditions in the public sector and the private sector is seen in the debate on privatization of the Nova Scotia Liquor Commission. Although the government makes over \$100,000,000 in profit from the Nova Scotia Liquor Commission each year, the government announced in the 2000 budget that it is investigating the possibility of privatizing the operation of liquor stores (Nova Scotia Government, 2000). Currently, clerks and cashiers in the stores are government employees and members of the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union, receiving annual wages of over \$30,000 a year. Most clerks and cashiers in private sector retail are part-time employees and are not represented by a union. Many earn less than half of what the Nova Scotia Liquor Commission employees do. The government call for examining options for improving efficiency and effectiveness can be seen as a drive to decrease wages and benefits for

large groups of employees. This has already happened for employees in the post office, airport, railways and utilities as the federal and provincial governments privatize important sectors of the economy.

The next group in the private sector are over 23,000 workers in business and financial services. Halifax is a regional center for law, accounting, banking and insurance. Although the Bank of Nova Scotia moved its head office to Toronto in the 19th century, and Nova Scotia Savings and Loan and Central Trust have been absorbed by the Toronto Dominion Bank, Halifax still has one Canadian head office of a financial company, Maritime Life Assurance, which is owned by John Hancock Insurance of Boston. The largest employers in this category are the call centres which process orders, provide support, conduct surveys and engage in direct marketing. In the last 5 years, some of the large call centre operations to come to Halifax include the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (500 employees), ICT Ltd (1800 employees) Staples Ltd (500 employees) and Miniacs Ltd (300 employees). The financial institutions are centralizing their systems, closing down their community branches and replacing employees with automatic teller machines. This sector, like the retail sector, is experiencing great changes in employment patterns with the increasing use of electronic commerce.

The 26,000 workers in accommodation, food and other service work make up most of the work force for the tourism industry. Tourism already makes up over 5% of the economy of Nova Scotia and is one of the fast growing sectors. In Halifax, most of the revenue is generated from meetings and conventions and the summer festival season. The marketing of the image and the culture of Halifax is becoming an increasingly

important draw in promoting the industry. However, most jobs in this sector are low paying and few offer benefits.

Three thousand of the 7,000 in employees in communications and utilities work for two companies, MTT (formerly Maritime Telephone and Telegraph, the telephone company) and Emera (formerly Nova Scotia Power, the electric utility). Both of these companies are undergoing major reorganizations. MTT has just merged with NB Tel, Island Tel and NewTel to form Aliant, the Atlantic Canada subsidiary of Bell Telephone. With deregulation there has been competition for long distance (Sprint and AT&T), wireless (Rogers Cantel) and now local service from the cable companies. However, the Atlantic telephone companies have diversified into information technology (X-wave and Maritime Information Technology), internet service, electronic commerce and venture capital for new information and media companies. The rapid advancement of communication and information technology makes this a dynamic sector with more growth outside the traditional regulated services. Nova Scotia Power, formerly owned by the Nova Scotia government, was privatized in 1996. The company planned to diversify into communication services, but announced in the spring of 2000 that it had formed a strategic alliance with MTT and sold its communication subsidiary Enercom to MTT. The competition for MTT is coming from Eastlink Cable Company, ATT/ Cantel and C-1 Communications. Local companies that have made it the high tech communications field include InfoActive, a call managing software, PhotoShare, which manages digital photo images on the Web, and FocalMarine with produces fibre optics for the marine industry. The growing part of communications is television and movie production. This industry, based on story and narrative, will be examined in more detail in the next section.



The manufacturing industry in Halifax only provides employment for 11,000 workers, 6% of the workforce (Statistics Canada, 1999). Large employers include the shipyards (600 workers), Imperial Oil Refinery (200 workers), Hermes Electronics (military supplier, 400 workers) STD computers (200 workers) and Pratt Whitney (500 workers). Many of the smaller manufacturers are producers of food products, wood products and printing.

Construction and primary industry workers make up the last 11,000 of the workforce. The construction industry is highly cyclical with suburban and downtown office construction of the 1960s to the 1980s replaced with retail and distribution centre construction in the industrial parks in the 1990s. As the economy moves from the factory and the retail store to the electronic workplace and the e-commerce mall, more and more construction will be of the virtual form. The local developers have adapted to these infrastructure needs by wiring office buildings, hotels and even warehouses with networks and communication infrastructure.

In examining the work force by occupation, 60,000 or 35% of the workforce are in managerial and professional occupations (Statistics Canada, 1999). This includes 18,000 who are managers, 9,000 who work in scientific and technical occupations, 11,000 who work in the health professions, 12,000 who work in professions in social science, education and government, 6,000 working in the arts, and 4,000 professionals in business, finance and administration. The remaining 86,000 knowledge and service workers make up 49% of the workforce including 32,000 who work in business and administrative occupations, and 54,000 who work in sales and service. Altogether there are 146,000 who work in knowledge and service occupations, 84% of the workforce of

173,000. For the trades, 21,000 work as tradesmen and operators, 4,000 work at processing and 2000 work in the primary industry occupations.

### **Case Study of the Knowledge Industry: Salter Films**

The growth of communications and the arts is exemplified by the growth of the film, video, and music industry in Halifax and Nova Scotia. The film industry has grown to over a \$100,000,000 industry in the province and the music industry is almost half of this size. Although Halifax has always produced regional radio and television programs (Don Messer, Sing Along Jubilee), the film industry did not materialize until the 1980s. A local film production firm, Salter Street Films started by Michael and Paul Donovan in 1981, is now a multi-million dollar company listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange. This company almost did not make it in Nova Scotia. Let me tell their story.

Paul (director) and Michael (producer) are brothers who graduated from Dalhousie University in the 1970s, Paul in physics and Michael in law. However, Paul's dream was to be a film maker. He went to London and enrolled in a British film school and returned to Halifax in 1979 to make feature films. Michael, although articling and completing his bar exams, decided that he did not want to practice law so he joined his brother to be his producer. In the late 1970s when the federal government had a film tax credit program, Michael raised \$500,000 for Paul to make his first feature film, "South Pacific 1942." Although the film had some technical merit, it could not attract a distributor. So, the brothers decided to raise more money for a second film, "Siege," set during the Halifax police strike of 1981.

The Donovan brothers were relying on a real estate promoter, P.M. Robinson, to sell 20, \$10,000 units to raise \$200,000 for the film, the rock bottom minimum needed to

produce a feature film. Although the sales were slow, Robinson assured them that if he could not sell the units, he would invest himself and buy the remaining shares. One week before the filming was to start, with all the actors hired and the crew assembled, Robinson informed the Michael that he did not have the financial resources to buy the units himself and not enough money had been raised to proceed with the film.

I had been hired as part of the crew as the cook (the “chef du film”), so my first introduction to the crew was at the wrap party, a lament for the film not being shot. Very late in the evening (actually early in the morning), Michael berated me that this was so typical of the Maritimes. Paul would have to move to Hollywood to find the support to make his films, and an opportunity to develop a new industry in the Maritimes would be lost. “Everything is set for success,” Michael lamented, “but they just don’t have the faith in our own people to invest their money here.”

“Michael,” I said, “if this is the situation, you must tell the investors. They have much to lose if the industry does not develop here.”

“Yes, I will,” Michael replied, “Yes, I’ll do that.”

The next afternoon, I received a telephone call. The film was on. Michael had pitched the “Everything is set for success if you invest in the Maritimes” line to William (Bill) J. Ritchie, the principal of Scotia Bonds and a financier for the Sobey’s, the regional grocery and shopping centre chain. Bill liked the concept of a film industry in the Maritimes (the Sobey’s happen to own all the theatres in Halifax outright, or own the shopping centres where the cinemas are located). He promised Michael that he would raise the money. Within a week the filming started. Shot in 2 weeks (usually 6 weeks is the minimum for a low budget feature film), “Siege” was a financial and critical success.

The plot involved a vigilante gang attacking a gay club during a police strike, with one person escaping and seeking refuge in an apartment building. When the vigilantes start to attack the apartment, the occupants respond in kind and a seige ensues. Designed as a low budget action film, it was chosen by the New York Gay Film Festival for its gay positive theme.

After this critical and financial success, the Donovan brothers produced more feature films, then branched into television with the “Codco” and “This Hour has 22 Minutes” comedy series. The company is now diversifying into new media with the Webcasting services of Q1234.com and InvestorCanada.com. It is the major investor and utilizer of the Electropolis sound stage in the former waterfront power plant and it is behind the initiative to start a major film school in Halifax.

This industry is based on telling stories. As Michael explained his economic theory to me: “For the last 200 years, the economy has been based on selling objects to each other. This is not natural and will not continue. What people really like to do is to tell and listen to stories.”

### **Stories of the Financial Elite**

Peter Newman has been telling stories about the wealthy in Canada for over twenty years. In his latest ode to power Titans: How the Canadian Establishment Seized Power (1998) he describes Halifax as the new “Secret Garden” where in the words of lawyer Bill Mingo, “It all comes down to networking, to connections, whereas everything used to be much more preordained and unchanging.” (p. 387)

The leading Halifax companies are owned by an alliance of local and national capitalists. MTT and NS Power were both taken over, MTT by Bell Canada through

Aliant and NS Power by private investors. The Sobey and Jodrey families dominate much local business including Halifax Developments which owns Scotia Square, Park Lane, and other shopping centres and Empire Theatres which developed a new 19 screen cinema complex in Bayer's Lake.

The business elite of Halifax can be identified by examining the business and social clubs: the Halifax Club, the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, the Saraguay Club and the Waegewoltic Club. They are also evident on the voluntary boards of the major institutions including the children's hospital, the universities and major charities. Newman (1998) tells the story of how Major General Appleyard, director of Industrial Estates, formed the plan to build Scotia Square:

One summer noon-hour in 1965, fed up with waiting for local financiers to grasp the initiative, Appleyard marched into the Halifax Club and more or less commandeered nine of its members to get off their elegant butts and kick off the project. ... His dream team included Roy Jodrey, Frank Sobey, Charles MacCulloch, Sid Oland, J.C. MacKeen, Russell Harrington, Harold Connor, J.H. Mowbray and Halifax mayor Leonard Kitz, who all happened to be having lunch that day. (Newman, 1998, p. 385)

The elites in the city included representatives from the older families (Fountains, Jodreys, and Shaws) and the newcomers to the city (Rowe, Steele, and Smithers). It is possible to see the intersection of the elites in the law firms; the most established include McInnis Cooper (including the former federal cabinet minister for NS), Stewart McKelvey (brokers for Scotia Square), Cox Downie, and Patterson Palmer. Also prominent are the accounting, consulting, and advertising firms. However, meeting places

like the Halifax Club do not capture all of the elite. Newman (1998) describes John Risley, founder of Clearwater Seafood, and his reasons for leaving the club:

“I don’t fit the mold of the classic Halifax Establishment,” says Risley, who long since gave up wearing ties and quit the Halifax Club after two years of membership because he never went there. He has an ambivalent relationship with his city. He chose long ago to keep the business in Halifax, although his sales are all international and there’d be advantages to a U. S. or West Coast base.” (p. 390)

### **Shift in Power?**

The remarks by John Risley show that the basis of power is shifting in Halifax (Newman, 1998). From older family fortunes where in Bill Mingo’s words “everything used to be more preordained and unchanging” to the new information economy where power is based on “networking and connections,” the shift is most dramatic in the political realm. In the 1998 provincial election, the New Democratic Party, previously a minority protest and social movement party in Nova Scotia, won 14 of the 17 Halifax metropolitan ridings, coming within one seat of forming the government of Nova Scotia. Although they lost four of these seats in the 1999 summer election, they still are the strongest party in membership, in fund raising, and in political representation in the Halifax area.

The new economic force is the knowledge economy. The Halifax Partnership, a private sector led development board, has publicized the phrase "smart city" to designate the future. It will be a future based on innovation and research in the fields of

biotechnology, computer programming and content industries. More fundamental is the view that the community has of itself.

Ian MacKay, in his book The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (1994), shows how in the 1920s Helen Creighton discovered the "authentic" folk voice on Devil's Island in Halifax Harbour through a Mr. R. who knew 20 Child Ballads, the canon of authentic Anglo-American folk culture. This folk culture has been restored through the museum system and the ideology of the folk as the view of Nova Scotia. A music industry is growing on the basis of "East Coast" sound of Rita MacNeil and the Rankin Family. This creation of images is being handled by promotional firms such as Brookes Diamond Productions and MacArthur, Thompson, Law Advertising, and Public Relations. This work is starting to define what the voice of Nova Scotia should be and create cultural products for local consumption and export.

This cultural shift is having a profound effect on Halifax. The film, recording, content, and service industries are replacing the government sector as the areas of most employment creation. The other fundamental change is technological. Halifax has one of the most used free-nets in the country with over 1,000,000 inquiries within a year. It is a leader in repackaging information for databases and info malls. The quality of life has been attracting others with information economy skills like the Buddhist community and James Roswell who runs a computer bookstore that was one of the first bookstores on the Internet. This shows a sophisticated community with a high level of education working on projects on international scope. McKay (1994) describes the possibilities:

The task that faces any possible left is to imagine another Nova Scotian community, one that open the doors that Innocence (the Quest for the Folk) so firmly closed to people of colour, to women, to gays and lesbians, to workers, and to rural producers, to the history of popular struggle and resistance, and to an optimistic, open-ended sense of a common future. New heroes, a new canon of significant events, and a new language of belonging could emerge as the old canon and the old pantheon of heroes are transformed to accommodate a new politics of culture. There will probably always be, in any readily imaginable Nova Scotia, a “politics of cultural selection,” but this politics could conceivably be divorced from the narrow class and commercial criteria and the vulgar culturalism that since the 1920s have decisively shaped it.” (p. 308)

This new image of the future has a critical role for adult education for social change. With culture replacing trade in primary commodities (fish, wood, and oil) and service to the garrison as the motor of the Halifax economy, adult educators have a role in working with the excluded to valorize their stories, tell the history of popular struggle and resistance and create a democratic culture where all share in the creation of value. The next section will survey the excluded of Halifax, those who through poverty, unemployment, racism, and lack of education have the most to contribute to the growth of a democratic culture.



## **The Excluded**

### **Poverty**

As the history of Halifax shows, the city was founded on class differences, land appropriation from the First Nations, and expulsion of the Acadians from the province. The practice of slavery lasted for 40 years and the Black Loyalists were effectively excluded from full participation in society. The origin of poverty in race and class divisions in Halifax has very deep roots.

In the 19th century, the temperance movement, led by women's groups and the black church, was a strong social movement to combat poverty and its effects. Social institutions such as the poor asylum, the school for the blind, orphanages, and numerous prisons were established to deal with the effects of poverty. Even the spread of industry was regarded negatively for its effect on child labour and general morals.

By the 20th century, the housing crisis of the depression and the two world wars created "shanty towns" at the edges of the city in Spryfield, Kline Heights, Beechville, Africville, and Woodside. With few services of water and sewage, these communities were often temporary shelter for many workers.

The urban redevelopment of the 1960s targeted slum removal and displacement to public housing. It was focused on removal of housing downtown and in Africville and building public housing in Mulgrave Park (Richmond), Uniacke Square (Gottingen Street), Rockingstone (Spryfield) and Bayers Westwood (Fairview Cove). The provision of new housing did not solve the problems of lack of education and employment and often broke

down the social networks built up in the strong communities of Africville and downtown Halifax.

As mentioned in the second section on the social geography of Halifax, these clusters of low income and education are very evident from the census. The lowest median household incomes from the 1996 census were district 10 (Gottingen Street) \$16,475, 56% low income; district 15 (Spryfield) \$26,865, 37% low income; district 23 (Bayers Westwood) \$28,815, 33% low income; district 110 (Downtown Dartmouth) \$14,884, 55% low income; district 114 (North End Dartmouth) \$22,152, 44% low income (Statistics Canada, 1999). Similar patterns exist for educational level.

The recent response to poverty has been dual, private and public. Since the 1980s the volunteer response led by the churches has been to form food banks and the public sector response has been for cost containment of social services through employment and integration.

The food bank response came at the time of the unemployment crisis of the 1980s. There was a realization that public welfare efforts were not enough and an immediate need for hunger must be met. At the same time emergency shelters for women and children fleeing abuse relationships were established and Hope Cottage was started to provide meals for the homeless. From the start the volunteers of the food bank wanted to take political action to solve the problem rather than just provide relief. In the 1990s the food bank staff and board devised a strategic campaign to phase out the food bank by the year 2000. Part of the strategy was to provide educational counseling and employment programs. However, by the end of the 1990s the food bank staff and board realized that

the time line was too short to and it was necessary to postpone the realization of this target.

The provincial government response has been to try to limit the cost of social services. In the 1980s the Minister of Social Services launched a campaign to deny family benefits to teenaged single mothers. The government has continued to keep rates low and to emphasize counseling and employment. However, the unemployment rate of 10% for most of the 1980s and 1990s made it difficult for those on benefits to find work. And the maximum wage has not risen until recently, providing only 40% of the necessary income for a family to reach the poverty line.

### **Unemployment**

Related to poverty is the problem of the lack of employment. The recessions of the early 1980s and 1990s sent unemployment rates soaring, to over 12% in 1982 and over 10% in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1999). Unemployment, although difficult, is even worse outside the metro area, with over 20% unemployment in industrial Cape Breton, leading many job seekers to come to Halifax searching for jobs. In the last 10 years, there has been a significant reduction in government employment, especially the unionized government jobs with living wages and benefits. Job growth has been in service industries such as call centres which provide low wages, little security and meager benefits.

In the 1980s the federal Employment and Immigration Department initiated a Canada Jobs Strategy to fund training in high demand areas (Government of Canada, 1985). A number of community based training centres were established through local agencies such as the YMCA, YWCA, Halifax Board of Trade and Dartmouth Work

Activity programs. There was also recruitment of equity groups to provide training to specific groups including blacks, First Nations, disabled, and women. The membership of Metro Council on Continuing Education by the late 1980s included over 40 agencies receiving funding from the federal employment commission for training programs.

In the 1990s the Conservative federal government accessed the Unemployment Insurance Fund for training dollars through the forming of labour market development boards. When the Liberals abandoned this strategy to focus on cost cutting, they promised to devolve training to the provinces. By the end of the 1990s most of the community based employment training programs have been closed. Politicians, educators and potential adult students agree that there are not the opportunities to study for literacy, school completion or job training. Yet little improvement to the funding problem is in sight. In fact, the school board, a major provider of job training and employment programs, has just closed its community partnerships division and is refusing to establish any programs for adults over age 21.

### **Racism**

Intertwined with the problems of poverty and unemployment is the racism against two historical groups, the black population and the Mi'kmaw First Nation. The black population has historically had little opportunity with low income, low employment, and low education. A riot in 1991 over a colour bar in the downtown taverns attracted national attention. The 1994 report of the Black Learners Advisory Committee showed the deeply ingrained racism in the educational institutions. Social inequality is linked to unemployment and racism. The urban redevelopment of the 1960s that destroyed the

black community of Africville for a park is symptomatic of relations of power and politics that has happened in the city in the last 30 years.

The strategy of the Council on African Canadian Education and the Black Educators Association is to emphasize black culture and achievement to raise the public and self image of the African Nova Scotian community. This has been especially effective with the performing arts; in the last 10 years there has been a black renaissance of music, playwrights, actors, and local theater companies. In January, 2000 over 9,000 people filled the Halifax Metro Centre to view Juba'lee, a celebration of black music and culture. However, educational achievement and jobs have been difficult to achieve.

The closest First Nations communities are based on the nearby reserves at Shubenacadie (65 km) and Millbrook (100 km) so they do not have as much immediate presence as the black community. However, since the 1980s the Micmac Native Friendship Centre on Gottingen Street has sponsored education and employment training programs that have become the Kjiptuk Community College. For First Nations university students, the Federation of Mainland Mi'kmaw provides a post secondary education officer at Dalhousie University.

Racism in Nova Scotia was named in the inquiry into the Marshall wrongful conviction for murder in 1990. The inquiry, called after Donald Marshall was released from prison after serving 7 years for a murder that he did not commit, named racism as an embedded problem in the justice system in Nova Scotia. It called for the training of black and First Nations lawyers and legal workers to expose this racism and reform the system. This resulted in the Indigenous Black and Mi'kmaw (IBM) access program at Dalhousie Law School. This program has graduated many black and Mi'kmaw lawyers, but none

have been hired by the four largest law firms in Halifax. A threat to require law firms to practice employment equity to receive provincial government service contracts may change this practice.

### **Literacy**

The educational services for Halifax are many and varied. The school board provides 50,000 students with instruction from over 3,000 teachers. Although the Halifax school board has a long history of continuing education, in the latest budget cutbacks of March, 2000 the Department of Community Partnerships was eliminated and responsibility for evening and literacy programs was given to the school principals. The school board is willing to take responsibility for providing educational upgrading to the 5,000 youth between age 16 and 21 who have not completed high school, but does not receive funding for adults over age 21 who wish to upgrade their education.

There are a myriad of community and social agencies offering literacy and adult education upgrading programs. These vary from agencies that provide individual literacy tutors such as Dartmouth Literacy and the Halifax Library system, to social agencies such as Veith House and Dartmouth Work Activity which have integrated a literacy component and educational upgrading into their programs. Many upgrading programs have been established to meet the needs of designated groups such as the Kjiptuk Community College, the African Nova Scotian Training Centre, and the Lucasville Learning Centre. These programs use education to improve self esteem and employment skills, the learning that is needed to fully participate in current society. Some agencies have a more developmental or leisure view of learning, such as the YMCA and some of

the other recreation groups. All have an interest in helping individuals to contribute to the society.

There are three campuses of the Nova Scotia Community College serving 2,000 full time students and 5,000 adults through evening courses and contract training. The current focus for the community college is updating its trades and technologies programs and developing new programs in business and applied arts. The college is integrating Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) into all of its programs. Because of funding constraints, the college has very few spaces for educational upgrading. Often the college receives three to four times the number of applicants for each program space available. The college is developing an extensive evening program, both general interest courses, and part-time certificate and diploma programs.

Halifax has six degree-granting universities: Dalhousie, Saint Mary's, Mount Saint Vincent, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Kings College, and Atlantic School of Theology. Altogether these six institutions have over 20,000 full-time and 6,000 part-time students. Responsibility for access, upgrading and continuing education varies with each institution.

For 30 years Dalhousie University has operated the Transition Year Program (TYP) for African Nova Scotian and Mi'kmaw students. For the last 10 years, the TYP program has been part of Henson College of Public Affairs and Continuing Education. However, the Dalhousie University administration has advised the faculty and staff of Henson College that a new Dean will not be appointed and the various programs (information technology, business certificates, educational upgrading and TYP) will be

integrated into various other units of Dalhousie University. Other faculties at Dalhousie University already operate continuing professional education programs.

Saint Mary's University operates extension courses (including courses at public libraries, community centres, and through the World Wide Web), professional development programs (including a Diploma Program in Community Economic Development with the Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute) and information technology programs. Mount Saint Vincent has combined continuing education with distance learning and offers a variety of programs using television and internet instruction. Nova Scotia College of Art and Design offers an extensive evening program through continuing education. Atlantic School of Theology has an innovative Diploma in Pastoral Ministry that appeals to many non-ordained personnel working or volunteering with the churches. Only Kings College, which is closely affiliated with Dalhousie University, does not have an access or continuing education program.

### **History of Adult Education for Social Change in Halifax**

The influence of Jimmy Tompkins, Moses Coady, and the Antigonish Movement on Halifax can be seen in the work of Guy Henson and his colleagues Muriel Duckworth, William Oliver, and Tom Parker. Guy Henson set up the first adult education division of a provincial department of education in Canada in 1945. He recruited many community leaders to work with him including Muriel Duckworth, William Oliver, and Tom Parker. The work of the adult education division was based on three principles: education for democracy, education must involve participation and artistic expression, and education is necessary to solve the problems of racism and poverty.



In the pamphlet Adult Education in Nova Scotia, Guy Henson (1954) describes the methodology of folk schools to train leadership from communities in democratic methods. He would bring together 40 to 60 community leaders for 2 weeks of residential training in leadership, theatre, economics, and politics. In the 1950s and 1960s he hired two community leaders to work with specific groups, Muriel Duckworth to work with parents to form Home and School Associations, and William Oliver to work with the black community.

### **Muriel Duckworth**

Muriel has lived in Halifax since 1947 when she came with her husband Jack Duckworth who was the local secretary of the YMCA. Muriel was active in the Student Christian Movement at McGill University as a student in the 1920s and attended Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1929-1930. Under the direction of Charles Webber she did field work in Hell's Kitchen in lower Manhattan, working with Myles Horton, a fellow student, her contemporary at Union Theological Seminary. On return to Montreal she worked with the Student Christian Movement at McGill University, and in the 1940s worked on organizing kindergarten programs, forming home and school associations, and arranging parent education.

This is how Kerans (1996), in her biography, Muriel Duckworth, A Very Active Pacifist, describes Duckworth's entry into adult education in Halifax:

During that first year, Muriel came into contact with Tom Parker, the progressive principal of Bloomfield School. They met through an adult education program which Parker had introduced in the school. This was based on the YMCA's "So Ed" program Muriel was pleased when, after learning of her background, Tom

invited her to co-teach a course for parents of preschool children, one evening a week for six weeks. She enjoyed doing this and prepared a reference list of toys, records and books appropriate for preschoolers for distribution to the parents who to the course.

While working at Bloomfield School, Muriel met Guy Henson, director of the newly established Adult Education Division of the provincial Department of Education, and Donald Wetmore, advisor in Drama. Henson drove her home the night of the season's closing and on the spot invited her to come and work for them as an adviser on parent education. He offered her \$300.00 a year for a half-time job (Muriel had been paid \$500 a year working for the SCM half time fifteen years before) but Muriel held out for \$500.00 so that she would have enough money for street car fare and for help at home. (p. 68)

Kerans describes her work with the Adult Education Division, part-time until 1962 when she became a full-time secretary to the division and continued her work on parent education. She worked hard to organize home and school associations throughout the province, imbuing them with the progressive philosophy of active education for the community. She worked closely with the black community, working with them on the problems they had endured being denied access and support for education.

During the 1960s, Duckworth was a founding member of the Voices of Women for Peace and Disarmament (Kerans, 1996). She was active on the national scene, including chairing the Montreal conference for peace. On the local scene, with the local chapters of Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) and Universities Combined for Nuclear Disarmament (UCND), she helped support an inner city youth program.

Duckworth also helped to form the Movement for Citizen's Voice and Action (MOVE) in Halifax (Kerans, 1996). In 1969, the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission sponsored a week long visit of 12 external urban planning experts to Halifax to meet with local officials and hold public meetings. Kerans describes Duckworth's intervention:

Muriel attended all of Encounter's public events and during one large meeting she went to the mike to protest that there were no women among the experts. She told them that she was sure that with a little effort they could have found five or six equally competent women to sit on the panel so that there would be a balance between women and men. A burst of applause followed her remarks...It marked the first time in a mixed group that she had publicly protested the inequality of women — their experience and knowledge being completely ignored in this forum. (p. 160)

After the external encounter and with very little response from the government to the exercise, a coalition formed to take things in their own hands. When a public meeting in 1970 outlined a new plan, an alternate group came together requesting funding for a founding conference for a citizen's coalition. Kerans (1996) describes the composition of the coalition:

At length they decided the coalition should be composed of groups that were trying to get something for themselves as opposed to groups that wanted to do things for other people (such as social workers) ... It meant that the citizens coalition would be controlled by people who had a stake in making changes; and it allowed for an incredible diversity in terms of class and race...Some of the

groups invited included the Africville Action Committee, Halifax Welfare Rights, Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, The Downtown Businessmen's Association, Ecology Action Centre, the Nova Scotia Housing Tenants' Association, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ward Five Resources Council, Union of Nova Scotia Indians, the One Parent Family Association and the Voice of Women. (p. 162)

The organization focused on city wide issues such as opposing the Harbour Drive, a six-lane highway which would bring traffic through an inner city neighborhood to downtown. The coalition was active in opposing property development schemes, such as the sale of land on Quinpool Road by the Catholic Church to a developer to put up a high density development. Muriel worked with the coalition to teach organizing and educational methods to diverse groups, finding consensus at meetings, issuing press releases, organizing protests. The coalition helped form and influence many community organizations that still exist in Halifax today.

### Tom Parker

Tom Parker studied at Teachers College, Columbia University, in the 1930s under William Kilpatrick and George Counts. While teaching after his return to Halifax during the depression he realized the low status of teachers in the province and started working with the teachers' association for improvement. As principal of Bloomfield School, one of the large north end high schools, he started a large adult education program making the school relevant to the community. For the next 40 years he worked on two related missions, to improve conditions for teachers through the Nova Scotia Teachers Union and to extend educational opportunities for adults (Parker, 1963).

Active in the Nova Scotia Teachers Association in the 1930s and 1940s, he became the first paid executive secretary in 1950 (Fergusson, 1990). Parker worked hard for two fundamental changes, the achievement of universal membership with compulsory check off for union fees and province wide collective bargaining. The results of his organizing work include the change in the name to the Nova Scotia Teachers Union in 1955 and the achievement of national salary scales throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Parker was the driving force behind the union, emphasizing the link to organized labour and the professionalism necessary to build an educated society. He was also an active supporter of adult education, community schools, and extension work. Parker worked with Guy Henson and the Adult Education Division to encourage evening and adult programs throughout the province.

On retirement from the Nova Scotia Teachers Union in 1972, Parker became the first Director of Extension and Summer Session for Dalhousie University. He built up the summer program, especially for teachers, and developed a new undertaking for Dalhousie University, extension work. He was instrumental in forming Metro Council on Continuing Education in 1972 and the Atlantic Provinces Association for University Continuing Education (APACUE) in 1973. Parker was an accomplished organizer and networker and even after his second retirement in 1977, at meetings of Metro Council or APACUE, his name was invoked as someone who would make the right process happen.

### **William Oliver**

William Oliver grew up on the Acadia University campus where he attended school and received his Bachelor of Theology degree in 1948 (Pachai, 1979; Thomson, 1986). In 1955, he became the minister of Halifax's Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, the

“mother” church for the African United Baptist Association; he held this position for 15 years until 1970. In the 1950s and 1960s he was a leader in the black community and a founder of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. He worked closely with Guy Henson and the Adult Education Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education, first as a part-time fieldworker for the black community (1962-1970), then as a full time regional representative (1970-77). He was central in the movement of the 1960s that founded the Black United Front, an organization founded to improve conditions for the black community in Nova Scotia.

In 1968 a group of Black Panthers, including Stokely Carmichael, visited Halifax. Up to that time the black community had been very silent, but the forced removal of Africville had galvanized issues of education, employment, and income. The result of the community meeting was pressure on the government to recognize and fund the Black United Front, a social service agency for the black community. Although the dependence on government funding was controversial throughout the Black United Front's existence until the 1990s, the organization did much to bring forward the struggles of the black communities throughout the province. In the 1970s, William Oliver focused his energies on building another organization, the Society for the Protection and Preservation of Black Culture in Nova Scotia or the Black Cultural Centre, to raise the public and self image of the black community. After obtaining a site in Cherry Brook from the Home for Coloured Children and the support from the federal government, the Centre was opened in 1981.

The practice of Guy Henson, Muriel Duckworth, Tom Parker, and William Oliver demonstrates the impact of adult educators working for social change. They all made substantial contributions to the community, both in terms of providing educational

opportunities through evening programs and community groups but also in a legacy of the importance of process, democracy, and protest to achieve social betterment. Their work and achievements make this current study possible.

### **CHAPTER 3**

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITERATURE OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE**

This chapter critically reviews and assesses theoretical constructs from the literature of adult education for social change. In my view, theory should empower and benefit adult education practitioners and adult learners. As a practitioner, I know the value that such theoretical concepts as consciousness raising, social analysis and praxis have for adult educational practice. I also know that many adult education practitioners are part of new social movements -- feminism, ecology, the peace movement, community and workplace struggles. These social movements have "theories-in-use" (Schon, 1983) that are forms of adult education practice. However until recently, the adult educational literature of North America does not contain reflections on these theories-in-use. This review of the literature of adult education will explore this absence -- how and why the adult educational discourse in North American from the 1970s and 1980s screened out the significant experience of new social movements from its theoretical formulations and definitions of research problems. This review will then examine a series of articles that in the late 1980s and early 1990s systematically raised these excluded issues. The review then examines theoretical concepts from an influential theorist of emancipatory practice, Foucault (1983), and the experience of popular educators. The chapter concludes with an examination of five papers on adult education for social change from the recent Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) in Vancouver, British Columbia in June, 2000.



### **The Origin of Our Present Context:**

As a self-conscious social movement, adult education began in North America in the 1920s and 1930s. Events such as the founding of the American Adult Education Association (1925) and the publication of Eduard Lindeman's "The Meaning of Adult Education" (1926) show the emergence of an association and program to promote adult education as a social practice. As Rockhill (1985), Brookfield (1984), and Rose (1989) show, the adult education movement was part of the progressive education movement; its ideology was based on belief in the liberating power of education to solve personal and social problems. This ideology contained various contradictions; it possessed a critique of existing social relations while maintaining faith in progress to solve any problems uncovered by this critique.

As a professional field of study, adult education began in the 1930s with the founding of graduate study at Columbia University and other leading universities. By 1960, 15 universities had separate departments of adult education. The profession and discipline of adult education which was developing during this period were influenced by the prevailing political climate. Law (1988), in his paper "Adult Education, McCarthyism and the Cold War," documented the decisive impact that McCarthyism and the Cold War had on the discourse in adult education journals. The purpose of adult education shifted from a social learning focus from the social movements of the 1920s and 1930s to an individualistic focus of producing the necessary change for individuals to adjust to societal roles in the 1950s and 1960s.

### **The Dominant Paradigm of the 1960s and 1970s: Houle, Knowles, and Kidd**

The effects of this change in focus can be seen in the writings of Cyril Houle (1972), Malcolm Knowles (1980) and Roby Kidd (1973). Houle drew upon Tyler's (1949) paradigm of defining program objectives to prescribe an controlled, instrumental format for all adult educational practice. Knowles (1980) based his theory of andragogy on the humanist psychology of Rogers (1961) and Maslow (1943) which ignores social conflicts to focus exclusively on individual needs, interests, and development. Kidd (1973) in his book How Adults Learn used the dominant psychological theories of behaviorism and humanism to ground his descriptions of adult learning practice. Although all three writers invoke the rhetoric of the progressive movement, their main purpose was to legitimate professional adult educational practice as an enlightened social policy.

These theorists have influenced adult education practice during the last fifty years through their leadership positions, research agendas and program planning models. Kidd (1973) and Knowles (1980) organized and led adult education associations and movements. Houle (1972) and Knowles defined influential research agendas and theoretical concepts. Their major books -- Houle's The Design of Education, Knowles' The Modern Practice of Adult Education, and Kidd's How Adult's Learn -- were three of the most widely used textbooks in adult education graduate programs throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Houle (1972) Knowles (1980) and Kidd (1973) would all claim that adult education should include collective action for social change, but the construction of their theories actually precludes the analysis necessary for this form of action. The dominance of their theories has hindered the discussion of the concerns raised by new

social movements (feminism, ecology, community and workplace struggles) and the examination of issues of class, race, and gender in the adult education literature.

### **Houle's System: Education as Instrumental Construct**

Cyril Houle (1972), in The Design of Education, states that two processes are required to design an educational program: examining the site where learning activity occurs, and planning of the program. He differentiates programs by their context (individual, group, institutional, or mass), who is in control of the design of the learning activity (learner, teacher, committee, or group of institutions), and the format of the activity (existing structure, modification of the institution or new institution created). Once a learning activity is situated in this grid of context, control, and structure then it is possible to proceed to the second stage, the planning of the program.

From Tyler's (1949) program planning model, Houle (1972) borrows five steps: identifying educational activities, determining objectives, designing format, implementing the program, and measuring and appraising the results. Houle adds three more steps: after identifying the activity the program planners must decide to proceed; they must relate the format to the context of the learning situation; and after appraising the results they must evaluate the need for a new activity. In choosing the format he outlines eight considerations: resources, leaders, methods, schedule, sequence, social reinforcement, individualization, roles and relations, criteria of evaluation and clarity of design. Although he states that this model is not necessarily linear it has a strong linear logic (objectives must be specified before their attainment can be measured), that is difficult to ignore.

Although Houle (1972) emphasizes that decisions are necessary before proceeding with an educational activity he does not provide any discussion of the politics and potential conflicts inherent in making these decisions. Houle is a pragmatist and a realist. He accepts the power structures that exist and his planning process serves these power structures through an instrumental focus on getting things done. Thus learning objectives are assumed to be consonant with the political power structure, so there is no need for analysis of how adult learners and educators could propose learning objectives that would question the power structure's overall legitimacy. This is evident in his four case studies. For each case, Houle focuses on a task to be done (organize a reading class, run an agricultural extension service, conduct pre-vocational courses in the army, and direct a public relations campaign), so his analysis ignores the origin, dynamics or meaning of that task for the learners. In his final example -- a private club drawing up a plan for a city's future and then directing a public relations campaign to secure public acceptance of a plan -- the objective of the adult education activity is anti-democratic and anti-participatory, against the traditions that progressive adult education has fostered.

In summary, Houle (1972) presents a system of educational planning that accepts existing power structures and does not raise issues that question established authority. Thus, although he claims to present a general theory that can encompass all of adult education, the theory actually denies a place to politically motivated social movements who wish to raise issues of power inequities and deal with questions of race, class, and gender.

### **Knowles' Andragogy: The Suppression of Conflict**

Malcolm Knowles (1980) popularized the term andragogy to describe his understanding of adult education. For Knowles, terms like pedagogy or andragogy refer to a set of related assumptions for planning educational activities. These assumptions include the interests and experiences of the learner, their readiness to learn, and their orientation to learning. Andragogy assumes the adult is interested in learning and brings a rich variety of past experiences to the learning process. Readiness to learn is dependent on the adults' life situation and because adults are practically orientated, they are interested in improving their competencies and performance. These assumptions have radical implications for adult educational practice; Knowles proposes a teaching style that will be responsive, controlled, and directed by the needs of the adult learners themselves.

Knowles (1980) distinguishes between needs and interests. Interests are surface phenomena, mere manifestations of needs. Needs are determined by Maslow's (1949) hierarchy of human needs, where the highest need is for self-actualization. In Knowles' theory of andragogy he combines the techniques of involvement and participation from progressive education with the theory of needs of the humanist psychology of Maslow and Rogers (1960). Maslow (1943) and Roger's (1961) theories are blind to issues of class, race, and gender. Usher and Bryant (1989) criticize them for universalizing a upper-class white male mode of being into a general theory of human development. As individualist theories they do not allow for a sense of collective action or a social definition of the self. Thus, in appropriating Maslow's and Roger's theories, Knowles (1980) presents a theory of adult education that is blind to gender, class, and race.

Because its major concern is self-actualization, it ignores conflicts between social classes and groups.

In Knowles' (1980) analysis of individual, institutional and community needs, he does not recognize conflict and collective action for social change. In Knowles' view institutions are similar to individuals in that they have needs for survival, safety, belonging, esteem, and self-actualization. However they are dependent on individuals to satisfy these needs so they must take individual needs into account in planning training programs to meet the organization's mission and objectives. For Knowles, the definition of community is dependent upon the organization or agency sponsoring the adult education program. Thus the organization or agency defines its interest and then surveys the community to find their response. These responses are analyzed to construct the need profile for the community. These techniques for determining needs internalize organizational and institutional interest and thus ignore the conflicts of race, class and gender. Like Maslow's (1949) theory they universalize the most widely articulated, powerful set of needs, that of the white male ruling-class, as the needs of institutions and communities. His theory provides no method for adult educators to analyze conflicts and collective action.

### **Kidd's Adult Learning**

Kidd (1973) presents a similar analysis of adult learning. In How Adults Learn, he surveys psychology for implications for adult education. He presents four concepts that adult educators have established to describe practice: self-directed learning, education-permanente, learning system, and learning force. These are abstract-theoretical concepts that were discussed at conferences and summarized in reports during the 1960s and

1970s. However, due to their generality, these concepts do not address the issues of race, class, and gender. They assume a liberal-pluralist view of society where all interests will be met through equality of opportunity present in the learning system; as the educational system is extended to include adult self-directed learning, there will be more opportunity for self-realization.

Again, Kidd (1972) bases his concept of self-realization on the conformist psychology of Maslow (1949) and Rogers (1960). Jacoby (1975) in his book Social Amnesia argues that humanist psychology denies conflicts that are present, both within the society and within the self. Any theory of education and development that ignores the conflicts of class, race, and gender will internalize these power inequities within the individual. Thus systems of education based on self-actualization, which ignore power struggles and codify existing inequities, will not present concepts helpful to adult educators interested in collective action for social change.

### **The Discourse of Adult Education: the 1970s and 1980s**

A review of the North American literature of adult education from the 1970s and 1980s published in the Adult Education Quarterly reveals that the theories articulated by Houle (1972), Knowles (1980) and Kidd (1973) form the dominant discourse. Issues of class, race, gender, and sexual orientation are absent. Most of the articles are empirical studies of participation, motivation, or retention. Scattered throughout the literature are case studies of the learning or cognitive styles of excluded groups; the learning of the ethnic or racial groups are examined with techniques and by concepts from the dominant paradigm. Although most studies do not explicitly deal with issues of race, class, and gender, many of the authors are sensitive to these concerns and try to integrate them into

their analysis. However, using the concepts from the dominant paradigm of adult education they produce very little insight into these concerns and issues. Why did individuals have to hide their interest in issues of race, class, and gender to be published in adult education journals?

The learning theories developed by feminism are the most obvious omission from the adult educational literature. In the 1980s, the Adult Education Quarterly did not publish one article that addresses these theories or discusses their implications for adult education. In academic and professional disciplines from philosophy to social work, feminist research was forcing a reconsideration of theories, concepts and research agendas. Why was this not evident in adult education in the 1980s?

Why were there so few articles examining worker education, although worker retraining, job export, and restructuring were some of the crucial issues of the 1980s? Why were there so few articles analyzing differences in adult education participation among different ethnic groups and social classes although these questions are crucial for the adult education system?

The answer to these questions requires an analysis of the internal structure of the adult education discourse. In the 1970s and 1980s adult education adopted a number of rules and regularities about what constitutes research and knowledge. Two related concerns form this discourse: adult education should be a profession requiring specialized training and knowledge; this requires a means and method for producing this specialized knowledge -- an academic discipline of adult education.

For adult education to be profession it must show that its knowledge base is cumulative, that research programs are developed and carried out to create a body of



indisputable truths that can form the basis of practice (Long, 1991). This positivist, empiricist epistemology is evident throughout the literature. It is also required for a practical reason -- adult educators must defend their status within universities and faculties of education. Thus, there is acceptance of a dominant positivist, empiricist paradigm within education faculties that states that adult educators must study reality through large scale empirical studies that use the most sophisticated statistical techniques available.

In order to be heard, adult educators concerned about race, class, and gender have had to code their concerns within the prevailing discourse. Thus, Rockhill (1982a, 1982b) writes about mandatory continuing professional education and participation studies and to bring up here concerns for voluntary participation and qualitative research. Often concern for critical issues are discussed only in historical studies such as Rockhill's (1985) reappraisal of the liberal tradition or Law's (1988) study of McCartyism. In studies of the discipline (citation patterns, reviews of research methodology and programs, and definitions of the field) there are inklings that something is being excluded, but critiques of such hegemonic constructs as self-directed learning, andragogy, and Houle's (1972) typology are slow to emerge.

Two articles that show the emergence of critique are Beder's (1987) "Dominant Paradigms, Adult Education and Social Justice" and Rubenson's (1982) "Adult Education Research: A Quest of a Map of the Territory." Beder shows that capitalism and empiricism form the dominant paradigm for adult education; capitalism provides the structure and value system while empiricism provides the knowledge system. He argues that even though adult education is dependent on these paradigms, it contains a practice

that can question and change the paradigms: "Adult education which helps the disenfranchised gain control over their own lives ... represents the crucial stimulus that can trigger significant change" (pp. 112-113).

Rubenson (1982) analyzes what governs knowledge production in adult education and argues that the territory is mainly defined by the psychological characteristics of the adult learner, ignoring the social functions of adult education. Although Rubenson detects interest in alternative research traditions critical of positivism, he says that conflict school, Marxist and neo-Marxist theories are often viewed with a negative attitude as they question the idea of a pluralist society. Rubenson invokes the need for a critical stance towards all socio-economic systems in his plea for consideration of these theories.

As evident in the articles of Beder (1987) and Rubenson (1982), critiques of the dominant paradigm started to appear in the adult education literature in the 1980s. Some writers see that the positivist paradigm has not delivered the expected results (West, 1985; Garrison, 1987; Lawson, 1985; Davenport, 1985). Others (e.g. Brookfield, 1984a) want to recover the original project of the progressive education movement. Many call for the development of qualitative and phenomenological research methodologies (Mezirow, 1971, 1978, 1981, 1984; Rockhill, 1982; Usher & Bryant, 1989). Finally, there are the voices of practitioners who want a theory relevant to their day-to-day struggles (Jean, 1984; Zacharakis-Jutz 1988). Although these critiques do not yet open up the discourse to issues of class, race, gender, and discussions of collective action, they are the first indication that the dominant paradigm does not represent all of adult education.

### Early Critiques

Throughout the 1970s critical voices were faint but present. Mezirow's (1971) "Towards a Theory of Practice" calls for the use of grounded theory research methodology to overcome the misplaced concreteness of educational objectives. Freire (1970) was reviewed but his analysis did not stimulate any wide response or discussion. Rubenson's survey of 1982 listed no comprehensive critiques of the dominant paradigm.

Rubenson's (1982) article caused empirical researchers to reexamine the standards of their work. West (1985) reviewed the statistical tests used in volumes 21 to 32 of Adult Education Quarterly and found that because of small sample size "many studies are being conducted with little chance of making a correct rejection of the null hypothesis" (p. 131). West did not feel that this finding negated empirical research but suggested that researchers should be more careful in determining sample size before conducting studies.

Garrison (1987) examined the congruence model of motivation, an example of what Rubenson (1982) called psychological reductionism in which the social context is secondary to the individual psychological variables. Garrison's study questions the adequacy and generalizability of the congruence model and suggests that motivation studies be approached from a more holistic psychosocial perspective.

Lawson (1986) offers a critique of definitional debates on adult education from an analytic philosophical tradition. He shows that the concept of "adult" is a normative concept, and definitions of adult education "are in fact highly prescriptive and enshrine values which are specific to Western cultures" (p. 42). Lawson goes on to say "even in our own culture, the concept (and the related practice) of adult education is not unitary

and any attempt to provide overall definitions does a gross injustice to the field” (p. 43). In examining educational concepts and practice, Lawson states that we are not dealing with an objective self-evident unitary reality.

Davenport (1985) reports a summary of the andragogy debate where various theorists have tried to appropriate the term for their own theories. One of the first critics of andragogy (Houle, 1972) felt that education was essentially a unitary process. The existential and phenomenological theorists defended the term by postulating a categorical difference between different social groups and their learning. After the proliferation of neologisms to describe learning in different social groups (geragogy for younger adults, elderygogy of seniors) the debate returned to a universal concept of humanagogy to take into account every psychological theory. The debate shows the tendency for adult education to return to universal concepts, for the discipline strives to create a universal discourse out of disparate elements. However, no one in the debate raised the obvious feminist critique: andragogy is men's learning.

### **Critiques of Positivism and Empiricism**

Brookfield's (1985) critical definition of adult education is one of the most compelling critiques of positivism and empiricism present in the literature of the 1980s. Brookfield (1984a) recovers the original political focus of the adult educational movement present in Lindeman's (1926) work and Brookfield (1984b) calls for a shift in the research paradigm governing self-directed learning research to include issues of political and social change. He incorporates these themes into his conceptualization of adult education. Brookfield (1985) states "Adult education...is that activity concerned to assist adults in their quest for a sense of control in their own lives, within their

interpersonal relationships and with regard to the social forms and structures within which they live" (p. 46). For Brookfield, adult education empowers individuals to critically assess their situation and collaborate with others to initiate changes. He does not bring issues of class, race, and gender into his analysis but he does recover the original political project of adult education as a collective action for social change.

In his book Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning, Brookfield (1986) presents a critique of Houle's (1972) instrumental program planning. His critique is based on "theory-practice disjunction" where practitioners realize that "personality conflicts, political factors and budgetary constraints constantly alter neatly conceived plans of action" (p. 202). The abstract instrumental models do not represent the practice of adult education as experienced by the practitioners. Although he opens up the discourse of adult education to the experience of practitioners, he does not discuss the issues of class, race and gender. Brookfield is limited by his project; as a writer he surveys existing theories, research and practice looking for concepts that unify adult education as a field of study.

Mezirow (1978) developed the concept of "perspective transformation" to describe the adult learning he examined in his "grounded theory" study of women's reentry programs. He links perspective transformation to Freire's concept of conscientization, feminist consciousness raising and personal transformation experienced through psychoanalysis. He has extended this concept to a "transformation theory" (Mezirow 1981, 1984, 1988) that integrates insight from Habermas's (1984) critical theory to develop concepts of reflectivity and critical reflectivity. Collard and Law (1988), in their sympathetic critique of his theory, show that although he incorporates

ideas from social movement movements into his theory, he does not develop a coherent theory of social change (p.102).

Jarvis (1987) builds upon Mezirow's (1978) concepts in trying to form a social theory of adult learning. He reevaluates the social interactionists construction of the self, and shows how there is both meaningful and meaningless experience, learning and non-learning situations. He categorizes three possible responses to a potential learning situation: non-learning, non-reflective learning, and reflective learning. Using these categories he examines the social impact of adult learning. However, he still does not examine concepts of adult learning developed by new social movements and he does not discuss the effect of class, race, and gender on adult learning.

Usher and Bryant (1989) use a phenomenological and interpretive method to rework the relationship among theory, practice, and research. They criticize attempts to ground adult education theory in both psychological theories and sociological theories; to them adult education theory must be grounded in practice not a foundational discipline. They define adult education as a socio-practical discipline, a field of inquiry where concerns of welfare and contextual constraints are paramount. In socio-practical disciplines theory is instrumental to taking effective action. They contrast this model of theory/practice to the technical-rational model of meeting needs in Knowles' (1980) andragogy. The technical-rational model "conceals the situatedness of the adult and of adult education practice in the unequal distribution of power and the oppressions of class, gender and race" (p.178). Although Usher and Bryant are among the few theorists in the 1980s to integrate oppressions of race, class and gender into their discourse, their discussion remains overly abstract and removed from actual practice. Although they

advocate grounding theory in practice, the only adult educational practice that they analyze is their own practice of teaching in graduate programs and conducting interpretive research. Their theory needs to be extended to analyze collective learning situations from social movements.

Finally Law (1988) and Rockhill (1985a) have tried to show how the history of adult education has pushed concerns of class, race and gender to the margins. Law's study of McCarthyism shows its profound effect on adult education discourse in stifling critical thought and precluding discussion of social issues and movements. Similarly, Rockhill's study of workers education shows how adult education was severed from a social movement and turned into a institutionally legitimate form of practice. These historical critiques show the exclusion of social movements from adult education discourse. They can help reconstruct adult education theory by recovering the idea of adult education as a social movement through building links with present day new social movements.

### **Critiques form Practitioners**

Jean (1984), in an closing address to Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women conference, has shown her frustration with the adult education discourse. She states that there is little relationship between the fine altruistic speeches given by those who have power advocating equality of educational opportunity and the prejudice of their day to day activities that deny women access to education. She has had to fight for acceptance, of her concerns that women achieve educational opportunities. Her address is a testament to the difficulties for any feminist to work within the adult education discourse.

Zacharakis-Jutz (1988) also expresses frustration with the individualistic focus of adult education discourse. He states that he entered the field because it has a political nature and has the potential to affect social change. Instead of finding a liberatory practice "the majority of adult educators are working to maintain the status quo by promoting prescriptive professionalism and developing programs and theories which individualize adult learners" (p. 46). As opposed to this practice, he proposes empowerment, in which oppressed people come together and initiate collective action.

### **Developments in the Literature -- the 1990s**

Starting in 1989, a series of articles was published in the Adult Education Quarterly that dealt with the excluded voices from social movements. The giving of voice to excluded practices began with articles by Finger (1989), Hart (1990), Quigley (1991), and Cunningham (1992). These were followed by two articles by Michael Welton (1993) and John Holford (1995) that discussed the impact of new social movements on adult education practice and theory.

When I attended the joint meetings of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) and Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) in Calgary in 1988, I could feel this sea change in the adult education discourse. There was a great willingness to extend the theory and research agenda of adult education to further capture the diverse practices from social movements of race, class, and gender. The sessions on participatory research and transformation theory had large audiences. Jack Mezirow's session was packed and there were great discussions at the research symposia about including the excluded questions of class, race, and gender into the research agenda. Graduate students and junior faculty, in particular, were very interested in the



discussion. This enthusiasm was reflected by some of the more experienced faculty like John Neimi, David Deshler, Sharam Stanage, and Phyllis Cunningham who now were able to ask questions and raise concerns that were previously being excluded.

This ability to ask previously excluded questions was demonstrated by the reaction to Michael Law's (1988) paper on the chilling effect of McCarthyism on the adult education discourse of the 1950s. John Neimi had tears in his eyes when he described how McCarthy would "name names" of community activists who were members of social and cultural groups. McCarthy labeled them as "anti-Americans" and "communist sympathizers," although they were only active in community organizations of women, youth, workers and ethnic groups. David Deshler talked of the chilling effect McCarthy's hearings had on civic discussions of international affairs and how this created an extremely insular focus to much adult education work. The discussion after New Zealander Michael Law delivered his paper felt like a collective catharsis. It took a paper by an external observer of North American adult education to exorcize some of the burden and pain from the previous 35 years of denying the links between adult education and progressive social movements.

Another development at the meeting was the papers presented at a pre-conference on critical theory that were eventually published as a special issue of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education in 1991. The papers were wide ranging from a critique of the professionalization of adult education (Alexander, 1991) to social movement, action-research, and post-modernist critiques (Welton, 1991; Kemmis, 1991; Finger, 1991) of established theory. Clearly a new discourse was emerging in the adult education research community.

This discourse was evident in the subsequent papers published in the Adult Education Quarterly. The first, in 1989, was Finger's analysis of "New Social Movements and Their Implication for Adult Education." Finger argued for a transformation of the adult education discipline similar to the transformation being called for by new social movements to respond to the crisis of modernity. Drawing on the European experience and literature of the peace and green movements, Finger showed that by educational methods, these movements elaborate new relationships:

by linking the topics of adult education with the individual's life concerns, they help the adult to deal with the crisis of modernity and to elaborate new relations with some aspects of it (p. 20).

This structuring of individual subjectivity goes beyond the superficial level of the rational mind to the deeper moral and religious level. Finger challenges adult educators to analyze the new social movements pedagogical conception of "learning our way out" and to reestablish the link between the person and the society. He suggests the using of emerging concepts of experiential learning, learning through consternation, holistic learning, and identity learning. He ends by recommending more empirical studies of learning in new social movements to integrate this into a more general framework. Thus, although Finger makes use of the critique of modernity he still calls for an integrated framework or "general theory" to explain this new developments. It is interesting to note that although Finger is writing from the European experience of social movement, he draws upon North American authors on subjectivity and learning.

In 1990, the Adult Education Quarterly published Hart's paper "Critical Theory and Beyond: Critical Perspectives on Emancipatory Education," in which she critiques

the application of critical theory to adult education from the perspective of the work of feminist theorists. She criticizes Habermas (1984) and Mezirow (1985) for working at a "level of abstraction which leaves behind the embedded and embodied reality of concrete, individual learners" (p.133). According to Hart, both Habermas' "communicative rationality" and Mezirow's "superior meaning perspective" neglect the dimensions of human actions and interaction which concern issues such as:

the life affirming, positive force of the affectual or 'libidinal' undercurrent of all human interaction, where the speakers do not abstract from the concreteness of their bodies. In Habermas' writings this force is exorcized in good rationalist-masculinist fashion. Consequently, Habermas also does not address the necessity of creating a moral environment which touches the deep structure of non-hierarchical, caring, and solidary relations and where the negative task of diagnosing and correction distortions is complemented by the positive task of nurturing and practicing new virtues and of acquiring new ethical sensibilities for a social intercourse which is not based on the need to control or be controlled (p. 134).

These are the issues which are being explore by feminist ethical theory and pedagogy.

Hart urges adult educators to utilize the positive potential of these critiques. She calls for taking

up the issue of caring as a basis for establishing solidary relations among the participants in an education situation...[this pedagogy is] based on feminist theory which constitutes a comprehensive critique of the destructive effect of power on all levels of individual and social existence (p. 135).

Hart ends by stating that "this discussion calls into question Mezirow's implicit claim that the educator can be placed outside of power bound and therefore distorted relational context" (p. 136). She calls upon others to show "the standpoints and experiences that deepen and broaden our understanding of emancipatory education" (p. 137).

Calling upon other "standpoints and experiences" is what Quigley (1991) and is Cunningham (1992) do in their two review essays published in the Adult Education Quarterly. Quigley examines the British, Canadian, European, and Latin American experience using adult education for social policy and political transformation. Cunningham addresses the Latin American, Quebec, and English North American experience with critical pedagogy and popular education. These two review essays do much to legitimate and include the experience of social movements previously missing from the literature of North American adult education in English.

In "The Golden Age and the Millennium: The Emerging Role of Adult Education in Social Change and Social Policy," Quigley (1991) focuses on the experience of adult education for social change from outside the United States. He addresses the British experience described in Griffin's (1987) Adult Education as Social Policy, which discusses the imbalance of resource distribution in society and the formulation of adult education as a social policy to redress this imbalance. Addressing a Canadian text, Cassidy and Faris' (1987) Choosing our Future, Adult Education and Public Policy in Canada, Quigley observes that "adult education is struggling with very different ideological approaches to the same questions" (p 111). Quigley notes that the European book, Adult Education and the Challenge of the 1990s, "brings a powerful futuristic perspective and urgency to the social policy discussion not seen in most works" (p. 113).

And he states that Torres' (1990) The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America, is a "an important research and theoretically-based study of adult education – essentially literacy education – with comparative analyzes of: Brazil, Chile, Mexico; the socialist environments of Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba; and references to Colombia and the Dominican Republic"(p. 114). Quigley ends with a discussion of parallel social policy developments in the United States and the increasing interest in adult education for social purpose. He describes the formation of the North American Educators for Democratic Social Change at Highlander in October, 1989. He calls for United States adult educators to "choose to work at the level of global issues, learn from international educators coping with the same concerns, and more fully participate in the growing international dialogue on these critical issues" (p .116).

Cunningham (1992), in her review essay "From Freire to Feminism: The North American Experience with Critical Pedagogy", summarizes the experience of popular education in Latin America, and Quebec and then addresses three formulations of critical adult pedagogy: Mezirow's perspective transformation, Collin's adult education as vocation and Hart's analysis of the workplace from a feminist standpoint. Cunningham brings popular education home from Latin America by reviewing Literacy and Power: The Latin American Battleground, which she feels is relevant to North American audiences because it can

teach the North a whole new episteme and strategy for adult education practice. In the smaller nations in which class, race and gender issues can be strongly controlled by naked force, one can more easily examine the problems in breaking

the technical rationality stranglehold through critical consciousness development" (p. 182).

Cunningham goes on to discuss Shor's dialogues with Freire and the experience of popular education in Quebec. She then then turns to Mezirow's perspective transformation as a critical pedagogy but criticizes the theory because:

this intrigue with internal processes becomes questionable as Mezirow moves to contextualize this activity in society. If one views critical pedagogy as directed towards social transformation and the equalizing of power relations in society, Mezirow stops short of this view (p. 185).

Cunningham then presents Collins' (1991) work on practice and Hart's (1991) analysis of the workplace as better grounding for critical pedagogy. Cunningham says that Collins in Adult Education as Vocation

provides a strong normative critical analysis of our everyday place as adult educators, utilizes critical theorists to provide practical guidance to the way out, and outlines a modern adult education practice through a renewed sense of vocation and a critically informed pedagogy" (pp. 187-188).

Hart goes beyond this to examine the separation of commodity and subsistence work, especially through the analysis of the subsistence production of mothering. This results in a "redefinition of the education of adults around the model of genuinely productive work ...by making our analyzes from the margin, not for the centre (p.189)." Cunningham concludes by challenging adult educators "to elaborate the feminist, internationalist vision or to develop other visions and their elaborations (p.190)."

### **Adult Education and Social Movements**

Welton's (1993) "Social Revolutionary Learning: The New Social Movements as Learning Sites," in the spring 1993 issue of the Adult Education Quarterly, argues that new social movements are defences of the threatened life world and ecosystem and are privileged sites for emancipatory praxis. He differentiates new social movements from old by revising Finger's (1989) distinction between individual (new) and collective (old) transformation to define new social movements existing "primarily to create an autonomous and exuberant civil society" (p. 153). Welton dates new social movements to the 1960s when

an emergent ecological sensibility would begin to contest the colonization and brutalization of nature, as well as the very idea that it was natural to invade less powerful peoples in the Third World (p. 155).

New social movements are about the creation and defence of new images and identities. The environmental movement replaces an older form of human identity inherited from the Enlightenment, the anthropocentric dominion over nature, with a new ecocentric identity of humans as a "natural being in the process of evolution" (p. 157). The new peace movement has created "festivals of learning in the face of despair and anxiety" (p. 159). Women and racial minorities fight against sexism and racism that lead to "struggles against the way their colonizers characterize them and the institutions that exclude them from equal partnership" (p. 159). Struggles for personal or local autonomy from medical expertise has resulted in self-help groups that focus on wellness and well-being, not just for themselves but for their communities and the ecosystem.

Welton (1993) synthesizes four basic principles of new social movements: ecology, social responsibility, grassroots democracy and nonviolence. First, “ecology provides the unifying frame form the emergent new social paradigm (p. 160).” Second, the social responsibility of new social movement practice “contests the culture of nonbinding commitments and resists the atomization of individuals (p. 161).” This ethic of caring leads to the third principle, that of grassroots, direct, participatory democracy. “Grassroots democracy with its orientation to autonomous self-administration by active citizens is congruent with the principles of ecology and social responsibility” (p. 162). Finally the resulting creation of a “partnership society (p. 163) is a based on a pedagogical process of nonviolent action. Welton ends the article with a call for a mobilization of imagination and learning potential to change present values and institutional arrangements.

Holford (1995), in "Why Social Movements Matter: Adult Education Theory, Cognitive Praxis and the Creation of Knowledge," explores the relevance of social movement theory for adult education. He moves beyond social movements as important learning sites (referencing Welton ,1993) to social movements as sites for the generation of knowledge. Holford surveys the social theory of social movements, from the discredited collective behavior school of the 1950s and 1960s to the resource mobilization theory of the 1970s and 1980s. Holford criticizes this theory for focusing only on rationality and achievement rather than the formation of identity and moral authority. He compares this resource mobilization theory with the theory of new social movements from Europe which examine identity and image:



They [European social theorists including Melucci] have explored problems of identity and reflexivity: how social movements construct identities for themselves, and how they interact with their social environments at the level of meaning....They fight not 'merely for material goals' but for 'symbolic and cultural stakes, for a different meaning and orientation of social action. (p. 100)

Holford draws upon Eyerman and Jamison (1991) who see social movements as not just oppositional but "a socially constructive force, as a fundamental determinant of human knowledge" (p. 48). This generation of identity, which involves the generation of new knowledge, they call "cognitive praxis." This reconceptualizing of the relationship between social movements and knowledge adds a theory of social movements to critical pedagogy's uncritical acceptance of new social movements as allies. For Holford, of the three dimensions of cognitive praxis, derived from Habermas' knowledge constituting interest, the cosmological (utopian mission or emancipatory interest), the technological (technical-practical knowledge interest), and the organizational (from the communicative interest), it is the third which is fundamental for education.

Crucially, the organizational dimension represents the modes of communication which a movement has both internally and with the wider world: it structures how the movement views itself -- the movement's identity. (p. 103)

This focus on communication to serve the social movement by building organizational identity is the function of movement intellectuals, a concept derived from Gramsci's (1971) "organic intellectuals." Holford's theory of the social movement reinterprets Gramsci's "organic intellectuals" from the basis of class to that of social movements. Holford draws a parallel with Giroux's (1993) "transformative intellectuals."

Holford (1995) calls for the study of the organizational knowledge of social movements, for the formal educational activities used to promote that organizational knowledge. He suggests that adult educators study social movements as "regimes of truth" and examine impediments to communication, need to recruit participants, generation of allegiance and cohesiveness, and mechanisms for coping with conflict and tension. The study of movement intellectual provides a focus on the role of adult education as an agent of social change. There are three issues for movement intellectuals. First is their role as articulation of the movement. Second is their relation to the social movements organization. Third is "movement intellectuals are not merely objects of research -- very often they are active protagonists in intellectual and academic debate" (p. 108).

In summary, Holford (1995) reprises the shift from an adult education movement of the 1930s where "Knowledge, freely available and undistorted by sectional interest, would lead to Truth" (p. 108) to the 1990s where "knowledge and reality are significantly constructed by social movements, and adult education is key in this process" (p. 109). By adult educators helping to create a communicative culture, they become central to the emergence of new knowledge in society, and to social change itself.

Finger (1989), Hart (1990), Welton (1993) and Holford's (1995) theorizing of social movements as ascendent, learning sites and creators of knowledge forms a central aspect of this dissertation. So does the theoretical insights of Foucault (1983) and the experience of the popular educators. This literature review continues with a description of the analysis of knowledge and power from Foucault and a review of the two examples of the literature from the practice of popular education. The literature review ends with a

summary of five recent papers presented at Adult Education Research Conference in Vancouver, British Columbia in June 2000.

### **Foucault's Radical Concept of Freedom**

Foucault (1980) provides a political strategy for intellectuals to take action; they can contest social, economic and cultural hegemonies by detaching the power of truth from its present practices. He states:

The essential political problem of the intellectual is ...ascertaining the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth...

It's not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power) but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time" (p. 133).

This quotation demonstrates Foucault's nominalist critique which states that knowledge forms are hegemonies of political power and thus social constructions that can be radically changed to new forms of possibility. Thus political practice for intellectuals consists in uncovering these forms of hegemony and showing radical forms of possibility present within current social relations.

The political activities of new social movements (feminism, the ecology movement, and community based struggles) also uncover structures of hegemony and reveal radical forms of possibilities. Feminist practice exposes the hegemonic systems of sexism and patriarchy through the technique of consciousness raising -- analyzing personal life as a political construct. The ecology movement uses the media to focus attention on practices that devastate the bio-sphere and threaten human and non-human

life; thus, by showing current threats to life-forms they detach truth from the hegemonic media presentation of modern society as life enhancing. Community based struggles fight against repressive practices by creating a sense of solidarity in community life that reveals the domination present in modern social relations. All of these social movements are based on a radical concept of freedom: it is possible to create new forms of possibility as alternatives to the present because current hegemonic practices are social constructs.

Foucault's (1980) intellectual practice is also based on this radical conception of freedom. It is not a freedom that requires an act of voluntaristic will, like the freedom of a political humanism requiring the realization of some essential nature, but a freedom that exists in the radical forms of possibility shown by the analysis of specific social practices. As Rajchman (1985) explains Foucault's concept of freedom:

for Foucault, freedom lies in our capacity to find alternatives to the particular forms of discourse that define us by reference, among other things, to universal humanity. Instead of finding enlightenment in universal Reason or Society, he finds it in uncovering the particularity and contingency of our knowledge and our practices. (p. 60)

Thus we are free in our particularity to determine our situation and realize forms of possibility for change in our situation. In developing this concept of freedom, Foucault (1984) critiques the project of humanism while maintaining the political project of the Enlightenment. In critiquing the humanism of the Enlightenment he states that humanism:

can be opposed by the principle of a critique and the permanent creation of ourselves in our autonomy: that is, a principle that is at the heart of the historical consciousness that the Enlightenment has of itself. (p. 44)

Mouffe (1988), in "Radical Democracy: Modern or Postmodern," makes a similar argument. She states that the political project of the Enlightenment, "self-assertion," has no necessary relation to the epistemological project of "self-foundation." This epistemological self-foundation, as Flax (1987) shows in her critique of the Enlightenment project, posits a stable, coherent, unitary concept of self or subject as the basis for knowledge and freedom.

Foucault (1982), in his essay "The Subject and Power," questions the status of the unitary subject through his examination of recent social struggles that refuse the scientific and administrative inquisition that determines who we are. He states:

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are. ... We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries (p. 216)

In this sense, Foucault (1984) states that must determine "what is not or is no longer indispensable for the "constitution of ourselves as autonomous subjects" (p. 43) by examining the "contemporary limits of the necessary". (p. 43)

Mouffe (1988) extends this radical concept of freedom to a program for political action that she calls radical democracy. For her, subjectivity is no longer based on the unitary, integral, all-knowing subject of Enlightenment rationality. Subjectivities are

formed through struggles, the struggles of social movements. Various social movements create subject positions that intersect to construct subjects. As Mouffe explains

to be capable of thinking politics today, and understanding the nature of these new struggles and the diversity of social relations that the democratic revolution has yet to encompass, it is indispensable to develop a theory of the subject as a decentered, detotalized agent, a subject constructed at the point of intersection of a multiplicity of subject-positions between which there exists no a priori or necessary relation and whose articulation is the result of hegemonic practices. (p. 35)

For Mouffe, the acting subject is not just from one community nor has just one position.

But we are in fact always multiple and contradictory subjects, inhabitants of a diversity of communities (as many, really, as the social relations in which we participate and the subject positions that they define), constructed by a variety of discourses and precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those subject-positions. Thus the importance of the postmodern critique for developing a political philosophy aimed at making possible a new form of individuality that would be truly plural and democratic. (p. 44)

For Mouffe, this theory is one possible strategy for the interpretation of the liberal democratic tradition. It deepens the democratic project of modernity, while it abandons the abstract universalism of the Enlightenment, the essentialist concept of social totality, and the myth of a unitary subject.

### **The Literature of Popular Education**

An important summary of popular education practice is Educating for a Change (Arnold, Burke, James, Martin, & Thomas, 1991). This handbook provides a practical introduction to the methods of popular education. The authors, drawing on their experience conducting workshops for social movement groups, provide strategies for analyzing social conflicts, describe group activities that encourage participation and teach workshop techniques that uncover hidden assumptions, resolve conflicts and build consensus. In developing the principles underlying these methods they show that knowledge is created through a participatory process. On reflection, these methods raise many interesting questions about who controls the process and how the popular education can be sustained.

The metaphor that unifies the book is the spiral, a symbol used to describe the process of planning educational events and conducting the group activities. The authors develop the spiral metaphor from a critique of banking education as circular. In banking education the expert teacher defines what knowledge is necessary to know, then designs a learning system to teach this knowledge and subjects the students to this system. This expert model is a closed circular system where the learners reproduce the knowledge of the teacher and do not either determine the knowledge or develop the capacity to design a learning system. The image of a spiral opens up this circular process, so that in each educational event where a problem is defined, studied, understood and solved, the process involves the participants and increases their capacity to do it themselves.

The concept of the spiral provides insight to the methods of popular education, the way of organizing educational experiences, and enables a new form of thinking that allows for a dialectical, growth oriented process. In planning, this means careful listening to the needs of the group and the sponsoring agency through a broad based planning committee that can bring out all the tensions and diverse viewpoints present. In conducting workshops, this means allowing the participants to share their experience and perceptions of the problems they are encountering, and through analysis and reflection, discovering and questioning underlying assumptions. They describe a method of continual reflection on content, goals, and process that builds a democratic culture of inclusion, discussion, respect, and justice.

Arnold et al. (1991) use varied means of presentation and analysis. They start with introductions and definitions and then discuss the concepts of identity politics and strategic education. The section on program design is prescriptive, with checklists and suggestions of ways to gain participation in the planning process. The chapter on group activities, "shaping our tools," is suggestive, with descriptions of 23 different activities in an easily accessible format. The discussion of group facilitation uses case studies, describing actual problems from the authors' experience and analyzing the experience of working on one's feet. The chapter on reflection is analytical, articulating a democratic philosophy that underlies their strategy for action. The final chapter looks to the future, examining the Canadian context for both the dominant agenda and a possible popular response. The book ends with an interesting postscript of reflections on writing the manual as a collective experience.



How successfully do Arnold et al. (1991) deal with the questions of power and diversity that are central to their analysis? They show how conflict can be a creative source of energy through challenging assumptions and coming to a consensus on how to resolve disputes. But, they do not successfully analyze issues of power. Their six definitions of power, three dependent on individual attributes (personality, knowledge, and expertise) and three dependent on relationships (connection, position, and network), do not articulate an alternative or popular form of power that will counter the dominant agenda.

However the elements of this alternative conception of power are present in the analysis of Arnold et al. (1991). They discuss participatory research as a method to create knowledge that gives confidence and voice to those who define the knowledge. They discuss how to build popular organizations and link them into coalitions to create a popular agenda that will oppose the dominant power structures. But all these examples contain an assumption that can become an embarrassing contradiction for any self-defined popular educator. Popular educators cannot "help give others voice" without the risk of being patronizing. If popular educators are process experts, then they have not escaped the power role of defining what is an authentic voice, or what is merely an assumption that must be challenged because it reflects the dominant agenda.

Arnold et al. (1991) try to address this issue directly: for them, popular educators have to share power in their role of shaping the process. They state that this requires the ability to listen, learn and build mutual respect:

At the base of all this is the educator's genuine belief in people's potential and willingness to let go of some power and control. An authentic relationship of

dialogue cannot be built by following guidelines or principles; people will feel the underlying belief and trust of the educator. Becoming honest, open and vulnerable is not easy; it is a struggle (p. 162).

Although Arnold et al. (1991) resist prescriptive principles for "defining an authentic relationship of dialogue," they posit an intuitive recognition of belief and trust. Why not start then from this intuitive struggle for openness? Why not define democratic practice as the building of trust and respect to examine assumptions and power relations, and develop skills for analysis, planning and action?

The problem reasserts itself when any individual or group, including a group of popular educators, tries to define what democratic practice is. Defining itself is a power position, where one individual or group tries to set the ground rules for how a concept can be used. This problem is present in Arnold et al (1991) analysis of racism and identity politics. Although they define "people of colour" (all people who are not seen as White, by the dominant culture p. 7) and Third World (majority of the world's people in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America who have been exploited for centuries by the wealthier nations p. 7), Arnold et al. (1991) note the criticism of these definitions as 'other' -- the third class status of the Third World or the dominant culture lumping the rest of them together with no recognition of different traditions or perceptions. Thus in their sincere attempt to be clear, direct and definitive, they show the problems of defining, especially if it is done from the perspective of the dominant culture.

Popular education methods must come from the social movements that popular education is a part of. The manual by Arnold et al. (1991) is a helpful resource for those

social movements, whether labour, women's, national or ethnic movements, in their attempts to build democratic process and define their agenda.

**Anne Bishop: Becoming An Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression**

In Becoming an Ally, Bishop (1994) draws upon feminist consciousness raising, reevaluations counseling and her 20 years experience as a community development worker to develop an innovative theory on breaking oppression. From her perspective as a white lesbian, she describes the problems that social change groups have in developing trust and overcoming competition and hierarchy. Bishop analyzes six steps in overcoming oppression: understanding, understanding difference, consciousness and healing, working on your own oppression, becoming an ally, and maintaining hope.

The first step is the most difficult. Bishop (1994) breaks it down into three questions: How did it come about? How does it stay in place? and How is the personal political? Bishop (1994) answers the first question by summarizing the new scholarship on the establishment of patriarchy. She cites three historical examples, the replacement of matriarchy in Europe in 3,500 BCE, the persecution of witchcraft during the inquisition and the conquering of First Nations in North America. To explain how oppression is continued she describes the creation of ideology and hegemony where the ruled grant their consent. On the personal as political she describes the internalization of oppression that takes place in child rearing and is then played out throughout the society.

On overcoming oppression, Bishop (1994) describes the dynamics of a consciousness raising group, and how it works not just with an oppressed group but also with groups of oppressed and oppressors. She describes how to work on one's own oppressions, and then from that basis, learn to understand others and work with them.

Then she describes the process of becoming an ally, including group techniques that are used to educate allies. Bishop draws from Arnold et al. (1991) spiral cycle and flower power exercises and ends with a chapter on maintaining hope. Bishop's (1994) unique contribution is to show the practical ways to make the links between different struggles. From her experience and perspective as a white women working on anti-racism struggles, she shows the struggles, the conflicts, and interesting methods of making joint progress on issues.

### **Recent Papers From AERC 2000**

In the last few years, an increasing number of papers and articles have examined the contributions from social movements to the practice and theory of adult education for social change. At the recent Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) at the University of British Columbia in June 2000, over half of the papers and round tables discussion sessions were about adult education for social change, a fundamental shift in adult education research interest in the last 10 years. This was a joint conference with the American, Canadian, British, European and Australian adult education research associations, the largest gathering of adult education researchers that has taken place. The proceedings (Sork et al., 2000) include 102 papers, 32 round tables and five symposia. Of the five symposia, four of them, on labour, feminism, the Third World and multicultural research were specifically about adult education for social change. This section addresses five of the most salient papers to present a brief state of the art of current theorizing on adult education and social change.

Martin (2000) in "Reconstituting the Agora: Towards an Alternative Politics of Lifelong Learning," argues for an appropriation of the "lifelong learning" discourse from

an economic focus on becoming a “producer” or a “consumer” to a participatory discourse of citizenship. He lists eight trends in current adult education policy that divorce it from popular struggles: technical rationality, the market for education, new managerialism, facilitation for consumerism, personal rather than social significance, postmodern turn from commitment, lack of account for differentials of power and questions about information technology. To counter these market forces, Martin calls for a reconstituting of the agora, “a re-excavation of the dialectical space of civil society, the ‘agora’ of the Greek ‘polis’, between the private world of the household (‘oikos’) and the public world of the state (‘ecclesia’) (p. 259).” Drawing upon recent analysis from Bauman (1999) that social problems are increasingly framed as private troubles rather than public issues and the tradition of Williams’ (1961) long revolution and Mills’ (1959) sociological imagination, Martin calls upon adult educators to help make the link between an individual’s biography and the course of history by making active citizenship a possibility. For Martin “adult learning grows in and out of such (epistemological) communities, or social movements, as they exist in the ‘real world’ struggling and striving outside the walls of the classroom and the gates of the academy (p. 256).” The call for lifelong learning as active participation in social movements for change reinvigorates democracy and gives a clearly defined vision and goal for adult education for social change.

Rubenson (2000), in his paper, “Revising the Map of the Territory,” updates his influential 1982 article in which he stated that North American adult education research was mainly defined by the psychological characteristics of the adult learner, ignoring the social functions of adult education. In his update, Rubenson reviews the collapse of

“empiricist and normal science” in the social sciences and the development of three new approaches: critical theory, post-moderism and post-structuralism, and feminist scholarship. With a considerable delay, the new approaches are being felt in the adult education literature. Rubenson argues that the overall economic discourse of the practical discipline of adult education is also having a great effect with an increasing number of articles and conferences addressing the “learning organization, skills and employability.” Rubenson states that there are many “well-developed normative statements of practice” and “small empirical studies of isolated phenomena” with a “lack of major empirical research programs.” There is also an absence of discussions of public policy and the state with studies on power “focuses on discourses and procedures that control them.” Rubenson ends by stating that there is a current paradox: lifelong learning is promoted as the solution to society’s problems but adult education research is not gaining recognition in the social sciences.

Johnson-Bailey & Cervero (2000) provide a review of adult education literature on race. They examine how race is conceptualized in the eight handbooks on adult education practice from 1934 to 1989. Johnson-Bailey & Cervero are struck by the lack of discussion of the issue of race, finding only two articles on adult education for Negroes in the 1934 and 1936 handbooks, one on American Indians in the 1948 handbook and one on racial and ethnic minorities in the 1989 handbook. They note that during the height of the civil rights movement (1955-1970) no article on these issues appeared in the adult education handbooks. Johnson-Bailey & Cervero divide contemporary perspectives on race into three categories: color-blind perspectives, multicultural education, and social justice issues of power and privilege. Johnson-Bailey & Cervero state that most literature

in adult education adopts the first color-blind perspective because most authors assume the perspectives of the dominant group and avoid the discussion of racial dynamics. The second category, multicultural education, is based on a belief in the educational need “to teach the importance of values and beliefs that are held by other cultures (p. 203).” According to this perspective, if the dominant group understands the significant contributions and cultural heritage of diverse racial groups, then they will have more favorable attitudes towards the group. The third perspective, social justice, highlights “how power is exercised in favor of one group to the detriment of another (p. 204).” Johnson-Bailey & Cervero conclude by stating that adult educators can only reach the goal of reflecting the diversity in society by “understanding power relationships that structure our social lives cannot possibly be checked at the classroom door. ...We need to name the racial barriers that cause some learners to be over-privileged and others to be under-privileged (p. 204).”

Wilson (2000) in “Place Matters: Producing Power and Identity,” focuses on the reassertion of space as the location of the politics of identity in post-structuralist theory. Wilson states: “Much social and cultural theory in the last two decades had depended on spatial metaphors (p. 504).” The analysis of decenterings, subject positions, and spaces of significations from social and cultural theory provide a means to gain insight into the power dynamics that adult educators must work with from day to day. Wilson discusses two forms of spatial analysis, that of space being created and in turn creating the political relations of power and knowledge and that of creating a politics of identity in a particular space, location and tradition. He then shows how these concepts apply to continuing professional education. Thus, adult educators’ use of space for continuing professional

education can be seen politically as part of the production of professional power and identity. Wilson ends by stating:

Elsewhere I have argued for adult educators, in face of increasing power disparities among their constituencies, to take specific advocacy roles rather than present themselves as technical facilitators. Here I seek to expand that set of responsibilities with a sense of adult education's part in producing place, power and identity and how our work as adult educators directly produces relations of power (p.506).

Butterwick & Selman (2000) in "Telling Stories and Creating Participatory Audience: Deep Listening in a Feminist Popular Theatre Project," describe their experience as participants and researchers in a "on-going, interdisciplinary and community-based popular theatre project (p. 61)." They discovered that "theatre techniques have created new opportunities for high risk story telling and deep listening (p. 61)" especially for understanding the struggles encountered in feminist organizations and coalitions. For them, popular theatre encompasses community education, community organizing and theatre making in a process where individuals can develop the trust necessary for sharing, making emotional commitments and dealing with conflict. The project involved three phases. First was outreach to form the group, a series of six introductory workshops involving 50 women of whom 10 decided to participate in a 12 week series. Then at the end of this series, the group invited all previous involved to attend an interactive performance workshop which drew on participatory formats to involve all attending to participate throughout the workshop. Finally, a group of six participants continued for another year to produce a public performance that further



developed these participatory techniques. By focusing on the reactions of the audience and making physical this reaction through sculpting with fabric, the process “captur[ed] these silences and refusals, by inviting them to be performed through improvisation, we engaged in a quality of deep listening where we observe and heard not only other players, but also ourselves (p.64).” Butterwick & Selman conclude by stating:

Perhaps we can find ways to recognize that our desire for social justice is based on an inherent contradiction: the need for sustained commitment and the desire for control. ... Perhaps the conflict which seems inherent to our social justice efforts means that we are working “in the crack” of the contradiction, a contradiction what is not something to be transcended, but rather embraced (p.65).

The variety of perspectives offered in these five papers, from bringing forward social movement issues through lifelong learning for citizenship (Martin, 2000), to improving the recognition of adult education research to effect policy issues (Rubenson, 2000), to incorporating analysis of race (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2000), space (Wilson, 2000) and audience (Butterwick & Selman, 2000) into the theory and practice of adult education for social change, all show the rich variety of strategies being pursued. The adult education discourse has changed radically from the 1960s and 1970s when the dominant theories of self-directed learning and planning programs for contexts ignored and suppressed issues of gender, race and class by avoiding issues of power and privilege. Now there is a rich discourse of the analysis of power and working with social movements to bring about change in institutions and society. In this dissertation, I offer

my analysis of a specific location and practice of adult education for social change as  
my contribution to this discourse.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Introduction: What is Adult Education for Social Change?**

In January 1988, I helped organize in Halifax a regional Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education workshop on "The State and Adult Education." Interest from adult educators in the workshop was great and over 50 adult educators and community activists attended. The local and visiting academics presented current and historical case studies showing how adult educators were co-opted by the state to modernize traditional societies or oppose revolutionary movements. The community activists present felt that the academics were leading them on a path to defeatism; the case histories that the academics provided showed how adult educators were used by governments to disrupt traditional societies or by established state agencies to break up workers' organizations. The activists asked: "Isn't there any way that our actions can oppose unjust power rather than just being co-opted by state authority?"

Almost 7 years later, I helped organize another adult education workshop to analyze and understand the upcoming G-7 summit of world leaders that would take place in Halifax. At the workshop, over 40 community based educators used popular education techniques to learn how to understand and influence world economic and political structures. To understand the context for popular education the group created a historical time line of local, national and international social movements and popular responses. To understand the issues that would be discussed during the June 1995 G-7 summit, they drew images of structures that support or oppress popular movements and organizations. Then the participants worked in groups using five different popular education methods --

poetry, drama, role-playing, sculpturing, and song writing -- to express their common understanding of what popular groups can do in response to the G-7 meeting. In the preparation for these presentations, some asked: "Do these techniques work in our day-to-day work with community groups and others?" Although there was not time for a full discussion of this question, the creativity and energy displayed in the presentations of poetry, drama, songs, role plays, and sculpture inspired all the participants to go back to their community work and study with renewed insight and enthusiasm.

The comparison of these two workshops shows that the power of solidarity and creation goes beyond that of an academic critique. At the workshops, community activists did not want to be told about others being co-opted by state authority, but wanted to reflect on their own experience and work with others to create a common analysis and understanding while using participatory, expressive techniques for making this analysis explicit. From the positive response that I received from the participants in the second workshop, the comparison of the two workshops showed me that participatory methods bring about increased understanding, higher trust, greater interest, and are a more enjoyable experience. I resolved that I would work to go beyond the critique of power to find ways to organize and make manifest the power of response.

### **Why is This Study Important?**

Given that the organizations employing most adult educators in Canada (school boards, universities, and community agencies) are all heavily dependent on state and corporate funding, the understanding of the social purpose of adult education and the methods used to achieve that purpose has immediate relevance for adult educators working for social change. Adult educators often are criticized when they raise

uncomfortable questions to those in power or when they teach others organizational skills to do likewise and they are always conscious of having their funding cut or curtailed. These questions form part of their day to day practice: Should we publicly organize a protest on this issue? What will be the consequences? What will be our influence on state policy and practices? The answers to these questions become part of the assumptions and practices of adult educators who organize for social change.

However, in studying adult educational theory for my doctoral work, I found very little in the established literature that dealt with these problems. Established theory was either based on instrumental program planning models (Houle, 1972) or humanistic psychology (Kidd, 1973), or a combination of these approaches (Knowles, 1980). This tradition from the 1960s and 1970s assumed that there was no conflict between individual or community needs and corporate or state needs, and focused on how to plan most efficiently and effectively for the latter. Since the 1980s, researchers such as Brookfield (1984a), Cunningham (1992) and Welton (1993) have been writing again about the "social purpose" tradition in adult education by reviving the stories and practices of Lindeman (1926), Horton & Freire (1990), and Coady (1949) and encouraging adult educators to join in social movement struggles. But still, in reviewing the writings of popular education and participatory research in English, I found little that directly addresses the contradictions of working for social change from within state funded agencies.

### **Values and Assumptions**

My methodology is based on values and assumptions similar to that of participatory research outlined by Park (1993) and Brown & Tandon (1983): political,

conflictual, and participatory. Park states that participatory research empowers people to improve the condition of their lives and to bring about a more just society through striving for the goals of material well-being and sociopolitical entitlement (p. 1-2). For Park, participatory research enables people to produce the knowledge necessary to confront power and envision a freer world (p.19). Brown & Tandon list the following four values of participatory researchers (p. 281-283). First, participatory researchers emphasize the value of useful knowledge and dismisses abstractions and irrelevancies. Second, participatory researchers emphasize development changes that enable oppressed groups to improve their lives. Third, they help people analyze problems in terms of community and social structures. Finally, participatory researchers assume that societal groups have conflicting interests and use conflict theories to understand the world. Brown & Tandon go on to define three characteristics of participatory research. The problem originates with the people in the community or the work place itself. The researcher requires participation from the people in the control of the entire process. The researcher is not neutral but wants to improve the lot of the oppressed group and seeks research outcomes that will change the status quo. These values and methods of participatory research are important to understand and examine the contradictions of adult educators working for social change. I thought that if the five questions developed in Chapter 1 were important to me, then I should use a participatory methodology as maybe they would be important to other adult educators as well.

My values and assumptions, based on a conflict theory of society, also draw upon Foucault (1983) and Gramsci (1971) to go beyond a critique of already existing adult education practice, to an understanding of the forces and powers present in the change of

practice. For no matter how oppressive existing reality, there exists, immanent in social relations, a radical freedom to create a new social reality. This political possibility Rajchman (1985) calls this Foucault's sense of radical freedom:

We are, 'really' free because we can identify and change those procedures or forms through which our stories become true, because we can question and modify those systems which make (only) particular kinds of action possible, and because there is no 'authentic' self-relation we must conform to (p. 122).

This sense of freedom is embodied in various social movements' projects to change social norms, values and practices. Social movement organizations seek to change existing social practices by recovering suppressed traditions and constructing oppositional ideologies that embody imaginary ideals of life without exploitation. To realize that there exists the possibility of change is the first step for a social group to contest the power of the dominant hegemony. Gramsci's (1971) concept of the struggle for hegemony refers to the moral and intellectual leadership that an emergent social class or movement develops through political struggle to gain the allegiance of allied classes to change society. Entwistle (1979, p. 111) notes that Gramsci's concept for hegemony must involve an adult educational process.

I am also interested in utilizing the insights of post-structuralists such as Hollway (1984) and De Lauretis (1987), who examine the construction of ideology and discourse and how investments are made in discourses for expectations of emotional returns. Hollway has developed this method of discourse analysis in the understanding of subjectivity in gender relations. I am interested in a similar analysis of the motivations, ideologies, and practices of adult educators to examine their subjectivity and the power

dynamics of how they work in institutional practices that are over-determined by competing discourses. Especially important is how adult educators develop working relationships with activists in social movement organizations; the nature, extent and content of those relationships; how the relationships are negotiated and what the expectations are; and how adult educators and social activists maintain, continue and end these relationships. Thus, I am interested in studying the material practice of adult educators in the context of their work with social movement organizations.

### **Adult Education as the Formation of Subjectivity**

Educational institutions, along with mass media, the family and religion, are among the main sites for the production of ideologies and identities. In recent years, the function of the educational system has been extended from the primary formation of the identity of children to the management of identity throughout the life span (continuing education, recurrent education, lifelong learning). As educational institutions are the product of social struggles, there is an opening for adult educators committed to social change to serve the counter hegemonic struggles of social movements rather than the hegemonic rule of capital.

What is common to all the adult education practices is the formation of subjectivity: the constitution of individual knowledge, attitudes and beliefs through prescriptive programs, self-directed learning and social movement experience. This research uses Foucault's (1983) analysis of the subject, power, and freedom to explore the contradictions of adult educational practice; how it both reproduces and challenges dominant knowledges, attitudes and beliefs through the transformation of subjectivities. Foucault's writing on intellectual practice and Mouffe's (1988) theory of radical



democracy help to construct a strategy for a counter hegemonic adult educational practice based on the subject positions created by new social movements. This appropriation of Foucault's writing to adult educational theory is developed as follows.

The traditional form of adult education conducted in institutions -- schools, colleges, universities, corporations -- functions as what Foucault (1977) describes as a discipline: Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise (p. 170). An analysis of current adult educational practice shows the jurisdictional discourses of certification, degrees, and privileges, and the veridictional discourse of meritocracy, objectives, and self-directed learning. This analysis of adult education as a disciplinary practice that creates the possessive individual is sketched in the next section.

Formal adult education is part of the educational system. It consists of participation by adults in literacy, academic upgrading, vocational, and professional programs organized by school boards, community colleges, universities, community agencies, and private corporations. Its practice, governed by the juridical forms present in the formal division of labour, produces qualified individuals for various trades, occupations and professions. This formal division of labour consists of differential rewards and privileges legitimated through the meritocratic discourse of qualification.

The meritocratic discourse is so widely accepted in society that it seems self-evident. It can be formulated like this. Everyone has equal opportunity for education. If you succeed at completing primary, secondary, post-secondary, and professional programs, you will get ahead and have a good life; if you do not succeed, you are incomplete, you have missed something and you will always regret it. Those that succeed

will be rewarded, those that fail will be punished by lack of privileges. Traditional adult education reinforces this discourse by providing a second chance. It adds to the discourse. It's never too late to learn, to overcome your failure and achieve meritocratic privilege.

In veridicating adult educational practice, there are two complementary professional discourses: program planning and self-directed learning. Both of these discourses are part of the larger meritocratic discourse that legitimates the entire educational system.

Program planning has an institutional focus: determine what programs fit into the institution's mandate, structure these programs with detailed learning objectives, and evaluate the success of these programs by whether the learners have achieved these objectives (Houle, 1972). The institution offers programs that are funded by government, corporations, and foundations, or are increasingly supported by user fees; hence, a marketing mentality is becoming more prevalent in adult and continuing education program planning. This is an instrumental discourse that seeks to serve the interests of power. The power relations embedded in program planning illustrate one of Foucault's (1978) characteristics of power relations: they are intentional but non-subjective (p.94-95) . Program planning is infused with intentionality through aims and objectives, but these aims and objectives are non-subjective; they are not established by any one person but by the system that determines the division of labour and the subjectivities required for that division of labour to function smoothly.

The second dominant adult education discourse is self-directed learning. Here adult education exists to meet the learners' needs, as discovered and articulated by the

learner (Knowles, 1980). Learners may not even need formal programs or teachers to meet their own needs; they may be entirely self-directed and self-taught. The adult educational system provides the resources for the learners to analyze their needs and design their own programs. Self-directed learning is based on humanist values of development of the self towards self-actualization. This is a prime example of a discourse that “ties the individual back to itself”, by providing an illusion of self-affirmation, while facilitating the technology of power through individuation. Individuals facilitate their own insertion into the disciplinary grid of “knowledge-power” (fit into existing power relations) while believing that they are “free” with the autonomy of self-realization.

In opposition to these two dominant adult subject formation discourses of program planning and self-directed learning, I wish to develop the discourse of adult education for social change based on the creation of subject positions from social movements.. Based on the writing of Finger (1989), Hart (1991), Welton (1993), and Holford (1995), this discourse calls for the work of social movements to become the focus for adult educators, for adult educators to help structure learning sites within social movements, and for adult educators to help in the construction and reproduction of knowledge and identities by social movements.

### **Adult Education and Social Movements**

The study of how oppositional discourses and practices can contest hegemony is important for adult educators working for social change. As adult educators, we work on the margins of institutions, whether in continuing education divisions of universities, adult education programs of school boards, or educational programs of community based

organizations. The practice of working for social change is modeled on our experience of education as liberatory (consciousness raising, the critique of modes of knowledge in individual subjects) but it is constrained by the regressive policies and practices of our own institutions (traditions of elite education, practices that maintain and reproduce power hierarchies). To work and survive in this contradicted subject position requires a complex ideology. This ideology includes discourses that explain our institutional location and position, as well as practices that assist social movement organizations to develop identities, ideologies, and strategies for counter-hegemonic struggle. This dissertation seeks to provide a conceptual framework to understand this ideological practice, and proposes a methodology to explore its material character in specific detail. It attempts to answer the question: Can adult educators work for social change by assisting social movement organizations to develop the identities, ideologies, and practices necessary for their counter-hegemonic struggles? De Lauretis (1987) raises these questions about the possibility of developing oppositional discourses:

if we say that certain discourses and practices, even though marginal with regard to institutions, but nonetheless disruptive or oppositional (e.g. women's cinema and health collectives, Women's Studies' and Afro-American Studies' revision of the literary canon and college curricula, the developing critique of colonial discourse) do have the power to "implant" new objects and modes of knowledge in individual subjects, does it follow that these oppositional discourses or counter-practices ... can become dominant or hegemonic? (pp. 16-17)

In contrast to adult education as a discipline that maintains hegemony, social movement adult educational practice is based on the possibility entailed in Foucault's

(1983) radical concept of freedom, that social movements create new forms of possibility by imagining practices and ideologies as alternatives to the present. From these social imaginaries, social movements create subject-positions through their struggles. Moreover, as Foucault observes, they evade the subject positions of the disciplinary grid, because of the radical possibilities of resistance immanent in power relations. Thus counter-hegemonic subjectivities can be constituted from the margins, from the resistances created by social movements. A counter-hegemonic practice for adult education would assist in the articulation of these new subjectivities from the subject-positions created by new social movements.

In the "Subject and Power" Foucault (1983) analyzes the anti-authority struggles of social movements such as the "opposition to the power of men over women, of parents over children, of psychiatry over the mentally ill, of medicine over the population, of administration over the way peoples live (p. 211)." These are all struggles that attack a form of power that categorizes the individual. These social struggles affirm the right of the individual to be different while attacking "everything which separates the individual, breaks his links with others, splits up community life, forces the individual back on himself and ties him to his own identity in a constraining way (p.212)." These anti-authority struggles start with a social definition of the self (women's community, children's life, mentally ill's reality, population's life, non-administered existence) from which they attack the government of individualization present in the structures of power-knowledge. All these social movements construct a social imaginary, a social image of how life in the world could be radically different. To counter the privileges of

knowledge-power, the social movements do not just ask for inclusion, to receive the privileges for themselves. They question the very nature and function of these privileges.

Thus, the women's movement does not just demand formal equality and pay equity, it asks for the redefinition of social categories so that all share in traditionally feminine realms of nurturing, care, growth and reproduction. Similarly the ecology movement does not just ask for 'environmentally-friendly' commodities, but questions the need for continued consumption of natural resources and domination of other species. As well community-based struggles do not just ask for more resources for their communities, they ask for self-determination to form their social life on their own identities rather than external forces and rewards.

The work of Muriel Duckworth (Kerans, 1996), Tom Parker (Parker, 1963) and William Oliver (Pachai, 1979; Thompson, 1986) of Halifax provide many examples of adult educators working with social movements to construct these identities. Muriel Duckworth worked with parents, with community groups, and with women's peace groups to create an alternative image of power and community. Tom Parker worked with teacher organizations and networks of adult educators to create an image of professionalism that incorporated service to the community. William Oliver helped create the black renaissance in Halifax by building organizations such as the Black Culture Centre which created a positive black identity.

I seek to identify the discourses used by adult educators working for social change, both in their own institutions and in social movement organizations. I propose to document the problems, contradictions, and possibilities of working within institutional settings (e.g. universities, school boards, social agencies) while supporting the programs

of social movements. As well I want to examine how adult educators can work with social movement organizations and the problems and promise of such working relationships. As my research focuses on the experience of adult educators working with social movements, I want to document the identities, ideologies and practices of adult educators who help social movements organizations develop their oppositional programs.

### **Multiple Subject Positions**

For Mouffe (1988), the acting subject is not just a member of one community and constituted from one position. She calls for a new form of individuality that is plural and democratic formed by intersecting a variety of discourses which are temporarily sutured at the intersection of subject positions. As an adult educator, I consider myself to be temporarily sutured from a variety of subject positions. As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, adult educators for social change come from a variety of social movements, often driven by a conative drive for freedom and a desire to create community. Yet, in working within existing institutions, whether they be universities, school boards, or community organizations, they are presented with a variety of expectations, assumptions, and sanctions about the limits and outcomes for their work. Working with these problems, contradictions and possibilities provide concrete examples of working with multiple subject positions from various social movements and institutional logics.

A conative drive for freedom, a desire to create a more just and equitable society, inspires me as an adult educator to work for social change. Because of my own experience of education as empowering, I want to use my practice and the resources of my educational institutions to challenge oppressive social practices and structures of

power. Many adult educators share this desire but find the institutions that they work within limiting. Here are three adult educators, Jean (1984), Sims (1988), and Zacharakis-Jutz (1988), who describe their motivations, frustrations and experiences.

Jean (1984), chair of the 1980 Adult Education Commission in Quebec, describes her interest in adult education:

I returned to my studies as an adult, a mother of three young children, and in difficult circumstances. Hence my interest in adult education.... Because knowledge is one of the prerequisites for attaining the rewards of power, there are certain people who have a vested interest in ensuring that it is not universally accessible (p. 102).

Sim (1988), a Canadian adult educator active since the 1930s, explains the social and political climate that influenced him:

Before the war I had been caught up in movements that emphasized the social message of the gospels... My intention in going back to school [to study sociology at the University of Toronto] was to start a folk school on our farm, following the Danish model. There was a lot of interest in adult education among young leaders, following the ideas of Bishop Grundtvig, the great Danish thinker. Lacking funds to start a folk school on the family farm, I went to Macdonald College to initiate an experiment in rural adult education in the anglophone communities of Quebec (p. 6, 8).

Similarly, Zacharakis-Jutz (1988), then project coordinator at the Lindeman Center in Chicago, states:



Ironically, some adult educators (such as myself) entered this field because it is one of the few educational fields that is self-defined as being of a political nature and, therefore, has potential to affect social change. The first step toward social change is to develop alternatives to the educational meritocracy. Here in lies the contradiction: How long can successful graduates of the educational system continue to critically examine, at times condemn, this system before they are compromised (many time in order to survive), or until they become casualties or, worse yet gadflies? (p. 45)

Jean (1984), Sim (1988) and Zachrakis-Jutz (1988) all speak of their motivation to use knowledge to contest power and work with the contradictions of the current meritocratic system. For Jean, access to knowledge has been denied to women and this has affected their ability to act, because certain people have a vested interest in not sharing power. Adult education is one of the means of challenging these privileged interests. For Sim, his desire was to create his own folk school, similar to the motivation of Myles Horton (Horton & Freire, 1980). However, lacking funding, we went on to work within university extension of Macdonald College and was involved in the creation of the radio study groups of Farm Forum, one of the most innovative uses of communications technology for adult education for social change (Welton, 1998). Zacharakis-Jutz, expresses his frustration of being a product of meritocratic system while working to affect social change. He clearly expresses the contradiction, how to work within a system without becoming compromised by its values, expectations and sanctions.

### **My Story and Subject Positions**

Like Jean (1984), Sim (1988) and Zacharakis-Jutz (1988), I chose to become an adult educator to help create a more just and equitable society. When studying for my M.A. in Adult Education in New York in 1981, Jack Mezirow tried to convince me to stay to complete my doctorate. Having spent most of my savings on my master's year, I was anxious to obtain some experience as an adult educator to pay the bills. However, I also had made arrangements to plant a large garden at my family's summer cottage on the Northumberland Strait in New Brunswick, so I told Jack, "I have to return to Canada to plant my potatoes."

"How maudlin," was his response. "You should seize the opportunity to study in New York and make a name for yourself; there is a future here."

Feeling like I was tempted by fate, I did not grab for the careerist bait. I was skeptical of academic life and saw my future more as an organizer and educator than scholar. Others advised me to get some more experience (I was 27); there was plenty of time to return to complete your academic work. On my return to the Maritimes, the garden was my interest and joy. I have planted on the family homestead for the last 20 years and I am always amazed by the response of living things to attention and care.

Once settled in Halifax, I became active in three groups, Community Gardening Society, Red Herring Cooperative Bookstore, and the advisory group for the Student Christian Movement. I felt the multiple positions tugging at me -- gardening -- back to the land -- grower of root vegetables. MacKay (1994) describes this "Neo-pioneer" motivation.

Prominent in what might be called the “second Folk revival” have been back-to-the-landers from the United States and Canada who came to Nova Scotia in the 1970s in search of honest Folk, the simple life, cheap land, and (often) a certain tactical distance from the American Military.... Environmental movements in particular have benefited from their arrival. Their antimodernist ethic has interacted with local discontent over large, failed modernization schemes (pp. 283, 285).

Motivated by my interest in adult education, I visited Teresa MacNeil, (Director of the Adult Education program at Saint Francis Xavier University), Doug Myers, (Tom Parker’s successor at Part-Time Studies and Extension, Dalhousie University) and John Morris (Director of Extension, University of New Brunswick). After some contract work and unsuccessful job interviews, I discovered that the position of Assistant Director of Continuing Education at Saint Mary's University was vacant, and submitted a late application in February 1982. My application was accepted and I thrust myself into university continuing education work, including work with Metro Council on Continuing Education, the Atlantic Provinces Association for Continuing University Education and the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education.

Once in an institution, I was drawn into the meritocratic and cultural ethos. My position was judged by how well I developed programs. I started with a wide variety of program activity (e.g. Elderhostel, Canadian Institute of Management, Criminology Certificate), realizing that personal computers were an important area for growth, I developed a proposal for a new computer teaching laboratory. After the proposal was accepted, I implemented the first personal computer laboratory and teaching program on

the campus. My success positioned me for appointment as the Director of Continuing Education when the position became vacant in 1985.

The contradiction between what is successful in the university (scholarship, research grants, revenue for programs) and what is successful as a organizer for social change (participation in successful campaigns) has been a constant source of contradiction and tension in my work as a university continuing educator. This contradiction is felt by others in university continuing education and has been explored as the theme of national conferences such as the 1992 CAUCE conference on “University Continuing Educator: Entrepreneur or Social Activist?” Exploring this contradiction is an important focus of this research.

### **Methodology**

The research for this study took place using a series of interviews in 1990-1995 and participant observations from 1981-2000 of the practice of adult education for social change in Halifax. The methodologies that I used for understanding and interpreting this practice included informed consent interviewing (Fontana & Frey, 1994), personal experience and participant observation (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994), gathering and interpreting documents (Hodder, 1994) and writing narratives (Richardson, 1994). Of the 18 narratives that form the main focus of the thesis (Chapters 5, 6 & 7), three were generated as a result of my interviews, 12 were written from my personal experience and participant observation, and three were based on written documents. The documentation and interpretation of the first interviews conducted from 1990-1991 formed the thematic framework for the presentation of the narratives. This framework was validated by sharing it in 1995 with those previously interviewed. This interpretative framework was

then used to organize, write, analyze, and interpret 12 narratives from my personal experience from my work in Halifax as an adult educator between 1981 and 2000. Once I generated these narratives, I shared them with other participants for validation of my presentation and interpretation of the events. As well, three narratives were constructed from published documents and documents were also used to provide background, context and interpretation for all the narratives.

Those chosen to be interviewed were adult educators from a local university, the school board and the public library who worked with social movement organizations that question hierarchical and dominating structures and work towards images of society that increase equality and community. Organizations and social groups that these adult educators worked with included a women's group, a literacy organization and a health policy advocacy network. As I stated earlier, I especially focused on how adult educators develop working relationships with social movement organizations: the nature, extent and content of those relationships: how they are negotiated and what are the expectations; and how they maintain, continue, and end these relationships. The purpose of the interviews was to understand the material practice of adult educators in the context of their work with social movement organizations.

In selecting adult educators to work with on this study, I was especially interested in those who had substantial experience working within institutional settings for social change. To obtain a collaborative approach to the study, I interviewed colleagues who I knew from a university, the school board and the library in the Halifax area, who all had substantial experience working with social movement organizations. As well, I conducted an interview with a worker with a community based literacy group, to obtain reflections

on adult educational practice from the community perspective. The four adult educators that I interviewed included two women and two men. Three participants had ten to twenty years experience as adult educators. One was just beginning her work in adult education and had recently been a mature university student.

After preliminary contact to establish the purpose of the joint investigation, I used the collaborative method. In the first interview I explored the individual motivation of the adult educator and the institutional context in which the adult educator works, including the structural situation of reporting, funding, and budget. As well, together, we selected the specific program that involved working with social movement group. This first interview documented the identity and approach of the adult educator. The second meeting involved an extended discussion of the process and problems of working with social movement organizations: establishing means of contact, negotiating agreements and responsibilities, establishing ongoing contact and agreements. The third interview presented the information gathered from the first two interviews back to the participants, and asked them to reflect on their practice. My point was not to improve practice from the viewpoint of making it more efficient and effective to instrumental institutional norms. I wanted to collaborate on evaluating practice from two viewpoints, that articulated by the participant adult educators, and that of the social movement group with which that they worked.

I transcribed and summarized the taped interviews. From these summaries of identities, ideologies and strategies, I identified common themes and documented the methods, techniques and means of adult educators working for social change. I used these themes and narratives to write an interpretative summary that I later shared with two of

the four participants, and obtained their insight into my analysis of their institutional context and work with community groups. I then used the themes from this interpretive summary of the practice of adult education for social change to recall, organize, narrate and reflect on my own experience as an adult educator in Halifax from 1981 to 2000.

Using this interpretative framework, I then wrote twelve narratives based on my own experience, four based on my volunteer participation with community groups, coalitions and networks; two based on observation of community groups and coalitions; and six from my experience as a university adult educator working in partnership with other institutions, community groups and academics. From my experience as a participant volunteer, I wrote narratives of the work of a cooperative bookstore, an alternative budget coalition, the alternative conference to the Halifax G-7 summit and a regional network of popular educators. From my involvement as an observer, I wrote narratives of the occupation of an employment centre and the work of a popular theatre group. From my experience as Director, Division of Continuing Education at Saint Mary's University, I wrote six narratives including the experience of a continuing education council, two collaborations with external institutions and three university programs that worked with social movement groups. From published documents and my own experience working with others, I was able to construct three more narratives, one from Knockwood's (1992) book on the Mi'kmaw residential school and two from the Black Learners Advisory Committee (1994) report. I made extensive use of other published and non-published documents to supplement the narratives, provide context for the stories and describe the impact that these narratives had on others.

The result of this construction from interviews, personal experience and document analysis is a series of eighteen narratives of adult education practices that assist in the creation and development of social movement identities and knowledges. They include examples from universities, school boards and community agencies, where adult educators work with various social movement groups: women's, community, labour, First Nations, and African Nova Scotian. This diversity of stories provides a variety of settings to reflect on the similarities and differences of adult education practice. As an investigator and participant, I was open to discovering a diversity of analyzes and discourses, which led to an interesting grouping and categorization of these narratives.

### **Presentation and Analysis of Narratives**

Once the narratives were produced, analyzed and compared, I grouped them by generative themes. I use these themes to present the narratives in the next three chapters. These include themes of case studies of community practice (chapter 5 --working with the people, pragmatism with compassion, and working with networks) themes of establishing identities and knowledges (chapter 6 -- drawing on traditions, participatory research, and creating knowledge) and themes of establishing recognition and power (chapter 7 -- developing mandates, struggle over resources, and control of the social imaginary).

The presentation of the narratives of adult education for social action is followed by two chapters of analysis, first of the institutional setting, contradictions and possibilities, and then of the forms and varieties of knowledge-power created by the subject positions from the adult education practice. The first analysis chapter (chapter 8) examines the practice of adult education for social change in universities, school boards



and community agencies and the contradictions created and the possibilities presented with these institutional constraints. The second analysis chapter (chapter 9) examines the creation of subject positions by adult education practices and how these lead to new forms of conflict and struggle.

The dissertation concludes (chapter 10) with an analysis of the power of narratives of Halifax in drama, literature, and poetry. These narratives demonstrate an expressive ability to create subject positions that form a methodology and theory of adult education for social change.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE EXPERIENCE OF COMMUNITY PRACTICE: NARRATIVES OF WORKING WITH OTHERS

This chapter presents narratives of the experience of adult educators working with, or forming action groups, to promote social change. The experiences are grouped by three strategies of practice: working with the people, using pragmatism with compassion, and working through networks. I identified these strategies of community work through my interviews with activist community educators. These strategies are also present in the tradition of adult education for social change in Halifax, specifically the work of Tom Parker, Muriel Duckworth, Guy Henson, and William Oliver (chapter 2).

Each narrative illustrates the following five processes: the motivation of the educators; the creation, support or sponsorship of an educational or community institution; the learning that took place, both of an individual and a social nature; the concepts of power that are developed by the community participants; and the relationship between power and learning in the community struggles and the resolution of conflict. These narratives deal with a variety of settings, from school boards, community agencies, universities to community groups, and networks of continuing educators.

#### **First Strategy: "With the People"**

When I interviewed an adult educator working for a community organization, she told me that she was inspired by a quotation from an Australian feminist and community organizer, that went: "If you come here to help me, don't bother. If you come because your future is entwined with mine then let's work together." This was her guiding philosophy for her practice of working as an adult educator. It sums up her practice of

how to establish trust with community groups by avoiding patronizing and manipulative tactics. As she elaborated:

People who work for social change do so, or if they do so, do so effectively, because their future, their actions, their equality is tied up with the people that they are involved with; they are not there as missionaries to do good for somebody else. And I don't think social change comes about when somebody is hired to work for whatever, there has to be some personal involvement. ... there has to be some connection emotionally with the issues.

This emotional connection is clearly present in the participant's work. She described to me how, with help from her agency, a group of women from a public housing development started talking about a problem that they were having with vicious dogs in their neighborhood; they then gathered information on the negative health effects, found out that current animal control regulations were not being enforced, and took effective action to force a change in actual practices. This group took over, forming a cohesive network that worked on further problems and involved the local community in the work of her agency, something that had not happened before. Without the emotional commitment that the adult educator made to a "better future entwined with mine," it is easy to see how this type of social action would not be possible.

#### **North Branch Library Women's Group**

The women's group with which this adult educator worked was the North Branch Library Women's Group. This group was a fundamental force in changing the focus and programs of the Halifax North Branch Library. This branch of the library was built in the late 1960s as part of the urban renewal of the North End and Gottingen Street in Halifax.

In the mid 1960s a large area had been cleared for Uniacke Square, the largest public housing development in Halifax, and the city decided to use the money left over from the Halifax Relief Commission, the agency set up to deal with relief from the Halifax Explosion, to build the first branch library. For the first years of the North Branch, it was run as a very traditional library, with little outreach or community participation. When the library hired a community worker, her first task was to make a connection with members of the community.

Through the public housing tenant's association and later the family resource centre, the women of the community were invited to a morning coffee hour and discussion group at the branch. Once a group started coming, they started discussing the problems of the neighborhood and the problem of dangerous dogs in the housing development was identified as a pressing issue. The group invited specialists to speak to them, animal control officers from the city to explain the city policies, public health officials who talked about the potential health problems, and police officers to talk about animal enforcement. Through learning about the problem and potential solutions, the community residents were able to force the housing authority to enforce the animal bylaws. This significantly improved safety for their children and the quality of life in the housing development.

After the success with this one issue, the group strengthened. They found a small office space in the basement of the library building and decorated it to create a drop in centre for women. They became the Wednesday morning women's group, a weekly discussion group that invites guest speakers, or just chooses a discussion topic important to themselves. The women's group has been going for over 20 years and has responded to

many important community issues. The success of the group can be seen in the dedication of the participants and the willingness to tackle and try to solve difficult issues.

The women's group functions as a sounding board for the discussion of issues important to the inner city and black communities in Halifax. They have been a main supporter of African Heritage Month, holding discussions each year in February on important issues facing the black community. They have dealt with important community issues and have been not afraid to confront powerful bureaucrats or politicians when they feel that power is being abused. They have discussed and acted on a number of community issues including family benefits for single mothers, renovations and reconstruction of Uniacke Square Public Housing Development, support for study time and skills for local children and youth, and support for adult literacy and computer programs in the library.

The nature of the women's group is that it encourages and supports its own leadership and forms a support group for a variety of community activists and leaders. The group has become an important link between the library and the community, an important example of how the library can serve community needs by providing physical and organizational space for a discussion group on important community issues. It has been a learning and action group as well, often starting petitions, lobbying politicians, and presenting a forum for the development and presentation of important community issues. Even as the library system has gone through a merger and rationalization of services, the North Branch Women's Group has continued to be one of the most politically active programs sponsored by the library. Key has been the independence that

the group has fostered, to be able to take up issues and stands, without alienating the support of the library.

### **Transition Year Program**

The Transition Year Program (TYP) has existed at Dalhousie University since 1969 to provide access and support for black Nova Scotians and First Nations students to the educational programs of the university. Since its founding, it has been the subject of controversy, both within the university and from the community, over its mandate, funding, and control. A major case study of the program in Volume 2 of the Black Learners Advisory Committee (NS) (1994b) report states that with over 250 graduates, the program has done much to improve accessibility for the Black and First Nations students (pp. 117-134). However, the lack of support and limited mandate for the program has led to criticism, by the students, by the university, and by the community.

The TYP program was initiated in 1969 by a graduate students and faculty to overcome the institutionalized racism in the educational system by providing a better grounding in university academic skills and strategies. Its original objectives included:

- To help alleviate poverty through increased educational opportunities; and,
- To help develop latent leadership abilities among the disadvantaged so that they will be able to help themselves (p.120)

The program concept was first presented to the Faculty of Arts and Science on April 17 1969 based on the following benefits:

- The eventual development of a cadre of trained individuals with leadership potential

- The involvement of members of the targeted communities with a non-religious oriented institution
- A model program for other universities in the Maritimes
- An awareness among White students of the problems of minorities; and
- A demonstration of Dalhousie University's concern for members of the communities (p. 120)

The program was accepted in principle on October 28, 1969 by the Faculty of Arts and Science and established as a special division of the Faculty of Arts and Science by the university Senate in March 1970 with an advisory committee of faculty and graduate students. The black community was very supportive of the program and, along with the First Nations, elected a Transition Year Program Community Committee with representatives from the African United Baptist Association, the Black United Front, Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and the Negro Education Committee. Large turnouts at community meetings to discuss the program resulted in 82 applicants (72 from the Black community) for the first year.

However, by the end of the first year there was conflict and uncertainty. The TYP Director, citing "personality conflicts" refused to work with the elected representatives from the Black community on the TYP Community Committee. The members of the committee responded with a brief to the university requesting that the Black and Native communities "must share equally with the University in control of all aspects in the TYP (p. 121)." Specifically, they wanted input into student and staff selection for the program. The university replied that although it would accept community representation on the TYP advisory committee, it could not relinquish responsibility for an academic program.

Funding was the other major issue. Although the university funded the program for the first year, the Dalhousie University President, Henry Hicks, made a firm statement that the program would not continue past the first year unless external funding was secured. By June of 1971, \$20,000 was provided by the Citizen Branch of the Department of Secretary for State and the Department of Manpower, but only on the understanding that this was only funding for one year. The insecurity was evident in the first review of the program in 1972 which stated:

The makeshift, ad hoc, nature of this program has been its greatest weakness. The university's limited and short-run commitment has handicapped planning, recruitment, community relations and program development. (BLAC Report, 1994b, p. 124)

Although the major recommendations of this 1972 review were ignored, the program continued on. In fact, according to interviews with students who completed the program, the seventies were some of the best years of the program. This is what the case study says about this period:

In the 1970s the TYP had its own intramural basketball team and hockey team. These TYP teams competed against those from Arts, Sciences or Engineering and often came out on top inspiring confidence among the TYP student body. Self-esteem was high and if individual cases of racism emerged on campus, the TYP community responded as one, leading to a strong cohesiveness and solidarity which "impacted on the individual student's self-confidence and academic ability" As one student stated: "When I look at the people who went through the program in the 70s, I see people who are achievers, who are socially responsible, have a



conscience, and who represent themselves and the Black community in a very positive light. The program as we knew it and experience it died sometime in the late 1970s.” (p. 128)

What happened to the program? The university, conscious of the marginal support and future for the program, decided to integrate the students by assimilating them to the university. First, the intramural sports teams were disallowed. Then the program became more of a remedial program only allowing participants to take one university credit course, compared to the beginning years of the program when students often took two or three university credit courses along with the TYP courses in writing, study skills, and cultural identity. The BLAC Report states:

The Black culture thinks and acts in terms of community rather than individualism. But the University is set up to celebrate the individual. This basic clash in philosophy has caused tension between the University and program over its life. It has also been suggested the University, when realizing that TYP was meeting with considerable success in terms of leadership development, took a step backwards, uncomfortable with the role of developing social activists 'who might challenge the establishment'. (p. 129)

In the fall of 1989, the Dalhousie University report Breaking Barriers: Report of the Task Force on Access for Black and Native People recommended that the university commit to fund the program for at least 10 years. When the president accepted the report in Feb 1990, he agreed to commit operating funds for at least this period and made TYP part of Henson College, the part of the university with the mandate for outreach and

community programming. In August 1992, the first black director was appointed, a former TYP graduate who had completed a master's degree in social work.

The BLAC report (1994b) received many comments from former students on the success and strengths on the program: They advise:

- "Develop the program into a faculty of the university rather than a side program. Allow students to start earning credits in their first year so that they are working towards their degree the same as any other student. Change the present upgrading courses into tutorials"
- "Give the students an identity that they can be proud of and empower them to make and take decisions. Allow them to operate as a community within a bigger community. Show the University that it is not going to lose anything by the students operating as one."
- "Retain separate premises for the TYP as it is important to have a place of one's own to congregate and organize. If the building is too small, push for a larger building. But maintain separate identity." (p.130)

These comments show the success of the TYP program in fostering pride, identity, and leadership. They also point to the need for the university to accept that this as a regular academic program, not a remedial adjunct. The Transition Year Program has been critical for developing leadership for the black community. However, the community does not want the program as a remedial program with only a purpose for overcoming individual deficiencies. They view the program as necessary to create the knowledge and values of African Nova Scotian identity by having very close links and support from black community organizations. They also see the program as necessary to

provide a support home for black students studying at Dalhousie University, a place where the day to day problems of racism can be discussed, analyzed and dealt with. The university, although at times uncomfortable with not assimilating the students to the regular programs and university milieu, has accepted responsibility for supporting the program. However, in order to strengthen the academic recognition for the program, more work is needed.

### **Second Strategy: "Pragmatism with Compassion"**

This commitment to a better future often leads to ethical questions in day to day practice. One may be committed to certain ideals of participation and process, but the institution one works for has certain expectations for enrollments, revenue or results. Often adult educators are faced with questions like: How can we obtain funding for this program? How large can classes be to allow for participation but meet enrollment projections? Are these the type of courses that we should offer?

I've said this, and I guess I'll say this until I die, that I'm going to be crucified if you will, for commission, not omission, because I feel that I'd rather learn what people want and try it and stand behind it, and held accountable for what I have done, not for what I've not done, (I don't know how you defend what you've not done, if you know what I'm getting at) and this is the way I've always been very pragmatic in what I've undertaken. (Taped interview)

This quotation is from a school board administrator who has a bias for action. It is much more important to act and do the right thing, making an intuitive decision that "feels right" than to miss the opportunity by being complacent. This intuitive pragmatism can be criticized. In 1991, after re-reading the quotation, the word "pragmatic" reminded

the adult educator of an article that he had just read on George Bush in Time magazine. "The article said that George Bush's foreign policy is pragmatic, it is concerned with the practical results of a new world order and he would want to be judged by those criteria". The adult educator abhorred Bush's military response in the Gulf War so he started to wonder: "How much is my pragmatism similar to Bush's?" On reflection there was little similarity, as Bush's pragmatism showed little compassion, little concern for social justice and empowerment. But how then should actions be judged?

The most important criteria for this adult educator is for the action to involve compassion. And it is easier to act with compassion if one is guided by an intuitive gut feeling of "doing the right thing" rather than a master plan that lays out all the decisions and answers. This moral guide to action is often codified by referring to the action of role models or a statement of ethical principles. Will the action be the action that others would want?

This tension between the needs of the institution for enrolment and revenue and the need of individuals for knowledge for empowerment pervaded his day to day practice. It is easy to cover costs of operations for microcomputer courses but it is difficult to cover costs for literacy programs. Yet, it is still necessary that funds be found for literacy programs. How to obtain these funds become a real test of his creativity, resourcefulness, and pragmatism.

### **Dartmouth Literacy Network**

The school board administrator who I interviewed started by establishing a network, involving other social agencies from the community in the literacy issues. The network received short term research and project grants from federal government sources

to help define the problem and start tutoring adult learners. But when the funding ended no level of government would provide long term core funding for literacy work. The provincial government had started its own program of regional literacy consultants to coordinate the work of community groups, but they would not make funding commitments to community based programs. After many newspaper articles and national publicity on CBC radio publicizing the need for literacy program but no government funding, the Peter Gzowski Golf Tournament has raised enough to start a foundation endowment to continue the work of the literacy network.

Sometimes it is necessary just to move with events and do the work that must be done. This is the description from the interview of organizing literacy work by the adult educator working for a school board:

If you have to go for permission all the time, its not that I'm doing it with my nose in the air, something like that, you know to hell with the board, if I didn't believe that the board will support me, I wouldn't do it, I don't actually know that the board will support me, but I think that the board has enough faith in me, working with them for a period of twenty-one years, to know what I will do and won't do.

When we first met with Peter [Gzowski, to organize the golf tournament for support for literacy] before Christmas down in the mayor's office, a group of people that the mayor called in, and the mayor said, [this adult educator] has been very instrumental in literacy, and I doubt if the school board knows what he has done. [laughter] and that in essence is quite truthful...

He [the mayor] knows how I operate, I guess, I don't say that with bravado or anything like that, I won't, if I can't feel that I can't defend myself, how can you not [act] on literacy, how can the board come back to me and say you can't do literacy, where would they stand...

[Literacy is] one of those four priorities, and if school boards shouldn't do literacy, I don't know who the hell should.

These quotations from the interviews show how the adult educator works with the tacit understanding of his internal support, but goes beyond a narrow interpretation of the school board mandate. In this case the work on literacy was carried out through funding a community group, the Dartmouth Literacy Network, from the adult education program budget of the school board. This structure allowed the involvement of many more volunteers and external donations than a school board based program. It also worked with many more agencies and locations than a school based program would. All the arrangements for this new structure were negotiated with the tacit approval of the board.

The motivation for working on literacy was that of empowering learners, of providing them a means to decode, manage and navigate the written world. Literacy is a social problem that is often covered up, but it relates to other social problems of poverty, unemployment and family violence. Horsman (1990), in her book Something in My Mind Beside the Everyday, shows the importance of literacy for establishing independence and breaking family violence.

Most interesting in this story is the saga of funding. Both federal and provincial governments were anxious to show that they were active in solving the problem of literacy. However, because of budget constraints, neither wanted to create a series of

institutions that would require ongoing core funding. Thus the federal government would provide “seed,” demonstration or research funding, but refused to provide ongoing program funding. Similarly, the province did not want to fund a network of professionally staffed literacy centres, so developed a strategy of “seed grants” of \$5,000 to start literacy projects. As the Dartmouth Literacy Network already had professional paid staff, these grants were of minimal support. However, no one would answer their question “Who will fund literacy?”

Through extensive contacts with the media, Dartmouth Literacy was able to raise this question, belying the governments public image that “we are solving the literacy problem.” This conflict with the government led to many standoffs in the media and pointed letters to the editor, but ended with the Dartmouth Literacy Network forming an ongoing program to support literacy.

### **Red Herring Cooperative Books: Halifax's Community Bookstore**

In 1977, a group of activists from Dalhousie University, Oxfam and the progressive community decided to open a cooperative bookstore, as no existing store in Halifax or the Maritimes had literature on feminist, ecological, gay and lesbian, or other social movement issues. Five thousand dollars was raised by selling shares to individuals, organizations such as the Dalhousie Graduate Students' Union and supporters throughout the community, over 300 shareholders or members in total. The store opened on December 1, 1977, just in time for the Christmas season, at a second floor location on downtown Barrington Street. It was staffed by volunteers, similar to other progressive cooperative bookstores across the country such as Spartacus in Vancouver, Octopus in Ottawa, and Red Letter in Winnipeg.

At first the store thrived, but by 1981, most of the original volunteers had left Halifax and the store was only open sporadically. That year, I joined the cooperative as a volunteer and board member with other volunteers to revitalize the store. In 1982, the recession hit Nova Scotia, increasing unemployment to over 12%. The store attracted a wide range of volunteers from graduate students and movement activists to unemployed youth and recent university graduates who had come to Halifax looking for work. In order for the store to survive, the board decided to focus on the strength of the volunteers and the connections to the social movements active in the city and the region, specifically the feminist, gay and lesbian, peace and international development movements. Speaker series, film series, and educational discussions became an important activity for the store's volunteers. The first speakers series was on the unemployment crisis and the workers response. Local author readings and book launch events were also conducted. An important strategy was book tables, both to publicize the store to the community and to sell progressive literature. During the busy spring and fall seasons there were sometimes two or three book tables a week at a variety of public meetings, seminars and conferences of the peace, women's and international development communities.

Key to the success of the store was establishing a sense of community. The bulletin board was one of the most complete and up to date in town, publicizing local and regional events. The coffee was always on and the volunteer workers were keen to talk to visitors and provide advice on both reading material and community events. At the original second floor location there was a large second room with two extra offices. One office was rented to a community group, Real Options for Prisoner Employment (ROPE). The larger second room was used as a lounge and meeting room. In 1982, a group of



artists asked the cooperative board for permission to use the space as a gallery. After some renovations, they hosted their first show, the first Gay Men's Art Exhibit in Halifax. A second show of photos of Cape Breton coal miners was also held.

Because of the openness and friendliness, the store became a central location for youth, students and those new to the city. As I was new to the city, I enjoyed meeting new volunteers who would join the store to meet others and find out about social movement organizations. With the influx of new volunteers and ideas, the store grew, playing an important educational role of introducing new literature and ideas to the community.

In February, 1983 disaster struck. A window in the upstairs bathroom was left open, freezing a pipe that then split, sending water all over the books in the store. At the emergency meeting called to discuss how to continue after the damage of the flood, pessimism reigned until a former board member, who was an accomplished fund raiser, joined the meeting.

"A flood is a great story," he said, "an archetypical disaster. The community will respond to the cry for help from a flood."

With his help, an appeal letter was crafted and a flood appeal was launched. An overwhelming response (almost as much as the original capitalization of the store) help reestablish the store and replenish the stock.

By spring 1984, a board member was able to write and obtain a 6 month government employment grant for four workers, one disabled worker who was the main volunteer for the store and three workers, one for community outreach, one for marketing and one for bookkeeping. This new energy expanded the store's activities both in

outreach to community groups for the peace, women, black, native and activist communities and increasing the currency and range of material. The store sponsored its first national author's reading series by bringing Rick Salutin and Joy Kogawa to Halifax which received a great response from the cultural, women's, and peace communities.

Critical to the growth of the store was finding a street front location. In 1985, a corner storefront was rented on one of the busiest downtown street corners, Blowers and Argyle Street. Although the rent was over twice the amount for less space, the board members of the store decided to take the risk. The move was successful both in terms of increased exposure and sales and in a greater number of volunteers and members. The large storefront window was used for "agit prop" topical montages, from a critique of Sobey's, the large maritime grocery giant, to critical comments on local and global political issues. The volunteers and board members started to have more social events such as weekend retreats and working together on fund raising events such as catering and producing greeting cards.

In January 1987, the store was forced to move again. Although the lease had an option to renew for a second year, the board missed the opportunity to exercise the option. Realizing that all the other tenants in the building had left, the store was told that the building was going to be torn down. A relocation committee was able to find a larger location two blocks away. By this time the store had a paid part-time coordinator to train the volunteers and manage the business side of the operation. With the move, the store again prospered, commemorating its 10th anniversary in December 1987 with a new capital drive for a "Second Decade Fund." The anniversary attracted media attention, including a feature on the local television news. The story led with the opening "Most

bookstores have a section of 'War' books, Red Herring has a section of 'Peace' books." The local peace movement was at its height of influence and they were happy to hear that opening line. To celebrate the anniversary there was a cabaret evening with local performers, comedians and poets. Over 200 people attended showing the community support for the store. Two of the board members who were taking a film making course produced a 20 minute documentary on the store. For the film, they interviewed volunteers, coordinators and board members such as myself on the philosophy and operation of the store.

Certain characteristics stand out from that documentary film. First, participation was key, from recruiting and training volunteers to participatory book ordering and management to engaging customers and friends in dialogue. Second was outreach and involvement in community activities. This extended from ordering books for individuals and groups to sending special book tables to a wide variety of organizations for their meetings to sponsoring community speakers, discussion groups and social events. Third was the openness of the store to new comers, giving them a sense of belonging to a larger movement and providing exposure to new ideas. For newcomers, Halifax is often seen as a city of elitist clubs and closed cliques that often are difficult to join or find acceptance. The store was open to all newcomers and became a centre to meet others. It also involved those who often find it difficult for commitment to activist organization such as high school students, disabled, welfare recipients and others alienated from social institutions. This meant that the paid coordinator needed to have the skills of a social worker, dealing with a wide variety of personal and interpersonal needs. Fourth was the commitment to support and work with a large variety of social and community movements. Red Herring

played a key role in obtaining and distributing literature for active social movement groups in Halifax and throughout the Maritimes including the feminist movement (often with emphasis on recovery, overcoming incest, and women's spirituality), the gay and lesbian movement (for 15 years the only bookstore in the Maritimes with a gay and lesbian section), the peace movement, and the global justice movement. It also provided books for classes for progressive academics. It was central to the intellectual ferment to bring about progressive change.

By the winter of 1994, the store was losing money and closure was imminent. A revitalization campaign was started, including a major fund raising effort. A small group of four volunteered to staff the store over the summer as the budget could no longer afford paid staff and a search for a new location was begun. By the fall of 1994, the board reestablished the position of part-time coordinator and in the spring of 1995 the store moved back to Argyle Street. With the G-7 Summit and the P-7 People's Summit of June 1995, the store was able to have large book tables, both at the alternative community market on the commons and at the keynote lectures. The store continued to sponsor book launches and authors readings including Maxine Tynes, Ronald Wright, and Linda McQuaig.

However, by winter of 1996, the construction of the new Neptune Theatre across Argyle Street disrupted the life and sales at the bookstore. After the loss of the coordinator and resignation of the replacement after 2 months, it was obvious that the store would close. Nineteen years after it was opened, the books, shelves, and furnishings were dispersed throughout the community. The closing, like most Red Herring events, attracted media attention. Some radio and newspaper commentators drew the parallel to

other social and cultural movement organizations closing including New Maritimes Magazine and Wormwood Cinema that closed the same year.

What were the concepts of learning and power involved in the cooperative? The store was based on participation and volunteers learned to do all of the tasks of the store, including sales, bookkeeping and book ordering. The cooperative work created a very close knit community of volunteers who worked on a wide variety of issues together outside the store. The store focused on the building of community, especially among youth, unemployed and social assistance recipients, who had little opportunity to participate in the society. The weakness was the business operation of the store. It is difficult to run an effective and efficient operation with volunteers. And the store never attracted or generated the working capital necessary to operate on a commercial basis. However, the store generated a strong identity and for its 19 years of operation was a key player in the development of social movements in Halifax.

### **Third Strategy: "Work Through Networks"**

The problem of how to work within one's institution while identifying with community based groups was a theme identified from my interviews with adult educators working for social change. As one adult educator who worked in a university told me in an interview:

I really identified my thought and loyalties toward the community, rather than to the university I wasn't trying to abandon the university, I was then, and still am convinced that it can be a home to that type of social action, that we can, although it is sometimes impossible to see the result of it, actually move colleagues in that direction.

His means of moving colleagues in that direction is involving many of them throughout the university in community action networks. For instance, he has worked to form a provincial network on health policy -- the Health Action Coalition. The stated purpose of the coalition is the following:

1. Monitor the Provincial health planning process to ensure citizen participation in planning, monitoring and evaluation of the Nova Scotia Health Plan.
2. Support communities in their efforts to take back control of their health.
3. Recognize our own expertise and what we have to offer to the process; in particular, our knowledge of citizen participation and connections between health and social, economic and environmental conditions.
4. Expand to include others' skills.

(Chin-Yee, 1990)

This bias towards participation works best in networks, relatively flat organizational structures with open communication. It is difficult for a network to take on something as complicated as health policy and the administration of hospitals. And there are dangers of being coopted by participation in advisory councils and regional boards that do not have clear mandates or powers. It is difficult to oppose vested, well-funded interest groups like the Medical Association on a grass roots budget. But in this case, a network, although seemingly amorphous and with varying commitments from various groups, can take shape in the form of a coalition that presses for changes.

#### **Metro Council on Continuing Education**

One of the best established networks for adult education in Halifax is Metro Council for Continuing Education. Just before I moved to Halifax in May 1981, I met a

labour organizer from the city. I told her that I was just completing a master's degree in adult education and I planned to move to Halifax to look for work. "Oh, continuing education," she said, "that's very well organized in Halifax. There are lots of opportunities in organizations and agencies for adult educators."

Afterwards, I realized that her perception was probably the result of the work of Metro Council on Continuing Education. Founded in 1973, to work for greater learning opportunities for adults, the first meeting involved Tom Parker from Dalhousie University, Mairi Macdonald from Mount Saint Vincent University and Robert "Dig" Nichols from the Dartmouth School Board, all adult educators who were inspired by the Antigonish Movement tradition of learning from the people.

In its first years in the 1970s, Metro Council worked to meet three objectives (Murphy, 1975). The first one, increased promotion and publicity for learning opportunities for adults, was met through the publication of a booklet on courses and programs offered throughout the metropolitan region. The second was the provision of counseling for adults that wanted to upgrade their education and improve their lives. The Council started a temporary storefront operation each September to provide educational advisors to adults who needed information and guidance. Third was a professional network to discuss educational issues and to work together and cooperate on the provision of programs. The included fall and spring meetings with special speakers, lobbying to provide increased service to adults and taking a public stand on issues.

In 1982 I joined the executive of Metro Council on Continuing Education. At this time the Council was working to improve the professional development opportunities for adult educators. This included the following: lobbying Dalhousie University School of

Education to hire a second professor in continuing education to expand their program; increasing the variety and frequency of program meetings and brown bag lunches on local issues and new adult learning programs; and focusing on researching the needs of adult learners and the professional development needs of adult educators. The question of Metro Council sponsoring its own workshops became contentious. In the fall of 1984, the executive turned down a proposal that I had developed with the program and professional development committee to sponsor a workshop on "Program Planning and Evaluation in Adult Education" with Stephen Brookfield. As the chair of the committee, I took the workshop proposal to Part-Time Studies and Extension at Dalhousie University who decided to sponsor the workshop. The workshop was a great success, with over 100 people attending over 2 days. The variety of participants showed the diverse interest in adult education: educators from hospitals, businesses and government, community colleges, school boards, community agencies and universities all were interested in how to plan and evaluate programs for adults.

The second activity that was strengthened in the 1980s was lobbying on public policy issues. In the first part of the 1980s Metro Council made submissions to the Walker Commission on Educational Finance and the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Higher Education (MacLennan Commission). The Council briefs to these commissions received a very positive response. The Walker Commission recommended a new funding policy for school boards in which an "envelope" of funds was allocated to adult education. The acceptance of this funding formula by the province strengthened the school board adult education programs throughout the 1980's. The MacLennan Commission on Higher Education recommended that continuing education councils be



set up throughout the province to advise the government on the development of learning opportunities for adults. The provincial government never acted on this recommendation, focusing its efforts on youth initiatives and developing the Nova Scotia Community College.

The third thrust in the 1980s was the expansion of the promotion of learning opportunities for adults through the booklet and the information displays. The booklet attracted a greater number of agencies and increased its circulation. The provision of an attractive cover, an index of courses and programs and articles on interesting program improved the profile. The seasonal displays in the shopping malls were extended to the libraries, increasing the circulation of brochures and information.

In the 1990s there were three new developments: outreach to the Black and First Nations communities, the holding of an annual conference and the hiring of a support worker. The executive realized that Metro Council had little contact with the important adult education work taking place in the African Nova Scotian and First Nations communities in Halifax. An outreach committee was formed to try to broaden membership to these communities. The idea for the council was to try to engage the agencies that serve the First Nations, African Nova Scotian and immigrant communities in the work of the Council. The council was dominated by middle white class administrators from the major educational institutions. How could we understand what was going on in the city and change our practice to be more inclusive?

This lack of involvement was unfortunate because there had been a history of involvement by adult educators with the black and first nations communities. The Black Cultural Centre was founded by William Oliver who was an adult educator and

community leader worked with Guy Henson and the provincial department of education from the 1940s until 1982. He built up community organization in the black community through organizations such as the church, school and voluntary associations. However, little of the link remained in the early 1990's. When there was a racial riot in downtown Halifax in the summer of 1991 over integration of the bars, there was little involvement by Metro Council agencies in the public response and protests. The black community itself had a cultural renaissance in the late 1980s and early 1990s through community events like the Black History Month activities. But there was little involvement in adult education organizations represented on the council.

The Metro Council developed two strategies, one educational, one political. The educational was to realize that we were the problem and ask the others to show us where we went wrong. It started in 1989 when the council held its annual meeting at the Black Cultural Centre. The three speakers were from the immigrant, Mi'kmaw and African Nova Scotian communities. The meeting started with a prayer recalling the significant work of William Oliver who had just passed away. The three speakers spoke of the work going on in their communities, to build up educational achievement and increase participation in schooling and society. Then a retired adult educator, who had worked with William Oliver in the Adult Education Division of the provincial Department of Education, stood up and asked the embarrassing question that was on everyone's minds. We have come out to the black community but where are the members of the black community to greet us? Why, after all these years, is there no sharing and integration between the work of the black community and the mainstream adult educators?

After an embarrassing silence, the black member of the panel challenged the group. If you want to work with the black community, go out and find out what the issues are in the black community. Find projects to work on and go to the communities and see what support they need. Find out why your organizations have not appealed to the educators and activists in the black community and change your organizations to make them more inclusive.

The executive of the organization took the challenge seriously and mandated the professional development committee to develop a series of programs on the issue. The committee put together a series of "anti-racism" workshops, drawing on the emerging resources from the black community to teach white adult educators about their biases, attitudes and behaviours that exclude others.

These workshops kept reproducing a similar dynamic to the first meeting at the Black Cultural Centre, where the white adult educators kept expecting to be told, by a full variety of non-whites, what the problem was so they could change their attitudes and behaviours. But when they were challenged by the workshop leaders to think through that they were the problem, the problem of privilege and entitlement that was keeping others from the educational institutions, they could not accept the message. They would respond, well its not our problem; where are those from the black or other communities, why are they not coming to our workshops, don't they want to change?

The workshops did finally deal with these questions of racism, when we moved their location from the Public Archives in the affluent south end of the city to the Native Friendship Centre on Gottingen Street. More members of the immigrant and native communities came to attend the workshop sessions. With more participation and

discussion, the workshops led to increased understanding of the issues and involvement from the excluded communities.

As a member of the Executive of Metro Council I proposed that the Council should be more proactive, so in 1994 the executive decided to hold a major conference (the first annual conference) on "Celebrating Diversity in Adult Education." For conference keynote speakers the planning committee asked Isabelle Knockwood (1992) a Mi'kmaw elder who had recently published her memoir Out of the Depths on the local residential school and Tracey Jones, the head librarian of the North Branch Library who was a key organizer for the Black History Month program. The conference opened with White Feather, a First Nations dancing group formed by the Cultural Alliance, a cultural school group from Indian Brook reserve. The conference ended with Four the Moment, an "a capella" singing group from the African Nova Scotian community who were all active in educational and cultural organizations. The workshops at the conference focused on a great variety of topics, including many on racial diversity, but also on other issues and topics including funding activities. The conference drew 120 participants, many more than had ever taken part at Metro Council events in the past. Consciousness was brought forward, but it was still difficult to change the practices of the organization.

At the next year's conference, Tracey Jones, the librarian from the North Branch Library and keynote speaker from the previous years conference, expressed her feelings of isolation and exclusion as being the only participant from the African Nova Scotian community at the Metro Council event. Although the council had expressed its interest and desire to diversify its membership and participation, a lot was still to be

accomplished to involve the issues and educators from the African Nova Scotian and First Nations communities.

By the end of the 1990s the Council was again at a turning point. Interest in the annual conference had decrease and the 1998 conference was canceled. It was replaced with a fall celebration of 25 years of Metro Council with a performance by Irondale theatre company on the Antigonish Movement. The professional development and research committee was revived with several successful program on labour market training and the federal government's human resource development and the provincial government's community services initiatives. The professional development committee has held several very successful workshops and a new staff person is in place.

Has the Metro Council helped the field of adult education in Halifax, Nova Scotia? The results of professionalization remain mixed. Many programs hold on by only a shoestring with no firm funding. Although the phrase lifelong learning is prominent is both provincial and federal government rhetoric the funding for community agencies and adult education programs is less secure than it ever has been. School boards are closing down programs and community colleges do not have the funds to expand. Universities are being forced into more for profit programming while traditional liberal arts and community development programs are on hold. Community groups have very little chance for stable funding. Where is there the progress?

Although the results are mixed, there has been significant developments in identity, support, lobbying, and direction. The Metro Council has helped to develop the identity of continuing education, both the publication and distribution of the booklet of continuing education programs three times and year, and the programs and professional

development activities for members. Through the programs and professional development events the members have an opportunity for networking, for meeting others with similar responsibilities and expectations from diverse agencies and educational institutions. These opportunities help overcome the isolation of working in small agencies or small continuing education units of educational institutions. They also develop an identity for the adult and continuing educator and help to build mutual expectations, values, and visions. The council has also made significant contributions to policy developments, from pushing for funding for school board programs through the Walker Commission to increasing support for adult students by establishing “adult learner awards,” to helping specific adult education agencies or programs when their programs are reviewed or the support is threatened. Finally, the Metro Council has attempted to deal with issues such as racial exclusion in our own practice and recognize the diversity necessary to create a more inclusive and just society.

### **Conclusion: Telling the Stories of Identity and Conflict**

The five narratives of community practice of this chapter -- the North Branch Women’s Group, the Transition Year Program, Dartmouth Literacy Network, Red Herring Cooperative Books and Metro Council on Continuing Education -- each tell a story of identity formation, struggles for institutional and financial support and recognition by the wider community. Each story illustrates the motivation of the participants and adult educators involved in starting and continuing these narratives. The members of the North Branch Women’s Group started with the self-help motivation to learn and act on issues facing their neighbourhood and community. They were supported by the community worker for the library whose interest was to work with the people

because “your future is entwined with mine so let’s work together.” The TYP program was started to develop educational opportunities and leadership for the Black and First Nations communities. It had significant problems with issues of identity, funding, and community control over program operation. Dartmouth Literacy Network was started to involve more agencies and volunteers from the community in the provision of literacy training. The motivation of one of the founders was “pragmatism with compassion,” establishing the network through persuasion, public appeal and embarrassing the government to provide support. The volunteers at Red Herring were interested in supporting the social movement issues that the store promoted: feminism, gay and lesbian rights, peace and environment. Although the store was not a financial success, it formed a significant community for the promotion of social movement issues. Finally, the members of Metro Council on Continuing Education are interested in improving the learning opportunities for adults. Through developing the identity of adult educators and influencing the mandates of programs and funding agencies, the council has helped form the social vision for adult education in Halifax.

These narratives illustrate the process of social group formation and the dynamics of group identity, conflict and power struggles. The next chapter examines the learning that takes place in social movement groups, the creation of knowledge by social movements and the part played by adult educators in this process.

## CHAPTER 6

### ADULT EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: NARRATIVES OF ESTABLISHING KNOWLEDGE

A key step in working with social movement groups described in the last chapter is the establishment of group identity, self-knowledge, and the group perspective or world view. This establishment of knowledge is critical for the emergence of group self-consciousness. This realization that the group has a purpose and motivation leads to the first step towards social change, the articulation of the group identity, knowledge and way of viewing and dealing with the world. Eyerman & Jamison (1991) call this the cognitive praxis of social movements, drawing on the emancipatory "knowledge constituting interests" articulated by Habermas (1972). These include the "cosmological" dimension of developing a world view that explains origins and purposes, the "technological" dimension of relation to nature and the "communicative" dimension of developing an organizational form to communicate their message. In the last chapter it is possible to see the development of this "cognitive praxis." For the North Branch Women's Group it was realizing that through discussion, research, and action they could improve the conditions in their community, first with issues such as unruly dogs in the housing project then with more systemic issues such as literacy, education, and identity. For the Transition Year Program it was realizing that the success of the black students depended on the creation of a group identity and support structure on campus, not the assimilation into university structures. For Dartmouth Literacy it was the realization that literacy was critical to the community, an issue beyond the school board. For Red Herring it was using the techniques of organization and education to create events, symbols and



knowledge in the community for the progressive social movements active in the city. For the Health Action Coalition this involved articulating a "people centred" version of health and wellness that will guide the development of health and medicine in the province. For Metro Council on Continuing Education, this involved articulating a learner centred policy for continuing education that guides practitioners, organizations and public policy.

This chapter examines the process of knowledge creation by illustrating three specific strategies to create knowledge by social movements: the use of oral history and group analysis to create a narrative; the appropriation of traditional understandings and techniques to present identity and analysis; and the use of specific research strategies, that of the community-academic conference and of a major participatory research study. The examples include Knockwood's (1992) book on residential schools, the occupation of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre, the Coady Show of Irondale Theatre, the public library lectures sponsored by Saint Mary's University, the conference on Debt Crisis in the Rural Community, and the Black Learners Advisory Committee Report (1994a,b, &c) . All of these narratives illustrate the creation of knowledge to forward the emancipatory interest of social movements.

### **First Strategy: The Creation of Narratives**

The creation and retelling of stories is one of the most powerful ways of teaching and learning. At a recent conference, I had been asked to make final comments to summarize the proceedings. I was listed in the conference brochure as the "conference rapporteur." However, in introducing me to the conference speakers, the conference organizer introduced me as the "conference raconteur".

"Raconteur," I replied, "I may be from the Maritimes, but I am not known for spinning stories. Do you just assume that it is the Maritime blood and culture?"

Reflecting on the malapropism, I realized that by the end of the conference the participants would much rather hear a story rather than a dry summary of the proceedings, so I did the best I could to make sense of the conference presentations by forming it into a narrative of a journey, a quest, an odyssey, a pilgrimage in search of enlightenment. My remarks were well received and I realized that narrative helps the mind organize events and ideas, provides ideas with a context and purpose, and makes concepts much easier to understand.

This section will explore the creation and the outcome of two narratives, Isabelle Knockwood's (1992) memoir of residential school and the media narrative of the occupation of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre. Both are conscious creations of stories that have important social, cultural, educational, and political dimensions. Both show the ability of narrative to create meaning, knowledge, and power.

### **Isabelle Knockwood: Out of the Depths**

In 1989, a Mi'kmaw woman came to see me about mature admission to Saint Mary's University. She had lived in Boston in the 1960s and 1970s working in child care organizations and while there had completed a M.A. in Early Childhood Education from Goddard College. She wanted to start an undergraduate degree.

"Why an undergraduate degree now?" I asked, "You already have finished graduate training."

"I want to write a history of the Mi'kmaw people," she replied. "And I hope studying at your university will help me reach my goal."

I had no hesitation to help her reach her goal. During her study at Saint Mary's University she helped to organize the Mi'kmaw students to develop a support group and increase their involvement and interest in university activities. She also took the course "Biography and Autobiography" with Gillian Thomas, an English professor and activist with the Voice of Women, for Isabelle wanted to write her story. The story that she had to write was the story of the Indian residential school at Shubenacadie. In her book, Knockwood (1992) tells how it happened:

I wrote an account of my first night at the [residential school for an assignment and Gillian asked me if I had written anything else about the school. I brought in a huge bag of typescript, and after she'd spent the weekend reading it, she suggested that I complete the book as a special course in Oral History in which I would be the only student. The special course seemed like a good idea, especially since I regarded the work I'd done as a completed book. I really didn't want to listen when Gillian told me that the typescript I'd already spent so much time on was "raw material" and most people wouldn't be able to make sense of it in that form.

...

Despite the differences in our cultures and backgrounds, Gillian and I developed a working relationship which became important to both of us. There were times when our work sessions together seemed more like counseling or therapy. I would be overwhelmed with pain, then gradually after the tears and a lot of talk, we would begin to piece together words that described what I experienced." (p. 11)

When Isabelle's work was published in November 1992, it was the first book length account of residential schooling written by a First Nation's person in Canada. In the book she uses the concept of the "Talking Stick" to explain why it is necessary for her to speak of her experiences "without fear of being interrupted with questions, criticisms, lectures or scoldings or even being presented with solutions to their problems ( p. 7)." For "I still don't understand why the hurt and shame of seeing and hearing the cries of abused Mi'kmaw children, many of them orphans, does not go away or heal. I hope that the act of writing it down will help me and others" (p. 7).

In the book, Knockwood (1992) shares her memories of life with her family before she was sent to the school and her memories of life at the school as well as accounts from other students who have shared their memories with her. She has chapters on everyday life at the school, work and play, rewards and punishments, ghosts and hauntings and the resistance from the students. She describes, without holding back her emotion, a girl's arm caught in the "mangle," the machine in the industrial laundry that dries and presses sheets; punishments for not eating food by being force feed, vomiting and then being feed the vomit; humiliation and solitary confinement in windowless laundry cupboard for trying to run away from the school; and the constant physical punishment for each time one word of the Mi'kmaw language was spoken. For the instructions for teachers on residential school registries stated:

Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it. Insist on English during even supervised play. Failure in this means wasted efforts. (cited in Knockwood, 1992, p. 46)

Knockwood's (1992) book evokes a staggering emotional response from all who read it. A professor of education told me that when she uses the book with teachers in her education courses, "the book has a more powerful effect than any other book that I have ever used." Teachers are stunned that the intentions of the government, church and teachers resulted in so much pain, suffering and loss of identity and culture. Knockwood ends the book with this rediscovery of native tradition:

Despite the efforts of those who ran the school to instill hatred and contempt for Native traditions and culture, many of us have returned to a traditional path as the source of our strength.... For us, the Native Way with its Sacred Circle and respect for all living things is a means of healing that abuse. (p. 138)

At her address to the Metro Council on Continuing Education conference on "Celebrating Diversity", Knockwood spoke of her next book on native spirituality and healing. For the power in her stories is that they have this ability to heal. She is recognized in her community as an elder and is a leader in the fight for compensation and restitution from the government and church for the abuse at the residential schools. This healing is a necessary step for the recovery of identity and culture. National leaders have recognized the importance of this recovery and the important part that Knockwood's (1992) narrative Out of the Depths has fulfilled.

### **Gottingen Street Employment Centre**

In the 1960s the Federal Government's Department of Manpower set up employment centres throughout the community. To create more efficient and effective labour markets, the federal government wanted potential workers to have access to counseling and information on job opportunities at these community based centres. Since

the 1960s, federal manpower or human resource policy has gone through several changes under successive liberal and conservative governments. At first the emphasis was on the training through technology at community colleges or adult vocational centres. In the early 1980s, the emphasis switched to high technology, and the federal government established the skills growth fund to set up community based programs to train computer specialists. At an annual meeting of the Metro Council on Continuing Education that I attended, federal officials encouraged community based groups to apply for funding to set up training programs. By the mid 1980s the government enacted employment equity legislation and realized that employment difficulties were not evenly distributed, that certain groups -- women, disabled, First Nations and visible minorities (in Nova Scotia, African Nova Scotians) -- had a much harder time finding work. This promotion of employment equity fell quite naturally to the staff of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre, (Petrie & Benton, 1999) for they were located in the section of the city with the lowest incomes, the lowest educational levels and the highest proportion of equity groups, especially the black community.

The Gottingen Street Employment Centre (later Human Resource Centre) started the black working group, an advisory group to provide a plan on how the Human Resource Development Canada could work with the black community (Petrie & Benton, 1999). Through the advisory group a number of initiatives were funded, from an employment clinic, to a black professionals program to an entrepreneurship program for the black community. The staff of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre were community activists, individuals who took a leadership role in the community and actively promoted the needs of equity groups within the Human Resources department.

When Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) had to implement the budget cuts of the 1990s they started closing programs and offices. By the early 1990s the Gottingen Street CEC was the only CEC office left in the city except the main Halifax CEC office at the Halifax Shopping Centre. Many community-based outreach and training projects had closed down as well. Most training programs were told to find recipients on unemployment insurance or social assistance so that they could be funded through the Unemployment Insurance Act or the Canada Assistance Plan. Finally, in March 1996, the Gottingen Employment office was told that it would close on March 31 and be relocated to the Halifax Shopping Centre, a suburban area 2 miles away (Petrie and Benton, 1999).

The community reacted swiftly; they occupied the Gottingen office. Starting 2 days before the slated closure, they occupied the offices and called a news conference to say that they were not moving until the office was restored to the community. The most amazing tactic of the occupation was its structure: no media liaison person, no chairperson, no steering committee. All decisions were made at a meeting on 5:00 p.m. each day. I attended one of these meetings and at the meeting everyone was welcomed, recognized, and called upon to support the struggle. Plans were outlined on flip charts; community events were planned; and food, support and people streamed into the centre. The centre became a community meeting place. Open 24 hours a day because of the occupation, the occupiers welcomed both those who came in from the street asking for employment advice and community groups who needed meeting space. And the media, sensing the party like atmosphere of the occupation, gave daily coverage to the developing story of the community versus the bureaucracy.

It became a political struggle, first with the regional director general of Human Resources Development Canada who had made the decision to close the centre, then with the local Liberal Member of Parliament, Mary Clancey, who supported the decision. Some tactics focused on the HR bureaucracy such as a sit-in at the HRDC Director General's office that was carried out as part of a non violent direct action training course conducted by the labour council. But most of the political tactics focused on Mary Clancey. Even local artists and the arts community became involved.

A typical community protest event of April 20, 1996 went as follows. The community gathered at the employment centre around 11:00 a.m. on a Saturday morning. They formed a procession, with music, puppets, and the Mary Clancey chair of social justice, which was symbolically empty. Protesters paraded down the street to downtown, and assembled at the public library where there were speeches, skits, and songs. The Nova Scotia Mass Choir, a community gospel choir, and soloist Jeremiah Sparks performed from the several hundred people who gathered for the rally. The next day the local paper had a picture of the empty Mary Clancey Chair of Social Justice on the front page. Within a few weeks an editorial cartoon appeared in the local paper which showed Mary Clancey being advised, "Don't be too quick to close down the employment centre. Maybe you will need their help after the next election!"

The occupation of the employment centre galvanized the local activist community, which also showed wide political support for direct community action. In the June 1996 by-election to fill the Halifax Fairview provincial seat, the NDP won by a 60% of the popular vote, three times the closest rival, an unheard of margin in Halifax where elections are closely fought. The next summer, in the federal election, Mary Clancey lost



her Halifax federal seat to Alexa McDonough. By August 1996, Human Resources announced a compromise: the occupation would end and a Human Resources office would remain on Gottingen Street.

What can be learned from this struggle? Three things are important: democratic control of the protest, focusing the media on political events and clear control of the final outcomes. The protest received its strength and energy from the democratic control. Everyone was not just welcomed to the centre but asked their interest in helping and encouraged to take part in the many activities, from sleep overs to marches. Food was donated, coffee was made, and everyone contributed to the unfolding events.

The reports of the protest in the media were exciting and energizing. It is interesting to examine the relations between the protest and the media, especially comparing it a well crafted public relations or political campaign. The usual rules of a media campaign were ignored or broken: maxims such as have one person in control of all dealings with the media, only release information as necessary, and hold your strategy and internal discussions in secret. The protest appealed to the media because it was a good story. It was cast in a David (the north end black community) versus Goliath (the federal government and its minions, and spokesperson Mary Clancey) narrative frame. The public followed it like a soap opera, waiting for each day's installment.

The secret of this new style of media campaign was openness and building trust with the media. There were several reporters who followed the story every day. When one media such as the local newspaper ran an article on the story, another such as the local radio morning program would quickly follow, not wanting to be left behind. The media sensed the openness and straight forwardness of the protest, and covered it as an

event, rather than questioned the premise of the struggle. The public and street events were not timed as media spectacles but were timed to draw the most community support, evenings and weekends. The media, loathe to cover anything outside working hours, did cover the community parades and rallies for their colour and substance, showing the wide-based community support. With the democratic nature of the protest, there were many people, working on many political fronts. They were able to gain the public support of almost all the city counselors plus the mayor and many provincial politicians. They were able to use both the opinion pieces in the newspaper as well as the letters to the editor to great effect. The government bureaucracy took the tactic of waiting them out, knowing that a 24-hour occupation was not sustainable in the long run and the interest of the media would wane. At the time of the settlement -- close the existing centre but keep the staff in the community through the support of a new community services centre — the media were happy to report the successful conclusion of a community struggle.

### **Second Strategy: Drawing Upon Tradition**

A second strategy for establishing knowledge and identity is by drawing upon the tradition of community based education present in Nova Scotia. This is how a school board adult educator in one of my interviews described the actions of a provincial government department on literacy programs:

They did it for federal bucks, they didn't ask the philosophical question of what they believed in, where as we, I think, in continuing education, we've had not an easy struggle, I mean you know yourself the first adult division in Canada, was our own division in our province, and they've thrown that history away.

This statement shows the adult educator's passion coming from the tradition of community based adult education in Nova Scotia. This is contrast to a literacy initiative from the provincial bureaucracy that is inspired by the federal dollars. The tradition that the adult educator refers to is the tradition of Antigonish Movement and innovative adult educational practice in Nova Scotia. This includes folk schools, community meetings, and lecture series. Lecky (1993), in his master's thesis tells of how after retirement Guy Henson was working on a manuscript on the work and words of two great Nova Scotian reformers, Moses Coady and Joe Howe. From Moses Coady, Henson took his inspiration of community practice, the kitchen table meeting, the study group, and the rural industrial conference. From Joe Howe, Henson was inspired by his work with the Mechanics Institute, his oratory, and his passion for social reform. These are the traditions that adult educators in Halifax draw upon. This section will examine the use of two of these traditions, the use of popular drama, that had been used in the folk schools, by the Halifax theatre troupe Irondale. The second is the use of the lecture series, a tradition that dates back to the nineteenth century and before, by the Halifax Public Library and Saint Mary's University.

### **Irondale Theatre: The Antigonish Experience**

One of the traditions of the Nova Scotia folk schools of the 1950s is the use of theatre in adult education. Carol Harris (1998) describes Elizabeth Murray's involvement in the theatre and performances in the folk schools of the 1950s and the community pageants in Tatamagouche in the 1980s and 1990s. The tradition of community theatre is alive throughout the province with groups such as Mulgrave Road producing the Coady Show, and David and Anne Marie Woods' Black Voices, a performing youth theatre.

One Halifax theatre company that has consciously drawn on the tradition of popular theatre is Irondale.

Irondale was founded in 1990 by Stephen Cross when he returned to Halifax from New York City with his wife, a professional dancer. In New York, Stephen worked with a popular theatre group that worked in Rickers Island prison, helping youth inmates deal with their frustrations through expression. On return from New York City, Cross formed Irondale to develop participatory theatre in Nova Scotia, drawing on the traditions of the province.

I attended the 25th anniversary of Metro Council on Continuing Education in October 1998 where Irondale performed the Antigonish Experience, a work-in-progress on Moses Coady and the Antigonish movement. The participatory drama had four parts, each one illustrating an aspect of the Antigonish Movement. There was a debate between Jimmy Tompkins and Moses Coady on what the nature of the Antigonish movement should be, whether it would be lead by the people or by the clergy, which way the movement would develop. Then there was the question of the relationship with the university and the church, what type of controls there would be on the movement. Next was a discussion of study groups, how farmers, fishermen and workers were to solve their economic problems by kitchen study groups. Finally there was a discussion of cooperatives and the dynamic of community control, how decisions could be made and implemented.

I observed a mixed response from the members of Metro Council to the performance. Some of the audience found it difficult to participate and to act out the

scenarios. Others liked the debate, but found the exercises difficult. Everyone enjoyed the humor, how funny it is to look at our practices through the eyes of historic events.

In 1999, I again observed Irondale perform part of the show again for the Community Economic Development Diploma Program at Saint Mary's University. The audience resonated with the issues presented as some of the scenarios had not changed in 80 years. The 1920s Royal Commission on the Fishery had identified offshore steam trawlers as the cause of the problems for the inshore fishery, something that is still the case with the factory trawlers of today. In the discussion after the presentation, Cross talked about the great variety of reactions and responses that the productions have generated. Most effected were the labour groups who agree with the arguments and relate to the radicalism of Jimmy Tompkins. In the discussion the program participants talked about using theatre in their communities.

The development of theatre as a reflection of identity is becoming much stronger in Nova Scotia. When the Halifax's Neptune Theatre, one of Canada's first professional companies, was founded 45 years ago, all the play were classics from Broadway and the West End. Last year, over half their productions were written by Maritime playwrights. Writers such as Wendy Lill, George Eliot Clarke, David Woods, and Anne Marie MacDonald have created unique voices from the local communities. The development of local, popular theatres throughout Nova Scotia such as Ship's Company (Kipawo) in Pugwash, Mulgrave Road in Guysborough, and Historic Feast in Halifax, all demonstrate that theatre creates an identity of place, vocation and, commitment.

The techniques and practices of theatre companies like Irondale provide adult educators with a much better repertoire of methods. From role playing to sculpture to

acting out, these can be used by social movement and community groups to develop themes, strategies and plans of action. The use of street theatre and agit prop has given political life a colour, energy and excitement previously missing. The incorporation of these techniques into adult education programs strengthens the participants commitment and emotional involvement.

This can be seen in the work of the Raging Grannies, a singing group formed by members of the Voice of Women. Through song writing, outrageous costumes and appeal to the suffragette stereotype and tradition, the Grannies raise issues in their songs about the environment, peace and relations between the sexes.

In the final chapter of her biography of Elizabeth Murray, Harris (1998) talks about Murray's "opening spaces in the imagination" through her work with community choirs, history plays, and Christmas concerts in the community of Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia. She ends by evoking Murray's poetic strengths:

Maxine Greene reminds us that while poets may not solve the problems of the world, they urge us to reflect on lost landscapes and lost spontaneities. It is essential, especially in the present period of education and economic retrenchment, that we take strength and encouragement from an educational heritage of trust and faith in the power of people to shape their own destinies. It is equally important that we seek spaces for spontaneity and risk, taking inspiration from teachers of an earlier age who exercised and expanded control over their own teaching and curriculum. ...

[Betty] promoted the value of people working together; the importance of the arts in the building of community; an awareness that learning was not just for

career purposes, but for 'life'; and the fact that finding 'the possible' in everyone was a goal well worth the undertaking. (pp. 155-156)

The practice of popular theatre, both by Irondale and by the many social movement groups in Halifax such as the street theatre as the Gottingen Street Employment Centre demonstrations and the 1995 People's Summit, demonstrate the value of theatre in presenting a social critique, in calling on the power of imagination and in building community.

### **Halifax Public Library Lecture Series**

Over the last 20 years, the Halifax Public Library and Saint Mary's University, Division of Continuing Education have formed a unique partnership to present innovative courses, lectures, and speakers. These public lecture series and credit courses draw upon the public lecture tradition of adult education. More than drawing on a tradition, they have expanded and reinterpreted the tradition, creating a culture of partnership, public involvement, open discussion, and social action.

By offering public lecture series on such issues as health and development, culture and diversity, the crisis in the fisheries, "the world we want," environment and development, religion and politics, and current economic issues, the partnership has expanded the range and topics for public debate and discussion. As well as offering topics on global issues such as world history, Cuba, Asian culture, gender and development, Latin America, and Africa in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the courses have both offered cultural issues as the writer and nature, Irish drama, writing by women, world literature, folklore and science fiction and local issues such as images of Atlantic Canada,

Maritime labour history, culture of Atlantic Canada, African Nova Scotian cultural issues, and community economic development.

The tradition of the public lecture is one of the oldest traditions in adult education. Rockhill's (1983) history of University of California extension department tells the story of the lecture circuit as one of the first forms of public outreach that the extension department supported in the 19th century. In Britain and North America, including the maritime cities of Halifax and Saint John, local Mechanic's Institutes sponsored public lectures on current topics and scientific discoveries. This is how Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland (1999) describe the development in Halifax:

Perhaps the most significant expression of Halifax's swelling interest in literature, science, music and art involved the Mechanic's Institute. Formed in 1831 as an echo of developments in Britain, the institute quickly became a major success story, acquiring membership of over 100 recruited mainly from among the town's middle class. By the late 1830s the institute met weekly through the autumn and winter to hear papers delivered by interested amateurs on virtually all topics of the day, excluding only the sensitive issues of sectarian religion and partisan politics. (p. 62)

In Halifax, all the universities still sponsor public lectures and series each fall and winter on current topics. It is not uncommon to have 300 to 500 attend a lecture of a well-known speaker. In the fall of 1999, over 1000 packed into the Theatre Auditorium of Saint Mary's University to hear bell hooks talk about the links between social justice and spirituality.



Public libraries have not done as much to support the public lecturer. Although they often sponsor public readings by authors of poetry and fiction, they have done less to publicize non-fiction writers leaving that task to bookstores and social and political organizations. However, in Halifax over the last 20 years, the public library has worked out a unique arrangement with the Division of Continuing Education at Saint Mary's University to present public lectures on a wide variety of subjects.

Each fall and winter, three to five Saint Mary's University courses take place at the different branches of the public library. The courses are both "lecture series" open to the public at no charge and credit courses for regular university students or mature students from the public to register for credit. For the most part, the courses have taken place at noon, so that those working downtown in Halifax or Dartmouth can attend the lecture on their lunch hour. The first hour of the 2 hour class is the public lecture, followed by an hour long seminar for those taking the course for credit. Often those auditing the lectures will stay for the seminar and they are welcome as long as they complete the readings, assignments and contribute to the discussion. As well as the lunch hour courses at the downtown Halifax and Dartmouth libraries, Saint Mary's University has offered similar open lecture courses at the North Branch library (Cuba, culture and diversity, African Nova Scotian cultural studies, Africa in the 20<sup>th</sup> century), the National Film Board (narrative in fiction and film), the Public Archives (images of Atlantic Canada in television and film, film and history), the Black Cultural Centre (African Nova Scotian cultural studies), the Nova Scotia Museum of Natural History (the history of life in the universe) and the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic (crisis in the fishery).

The planning for the lecture series is a consultative process among the community outreach staff of the library, the continuing education staff from the University, and the instructor selected through the academic department or program. Often consultation involves representatives from community groups that have an interest in the selected topic or issue such as international solidarity groups, environmental organizations and labour and political groups. The library collections staff attend these meetings as well and work with the instructor to ensure that all current resources are available through the libraries collection. In addition to the public lectures by the chosen instructor, many of the courses have guest lecturers, both local experts who contribute to the chosen topic and national speakers who can be attracted to participate. The university pays for the course instructor, usually with a part-time or overload stipend, or the part-time/overload stipend is returned to the academic department to replace the regular course that the instructor would teach on campus. Most often, the university recovers this cost with tuition received from those taking the course for academic credit. The library provides the lecture room, publicity, and weekly support in terms of audio-visuals, photocopied readings and library materials for the course. Often special funding is obtained for visiting speakers or special advertising and publicity.

A particular strength of the lectures is the quality of the audience participants and the resulting discussions that ensue. Many retired persons are frequent users of the downtown libraries and they often come to one or two lectures each week, year after year. Often, on topics such as maritime labour history or images of Atlantic Canada in television and film, retired people have participated in the cultural and political events being presented and brought personal reminiscences, stories, and perspectives to the

discussions. In fact, during one of the courses on oral history methodology, the participants produced oral histories from those whom they knew in the community. As well, many activists from social movement organizations attend specific courses. Once, one instructor was concerned about the open lecture format as he had developed participatory group activities that required a group that is consistent over a semester. However, his course on health and development was so well received that all the participants returned for all the sessions and his activities were far more successful than when he had taught the course on campus. He was a convert to the program and returned the next year to teach culture and diversity at the North Branch Library. Because of the reputation of the quality of the participants in the program, there are often more instructors interested in participating than can be accommodated. As one instructor told me: "Receiving a standing ovation from the participants at the end of lecture series makes one feel warm and accepted in contrast to the indifference and lack of participation from teaching on campus."

With the electronic age, the custom of listening to an hour long lecture has been challenged by the production values incorporated into the images of videos, film, and television. However, this collaborative process between the university, the library, and community, and social movement groups shows that it is possible to reestablish a public space for raising issues, discussing solutions, and imagining a better world.

### **Third Strategy: Participatory Research**

This chapter is exploring the methods and techniques that adult educators and activists use working with social movement organizations to establish the knowledge(s) of identity, analysis and public recognition. The first strategy, using the creation of

narratives, showed how telling stories can help create social movement identity (discovery of native spirituality by working through the recovery of the loss of tradition and language at residential schools) and construct a public awareness of the cut backs in government social services through an ongoing saga in the public media. The second strategy, drawing on adult education traditions, showed the strength of popular theatre and public lectures for conducting social analysis, increasing emotional commitment and building stronger communities. The third strategy examines the use of participatory research for establishing knowledge. The first narrative examines a university conference that was planned with direction from rural community activists. The second narrative explains the political strategy of the Black Learners Advisory Committee of using participatory research to define a problem of educational equity and establish support and resources for a solution.

### **The Crisis in the Rural Community Conference**

In 1987, I helped organize a Saint Mary's University sponsored conference on "The Debt Crisis in the Rural Community." In Atlantic Canada, the crisis was focused on the fishery where an over expansion of fishing capacity and foreign over fishing in the late 1970s and early 1980s had caused great declines in the fish stocks and catches. However, there was also a similar crisis in agriculture and forestry caused by the application of large scale, industrial harvesting practices that were replacing people with machines causing wide spread unemployment while saddling producers with large amounts of debt.

The conference planning committee, consisting of representatives from the Atlantic Canada Studies faculty and students, the International Education Centre and

myself from the Division of Continuing Education, wanted to host more than an academic conference, where tenured academics and graduate students read papers to each other on the topic and debate theoretical frameworks and ideological commitments. The committee wanted to attract community-based activists, those working in the rural communities on fishing, farming and forestry issues. To plan the conference, originally scheduled for May 1987, the organizing committee used money from the International Education Centre CIDA animation project to invite two community-based activists from each of rural Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia to a consultation on how to plan the conference. The planning committee wanted to know how to frame the issues so that they would be relevant and understood by rural activists, and how to structure the conference so that community activists would attend and participate in the discussion.

At the consultation the rural activists advised the planning committee to change the proposed dates for the conference. As academics, the planning committee was influenced by the patterns of the academic year and had proposed the month of May as this was after the end of classes, a convenient time for academics to travel and attend conferences. The community activists asked us the question: "Who do you want to attend this conference? If you want to primary producers, farmers, fisher people and those community activists who engage in these pursuits to attend, do not hold the conference in May, one of the busiest months for rural people. Hold the conference in the late fall, in November preferable, after the harvest but before the winter weather sets in that makes travel difficult." With this advice, the conference dates were changed to late October.

The community activists were very interested in the proposed theme of “The Debt Crisis in the Rural Community.” The activists liked the theme of crisis as they felt a real crisis with members of their communities were losing their boats, farms and forestry lands to banks who had extended credit and now were foreclosing. This crisis theme also fit well with academic Marxist and neo-Marxist academic theories of dependency and development that predicted a “crisis of capitalism” based on the falling rate of profit and the over expansion of productive capacity. However, nothing would be more mystifying to rural community activists than the arcane jargon derived from theoretical and ideological analysis that does not relate to their current situation. The activists did not want to avoid the discussion of Marxist and neo-Marxist theory. They just asked that the setting of the debt crisis facing rural communities be firmly established so that the relevancy of any theory could be judged by the situation of rural communities. They liked both of the keynote speakers proposed: Susan George, who had written on food issues and the crippling effects of world debt, and Ramon Castro, a dairy farmer from Cuba who was Fidel's elder brother.

The most important issue that the community activists raised was the format for the conference. An academic conference of panels of academics who read densely worded, closely argued papers to one another had little interest or appeal to community activists. The community activists wanted an opportunity to hear the latest research on what is happening in other rural communities, but they also wanted an opportunity for dialogue, reflection and the sharing of analysis. With the guidance of the community activists we planned to limit the academic papers to at most 45 minutes per three paper session and follow the each formal presentation session with a discussion session, chaired

by an rural activist with another rural activist as a resource person, so that we could focus on strategies from the rural communities to deal with the crisis.

The funding for the conference was secured through a SSHRC conference grant to cover the cost of academics traveling to the conference and the IEC's CIDA's animation fund to pay for the travel of the community activists who served as facilitators and resource persons. At the conference over 120 participants registered, both academics on rural sociology and resource management from across Canada and community activists from the four Atlantic provinces.

The new format was not without its problems. The invited presenters had not all been well briefed and some expected to present papers in a regular format. The first session consisted of Alex Sim (1988) who was to present the thesis from his forthcoming book Land and community: Crisis in Canada's countryside, and a rural geographer from Oregon who had completed a study of resource based communities. As the chair of the opening session, I advised both speakers to limit their papers to 15 to 20 minute presentations. Sim was flustered as he had prepared a 40 minute presentation and announced to the audience that he could not cover the thesis of his book in 15 to 20 minutes so he would not try. The rural geographer then used all of Alex's time and more than his own to deliver a very dry, academic 50 minute presentation. However, at the next session, the first discussion session, both academics and activists were pleased to have an opportunity to discuss the problems facing rural communities. The rural organizers who chaired the discussion sessions were skilled facilitators who ensured a wide ranging discussion with full participation. And the invited rural resource persons provided an anchor for the discussion by explaining the issues facing their communities. All agreed,

both the academics and the community activists, that the new format ensured a more complete, focused, and informed discussion of the issues of the rural community. The academics still complained about having to present their papers in 15 to 20 minutes, but in seeing the value in the discussion sessions they tried to limit their remarks.

At the evaluation session, the conference planning committee was pleased with the new format developed for the conference. The participant's evaluations all rated the new format highly. Both the academics and the activists commented that format enabled both academics and community participants to speak from the experience of the rural community and to relate theoretical discussions to real critical issues facing the community. Many commented that it was the first conference where there was such open discussion between academics and activists. Several reports about the conference in both newsletters of academic societies and activists organizations mentioned that the innovative format allowed for more meaningful discussion of both the crisis facing the rural communities and the theories that explain the causes and help guide the response to the crisis.

#### **Black Learners Advisory Committee of Nova Scotia Department of Education**

In 1990, the Nova Scotia government appointed the Black Learners Advisory Committee (NS) (1994a) to advise the government on educational policy for black Nova Scotians. The committee consisted of 13 educational and community leaders representing black communities from throughout Nova Scotia. Its mandate was to "conduct a thorough review of the past and present status of the education of Black Nova Scotians, to make recommendations for improvements to the education system, and to identify strategies to meet the educational needs of all Black Nova Scotians." (p. 5)



In 1992, under the direction of Executive Director Robert Upshaw and Director of Research Patrick Kakembo, the Black Learners Advisory Committee (1994c) embarked on a major participatory research process to name the needs, desires and issues from the black community about the education system. They first conducted a pilot study in two communities to test the participatory action research model. Through community based focused groups they enabled black people to describe their educational experience and make recommendations for improving education for black learners. They then reported these findings back to the communities to explore ways that the community can participate in improving education.

After the pilot phase for testing the methodology, the research team expanded the data collection from focus groups to community meetings, workshops, interviews, written submissions and coffee houses. They identified six groups for separate focus group discussions: youth (students), early school leavers and upgraders, parents and guardians, unemployed and seasonal workers, employed, and community leaders. Focus groups were held in each of the seven regions of the province for a total of 42 focus groups. During the actual sessions people shared the following: their personal experiences from school; their perceptions of the education system as learners or parents; their suggestions and recommendations for changes to the education system; and the vision of their ideal future situation. (p.10)

These focus groups were followed by over 70 individual interviews, and 15 written submissions from Black organizations and individuals. The results of this research were reported back to two research workshops. The research findings were

organized into eight themes: racism, teacher insensitivity, curriculum, ineffective pedagogy, students, parents, and community issues.

1. Racism: "People see racial prejudice and systemic or institutional discrimination are the root causes of the social, political and economic marginalization suffered and endured by generations of African Canadians in Nova Scotia." (p.13)

The incidents of racism chronicled include racial name calling, differential treatment, stereotyping, labeling, streaming and alienation of black youth.

2. Teacher Insensitivity and Low Expectations "There is a strong feeling among parents and students that the education system is insensitive and unsympathetic to the needs of Black students" (p. 29)

One of the causes of this insensitivity is the absence of Black role models in the system. In Nova Scotia there are only one half of the percentage of black teachers there should be. Black students make up 2.5% of the student population but black teachers make up only 1.17% of the teachers.

3. Curriculum Deficiencies: "Black history and culture are not part of the core curriculum" (p. 41)

The report details negative racial and gender bias in learning materials, school curriculum not relevant to the real world, and intervention strategies that need to be implemented to prevent school drop-outs.

4. Ineffective Pedagogy Approaches: "Some students complained that the lessons and teaching material in the Nova Scotia school system are presented in a boring way." (p. 49)

The report details suggestions for more group process work in the classroom, more internships and coop work placements, and cultural programs. The report also listed concerns with lack of accessibility and relevance of adult education programs.

5. Student Factors: "The big problem with most Black youth is the fact that they don't know who they are. If I don't know who I am, and if I'm not feeling really good about who I am; and don't know anything about my history, then I don't feel good about myself" (p. 55)

The report discusses the need for positive self-esteem and Black identity and the problems of poor motivation, poor academic achievement, peer pressure, boredom, teen pregnancy and early school leavers.

6. Parental Issues: "Black parents have always been concerned about the education receive by their children. However many parents are not involved with the education system or school programs." (p. 69)

The reports provides reasons for this lack of involvement including past negative experiences at school, infrequent and very formal parent-teacher interactions. One strategy to improve parental involvement is to offer parents more information and conduct workshops for parents at least twice a year.

7. Student Supports: "For Black students to make it through the education system in Nova Scotia they require certain supports. Most important, they require the support, encouragement and understanding of their parents, and others in their immediate community." (p. 77)

The report documents the need for education committees in the schools, early childhood education and child care, consistent discipline, financial resources, accessibility of adult education, upgrading, and post-secondary education.

8. Community Issues: "Evidence shows that White and Black Nova Scotians do not have equal access to employment opportunities." (p. 85)

The report details high unemployment and limited job opportunities, negative effects of high unemployment, crime, and the need for community leadership and unity.

The participatory action research consultation received many suggestions on how to improve the educational system for black learners. The report grouped the suggestions into 120 separate recommendations requiring action from nine different groups: the Department of Education, teacher training institutions, schools and school boards, teachers, adult education agencies, parents, the black community and organizations, government and business, and black learners.

In addition to participatory action research consultation process, the BLAC commissioned a socio-demographic survey of 3,464 persons in the black community (32% of the 10,955 Nova Scotia blacks identified in the 1991 Census) asking questions about their educational experience and perceptions of the current problems to provide further background information for the report (Black Learners Advisory Committee, 1994c). The BLAC also commissioned a report (Black Learners Advisory Committee, 1994b) of the history of black education in Nova Scotia, four case studies of education of black communities and special programs including the Transition Year Program and the Black Scholarship Fund and a literature review of the experience and activities in other jurisdictions.

The final report "Redressing Inequity -- Empowering black Learners" (BLAC, 1994a,b,c), consisting of 500 pages in three volumes, was released in December 1994. It contains a vision of quality education for Black learners in Nova Scotia, a summary of thirty recommendations and three action plans complete with strategies and target dates for stakeholders and funders to implement the major recommendations of the report. The major recommendations are to enhance the status of the Black Learners Advisory Committee by creating a Council on Black Education, creating the African Canadian Programs branch in the Department of Education and supporting the establishment of an Afrocentric Learning Institute to develop curriculum and conduct on-going research.

The Minister of Education responded to the report in early 1995. He accepted the major recommendations including the establishment of the Council on Black Education and the African Canadian Programs branch, which were implemented in 1996. The Minister expressed support for the Afrocentric Learning Institute, but outlined a implementation process with consultations with Black organizations and existing educational institutions. This institute is yet to be established.

The BLAC report shows the power of participatory research for establishing knowledge and plans for action. Through an impressive consultation process, BLAC was able to form a consensus within the Black community on what was necessary to improve the educational experience for Black students in Nova Scotia. This consensus was then presented to the government for action and the government responded quickly, implementing two of the three major recommendations of the report.

The first strength of the participatory research process was the exhaustive involvement from all sectors of the black community (1 in 3 were surveyed, 1 in 10

participated in a focus group or community meeting). With this type of involvement, the government could not deny the clear perception of systematic racism and discrimination from the black community. The second strength was the process of visioning solutions to the current problems. Through the focus group discussions and community meetings, participants clearly identified the need for a more positive identity, higher self-esteem, and recognition of the history and achievements of the members of the black community. The major problem with the implementation of the reports recommendations is the delay in establishing the Afrocentric Learning Institute which should have the most to contribute to establishing this identity, history, and recognition.

## CHAPTER 7

### NARRATIVES OF NEGOTIATING, ESTABLISHING AND LOSING POWER

This chapter focuses on the issue of power or the ability to act. The six narratives are all from my experience as an adult educator, three through my position as Director of Continuing Education at Saint Mary's University and three from my volunteer involvement with social movement organizations. Through examining this practice it attempts to answer the question: "What concepts of power are being used by the participants in educational institutions and social movement groups? Are they rule based, confining or enabling?" (Question #3, chapter 1)

The chapter documents how I and other adult educators use strategies to build and develop their social movement organizations and educational institutions. These strategies include the following: developing and negotiating the mandate for their organization, either as part of an educational institution or independent in the community; obtaining resources and support for the work of their programs and social movements in general; and developing vision, the development and control of the social imaginary. This section presents the narratives of six groups. The first strategy of negotiating mandate is explored with one negative example, the International Education Centre at Saint Mary's University which was closed in 1995 and one positive example, the Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, which was started in 1998. The issue of resources is presented by one self-funding program, Saint Mary's at the World Trade Centre and one coalition to develop policy for the alternative use of government resources, the Alternative Budget Coalition. The development of vision, of the social imaginary, is shown in the planning and activities of the P-7, the People's Summit in Halifax in 1995

and in the development and activities of the Atlantic Popular Educators Network (APEN).

### **Developing and Negotiating Mandate**

Cervero & Wilson (1994) state: “Power is the capacity to act distributed in individual [adult educational] planners by virtue of the organizational and social positions which they occupy (p. 254).” They distinguish three features of power: that it exists because of the social relationships of the division of labour; that it is a characteristic of all human relationships; and that it is always contingent -- “exercising power in concrete situations is always a form of negotiation among the various persons involved (p. 254).”

This section will examine the development of organizational and social positions enabled by institutional mandates and organizational structures. The process of developing these positions, as shown in these narratives, is a complicated process of negotiation between and among officers and directors of funding agencies, educational institutions and particular programs.

#### **The CIDA Public Participation Program and the International Education Centre**

For 22 years, the federal government, through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), funded a public participation program (PPP) to encourage the public to support and participate in international development activities. With the drastic federal budget of March 1995 CIDA announced a 100% cut in the funding for this public participation program. Why was this program cut and what are the implications for the work of adult educators?



One agency that shared this 22 year history was the International Education Centre (IEC) at Saint Mary's University. As I worked at Saint Mary's University for 13 of those 22 years and worked with four of the Directors of the IEC, I both observed and participated in development and its eventual closure. The Centre was founded in 1973 by returning overseas volunteers, to receive funds from the newly established CIDA public participation program. The CIDA program was justified by the rising expenditure for international development assistance and the hope to increase public support for such expenditure. By using volunteers to establish community-based organizations to generate public interest and support for international development, the program funded a network of 50 international development learner centres across Canada. Saint Mary's University was one of the few university-based centres, set up in 1973 to work in the schools and community. In order to qualify as a community-based centre, the university set up an IEC Board, with representation from both the university and community, to oversee the work of the centre. Early programs included conducting workshops in the schools and establishing a speakers bureau to provide speakers for school classes, teacher workshops and educational in-service programs.

The IEC Centre grew over the years. From 1973 to 1978 it was a minimal operation, with a library built up then integrated with the main library collection. From 1978 to 1983, Jim Morrison, as director, built up the Centre, first by receiving grants from Secretary of State for community work with immigrants, then by submitting proposals to foundations and government departments for funding both for the Centre and in cooperation with other academics at the university for the university overall. These proposals paid off when the university in 1983 was awarded a major CIDA contract to

establish a Canada-China language and cultural training program. This included establishing an English language training school in Beijing and a network of five orientation centres across the country to receive professionals from China who were interested in studying Canadian professional practices. One of these five regional orientation centres was established at the IEC to serve the Atlantic region.

From 1983-1989, under the leadership of George Schuyler as director, the centre grew and flourished, increasing both programs and staff. Through the use of earnings from the operation of the regional orientation centre and job creation grants from the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission the staff grew from five to eleven. The schools program increased, a librarian was hired to organize the resource centre, the community activity and publications increased, and a series of academic and community conferences on the Caribbean, the debt crisis in the rural community, Latin America and Cuba were organized. In 1989, the IEC received project funding from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) for an orientation and cultural training centre for the business community.

In 1989, George Schuyler left and the IEC board recruited Joy Woolfrey as director. The university's financial commitment had increased substantially, from a grant of \$20,000 in the 1970s, to \$35,000 in the 1980s to \$50,000 in the 1990s. The university recognized the increased community and international profile of the IEC. Gradually in the 1990s, the relation began to sour. The director first alienated the staff, who had had substantial autonomy in setting priorities for their work. This led to split in the board, where the staff influenced a vote of non-confidence in the director that was ignored by the board executive and by the university. With divisions on the IEC board and the

unionization of the IEC staff, the centre was left to drift. As an active participant on the board (1990-1995) and the board executive (1991-1995), I tried to propose alternative sources for funding such as support from the province for curriculum work, support from teachers organizations for professional development, and support for more active organizing in the community. None of these diversification ideas led anywhere, so by the time of final budget cut to the PPP program in 1995, the university was left with few alternatives.

The showdown came in the fall of 1994 and the winter of 1995. The director along with the assistant director, Juan Tellez, had started to organize the P-7, the People's Summit, a parallel conference to the G-7 Summit of World Leaders scheduled for Halifax in June 1995. Several community meetings were held and a steering committee was formed with both the director and assistant director playing key roles. In November of 1994, the national newspaper, The Globe and Mail ran an article on the planning for the "People's Conference" attributing the organizing to Juan Tellez and stating that he was a professor of international development at Saint Mary's University. The university president at that time was trying to position the university to benefit from the G-7 through media attention to university venues and did not want the University connected to a conference that would protest the presence of world leaders. He advised Joy in no uncertain terms not to involve the IEC or the university in any community protest.

In the winter of 1995, the university hired external consultants to review the work of the IEC. As the consultants were doing their site visit, the February 1995 federal government budget was released with substantial cuts to CIDA. It was not evident at first, but the cuts were not across the board, but selective, with 100% of the funds for the

public participation program eliminated. In one fell swoop, the federal Liberals eliminated a problem that 9 years of Tory governments had not touched. The director had seen the outcome imminent and in March 1995 advised the Board that she had obtained alternative employment. Juan Tellez was made acting director but not given a mandate to develop an alternative funding strategy. At a joint meeting of the IEC Board with the university president and vice-presidents, I asked the president if the university would continue to provide resources for the work of the IEC. The president's response was that he did not think that was appropriate as the IEC had been established on external funding. With these reasons, the IEC was closed. The university could have maintained a structure to rebuild, but instead, ended over 20 years of community and school work and closed down the centre, integrating the space and some of the staff for support of international students.

What were the relations of power involved in the closure of the IEC? To sustain lasting structural change and commitment it is necessary to do more than rely on the rhetoric of community involvement and empowerment. In order to have survived, the IEC board, director and staff needed to have more political and financial support, to become independent of one major program of one government agency (public participation program of CIDA) so that the centre could have had the vision, institutional support and financial backing to survive.

#### **Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute**

In the fall of 1995, the Nova Scotia Community College (NSCC) received financial support from the federal government's Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency to create a curriculum for community economic development. As part of the "Economic

Diversification Agreement” between the federal and provincial government, the province was establishing 14 regional development authorities throughout the province. The NSCC obtained funding from this agreement to set up a provincial training program for community economic development practitioners throughout Nova Scotia. They hired Juan Tellez as to head up a research group to survey the rich resources available throughout Nova Scotia to help build the curriculum for community development: the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University, the programs of University College of Cape Breton, the experience of community enterprises such as New Dawn and Enterprise Community Holdings, the experience of the community based corporations and loan funds set up throughout the province. From this rich background of projects, experiences, and stories, Juan and his research group developed a curriculum for a certificate program on community economic development.

The program began in 1996 with an innovative format. It consisted of six weekend sessions at three locations throughout the province. The first and last weekend sessions were for all the participants from throughout the province, and were conducted at a local tourist lodge. The program was immediately successful, with over 60 community activists from throughout the province attending each the first (1996-1997) and the second (1997-1998) program to learn the principles and procedures for community based development. As the curriculum was based on group activities and sharing of experiences, the participants formed strong personal and professional friendships, forming a network with others to discuss experiences and share advice. Each year the program published a volume of case studies and analysis from the participants (Community Economic Development Centre, 1997, 1998) When I attended the

graduation for the program in 1998, one of the participants commented to me that the connections made and knowledge learned from taking part in the certificate program formed one of the most positive forces for community economic development in the province in the last three years.

In the fall of 1998, the community college decided to rationalize its offerings and place this type of externally funded program on a totally cost recovery basis. They wanted more and more of the surplus generated by the program, not allowing any investment in further research and development. Juan Tellez, the director of the program resigned, along with all of his staff and most of the instructors. They joined with an existing Atlantic CED Cooperative and created the Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute to offer a parallel certificate program. This program produced two more volumes of case studies of community development projects (Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, 1999; Watershed Association Development Enterprise & Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, 2000).

In 1998, Saint Mary's University was finishing the construction of a new \$18 million dollar building for the university's Frank H. Sobey Faculty of Commerce and made a proposal to ACOA for funds. As the federal government will not fund educational institutions for their core responsibility of education, they had to determine how they could fund the university. They worked out a compromise, that the money could go to the space dedicated to the non-degree programs of the university, specifically space for professional development conferences and workshops and programs that promoted community economic development throughout the region. The fourth floor of the new Sobey Building was reserved for these professional development programs.

When in November, 1998, Juan Tellez, director of education and research for the new Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, approached the Division of Continuing Education at Saint Mary's University to offer a joint diploma program, the university was very interested. This diploma program went beyond the analysis of practice of the certificate program to examine issues of environmental sustainability, community development corporations, and financing and evaluation for CED enterprises. To offer the program, the university and the Atlantic CED Institute devised a partnership with an equal sharing of the net revenue after the direct expenses for running the program. Through word of mouth and direct promotion, the program attracted 40 participants within 6 weeks of announcement. This diploma program has been offered for 2 years on the fourth floor of the Sobey Building, providing professional development to CED practitioners to help communities survive through building ethical, environmentally sustainable enterprises.

When justifying community outreach at Saint Mary's University the administration always refers back to the mission statement that states that the university is "dedicated to outreach and community service for the local, national and international community." This must be balanced against the constant fiscal stringency of the university and the need to bring in new funding. However, by choosing a careful strategy, the two strands can be brought together. Forging partnerships, such as this partnership with the Atlantic CED Institute, is one way to jointly achieve this mission.

### **Struggle for Resources**

As evident in the last two narratives, the development and control of resources is an essential feature of losing and establishing power. The IEC was closed because the

university decided to direct the resources of space and financial support to recruiting and supporting its own international students, rather than outreach work to the community. It was possible to conduct the CED Diploma Program on the fourth floor, Sobey Building because the rationale for the ACOA government grant included work with the community on economic development. This struggle for resources is critical for social movements organizations. In this section, two different strategies are examined. The first is that of self-funding, proceeding by ad-hoc, pragmatic and strategic planning to develop a professional development centre. The second is the formation of a coalition to influence Federal and Provincial government fiscal policy through the Alternative Budget Coalition.

### **Saint Mary's University at the World Trade Centre**

Many times it is necessary to go ahead without formal permission. This is the case with the establishment of Saint Mary's University at the World Trade Centre in 1989. The university administration had been very supportive on establishing extension centre programs. However, the university Board of Governors was more hesitant. In the late 1980's the mayor of the then independent City of Dartmouth had courted the Saint Mary's University administration, trying to establish a physical presence for the university in Dartmouth. The concept of an extension location in Dartmouth was raised at a Board of Governors meeting and rejected. As one of the Dartmouth developers who was on the board advised me: "When I was a student at Saint Mary's, I fought the traffic to cross the bridge and attend on campus and a lot of my learning was from other students, in the students' centre. Setting up an extension program in a church basement will deprive students of the college experience."



With the idea of establishing a formal presence in extension centres withdrawn, the university had an opportunity to rent space in downtown Halifax, at the World Trade Centre, a provincial government sponsored centre for business and trade. On the eighth floor of the downtown convention centre, the government had established a World Trade Centre in 1988 with a luncheon club, a library, meeting rooms, and short term rental offices for trading companies. They had also rented out space to a local academic entrepreneur who had established a language school. The original idea for the language school was for language training and translation for local businesses but it quickly emerged that there was much more of a market for English training for foreign students. As the number of students increased, the space became more crowded so the language school decided to locate elsewhere. The proprietor of the language school, who happened to be a professor at Saint Mary's University, advised the university administration of the upcoming available space to give the university first opportunity for rental.

At first, with the memory of the lack of support for the Dartmouth initiative, the university was cautious. I prepared a business plan based on our experience running extension courses at lunch hour downtown at the Maritime Centre for MT&T, the telephone company. Although I knew it would take a while to develop a program for the business community, it was possible to start relatively quickly with a program of credit courses which the university already had experience in offering in extension centres.

Our first meeting with the Trade Centre management was on February 14, 1989. The Trade Centre managers asked when the university would decide if we would rent the space and we replied by April 1. By the time April arrived, the university administrators

still had not decided on renting the space. By mid-April, I received the word that the president did not feel that we could afford this at the present time. Instead of arguing directly, I advised the Dean of Commerce, who was keen supporter for extension programs and this proposal for space. At a graduation for a program on international marketing, he sat next to the president at the head table and sold him on the idea of a physical presence downtown at the World Trade Centre. By the end of the graduation dinner and ceremony the president was convinced. The only problem was how to go ahead when the Board of Governors was lukewarm on the idea of extension centres.

As I continued to press for the rental of the space, the vice-president finally advised me: "The president wants the space. But we cannot put any money in the budget for it. The space will have to pay for itself from new revenue."

So we went ahead with the space; on a prayer, a whim and blind faith, we set up the space for fall 1989. Having no extra money to run the space, I assigned the manager of non-credit courses, who had a large portfolio of computer and professional development courses to run on campus, to work at the Trade Centre. I also created a second position, to work on three of these programs, to assist in the work of the Centre.

Having set up the space, I was scheduled to leave on study leave, to work on my doctorate. During my year away, I heard of problems, especially with the manager coping with both running programs on campus and under pressure to make money at the World Trade Centre. By April, I heard that the manager was no longer able to continue and was on stress leave. When I returned in July, there was very little activity at the centre. We regrouped, deciding that the centre could only run with at least three staff, a Director, a program coordinator and a secretary for support. As the Executive Master's of Business

Administration (EMBA) program was soon starting and would use this space at the World Trade Centre, we created a new program coordinator position for the EMBA and two continuing education programs. The administration approved a new support position for the centre and we decided that the Assistant Director of Continuing Education would become the Director for Saint Mary's at the World Trade Centre.

Up and running, it took a while for the programs to grow and prosper. After the second year, there was a decision to recruit a new EMBA class so the space was increased to set up two classrooms. The space was increased in 1991, 1997 and again in 1999, giving almost 10,000 feet of space for programs that produce over two million dollars of revenue for the university. What does this experience say about power in universities?

First, power is negotiated. Although there was not clear direction from the Board of Governors for the development of the extension centre program, the administration gave approval for rental of the space on condition that the new program revenue would cover the expenses. This self-funding requirement put severe pressure for the quick development of programs and unrealistic expectations on existing staff resources. However, once the space and programs were established resources were provided to properly staff and operate the centre.

Second, power involves reciprocity. It was only through the give and take of multiple attempts, proposals, and compromises that the centre was realized. The university administration did not have the funding for the development of the centre, so they relied on the hard work of the staff to make it self supporting, even in its first year. Realizing that the centre was not sustainable without proper staff support, the university

provided the minimum staff necessary to run the centre in the second year. Through a process of reciprocal contributions by staff and administration, the programs of the centre were established and the centre was expanded.

Finally, power is always contingent. The provision of space, staff and resources did not ensure the success of the centre, only the efforts of the staff achieved that goal. The centre opened up new possibilities: courses close to downtown workers who could take them on their lunch hour or after work; programs to improve skills in communication, financial management and leadership; and space for the development of programs that satisfy community needs. Only through the work in planning, promoting and supervising the courses and programs was this vision realized.

### **Alternative Budget Coalition**

Another strategy of working for resources is the alternative budget coalition. In Canada, the alternative budget process was started by Choices & Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (1998), a coalition for social justice from Winnipeg and a national policy foundation from Ottawa. In the early 1990s the Winnipeg social justice coalition began a participatory process for creating alternative budgets for the municipal Winnipeg government and the provincial Manitoba government. They conducted many "budget schools" in Winnipeg and then across the country showing community and social movement groups how to construct and publicize an alternative budget for their communities and governments. In the introduction to the Choices handbook on how to construct alternative budgets, an economist from the University of Manitoba who helped with the original process describes the motivation for developing the alternative budget:

Governments of all ideological stripes have found it politically convenient to perpetuate this myth [that budgets are for technical experts]: the less people know the less they can challenge the prevailing political orthodoxy as expressed in the budget. And in recent years the budgets of all levels of government have become a major arena of political struggle. Important public sector services and skilled public sector jobs needed to deliver them have been slashed in the name of "responsible budgeting." ...

Keeping people away from the budget process, Choices argued, was necessary in order to keep people in ignorance for, as Rudolph Goldscheid argued over 75 years ago, you have to do violence to the facts in order to do violence to the people. (p. 7)

In 1995, Choices worked with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives of Ottawa to produce the first Federal Alternative Budget. Each year since that time, more national and local groups have joined the alternative budget process to uncover the assumptions that exist in local, provincial and federal budgets and show that there are alternatives.

In Halifax, in January 1996, Paulette Sadoway, regional representative of the Canadian Labour Congress, called together a group of activists from unions, disability groups, women's groups, adult educators, and academics to discuss the possibility of forming a provincial alternative budget coalition. I attended the first organizing meeting at which two events were planned: a group viewing and media reaction session for the federal budget in February, and a full-day workshop on designing alternative budgets in April.

The 1996 federal budget was anticipated with fear by the government unions because of the drastic nature of the cutbacks in the 1995 budget. In 1995, the federal Liberals, just over a year into their mandate, made drastic cuts to federal programs of transportation, defence, and health protection. These cuts were far worse than anything ten years of conservative government had delivered. An example would be the 100% cut of the public participation program in the CIDA budget, something the federal Conservatives had never touched.

At the release of the federal budget in February, over 70 unionists, academics, and social activists gathered to view the budget speech. Many reporters, both from the local papers and from the radio and television stations, came out to hear the response from labour and social action groups. There was not a repeat of the slash and burn tactics of the 1995 budget. However, the implications from the previous years budget's slashing of transfer payments to the provinces through the creation of the Canadian Health and Social Transfers (CHST) was still having a drastic effect on the delivery of health, education and social services. In 1996, Paul Martin, the minister of finance, promised to maintain a floor of \$13 billion in transfers, well under the \$18 billion in transfers in the 1993 fiscal year. The opportunity to provide a reaction to the budget speech was viewed as a success, especially as it raised the profile of the labour and social action groups opposing the budget cuts.

From the existing coalition of social action groups and labour unions that was opposing the CHST cuts, a committee was formed to organize a day long workshop on alternative budgets in April. The committee invited Duncan Cameron from the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives in Ottawa and John Loxley from Choices in Winnipeg to

serve as resource persons for the workshop. The workshop coincided with the occupation of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre, one of casualties of the cuts from the federal budget. The evening before the workshop, the resource persons joined the daily Gottingen Employment Centre occupation steering committee, the group that planned the major march for the next day.

At the workshop, over 100 activists attended, learning procedures and tactics for making and publicizing alternative budgets. During lunch, most participants left to attend the Gottingen Street Employment Centre demonstration, where the local artists carried the Mary Clancey chair of social justice, which was symbolically empty. This groundswell of community support foreshadowed the 1997 federal election, where Alexa McDonogh won by over 60% of the popular vote, with five other NDP MP's from Nova Scotia.

The most pressing topic at the workshop was how to create a regional centre or institute which could counter the right wing rhetoric of the Atlantic Institute for Market Studies (AIMS). This group was started by Brian Crowley, a former Dalhousie University academic, who after being fired by the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council obtained funding from the Donner Foundation to start his regional think tank and public policy institute. It was not clear that the political left in the Maritimes had the financial resources similar to the Donner Foundation to bankroll such a regional body.

Some argued just to create it. Ralph Surette, a local progressive journalist who contributes weekly opinion pieces for the CBC and local paper advised me: "Just do it. By calling yourselves an Institute, the media will line up to hear your opinion on each

pressing social issue." A committee was formed from the workshop to investigate forming such an institute, but little came from their considerations until 1999.

The main problem was funding. A number of progressive institutions, including the magazine New Maritimes and the Red Herring Bookstore were ready to fold by 1996. They had not secured a firm funding source beyond Canada Council grants or volunteer labour. Why does the Maritimes not have the intellectual and financial capital to create an ongoing progressive foundation?

The Atlantic Institute for Market Studies relies on two reasonably secure sources of income: money from Donner Foundation and contributions from the regional capitalists who are represented on their board. To form an alternative voice would require an alternative power base, probably from the unions. This could be combined with individual and group donations from a wide variety of regional groups. How then could this come about?

In December 1999, three local unions, the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union, the Nova Scotia Teachers Union, and the Acadia University Faculty Union and a group of 50 individuals voted to form the Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Modeled after active branches in Vancouver and Winnipeg, the CCPA-NS was formed to produce research and policy papers to support labour and social movement organizing in Nova Scotia. They produced their first paper in April 2000 titled "A Better Way: Putting the Nova Scotia Deficit in Perspective. A CCPA-NS background paper for an alternative approach to Nova Scotia's Provincial budgets."

In March 2000, a coalition of labour, community and social groups formed Choices Nova Scotia to produce an alternative budget for Nova Scotia. With funding



from the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour and support from many local unions and social movement groups, a steering committee was formed to organize the drafting of policy papers for all the areas of provincial revenue and expenditure. As well, an education and outreach committee was formed to develop strategies to both involve the public in the creation of the alternative budget and publicize the alternatives possible to the Conservative provincial governments fiscal agenda of reductions in spending for health, education and social services. The 2000-2001 provincial budget, released in April, 2000, brought wide spread protests from students, teachers, health workers and citizens against these reductions. With the process in place for the 2001 alternative provincial budget, there is a means to challenge the government's assumptions and values and present viable alternatives.

### **Vision and Control of the Social Imaginary**

Both the World Trade Centre and the Alternative Budget Coalition have a overriding vision of where they want to be. This development of vision, of guiding principles for direction, is a key necessity for educational institutions and social movement organizations. It is essentially the struggle for hegemony, the struggle for leadership in the direction of the society. Mouffe (1988) calls this the development of the social imaginary, the open space that is contested for the direction of society.

This section examines two coalitions that I have participated in that have contested this open space. The first is the People's Summit or P-7 in Halifax in June 1995. This alternative summit contested the vision of the seven leaders of the most powerful countries who meet in Halifax. The second is the development of the Atlantic Popular Education Network. This network links educators and organizers who work in

various areas: (labour, church, theatre, arts, First Nations, black community, and educational organizations) who want to share experiences, develop techniques and work out analysis, strategy, and directions.

### **From the Ground Up: The People's Summit**

In late May 1994, the federal government announced that Halifax would be the site of the 1995 G-7 summit of the leaders of the largest seven national economies. The announcement rather caught the people of Halifax by surprise. Why us? Although Halifax has always been interested and influenced by world geopolitics, it has often had a provincial and passive self-image, waiting for world events to happen. Halifax, the site for a world shaping meeting! Why did it happen to us? With rumours that it was Quebec City's turn but the Parti Quebecois separatist government and the upcoming Quebec referendum on sovereignty would be too complicated for the federal government to ignore, Halifax had landed the G-7 summit. How would Halifax respond?

With the two previous G-7 summits in Canada, there had been alternative events, both in Ottawa in 1981 and Toronto in 1988. Joy Woolfrey, director of the International Education Centre had been in Ottawa in 1981 and knew David Langille who had co-chaired both alternative events. So, in August 1994 I attended a meeting that she brought together with a group of activists, from the International Education Centre Board, the Voice of Women, and other community groups to discuss the idea for an alternative summit. The conclusion of the discussion at the first meeting was that we should organize a broadly based popular event and this would require wide participation from a number of groups that had not worked together before: international development organizations, First Nations, black community, immigrant groups, labour organizations, peace groups,

and political organizations. An organizing meeting was set for September 22, 1994 at the International Education Centre at Saint Mary's University, to hear David Langille talk about the alternative summits in Toronto and Ottawa and the work necessary to organize an alternative summit.

I attended the September meeting which had broad participation from 25 groups. There was great interest and enthusiasm for an alternative summit. Here is how the minutes of this meeting, prepared by Susan Oliver (1994), described the possible objectives for the event:

What are the objectives? Are the objectives common within the group? Do we want confrontation, media coverage, public education, opportunity to highlight alternative views, or to build bridges among the grassroots communities and organizations. The Summit should provide Public Education, be a catalyst for Public Action and provide inspiration and support for Alternative ideas. To decide our objectives we must know WHO we want to influence and what is our VISION. Need for Alternative Agenda to G7 Conference. "We can't protest an elitist agenda with another elitist agenda."

However, there was confusion about ownership and leadership, with some distrust between groups and questions about centralized control of the event. A steering committee was named to prepare the next meeting. Sean Kelly (1994), from CUSO, circulated these notes in preparation for the next meeting on October 19, 1994.:

Objectives:

1. to provide public education and media outreach on economic alternatives -- locally and globally. (People do not want to just hear about what is

wrong, they want to talk about what can be done to make our communities better.)

2. to be a catalyst for starting alternatives here in Nova Scotia,
3. to directly support those we believe provide fair, equitable and environmentally sustainable products and services.

Approach:

Deliver the message that there are alternatives to the G7 economic agenda: "real people, real alternatives". The events within an alternative economics summit would provide new ideas, information and inspiration.

At our next meeting in October many new people from groups not present at the first meeting came, so the forum divided into three discussion groups to talk about theme, activities and structure for the alternative summit. From those discussions, another interim committee drew up a proposal for the theme. The theme became the People's Summit (instead of alternative summit) or P-7 in opposition to the G-7. The working group had great fun coming up with seven P's -- Peace, Power to the People, Preservation of cultural diversity, Promotion of equality and fairness, Protection of the environment, Poverty elimination and Progress and employment for all, to compare with our imagined seven G's of the Group of Seven: Greed, Gaps between rich and poor, Growth without environmental limits, Global control by a few, Gender and racial inequality, GNP as the only measure of success, and Guns exportation.

At our November 1994 meeting the theme was accepted, but the larger problem loomed: how to coordinate and sponsor all that was proposed? There was no shortage of ideas for activities: popular theatre, speakers, seminars, art exhibits, workshops,

performance art, concerts, picnics, marches, rallies, a tent city of the Commons, literature tables, and a cultural festival. But how were these things going to happen? The attendance at these general meetings was uneven, with many new people coming each time wanting to discuss issues previously dealt with. And even the structure for the coalition was difficult to work out. There was an early feeling that the events should be organized by local groups such as international development NGO's and environment groups, but who would do the coordination? Many individuals were coming to the meetings, how would they fit in if this was a coalition of groups? And how were potentially explosive issues of media liaison, finances, liability and security to be handled?

At the November meeting a small coordinating committee was named to begin planning the structure. At the December meeting, they proposed a structure of five working groups be formed: fund raising, media, education and outreach, program and billeting. The forum broke up into discussion and planning groups for each of these issues and each committee started to work on their planning. It was decided that the monthly meetings would be named "the Forum" an opportunity for all to hear progress reports from the working groups and set general directions as well as time to conduct educational activities for our own enlightenment.

By January 1995, the committees were working, but the sense of urgency and lack of resources was pressing. I had joined the education and outreach committee and we decided that our own education, such as knowledge about proposed changes to the international financial institutions the IMF and the World Bank, was most important. So for each of the forum meetings for March, April, and May, the education committee

planned a popular educational event. As these events included a quiz show (a take-off on the Price is Right), a Western movie skit (a acting out of the "Famous Seven") and a simulation game based on the budget cuts; they were all fun and entertaining as well as being educational. The education and outreach committee also planned three Saturday workshops for April and May: a simulation game of the IMF imposing fiscal stringency requiring budget cuts for education, health and social services; an economic analysis of the creation of budget deficits and alternatives; and a workshop on the need for environmental controls for economic development. Each workshop was well received, and they helped to build interest and analysis for the main event quickly approaching in June.

By June, the brochure was out, a 32-page booklet listing all of the events-- over 30 workshops, five keynote speakers as 'marquee' events, films, a tent city in solidarity with Africville, art exhibits, interactive internet exhibits, picnics, cultural events, street theatre, and an alternative market of local products and solutions. As well the city had responded by organizing maritime musicians for a free public concert on Saturday evening. The city was in for a festive mood. "An armed camp surrounded by a big street party" was the lead of the Toronto Star article describing the summit happening in Halifax. The city was hopping. And the visitors who came to Halifax were impressed with the speakers, the discussion, the street theatre, the cultural events, the alternative trade exhibits and the hospitality. Here is how Roy Conlogue (1995) writing in the Globe and Mail described the final concert:

Indeed the joy, sincerity and community solidarity of this music was in marked contrast to the cynicism and low expectations of the rest of the world as it

watched the summit deliberations. The soulfulness of a Rankin Family song such as We Rise Again (In the Faces of Our Children) or a Barra MacNeills ballad such as Darling Be Home Soon evokes a world that makes sense, the kind of world that most people wish we lived in. ...

The G7 summit may be a cynical event, but hospitality, at least in Halifax, is a sacred thing. This concert was as much for the hosts as the guests, a testimony that they had honoured their own traditions. (p. A7)

The local and national newspapers gave full coverage to the People's Summit events. In the Globe and Mail article of June 16 by Murray Campbell (1995), the paper reported that "Wheels of progress get human spin at People's Summit." The article stressed the local organizing of the P-7 with full involvement and participation by international representatives and members of The Other Economic Summt (TOES) from other G-7 countries. The paper reported the central message of the People's Summit, that the major financial institutions have got it all wrong.... the World Bank has financed Third World projects that have damaged the environment and the IMF is obsessed with stripping social programs from national economies. Neither agency worries about unemployment or quality of life, and when either errs (the recent Mexican currency crisis is often cited) it cannot be called to task." p. A11.

The Halifax Mail-Star (MacDonald, 1995) reported on the contents of the Communique from the People's Summit (1995) developed at the "Human security and development" conference held at Saint Mary's University on Wednesday, June 14. The article, titled "P-7 summiters stress people power over big business," states that

The People's Summit is calling for one person, one vote, instead of one dollar, one vote. ...

P-7 delegates want human security, not global security. ...

...They say one trillion dollars a day in currency speculation does not promote productive activity, and international currency traders are making decisions that should be made by democratically elected governments....

Mr. Jones says about the only thing P-7 and G-7 delegates would agree on is that the recent financial crisis in Mexico and persistent demands for reform of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are wake-up call to the international community. "Like us, G-7 leaders are asking, 'How can we assure that the global economy of the 21st century will provide sustainable development, with good jobs, economic growth and expanded trade, to enhance the prosperity and well-being of the peoples of our nations and the world?'"

The press coverage, the interviews on local and national radio and television, the workshops, the marquee speakers and public events attended by thousands of people over the seven days of the People's Summit, all contributed to the articulation and the publicizing of an alternative vision, a vision of the development of peoples democracy from the ground up. As the People's Summit (1995) communique states:

This failure to provide for people is unforgivable, but the solutions are in the hands -- not just of the G7 leaders -- but of us all, if we work together to dismantle the old economic mythology and move from learned helplessness to actively create a new global order. Power structures can be changed. We recognize the skills, insights, ways of knowing, forms of communication and



resistance, and profound friendships and relations amongst people everywhere working for a better world.

The articulation of this alternative vision was in stark contrast to the communique from the G-7 leaders; it raised a challenge to their leadership and questioned the hegemony of global capital and financial institutions. This was the success of the People's Summit: that through democratic organizing and public education many labour and social movement groups could construct and present an alternative vision on the future, a new social imaginary.

### **Atlantic Popular Educators' Network**

A similar dynamic is taking place in the meetings and workshops that I have organized and attended of the Atlantic Popular Educators Network (APEN). The network was formed first as a discussion group on popular education in the early 1990s, then revived in the middle 1990s as a local response to the organization of the North American Association for Popular Education. As a discussion group, the popular education group held a series of evening meetings for adult and popular educators to discuss pressing issues and to use innovative group techniques and processes. The group used a number of techniques including small groups, poetry, skits and visioning to articulate a focus and direction. After a large initial meeting of 40 adult educators, the group stabilized with between 10 and 15 for a series of monthly meetings. After a year and a half of meeting, participation fell off so the group did not continue.

By 1994, interest was revived. A workshop in the fall of 1994 on popular education techniques attracted a wide variety of adult educators. Michael Welton and Juan Tellez organized a weekend meeting at the Tatamagouche Centre, a church owned

residential training centre in northern Nova Scotia, in March 1995 that attracted over 30 popular educators from throughout Atlantic Canada. There was a lot of interest in having a popular education focus to events at the P-7 or People's Summit, the parallel conference to the G-7 Summit in Halifax in June 1995.

After the work of the P-7, there was a decision to sponsor another workshop in Halifax in January, 1996. This workshop "We Can't Walk Alone: Sharing our struggle... building a network for the popular movement" 1996 was very successful with over 70 participants in attendance. The workshop was based on three key questions:

1. How did we get to the present stage: the predominant economic crisis and its impact in our organizations?
2. What is it that we want to accomplish in the near future and in the long run?  
Could we put our fears, needs and wants on the table?
3. How can we begin a process of building a movement for social transformation?

A wide variety of activists attended -- students, labour organizers, environmentalists, teachers, food bank workers, and peace activists. They were interested in a wide variety of educational and political activity, from study groups to lobbying to organizing. From the meeting two interest groups emerged, one to work on the Alternative Budget that was being released by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and Choices - a coalition for social justice; the second to form a green development group, a group that would develop strategies that support sustainable development.

After the workshop, both groups took a life of their own. The alternative budget working group, already supported by the coalition to oppose the CHST, went on to sponsor another major workshop already described earlier in this chapter. The environment group had a series of four or five meetings, trying to focus on the barriers and need for incentives for sustainable businesses in Nova Scotia. The meetings included a presentation of the CalMeadow lending group and an examination of what type of support and direction there is for recycling, organic agriculture and sustainable businesses. However, after several meetings the direction for the group was not clear among the participants. Several wanted to form a non-profit foundation to help start and fund environmentally sustainable businesses. Others felt that this was too ambitious to begin with but the group should continue as a study and discussion group. By summer the group had stopped meeting.

Although the original plan was to have another conference in Tatamagouche in 1996, the organizing committee for the meeting could not agree on a format and a agenda. APEN was called upon to present a brief to the House of Commons Finance Committee and made three presentations, in the fall of 1997, 1998, and 1999. The network has not held a public event since 1996, but many are interested in refocusing on organizing issues throughout the Atlantic region.

The current revival of interest in APEN is inspired by the creation of the Canadian Network for Democratic Learning (CANDLE) and the need for popular educators from different constituencies -- labour, universities, community economic development agencies, churches, the black community, popular theatre and First Nations -- to meet and discuss common techniques, strategies and problems. There are a number of different

directions, institutional interests and tensions influencing the current organizing. The Tatamagouche Centre would like to organize regional training, analysis and reflection meetings at the Centre. They have proposed a workshop on spirituality and adult education as vocation for April 2001. As well, they have proposed a popular education study tour to the Martin Luther King Popular Education Centre in Havana, Cuba in the late winter of 2001. As described earlier in this chapter, local trade unionists and social movement activists have formed a Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and Nova Scotia Choices, a coalition for social justice. These coalitions both have active research and educational programs. There is substantial activity in community economic development and interest in a forum for sharing best practices and mobilization techniques. At the present time, most active organizers for APEN are from Halifax and Nova Scotia, but if the organization is to reflect its name, a much larger network of popular educators from throughout the Atlantic Provinces needs to be mobilized. A key issue is to provide a focus which will energize these organizing activities, rather than create another organization that requires funding, time, and energy.

The network is faced with a number of failed attempts to link adult and popular educators. In the early 1990s, the Continuous Learning Association of Nova Scotia (CLANS) disbanded, after thirty years of activity. Adult education associations in New Brunswick and Newfoundland have had similar experiences. The Atlantic Provinces Association for Continuing University Education, which was very active in the 1980s promoting distance education and innovative learning technologies in the region, has not been as active in the 1990s, restricted to a yearly meeting. For these organizations, all the work is carried out by volunteers, and these individuals are under more pressure to

produce results for their organization and have less time and resources to devote to associations and networks.

However, there is strength in the structure of a network to respond to these concerns. Hall (2000) in "Global Civil Society: Theorizing a Changing World" states that networks form the means for organizing a global civil society. As he states: In his review of international networks, Jan Ruysenaars refers to an early article by Marc Satin, who challenged "the assumption that bureaucracy and hierarchy are the only viable forms of organization for large numbers of people... [This] points to networks as another, and in many cases a more appropriate form of large-scale organization... [with] networks growing more vigorously at the extreme ends of power and influence. Networks are emerging both among the global elite and the powerless everywhere." (p. 23)

This vision of a network as organizational form can overcome many of the problems facing APEN. It can allow for multiple nodes of activity, with leadership emerging from different sectors and locations. It can create, through the use of e-mail and list serves, an effective communication mechanism throughout the Atlantic region where adult and popular educators, often geographically or institutionally isolated, can exchange information, share analysis and formulate strategies. And through the use of regional meetings and study tours, personal friendships can be built that will lead to increased collaboration and trust.

If through the network structure, APEN can be focused on activities for mutual benefit, so that both individuals and organizations benefit from the sharing, analysis and strategies, then APEN will receive support from across the region. This structure can

provide an important "social imaginary" of how a society can operate without hierarchy, domination and exploitation.

## CHAPTER 8

### ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS

This chapter analyzes the narratives presented in the last three chapters to focus on and understand the dynamics within institutions supporting adult education for social change and between educational institutions and social movement organizations. It attempts to answer the question: What dynamic exists between the ongoing mandate, funding, and control of the individual institutions (universities, continuing education units, community organizations, councils, coalitions, and networks) and the struggle for community control? (Question # 4, chapter 1)

The concept of adult education for social change developed in this thesis is based on the motivation of individuals and social movement groups to democratize existing social relations. By the creation of identities, narratives and knowledges adult educators can assist social movements with the understanding and strategies necessary for this work. This interaction between knowledge and power can create sustaining mandates, resources and social imaginaries for this ongoing work. Much of this work is carried on in existing institutions such as universities, school boards, and community agencies while some requires the creation of new institutions, coalitions, and networks.

The 18 narratives of community work, creating knowledges and negotiating, establishing and losing power that I have presented in the last three chapters can be classified by their different relationships with existing institutions. Five of the narratives, the North Branch Women's Group, Isabelle Knockwood's book, the library lecture series, the "Debt Crisis in the Rural Communities" conference and the World Trade Centre, all take place within the existing institutional mandate. Three of the narratives, that of the

Transition Year Program (TYP), the International Educational Centre (IEC) and the Atlantic CED Institute, describe conflicts, collaboration and partnerships between the program and the sponsoring institutions. Three of the narratives, those of the Dartmouth Literacy Network, the Health Action Coalition, and the Black Learners Advisory Committee, start within existing institutional mandates and work to create new institutions. Two of the narratives are examples of community based institutions -- Irondale Theatre Group and Red Herring Books -- that existed without formal connection or support from existing educational institutions. Finally, there are five narratives, Metro Council on Continuing Education, the Gottingen street employment centre occupation, the Alternative Budget, the People's Summit and the Atlantic Popular Educators Network (APEN), that are councils, coalitions and networks often involving adult educators who work within educational institutions.

This chapter examines the adult education practice in each of these categories. This includes the development, articulation, and interpretation of institutional mandates and an analysis of conflicts in interpretation of mandates such as the IEC involvement with the P-7 and the community representation on the TYP board. As well, this chapter presents an analysis of new forms of organization that are possible through councils, coalitions and networks. The analysis will examine both the strengths and weaknesses of these institutional and organizational arrangements for the practice of adult education for social change.

The analysis will examine the multiple subject positions in which the adult educators occupy that were presented in the last three chapters. Often, an individual working for an institution or agency works around the official mandate or against the



non-stated culture of the institution to support the work of particular social movements. This chapter will examine how adult educators negotiate the mandates, commitments and institutional cultures.

### **The Context of Work Within Institutional Mandates**

The organizations that employ adult educators -- universities, school boards, libraries, and community agencies -- have varying missions, mandates and funding arrangements. As adult educators often work at the margins of these organizations it is important to understand the practice of their work within their specific institutional culture and context. Within each institution there is a different understanding of how things work, different interpretations of roles and mandates and how they should be realized. The adult educator must work within this context to develop the internal and external support necessary for working for social change. This section examines five narratives of last three chapters where the adult educator worked within the stated mandate of the educational institution. These include Isabelle Knockwood's book on residential schools, the North Branch Women's Group, the Public Library lecture series, the "Debt Crisis in the Rural Communities" conference and the World Trade Centre. Three of these activities took place at a university, one at the library and one in partnership between the library and the university. This section will review the mandates and missions of universities and libraries and then relate the mandates and missions to the practice of adult education for social change. This analysis will conclude with other possible roles for the institutions in the development of social movements.

### Context of Work in Universities

The mandate of universities is traditionally defined by research, teaching and service, in order of decreasing agreement on importance. Research activity, although broadly defined as the production of knowledge, is evaluated by three methods: the number of publications in a certain set of research journals; the number and amount of grants received from certain funding bodies; and by review of established academics in the research area. The research record is the single most important determinant of promotion of faculty within the academic ranks. Most of the research that is done in universities was described by Kuhn (1970) as "normal science," inherently conservative, mapping out new bits of knowledge within an established paradigm while anomalous findings or new perspectives are often ignored and not allowed. Studies outside a discipline or paradigm are not given the same support or consideration as those within the narrow precepts of acceptable discourse.

Teaching is often viewed as taking time away from research. Academics often consider students an "open vessel" into which must they pour their knowledge through their lectures which students then must regurgitate on examinations. Freire (1970) describes this common form of teaching in universities as banking education where students must build up linguistic and cultural capital that is deposited in them by the teacher. The cultural diversity and specific problems that students bring to the university are often ignored for although the university officially tolerates diversity, it also functions as a gatekeeper, allowing only the deserving to pass on to graduate or professional schools.

The third mandate of universities, that of service, is often proclaimed in public but seldom discussed or analyzed. When most academics think of performing a service for society, they think of consulting or providing advice to an economic or political elite. Very few universities have a clear organizational commitment to providing service, especially compared to their organizational structure into disciplinary departments that focus on teaching and research. The university departments of extension or continuing education that are given the mandate for service are often seen as ancillaries that function on external income or exist to make money for the institution.

In a recent article Thompson & Lamble (2000) state that university extension involves more than public service, but also has important roles in teaching off-campus and distance education courses and research for program evaluations, consulting and contracts. They define university extension work, as university work with an external orientation, as opposed to the internal orientation of teaching regular full-time students, research and publication for an audience of academic peers and service on university committees.

In a response to Thompson & Lamble, Lauzon (2000) criticizes them for being naive for "they failed to look critically at the changing context of university extension and how this impacts on extension programs and practices (p. 80)." This changing context is globalization, specifically the restructuring of higher education as a commodity to be purchased as an item of exchange. Lauzon calls this the money code of value which has replaced the life code of value in society as well as universities. These radically reconfigured universities operate for the market place and for profit, not for social or educational goals. And the most "for profit" section of the Canadian university is

university extension, which is more and more operating under a cost recovery or profit making mandate. He concludes, "During the 1990s, university extension was transformed: it is now a business first and foremost and subscribes to the money code of value. That, for me is the bottom line (p. 92)."

How then can the university have a role in adult education for social change?

Following Lauzon's (2000) analysis of extension's mandate, there is little to no possibility of contribution to social change. This is the reality that Haughey (1998) describes in his article "From passion to passivity: The decline of university extension." He argues that Canadian university extension faculties no longer contribute leadership to social change in Canada.

At the recent annual conference of the Canadian University Association for Continuing University Education, the issue of "The Business of Learning" formed the theme and the agenda. Business speakers made direct recommendations that universities use a marketing analysis and drop programs that are costly or with low margins to move upscale and focus on the part of the market that can pay for their educational services. University administrators reported that financial venture capital firms are examining education and universities in particular as locations to invest large amounts of capital if the programs have promise for high returns. Private, for-profit universities exist in the United States (e.g. University of Phoenix, DeVry Institute) and Unexus University, a for-profit university has started in Canada. Although these private for-profit universities are limited in the programs that they offer, they will have a profound effect on education, increasing the competition for students and support. Unexus University has even attracted government investment funding, for the New Brunswick and federal governments want to

invest in the development of entrepreneurial universities that will export Canadian educational services to world markets.

One speaker, Mike Fitzgerald, former vice-rector of University of the Thames Valley in England, made a very important observation about education. In selling the opportunity to attend a university program, the university is not selling a product that is consumed at the leisure of the purchaser. They are providing an opportunity to learn and produce knowledge. Education is about the production of knowledge, not the consumption of goods. Education is not the same as a spectator sport. It requires the active participation of the student, who is an inquirer, along with the faculty and other students, into the construction, validity, and purpose of knowledge. Students, in spite of faculty complaints of alienation and passive resistance, are co-creators of knowledge along with faculty.

With this more active, constructivist view of knowledge creation, the position of the university with respect to social movements is transformed. For social movements have little monetary capital to buy instructional, research or consulting services from universities. But social movements have the people, they have an active conception of knowledge creation and a clear direction for the development of identity, analysis and strategy. The developments in the universities in the last 20 years of women's studies, First Nations and ethnic studies, environmental studies, and international development studies have not been driven by corporate purchase of education, but by social movement groups influencing the research agenda of the academy. This can be seen in recent developments in the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council funding of "Community University Research Alliances" (CURA's) and the priorities for the

Canadian Institute for Health Research for the creation of health and the prevention of disease rather than the cure for symptoms. Even the criteria for the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council's research grants that require partnerships can be opportunities for partnerships with community groups on environmental and economic issues instead of partnerships with corporations for profit. Through raising public issues for inquiry and discussion, social movements have raised the critical questions that influence the struggle to set the direction of knowledge development. This dynamic is seen in these narratives.

### **Recovery of Identity in Isabelle Knockwood's Narrative**

It was Isabelle Knockwood's (1992) intention to use the resources of the university for creating the identity and history of her people. She had experience with university education in Boston, where she completed a master's degree in early childhood education from Goddard College. She was not afraid to return to an undergraduate degree program, to gain the skills, confidence, and connections to write and publish her story. Once at university she was able to locate the courses and professors necessary to assist her with her task. The course she enrolled in, "Biography and Autobiography," had been developed by Gillian Thomas, a professor of English, to develop voice, to let students construct their own narrative and the narratives from their communities. Isabelle registered for all the First Nations studies courses in anthropology and completed an English minor to improve her writing skills.

On realizing that Isabelle had a story that she needed to tell, Gillian set up a special studies course to work with her on editing her manuscript for publication. In doing this, Gillian was volunteering beyond her requirement as an English professor.

However, she saw the potential in the book, not just as a childhood memoir but as a political statement of the damage of residential schooling on Mi'kmaw culture. Isabelle mentions how cathartic the writing of the book was, and how difficult was the controversy both in the Micmac News and the New Maritimes when critiques of her book stated that she should not discuss this abuse in public or that the stories of abuse ignored the good intentions of the church educators. However, her book was the first published account by a First Nations person on the effect of residential schools and has been an inspiration to others to recount their experience, to organize for the recovery of language and culture and to press for compensation for the forcible loss of their language and culture.

Listening to Knockwood's (1992) narrative it is possible to imagine the work still to be done in restoring First Nations language and culture. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Issues called for the development of a First Nations University in Canada for the study, preservation, and development of First Nations languages and culture. Although some universities have developed First Nations access programs and some are developing First Nations language and culture programs, no university in Atlantic Canada has developed a full degree program in Mi'kmaw language and culture. Atlantic Canadian universities have developed regional and ethnic studies programs: Atlantic Canada Studies (Saint Mary's University), Newfoundland Studies (Memorial University), Celtic Studies (Saint Francis Xavier University), Acadian Studies (Univesite de Moncton), Black Studies (Dalhousie University) and Irish Studies (Saint Mary's University). By building on the substantial work that University College of Cape Breton has already done on access programs based on the four reserves in Cape Breton and the teaching of

Mi'kmaw language, as well as the programs for Mi'kmaw teachers (St. Francis Xavier University), social workers (Maritime School of Social Work, Dalhousie University) and lawyers (Indigenous Black and Mi'kmaw program of Dalhousie Law School), opportunity exists for an integrated Mi'kmaw studies consortium among Atlantic universities.

This strategy shows the significant contribution to be made by universities to the recognition of First Nations rights and history and the development of their culture and communities. Anthropologists and historians from Saint Mary's University were "expert witnesses" for the recent Donald Marshall supreme court trial that reinstated First Nations treaty right to "bring for Sale to Halifax, or any other settlement within this Province, Skins, Feathers, Fowl, Fish or any other thing they have to sell (Paul 1993, p. 116)." As well, as the legal and economic development of the Mi'kmaq First Nation, the creation of their own educational institutions will allow for the restoring of their language and cultural heritage. Isabelle's significant work shows the contribution that narrative and knowledge creation can make to this restoration.

### **Determining Research Agendas**

The "Debt Crisis in the Rural Community" conference showed the dynamics of formulation of research agendas. The conference was organized with funding from SSHRC to bring together academic researchers on rural sociology. However, with funding from the International Education Centre, an committee of rural based activists was brought together to advise on conference focus, structure and interest for participants from the rural community. They advised a change in timing (from May to November), a change in structure (interactive workshop discussions rather than reading of academic



papers) but confirmed the interest from the community in the topic. Both the community activists and the academics had an interest in understanding the origins of the debt crisis in rural communities and what organizing opportunities this crisis presented.

However, in the discussions in the workshops and plenary sessions, very different expectations of research agendas emerged. The activists had very clear and pressing needs for research. These included research on corporate ownership, market directions, environmentally sustainable rural industries, the development of legal frameworks for community control of resources and advice with communications and media relations. However, when they would ask the academics, "Will you research these topics for us?", they would receive ambiguous answers: "Yes those questions are interesting but I am working on this program from this framework" Much of the academic research agenda is driven by the peer review process for SSHRC funding, where the current topics and forms of analysis seem to have more to do with intellectual constructions than with activist need.

Ongoing relationships between academics and community activists were fostered at the conference and some of these relationships flourished. Some community activists returned to the university to do enroll in graduate programs and conduct research. Other academics gained community partners for their research. Other conferences sponsored by Saint Mary's University that had community involvement and support included "Development in the Carribean," "Thirty years of the Cuban revolution," and "The Halifax Explosion, a 75th year retrospective."

As research, these conferences are clearly within the mandate of the university. However, to create an ongoing relationship so those problems generated by social

movement groups become the subject of research projects, the development of funding mechanisms for participatory research is required. The development of the CURA program of SSHRC and the Canadian Institute for Health Research programs will assist these academic alliances with community activists. More work is needed to develop, monitor, and evaluate these programs from the perspective of how they assist the social movement groups in developing identity, communicative ability, and leadership skills.

### **Skill Development for Social Movement Groups**

The development of the extension program at the World Trade Centre shows the extent that can be accomplished through a pragmatic, let's do it attitude. It also shows the personal and psychological cost of going ahead with few resources, on a whim and a prayer, expecting everything to work out. Of all the narratives, this is most clearly an example of what Lauzon (2000) calls the commodification of learning based on the money code of value. Although lacking full support of the institution (the board had turned down the idea of extension centres because they did not fit a collegiate model for an undergraduate university) and no budget allocation to develop the program (the program was to be self-funding), the university rented the space for the Division of Continuing Education on the promise that programs would be developed that meet the continuing education needs for workers in the downtown business community. In an early focus group with representatives from the business community, when asked what were the needs for short seminars and workshops, they stated that Saint Mary's University should not try to provide the quick fix like the seminars from Career Track. Saint Mary's as a university should be focused on the long term, rather than the quick

dollar. They advised us to meet on the real needs of business workers including writing skills, team work, problem solving, and strategic planning. As our programs at the World Trade Centre developed we added programs in arts administration, entrepreneurship for the black community, environmental leadership and project management.

The Saint Mary's University at the World Trade Centre is a cost recovery program and even profit making. What does it have to do with the needs of social movements? First, many of the communication, group process, leadership and project management skills taught at the centre are needed by activists from social movements, both volunteers and staff. When Saint Mary's University at the World Trade Centre received a request from the Food Bank, that their volunteers need this training in communication skills, we were able to accommodate two volunteers from the Food Bank in each course at no charge. Similarly, we have been able to train many university employees, including faculty, staff and project workers who receive funding for the courses through the university's tuition reimbursement fund. Many unemployed and rural participants have been able to access government training funds from unemployment insurance and social assistance to cover their tuition expenses.

So does this just show that any university continuing education work for training social movement personnel should be incidental to the main aim of the program to be a cost recovery or money making commodity for the university? I would return to the pragmatism of the adult education tradition. Jimmy Tompkins (Boyle, 1953; Lotz & Welton, 1996) was not shy about soliciting funds from Boston industrialists, from the Carnegie Corporation and from the Rockefeller Foundation. However, he had a purpose

that he pursued, "knowledge for the people." In the present economy, the people are not farmers (2% of Nova Scotians), fishery workers (5% of workers) or forestry workers (1% of Nova Scotians). They are knowledge workers, whether they work in clerical and administrative work (18% of Halifax workforce), sales and service occupations (31% of workforce) or professional and management jobs (35% of the Halifax workforce) (Statistics Canada, 1999). The university has tremendous resources to offer to these people, and as most of the work related training is paid by the employer, this is a net gain for the individual.

What is necessary is to extend this "work related" training, from control by the employer to control by the worker and workers organization. Much has been done in the union movement to push for training and education for their members. This needs to be extended to the 65% of the workers who are not represented by unions. The creation of education and training funds for all workers and the requirement that companies invest in employee education and training will assist this skill development.

### **Library Partnership in Curriculum Development**

The other extension program that was described in chapter 6 was the partnership among Saint Mary's University, the Halifax Public Library and local museums to offer university courses as public lecture series. This program matched the faculty expertise and the extension funding from the university with the community location, staff support, and public interest from the library and museums to offer five or more free public lecture series a semester at three public libraries (Spring Garden Road, Dartmouth, and the North Branch), the Public Archives, and the Black Cultural Centre. Key to the success of these

courses/ lecture series has been the active participation of library and museum staff in the planning, promotion, and support for the courses.

Over the last 20 years, this partnership program has developed course curriculum that has been incorporated into the regular university programs on campus. As these lecture series focus on current economic and political issues as well as important cultural trends and developments, and the planning for the courses often involves community partners and guest speakers, the curriculum developed for these courses is often more current, topical, and relevant than curriculum developed on campus. Examples include the first Saint Mary's University course in post-colonial literature, which after being developed for the library, was then brought back to campus, and became a priority area for hiring for the English department. The course African Nova Scotian Cultural Studies, which was developed by Tracy Jones, the librarian at the North Branch Library, was offered for 2 years at the Black Cultural Centre and then offered on campus. Courses on writing by women and the writer and nature were developed on campus and offered at the library. For the social sciences, courses have included Development and Revolution in Latin America, Community Economic Development, Environment and Democracy, and Maritime Labour History all of which have been brought back to campus for the regular program. As each of these courses have involved social movement groups in the planning of the course (Latin America solidarity groups, community development groups, environment and human rights groups, and labour organizations), these courses have brought the social movement perspectives to the university curriculum.

The weakness of the program, at least from the university's point of view, is the lack of public recognition that the lecture series and the university receives. Although

some of the courses have attracted public attention, the focus is often on the location of the course, rather than the academic sponsor. An attempt to celebrate the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the program in 1992 received little media interest and attention. And the library publication, which prominently featured the course and originally went to all 40,000 households in Halifax, was scaled back with the civic library merger and is only distributed to current patrons in the libraries.

The courses have formed an important part of the libraries' public program, but with the library merger, public programs are viewed as a "non-core" function of the library compared to book acquisitions, electronic circulation systems, and building new library buildings. This was evident in the library's staff reorganization, where the very active staff for "community programs" who organized and publicized the courses were reassigned to public relations and children's programs.

Thus a successful program has appeared marginal, from both the perspective of the university and the library. What is necessary to revitalize is to raise the profile of the courses, create more media interest, and receive more recognition for the faculty and participants for the significant learning and knowledge creation that occurs in these courses.

### **North Branch Women's Group**

When the mandate of the public library is narrowly viewed by the civic administration to that of circulating popular reading material and answering reference questions, the North Branch Women's Group program is marginal to this narrow mandate. However, as this group has performed a key function in raising the library's profile in the north end community, in starting and supporting programs in literacy and

school support and in lobbying for increased support for both the library and other community services it has received important support for the library administration. With the need for greater public support for public libraries, this group has shown that the library is responsive to the community and has greatly increased profile, access and circulation at the branch library.

The group has been able to lobby politicians but as a group independent of the libraries support. This lobbying has consisted of information meetings, petitions and discussion with politicians compared to the more confrontational and activist political theatre of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre occupation. But the group has not hesitated to speak out when important issues affect the community.

### **Conflict in Mission With Parent Organization**

As evident in the descriptions of the Transition Year Program in chapter five and the International Education Centre in chapter seven, there are often conflicts between a unit that is working with community groups and the sponsoring educational organization. Sometimes these conflicts result in staff leaving the educational institution and starting a parallel program as with the Atlantic CED Institute. Often these conflicts are over funding and personnel, but sometimes it involves the direction and mandate for the program. Let us examine these three cases.

### **Conflict Over TYP**

When the Transition Year Program was started by graduate students and faculty in the Faculty of Arts and Science at Dalhousie University, they assumed that the university would support the instruction for the program. However, by the end of the first year, the president had stated that the program would not continue without special

funding from the government. After the program received \$20,000 in external funding, the program director disagreed with the community advisory committee over recommendations for student selection and staffing for the program. They presented their case to the media and received external support from the president of Howard University, a prominent black university in Washington. The Dalhousie University administration replied that they would accept community representation on an advisory committee, but the university had to maintain full responsibility for the program. The community members refused to continue and the advisory committee continued with only university representatives.

In spite of these initial disagreements, the program has continued for more than 30 years. In 1990 the program became the responsibility of Henson College of Public Affairs and Continuing Education, Dalhousie's extension unit, which had a board that included community representation. But with the dissolution of the Henson College Board in 1999, the question of community representation is still not resolved. The question of control shows the need for building trust and understanding with community organizations. Unless a program is a true "joint" or "partnership" program, it is not possible for the university to share responsibility for student and staff selection and supervision.

Also the university's attempt to assimilate the students by not allowing intramural sports teams while maintaining a "remedial" nature of the program by denying university credit for the courses has been a sore point with the community. If the program is to increase its community profile and university recognition it requires both a strong cultural identity and academic credit recognition.



### **Closure of the International Education Centre**

Unlike the continuing story of the TYP, the IEC was closed after 23 years of operation. Although there were disagreements and disputes between directors and the university administration, for the first 17 years (1972-1989) the centre increased its staff, achieved greater recognition and received internal and external support. Part of the strategy for the IEC was to encourage scholarly activity and a number of monographs were published, reports were commissioned and academic and student services were offered to the university. With the lack of a foreign student advisor, the centre became a focal point for foreign students on campus. The IEC Board, set up to comply with the conditions of the Public Participation Program grant, had strong representation, both from academics and administrators from the university and community partners of the IEC including the Nova Scotia Teachers Union, the provincial department of education, the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia, the library, and other community groups. The Director reported through the Vice-President, Academic who was a strong supporter of the aims and objectives of the centre.

However, with a change in the IEC Director in 1989 and the Academic Vice-President in 1990, the relationship with the university became much more strained. Through the work of the Wayn Hamilton, the IEC Assistant Director from 1990-93, the university played a major role in hosting the large rally for the March Against Racism in the summer of 1991. However, the director did not report regularly the centre's activities to the university administration which resulted in the misunderstanding in 1994 over the planning and activities for the People's Summit. By the time the director left in March

1995 and it was clear that the PPP program funding would not continue past the summer of 1995, the university administration effectively closed down the centre. Although there was some community criticism of this closure and change in direction for community programs of the university, the Chair of the IEC Board had resigned so there was no organized resistance from the Board.

This narrative shows what can go wrong when the perceived interests of a community education unit and its parent organization diverge. Although it is possible to attribute the closure to the disagreements between the IEC director and the university administration, the narrative shows how vulnerable a centre or program becomes when it loses its major funding source. More successful efforts by the IEC board and director to develop alternative sources of funding and support could have secured a future for the IEC.

#### **Creation of Atlantic CED Institute**

The Atlantic CED Institute was formed when Juan Tellez left the Community Economic Development Centre of the Nova Scotia Community College in the fall of 1998 and joined the Atlantic CED Cooperative as director of training and research. He had developed a certificate curriculum for the community college but resigned from the college over a disagreement over reinvestment of revenue into the program. The college continued on with the certificate program, while the Atlantic CED Institute offered both a parallel certificate program and developed a new diploma program for the graduates of the program and experienced practitioners.

At the same time, Saint Mary's University was looking for new programs to offer on the executive development floor of the new Sobey Building. The Dean of the Faculty of Commerce had assumed that this space would be for the Executive Master of Business

Administration (EMBA) program that had been operating at the World Trade Centre. However, the vice-president and president felt that if the EMBA was operating in this space, very few new programs would be developed so they decided to keep the EMBA at the World Trade Centre. As this program had grown to more than thirty participants, this required that the space at the World Trade be expanded from 4000 square feet to 10,000 square feet. This left the space in the Sobey building waiting for programs. When Senator Alan Graham announced the federal ACOA money for the Sobey building, he specifically mentioned that it was for the university contribution to community economic development. Thus when the Atlantic CED Institute was proposed to partner with Saint Mary's University to offer the diploma program in November 1998, the university administration agreed to the partnership in December 1998 and the program was up and running with 40 participants by February 1999.

Partnerships involve trust, negotiation, and agreements. They work best when they are between two similar organizations that each receive mutual benefit. However, they often break down over the lack of consultation, personality disagreements, or division of profits. If the partnership falters, either partner may decide to pursue other opportunities and end the relationship. So far, Saint Mary's University and the Atlantic CED Institute have had two successful classes for the Diploma in Community Economic Development. This program has much to offer to the community participants. Saint Mary's University and the Atlantic CED Institute are exploring external funding opportunities from ACOA to improve and extend the program.

### **New Organizations From Existing Institutions**

The establishment of new organizations by existing institutions is subject to variable dynamics. Sometimes the existing institution receives an externally funded contract to set up a new organization such as the Health Action Coalition. Other times the administrator uses control of budget and informal permission to fund the start up of a new organization such as the Dartmouth Literacy Network. Finally, the first organization may present a rationale, plan and strategy for creating new organizations such as the Black Learners Advisory Committee recommendation for the creation of the Council on African Nova Scotia Education, the African Canadian Services Division and the Afrocentric Learning Institute. This section will examine each of these examples of the formation of new community organizations.

### **Support for Community Advocacy**

The two units contracted in 1990 to carry out the community consultation to form the Health Action Coalition, the Extension Division of Saint Francis Xavier University and the Community Development Unit of Henson College, Dalhousie University, were working within their mandates, both by working with community groups and recovering some of the costs for their time. However, at certain time these units have been criticized for working with community groups for changes in policy. One occasion that was reported in the local press was when the field staff of Saint Francis Xavier Extension assisted a local community group to organize against the school board which was closing their local school. The superintendent of the school board complained to the president of the university, who ordered that the extension members withdraw from assisting the

community group. This was a very dangerous precedent, and through community pressure the president changed his decision, for community development workers cannot seek the permission of the university president each time they develop support relations with a community group. However, it does raise the question of how far educational organizations can support community groups in advocacy activities.

Some conservative politicians argue that universities or other charities cannot support political advocacy work as that is the proper role of political parties and to engage in political activity would violate the charitable status of universities. This "narrow" view of politics, ignores the broad consultation, organization and discussion that is necessary to develop policy. Clearly, university research can support certain policy directions. And applied research and consulting can assist social movement groups with establishing their strategies, objectives and tactics. However, the university cannot define the issues and direct the campaign for a social movement group. This role of definition and direction must remain with the independent social movement group.

#### **Greater Support Through a Community Network**

As explained in chapter 5, the Dartmouth Literacy Network was started as a collaborative program of many agencies with funding from the adult education program of the school board. The administrator provided the funding with tacit consent, a consent supported by politicians such as the mayor of Dartmouth. The support was there from the school board administration, for the new organization did not receive more than research or development support from the provincial or federal government.

As this was a new group, independent of the school board, they ran a very effective media campaign to receive funding. The media including the newspapers and

national CBC radio was interested in the story of adult learners and how a community based agency was helping them. The media stories would always end with the challenge to the government, here is a program that solves an educational problem, why will you not help support it?

In the end, the Dartmouth Literacy Network survived on foundation funding with small government grants (\$5,000-\$10,000). The combination was not enough to hire trained professionals to run an educational program. But the agency is still providing an important service to the community.

### **Political Lobby of the Black Learners Advisory Committee**

The Black Learners Advisory Committee (1994a,b,c) report was presented to the Minister of Education in December 1994 and he responded within 3 months, accepting the major recommendations of the report. Two of the three organizations recommended have been established. The executive director, research director and office staff of BLAC became the African Canadian Services Division of the Department of Education. The Council on African Canadian Education was established and the regional field workers from BLAC were transferred to the Council. Within a year the Liberal Government, with Wayne Adams, the first Black cabinet minister in charge, withdrew funding from the Black United Front, the black services organization set up in the late sixties but never able to be effective at advocacy for the black community because its total reliance on government funding. In moving the funding from the Black United Front to the Council on African Canadian Education the government showed that it wanted to place emphasis on education rather than welfare.

The analysis in the Black Learners Advisory Committee (1994a,b,c) report is concise, relevant and pointed. The report clearly describes the racism that is present in both the educational system and the society. The report presents a clear vision for the solution to overcome this racism, that African Canadian identity and self-esteem can be strengthened by the society wide recognition of the history and achievements of the members of the community. The report is based on a clear sense of identity, based on the strong African Nova Scotian community that has existed through the church, community organizations and cultural groups. However, one part of the recommendations still has not been implemented, the Afrocentric Learning Institute. More work needs to be done with universities and community groups to implement this important recommendation.

### **Community Organizations**

This fourth section will examine the support and survival of independent community groups. These include groups that were self supported through sales, volunteers and donations such as Red Herring Books or funded through art grants and fees such as the Irondale Theatre Group. Although community groups often struggle financially and organizationally, they often make important contributions to social movement identities, knowledges, and struggles. This section shows the organizational means used by these groups to contribute to adult education for social change.

### **Support for Red Herring Cooperative Books**

Other than one government employment grant that Red Herring received in 1984, the store was self-supporting from memberships, fund raising, and retail sales. The government employment grant did help the business and outreach for the store, and the organization of the store was strong enough to survive the "hose effect" (Huston, 1973 )

of going from all volunteer staff, to four paid staff for a 6 month period, then back to no paid staff. The original membership contributed \$5,000 in shares to start the store, but within 5 years most of these people had left the Halifax region. The store changed from a share cooperative (one \$10 share for membership) to an annual membership of \$10 or 2 hours of volunteer labour. The store had a loyal membership of 30 to 40 volunteers and 100 to 200 paying members. The main contact with the membership, other than the public events, was the newsletter which was published every 2 to 3 months.

Fund raising depended on volunteer effort and it ranged from a few hundred dollars raised in a raffle to almost \$5,000 raised in the "second decade fund" at the tenth anniversary of the store. Every year there would be a direct mail appeal that would raise from \$500 to \$3,000 dollars, the most successful being the "flood" appeal and a special appeal to "bring Red Herring into the computer age" to buy a computer based inventory system from People's Books in Vancouver. Sales ranged from \$20,000 in 1981 to \$120,000 in 1989 with the cost of goods sold being 70% of this leaving \$6,000 to \$36,000 for operating costs. The most staffing cost that the store could afford was three part-time positions from 1989-1993 of 20, 18 and 10 hours per week paid at \$10 an hour for \$24,000 for the year. With rent, taxes and other operating costs, the store lost almost \$5,000 a year during this period resulting in the lay-off of staff in the spring of 1994. The strongest sales were from book tables such as the P-7 market and marquee events or the production of local cultural icons such as T-shirts, calendars, sound recordings, buttons and greeting cards.

Is it possible to support a social movement from a business? The greatest strength of the store, its volunteers, was often its greatest weakness as volunteers often could not



provide efficient and effective customer service. However, for 19 years, the store played an important role providing progressive ideas, symbols and discussion to the social movement groups in the Halifax community. As well, the democratic operation of the store, with an ethic of involvement for volunteers, members, the board and the public, taught the participants many important lessons about organizational functioning and decision making. The legacy of the store is the social learning in democratic organizing that its members have taken to other organizations and social movement groups.

### **Support for Theatre and Creative Arts**

Irondale, like many small theatre and arts groups, survives on small arts council grants, employment creation grants, savings and volunteered time. They have been able to contract their services to unions for training events, to adult education organizations such as the metro council annual meeting and for educational programs such as the Diploma in Community Economic Development program. The main purpose of the group is raising awareness of social movement issues through using expressive theatrical techniques that challenge the participants to be active. During the P-7, Irondale performed the “Global Economy Sideshow” featuring a family trying to understand the impact of consumerism on people in developing countries and “A Loosely Veiled Allegory” concerning a local news announcer trying to report the stories of everyday people while fighting the influence of the stars and heros of the foreign media that was attempting a cultural takeover. And Irondale Theatre is only the most “professionally trained” of the local popular theatre groups. For instance at the P-7, the Women’s Fishnet presented “Giving the SHAFFFFT” a satire on the government’s solution to the fisheries crisis: the Youth for Social Justice presented “A Bunch of Crackies” exposing the evils of

G-7 policies; the World Weavers promoted awareness of environmental issues using weaving as a metaphorical tool; the Sierra Leone - Nova Scotia partnership presented “The People’s Cultural Extravaganza;” and the Thursday night women’s poetry group presented “In Other Words,” a political poetry show. As well, cultural expressions included an interactive internet exhibit, film makers presenting their latest documentaries of local and global social and environmental issues, visual art, musical performances and “Neighborhood Noise” a sound symposium. How does all this creative and artistic expression contribute to adult education for social change?

The greatest strength of Irondale Theatre, and of the myriad other groups using artistic and creative expression for popular education, is their ability to challenge and engage their audience. A union educator commented on how an Irondale workshop at a union conference had broken down the barriers between the “staffers,” the “leadership,” and “the membership” by requiring all of them to act, to be placed in uncomfortable situations and find a creative means to make collective sense through performance. This group facilitation is a tremendous resource for social movement groups, coalitions and campaigns. Through the pedagogical means of popular theatre, groups can explore their motivations, their images of the future and their conflicts. This use of popular theatre techniques, through the survival of professional theatre companies like Irondale Theatre, provides an important resource to both educational institutions and social movement groups working for social change.

### **Councils, Coalitions, and Networks**

This final section examines the organizational dynamics of councils, coalitions and networks in their contributions to adult education for social change. These

organizations are formed to achieve collective strength, often bringing together many disparate organizations or individuals from organizations, with different constituencies, cultures, and visions. The learning that takes place within these collectives is not just the learning necessary to work together; it also includes the learning of alternate forms of analysis, images of the future and means of organizing that the different constituent groups and individuals bring to the coalition process. And it is through these forms of organization that social movement groups have the greatest impact on the public, the state, and the society.

The five groups analyzed in this section each have a different form of organization. Metro Council on Continuing Education is a membership organization of adult educators (similar to a professional association) but it also functions as a promotion and advocacy association for adult learners. The Gottingen Street Employment Centre occupation coalition was a temporary coalition using direct action to achieve a specific goal. The Alternative Budget, coordinated by Nova Scotia Choices, is an ongoing social justice coalition mobilizing support for policy alternatives. The People's Summit (P-7) was a local coalition to show the public alternatives to the fiscal and economic policies of the G-7 world leaders. And Atlantic Popular Educators Network is an ongoing informal network to share analysis, techniques and strategies. In examining the organization of each of these collectives, this section will focus on the democratic process for generating direction and the ability to create new visions and social imaginaries through the synthesis of the group.

### **Metro Council on Continuing Education**

Metro Council is an organization of 100 to 120 adult educators who work at fifty to sixty educational institutions, government departments and community groups in the Halifax area. Its purpose is to promote the educational opportunities for adults and it fulfills this goal through three related activities: promoting and publishing booklets of adult education opportunities; providing meetings, seminars and workshops to encourage professional development; and lobbying government to support adult education. Its revenue comes from membership fees, publishing the booklet of adult education programs three times a year, and from professional development workshops and seminars. From the revenue the Council hires a part-time coordinator to maintain the membership list, publish the booklet, assist with communications and help organize with the meetings, seminars and workshops. Each part of this work is directed by a specific committee and is coordinated by a 15 member executive that meets each month.

The greatest strength of the organizational structure of Metro Council is that members use time and resources from their organizations to support the work of the council but the Council exists as an independent organization that can lobby for the interests of adult learners. This has meant that the Council has been able to provide leadership on issues such as funding for high school students over age 21, support for community based literacy activities, and encouraging diversity in participation while it would have been difficult for the educational institutions and government agencies to take these stands. In addition, the Council provides an opportunity for adult educators, who often feel isolated and marginal within their institutions, to work together on

important issues sharing perspectives, analysis and visions of the future. This “social synthesis” is often seen in professional development workshops where educators from universities, community colleges, school boards, hospitals, corporations, and community groups, realize that participatory instructional techniques like “open space technology” or “popular theatre” can be used throughout widely different organizations to promote democratic analysis and decision making.

Although the Metro Council has tried to diversify its membership by reaching out to the African Nova Scotian and First Nations community, the Council still has much to do to involve the adult educators from these communities. If Metro Council can achieve this objective, it will offer much richer perspectives, resources and visions of the future to its members and to the society.

### **Gottingen Street Employment Centre**

The occupation of the Gottingen Street Centre showed how important consensus and process is to effective action for a coalition. Many involved were members of the Black Working Group, an group set up to advise the Human Resources Development Canada on the employment barriers and skill development needs for the Black community. Although many members of the Black Working Group work for agencies that are reliant on HRDC for their funding, they, as individuals and constituent groups were able to support the coalition for occupation of government leased property. Through a “non-violent” action training workshop sponsored by the Halifax and District Labour Council, some even took part in civil disobedience by occupying the office of the Director General for the Nova Scotia region of HRDC.

The greatest strength of this direct action coalition was how it mobilized the community, how it attracted the creative talents of the artistic community and how the media followed the story to its resolution. The occupation was total, it required volunteers for twenty-four hour, seven day a week participation. By drawing participation from labour unions, community groups and the surrounding artistic community a diverse “solidarity community” was created where individuals from very different backgrounds and perspectives could discuss the action, analyze the events and plan strategy. This was most evident in the daily five p.m. “strategy and planning” session, where all who supported the occupation were welcome to bring support, provide ideas and plan actions. The artistic community contributed puppets and props (the Mary Clancey Chair of Social Justice, symbolically empty) for the marches, skits and street theatre for the demonstrations and music, song and inspiration for the meetings. The media perceived the occupation as an “event,” an action that crystalized all the talk of downsizing government and rationalization of services into an issue that affected people in the community so much that they took responsibility into their own hands and acted. The media trusted the occupation coalition because it was open and transparent compared to the evasions and double talk about “improvement of service delivery” by the politicians and bureaucrats. And the media enjoyed reporting the colour, the energy, and the spirit of the occupation and protests.

Although the compromise solution resulted in only a “community office” for HRDC as opposed to a full service employment centre, the protest galvanized the activities of the Black Working Group. Forming the Black Community Workgroup of Halifax Cooperative Limited (Petrie & Benton, 1999), they negotiated a memorandum of

agreement with the manager of the Halifax HRDC Centre to conduct an assessment of the employment needs of the black community, hire administrative staff, form a cooperative structure and serve the employment development needs of the Black community. The Gottingen Street Employment Centre occupation shows how the direct action of a community coalition generated a well-connected community agency to serve local needs.

### **Alternative Budget**

The main supporters of the Alternative Budget have been staff from local and national unions and staff and volunteers from social advocacy groups. The national structure has been a partnership between Choices, a social justice coalition in Winnipeg and the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA), a national policy foundation in Ottawa. Choices is a coalition of community groups that produces alternative budgets in Manitoba at both the city and provincial level. It produced the first national alternative budget in 1995 and partnered with CCPA to publicize it to the country. In 1999, a Nova Scotia chapter of CCPA was formed with input from the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union (NSGEU), Nova Scotia Teachers Union and Acadia Faculty Union. In the spring of 2000 a conference to form Choices Nova Scotia was held, with input from many union and social advocacy groups. A background paper was released from the CCPA-NS (2000) titled "A Better Way - Putting the Nova Scotia Deficit in Perspective." A steering committee was formed with a mandate to develop the 2001 alternative budget and funding was provided by the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour for a 3 month contract researcher to support the process.

In July, 2000, Paulette Sadoway, the defacto chair of the steering committee, invited members of the Atlantic Popular Educators Network to join the steering committee to give input into using the alternative budget as an educational tool for political mobilization. For educational purposes, process is as important as the content for the budget. Once the principles are set, committees then prepare policy papers on each area of government revenue and expenditure (taxation, health, education, social services, child care, disabilities, economic development, natural resources, etc.). After these papers have been accepted, a committee of economists will analyze the projected revenue and proposed expenditure to produce a draft for the steering committee. This may require negotiations and trade-offs, as projected revenue may not, in the first year, cover all anticipated expenditures so that some may need to be delayed a year or two for recommended implementation. Once the document is agreed upon by the steering committee, it will be released to the public and the government, to form the basis for judgement for the government's budget.

In order to encourage participation and involvement the process, the steering committee formed an education and outreach committee to increase public interest, involvement and discussion of the alternative budget process. The education committee decided to plan out a number of leaflets and brochures, which will raise fundamental issues from the budgeting process for discussion, analysis and input. Questions on issues such as health care (why are hospitals closing?), education (why are classes so large?), social services (why are more children in poverty?) and economic development (why do companies get subsidies?) can be presented in innovative ways (cartoons, graphics and photographs) and can be used for discussion, both among the membership of the labour



and community groups involved in the alternative budget process and with the general public. Through innovative use the leaflets to publicize these questions and by dramatizing the questions for the broadcast media, the education committee plans to use popular education techniques to challenge the public to imagine what the alternatives may be.

Key to the success of the alternative budget will be mobilizing the membership of the unions and social advocacy groups that are involved in its preparation as well as the general public. If the resources can be found to design, publish and distribute the leaflets raising the questions and dramatize the issues for the public, the next year's budget protestors and demonstrators will have the analysis and understanding necessary to question the governments principles, priorities, and decisions and will be able to present real alternatives.

### **People's Summit - P-7**

The main members of the P-7 coalition were the international development non-governmental organizations (NGO's), environmental groups and local and national unions. As well there were many community groups including artists, women, churches, First Nations, African Nova Scotians, and educators. The People's Summit was able to gain much strength by unifying the diverse forces against the international process of globalization (institutionalized by the IMF and the World Bank) from such divergent groups as labour, churches, artists, environmentalists, community groups and international NGO's. In fact, the first international publicity that the People's Summit received was in the New York Times when their profile of Halifax mentioned that the Africville protest was a key organizing issue for the People's Summit.

The first organizing meetings were sponsored by the IEC at Saint Mary's University but by December 1995 a coalition emerged consisting of five working committees and a steering committee that incorporated to handle the legal and financial liabilities and responsibilities. The structure was an enabling structure, allowing for the coordination and support of the educational events, workshops, street theatre, people commons market, marches, and meetings. The structure was very decentralized, allowing local, national and international groups to organize their own workshops, seminars, public speakers, and cultural events. But it also allowed for coordination, with five coordinating committees (billeting, fundraising, communications, programming and education and outreach), a monthly "forum" and an incorporated "coordinating committee" to handle necessary legal and financial responsibilities.

Conflict came when there were misunderstandings with the sponsoring groups, such as the IEC involvement of Saint Mary's University as the location for certain public events. When the organizing was started in the fall of 1994, Joy Woolfrey, the IEC Director, never discussed or informed the university administration about IEC involvement. The president first learned about Saint Mary's University's involvement in the alternative summit from a Globe and Mail article in November that mentioned that the main organizing of the event was taking place at Saint Mary's University. The university president was not in favor of Saint Mary's University being linked to the alternative summit and told Joy not to have any events at Saint Mary's University. Joy worked hard to find an alternative location, securing the support of the Nova Scotia Community College, which offered its Halifax campus, across from the Commons, as the location for most of the major People's Summit events.

However, the largest room at the community college could only accommodate 150 people, so when the keynote marquee speakers were confirmed in April after Joy had left Saint Mary's University, space was booked at Saint Mary's, first for Vandana Shiva through the visiting speakers committee, then for David Suzuki through myself at the Division of Continuing Education and for Maude Barlow, Bob White and Ed Broadbent through Joy's successor, Juan Tellez, at the International Education Centre. Then strange things started to happen. The Director of Public Affairs said that the president had decreed, no People's Summit events at Saint Mary's University. Not being used to such Presidential decrees, I questioned, why? Was the president limiting academic freedom by specifying who could speak on campus? Was there not substantial Saint Mary's University presence in the organizing of these events through the Visiting Speakers Committee, continuing education and the IEC? Why the sudden panic?

It turned out that the administration had been trying to secure the bi-lateral meeting between the United States president and the Japanese prime minister for Saint Mary's University. When the U.S. Secret Service found out that Saint Mary's University was the site of keynote speakers of the People's Summit, they got cold feet and went up the street to Saint Mary's competitor, Dalhousie University. Apparently, the president of the university was not pleased. I quickly arranged a meeting with Juan and Colin Dodds, the academic vice-president to talk about the events and what went wrong with the bookings. We settled on a vague, arm's length relationship with the P-7, with the university renting the People's Summit the lecture rooms for a nominal fee.

It was an eye opener for me in how the university would put its narrow interest above the interest in public discussion and education. However, Ward Morehouse, a

member of The Other Economic Summit (TOES) advised me that the United States government also had pressured a college in the United States to cancel commitments to alternative G-7 Summit groups. At the final marquee keynote event, Colin Dodds confirmed with me that the P-7 provided more local press coverage and interesting discussion and debate than anything the university received from the G-7. Why did the university not realize the opportunity? Obviously the lack of consultation and involvement resulted in unrealized potential.

The People's Summit structure of a broad based coalition was a model for future parallel conferences and protests to summits of world leaders including the Asia Pacific Economic Conference meeting in Vancouver in the fall of 1997. At that meeting, protestors were pepper sprayed by the RCMP on the University of British Columbia campus in front of television network cameras. The subsequent public inquiry into the violation of civil rights showed that directives had come from the prime minister's office to stifle dissent and protest. The media attention generated by the public inquiry and the frequent repetition of the video footage of peaceful demonstrators being pepper sprayed without warning has been a constant irritant to the prime minister's image as a world leader. It is clear that the public "alternative" conferences such as the People's Summit and the APEC protests have an impact on national and world debates.

These coalitions have achieved wide recognition for their positions against economic globalization at the December 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle and the April 2000 IMF and World Bank protests in Washington. This is the way Chomsky (2000) describes these protests in The Nation:

The participation [in Seattle] was extremely broad and varied, including constituencies from the United States and internationally that have rarely interconnected in the past. That's the same kind of coalition of forces that blocked the Multilateral Agreement on Investment a year earlier and the strongly opposed other so-called agreements like NAFTA and the WTO.

One lesson from Seattle is that education and organizing over a long term, carefully done, can really pay off. Another is that a substantial part of the domestic and global population, I would guess probably a majority of those thinking about the issues, ranges from being disturbed by contemporary developments to being strongly opposed to them, primarily to the sharp attack on democratic rights, of the freedom to make your own decisions and on the general subordination of all concerns to the specific interests, to the primacy of maximizing profit and domination by a very small sector of the world's population. (p. 28)

Coalitions like the People's Summit show the strength of civil society, the social movement organizations from labour, churches, environmental groups, international development organizations and community groups to oppose global domination by the few who control most of the world's capital. They also show the important role of adult education for social change, through popular theatre, seminars, workshops, speakers and public events in making this creating the links between the varied constituencies of civil society to make this protest known.

### **Atlantic Popular Educators Network (APEN)**

The description of the past and proposed activities of APEN in the last chapter emphasized the enabling function of a network that allows multiple forms and focuses of activity through different formats, locations and events. Although the future survival of APEN is not assured, the strategy of building communication between adult and popular educators working with labour, churches, schools and universities, literacy, First Nations, community economic development, theatre, visual and performing arts, and African Nova Scotian communities has received much expressed interest and support. Two difficulties have emerged preventing a stronger network, the need for energy and support for specific sector and coalition struggles and the lack of focus for a larger network.

The first concern is with competing priorities and multiple coalitions, organizations and structures to support. There is already a strong overlap in the “activists” involved in forming the CCPA-NS chapter, the Nova Scotia Choices (the provincial alternative budget), a social justice coalition, the local chapter of the Council of Canadians and APEN. Why do we in Halifax need a fifth network if each one of these networks or coalitions is interested in supporting the same social movement issues? Although the same individuals may be involved in many or all of these organizations (as well as organizations from their own sector) each of the organizations exists for a separate purpose. The CCPA is a registered educational charity with a mandate for research and publication of alternative viewpoints. The Alternative Budget is a specific strategy for education and political discussion of government priorities and directions. The new social justice coalition is a group that has emerged from the latest cutbacks to

social service agencies and its purpose is to publicize the effects and results of these actions. The local chapter of the Council of Canadians provides an important link to the national group that is one of the most active organizers of the civil society opposition to the MAI, WTO, NAFTA, IMF, and World Bank. None of these coalitions focus on the specific educational processes of raising consciousness of issues, creating identities and forming strategies and analysis. This specific focus makes APEN both more limited in scope (not to change the world but to provide the techniques to strengthen democracy) and broader in appeal (these educational and organizing techniques come from different experiences with different social movement groups). The three APEN workshops held in 1994 and 1995 have shown the energy created when the wide variety of experiences and techniques are shared among popular educators from different social movement locations. This more limited focus on sharing popular education methods with popular educators from different social movement groups gives a unique purpose and focus for APEN.

### **Conclusion: The Role of Structure in Enabling Power/Knowledge**

This chapter has analyzed the structural location of adult education for social change by examining its practice as part of institutional mandates, in conflict with institutional mandates, by creating new organizations, by working as independent community groups and through councils, coalitions and networks. Adult educators use knowledge to create power when they reinterpret institutional mandates by creating identities through narratives (Isabelle's story), by changing the focus of research (Debt Crisis in the Rural Community Conference), by providing skill based training for social movement participants (WTC), by creating new curriculum that includes the work of

social movements (library courses) and by providing the location for the development of leadership (North Branch Women's Group). In the result of disputes over mandates, institutions may either work with the tensions of partnership with social movements (TYP program), close down community focused agencies (IEC) or cause the creation of new institutions (Atlantic CED Institute). The creation of a new organizations, such as through the work of the Black Learners Advisory Committee, the Dartmouth Literacy Network and the Health Action Coalition is a specific strategy of creating power through knowledge, by articulating a problem (BLACs use of participatory research to show the effects of racism in the educational system), showing a solution (Dartmouth Literacy Network's recruitment of tutors and success at working with other agencies instead of as a school board program) and creating a vision (the Health Action Coalition's vision of accessible health care for all). Community organizations, such as Red Herring and Irondale, struggle to survive, but in their work they teach democratic process, provide ideas and inspiration and challenge others to think, work and act in new ways to create community. And temporary or ongoing councils, coalitions and networks both provide opposition and alternatives to existing power structures (Gottingen Street occupation, Alternative Budget, People's Summit) space for development of identity as adult educators (Metro Council) and a forum for the sharing and development of the methods and techniques of adult education for social change (APEN).



## CHAPTER 9

### **THE CREATION OF AGENCY THROUGH SUBJECT POSITIONS**

"What are the relations between the different forms of power and the learning that takes place? How do community struggles and institutions structure power to enable them to resolve conflicts?" (Question 5, chapter 1)

"A counter-hegemonic practice for adult education would assist in the articulation of these new subjectivities from the subject-positions created by new social movements" (p.118, chapter 4)

Now I am to the heart of the analysis. In what ways do the practices that I describe enable new subjectivities to be articulated from the new subject-positions created by social movements? How do the practices described in the narratives, between adult education as profit making and adult education as liberatory, between different social movements such as BLAC, Dartmouth Literacy Network and the Gottingen Street employment centre occupation; within and among coalitions such as the P-7, Metro Council, Alternative Budget and APEN, create new possibilities for action? This section will analyze the narratives presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7 for the possibilities they present for the development of the theory and practice of adult education for social change.

In particular, the section will examine the development of the division of labour, focusing on the development of the knowledge economy. It will examine the practice of adult educators and social movement activists in responding to these new possibilities in

the practices described in such narratives as the World Trade Centre, Red Herring Books, Metro Council on Continuing Education, and the Dartmouth Literacy Network. Then it will examine the issue of leadership, the development of "organic intellectuals" (Gramsci's (1971)) or in Holford's (1995) terminology, "movement intellectuals." This second section will examine two aspects of leadership, first the process of leadership development in such groups as North Branch Women's Group, the Transition Year Program and the CED diploma program and then the ability of movement intellectuals to create and reinterpret institutional mandates through examination of such narratives as the BLAC Report, the rural conference and the library courses. The final section will examine how adult educators and social movement leadership use social imaginaries to create new forms of possibility. Through examination of the work of Isabelle Knockwood, the creative activity of Irondale, and the coalitions for Gottingen Street employment centre occupation, the P-7, the Alternative Budget and APEN, this final section will examine the creation of agency through the invocation of subjectivity through this practice of adult education for social change.

### **The New Division of Labour: The Knowledge Economy**

Critical to the development of new subject positions is the addition of resources to fund new positions, programs, and organizations. This is not just a "business development" view of social change, that social change follows the lead of capital from governments, foundations or companies that provide, through the use of grants or core funding, the steering mechanism for social change. This is a radical democratic view, that the resources are created through human and non-human labour and must be used to meet human needs defined by the ecological communities and social movement groups. This

section will consider three aspects of the new division of labour. First is how the new division of labour privileges adult education as it requires the new development of human skills, knowledges and organizational forms. Related to this is the development of the knowledge economy where new value is not based on control of physical or capital resources of land or factories but on the creation of new knowledge. Third is the radical possibility in the new knowledge society: that the new forms of communication will create new knowledges, identities and social imaginaries.

### **New Division of Labour**

In 1900, 70% of Canadians lived in rural communities and over sixty percent of the labour force were agricultural workers (Statistics Canada, 1999). Not that Canada was a peasant society. Educational reforms of the 19th century had established compulsory primary education and there was near universal literacy in Canada. Canada also had the beginning of an industrial economy. The National Policy of the Macdonald Conservatives had protected industry and the growth of the railroads meant that 20% of the workforce worked in industry and transportation. By 1940, the Second World War, only 12% of the labour force worked in agriculture and the industrial work force had increased to 24%. Already, there was the beginning of the service economy with 64% of the work force employed in non-primary or industrial jobs. Education levels had risen so that 20% of Canadians were graduating from high school and 5% were graduating from universities. By 1990, the agricultural workforce had shrunk to 4% of Canadian workers. The industrial work force was now 20%. Fully 75% of the workers were in the service economy. Although there was a great increase in educational achievement in the 1960s, whereby the secondary completion rate rose to 50% and the post secondary participation

rate increased to 25%, the rate accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s so that by the 1996 the secondary completion rate was pushing 90% and the post secondary participation rate was over 60%. Thus in the educational profile of the 1996 census data 40% have some post-secondary training and 19% have completed a bachelors degree or higher.

By the 1990s we are seeing the emergence of the knowledge economy from the service economy (Statistics Canada, 1999). Much of the job growth from 1940 to 1970 was in the bureaucracy, not just the government bureaucracy but also a great increase in employment in financial services, business services and health, education and community services. As well the growth of retail and tourism industries created a large number of poorly paying jobs.

With the fiscal crisis of the state, (O'Connor, 1973) there had been a great reduction in government funding and government services, from transportation to defence to support for higher education and social services. This growth has been taken up by two ways, first the growth of high paid technical workers, second by the growth of low paid cultural workers. The growth can be seen in the recent job ads in the local Halifax paper. There are two examples of multiple job ads, one for call centres, which are quickly becoming the largest employer in the region, the second for technical computer programmers, often with many years of experience in multiple technical languages. Beyond this there are a wide range of professional, sales and service jobs, with particular emphasis on management, technical sales, hospitality and personal care workers.

What are the implications for this change in the division of labour for adult educators working for social change? First with the continuing change in the division of labour there is more need for training and education programs. Second is the need for

understanding of the forces shaping and directing this change. Third is the focus on mental labour, labour that involves more and more investment in education and training. What is the response of adult educators?

One of the responses has been to set up professional development programs such as Saint Mary's University at the World Trade Centre to meet the increased demand for training. This growth of adult education and training has been one of the focuses of Metro Council on Continuing Education through its efforts to create awareness of continuing education opportunities and its workshops and seminars to improve the professional skills of adult educators. Second has been to provide the overarching analysis and understanding, through public lecture courses such as the library lecture series, to describe, explain, and understand these developments. Third is to work with those displaced, alienated and disenfranchised by this new division of labour through organizations such as the Dartmouth Literacy Network to question the direction of the economy and create a people centred alternative. The division of labour is not ordained, it is created by social forces. The tremendous rural depopulation in Nova Scotia and the Maritimes is caused by this change, especially the mechanization of agriculture and change in industry. It is critical to work with the new forces of the division of labour, the knowledge economy and people centered enterprise to create the future. The next section will explore how this is possible.

### **Knowledge Economy**

With the radical changes in the division of labour, are we emerging into a new economy? Certain theorists (Bell, 1973; Castle & Joseph, 2000) argue that the new economy values knowledge creation differently than the previous agricultural, industrial

or service economy. For in the agricultural society, value was based on land, on the agricultural production and the surplus was used to feed and maintain the cities. In the industrial economy, capital was favoured over labour, as machines tool and the factory system provided the extraction of surplus value necessary to accumulate capital (Marx, 1967). In the service economy, the focus turns to the consumer, who is the one to determine the circulation of commodities. With the knowledge economy, value comes from the creation on new knowledge, whether patents, processes, or procedures.

The shift in value creation is evident in the recent swings of capitalist finance, most obviously the stock markets. During the 1970s, with high inflation and high interest rates, the stock market stagnated as the service economy replaced the industrial economy in North America and Europe. With the advent of the knowledge economy in the 1990s, some observers have predicted a new era of sustainable growth, not based on natural resources or polluting industries, but on knowledge production. This growth has almost eliminated the budget deficits of North American governments and has resulted in a dramatic fall in the unemployment rate. And the stock markets has switched from a short term, latest quarter earnings evaluation of stock price, to speculative evaluations based on the future earnings for high technology companies.

### **Increased Need for Literacy**

How does this affect adult educators working for social change? The new division of labour in the knowledge economy privileges mental labour over manual labour. In fact, large segments of the job classifications, such as manual labourers in agriculture and construction (35% of the labour force in 1930s) have disappeared in the labour classification. Now, all occupations require literacy, definitely basic literacy (level 1 or 2

of IALS scale) and often more advanced literacy skills of analysis of complex manuals and documents, integration many sources of information and technological skills at manipulation of texts and images.

This is seen in the interest of high technology companies in literacy and the educational funding. Microsoft Foundation has made literacy, along with world health, the main focus of their work. With echo's of Carnegie's Foundation support for building public libraries, Microsoft Foundation has been funding the installation of computers and WWW access to libraries across North America and around the world. And Jean Monty, CEO of Bell Canada, is taking a major interest in education, chairing the Millennium Scholarship Foundation set up with federal government money. In an article in the Globe and Mail, (2000) Monty calls on the tradition of John Dewey to reform the educational system to create the new knowledge society. His article misses Dewey's emphasis on democracy and education, a critical link needed for the promotion of social change.

How then can adult educators promote social change in the knowledge economy? Let me examine two of the narratives, those of the Dartmouth Literacy Network and Red Herring Cooperative Bookstore, to show what new subjectivities can be created from the subject positions created by social movements.

Dartmouth Literacy was able to be established as an independent community based agency through the efforts of a school board administrator. With the establishment of Literacy Nova Scotia through the proceeds from the Gzowski Golf Tournament, and minimal government support for projects, Dartmouth Literacy has been able to survive for over ten years. However, with increased foundation support, reorientation of traditional social service programs such as the United Way to literacy efforts, and support from

community organizations such as service clubs, the agency has an opportunity to increase its level of service to the community. And through working with public events like the Word on the Street book festival and the promotion of the Dartmouth Book Awards, the organization will increase the expressive side of literacy, that of story telling, drama and public narratives. By using the image of literacy as threat/desire, (Rockhill, 1987), and literacy as expression, whether written, visual, or technological, the Dartmouth Literacy Network is able to present much stronger positive images of literacy than the negative image of the illiterate. The use of these images to project a program that empowers the individual and the community to collectively express their longings, desires, achievements and aspirations forms a much more powerful social image for a literacy organization. From creating this social imaginary and using the subject positions of literacy as threat/desire and literacy as expression to help form subjectivities, it is possible to obtain more support, encouragement and response for community-based work.

### **Community-Based Business in the Knowledge Economy**

The other narrative that I want to examine is the Red Herring Cooperative Bookstore. During its 19 years, it provided a location for discovering ideas, public discussion and formation of informal and formal networks. However, the financial stress of the business operation meant that it was not sustainable. What are the possibilities for community based cooperative businesses to provide a location for adult education for social change?

With the advent of the knowledge economy, there is an increasing need for community based support for information, literature and social solidarity. Red Herring was able to draw on the strength of its volunteers, mostly young, high school or university



students or recent university graduates, who wanted to work with books and a bookstore. There was a high level of voluntarism and commitment, even when there was little money or support. Although the store made a surplus during the best years of the late 1980s, mainly by paying very low wages to the coordinators, they were not able to sustain when the business when sales plateaued in the 1990s. The experience of very low wages in the retail sector is endemic to service based industries and the complaint of exploitation is common among community based businesses such as bookstores and food cooperatives. Does the increasing basing of value on knowledge in the knowledge economy change the situation at all?

Some community-based bookstores have survived on producing information software to manage inventory and financials. Coop Bookstore in Vancouver survives on an endowment earned through representing the Soviet Union at Expo 86. Short of an endowment, or continued subsidy from members (something Red Herring continually faced), is there a strategy for operating a community based business as an adult education location for social change?

For success as a community-based business the following elements are necessary. First is a privileged relation to a market. This can be through loyalty by providing superior customer service (something that many independent bookstores work very hard to achieve), by providing special materials for booktables, events, and courses or by endowment or membership funding. For instance, Saint Mary's University Bookstore makes a surplus each year of \$450,000 on \$3,500,000 in sales. Even 10% of these sales (\$350,000) in trade books often used for social science would fund a community-based bookstore. The advent of regional publishers such as Pottersfield Press (publishers of

Maxine Tynes, 1989), Roseway Books (publisher of Isabelle Knockwood ,1992) and Fernwood Books (publisher of Muriel Duckworth's and Betty Murray's biographies) shows the growth in Nova Scotia of community based cultural and literary industries. What is necessary for the revival of a community based bookstore is the conjuncture of a market (provided by academic and cultural growth) and support community for a centre for the local literary cultural industry. An art centre that combines visual, literary and performance art is possible and would provide the cultural space for increased activity and production.

### **Developing Leadership and Movement Intellectuals**

In chapter 4, I analyzed the discourse of the “discipline” of adult education to show how it formulated its role and function in the formation of subjectivity. I showed that there was a dominant meritocratic discourse to explain the formation of subjectivity, with two complementary professional adult education discourses that justified this practice, the instrumental discourse of program planning and the humanistic discourse of self-directed learning. In Houle’s (1972) program planning, educators design experiences that reproduce existing authority and power relations present within their institutional context and within the context of the existing division of labour and power in society. In Knowles’ (1980) and Kidd’s (1973) self-directed learning, individuals insert themselves into the disciplinary grid of knowledge-power relations while believing that they are ‘free’ with the autonomy of self-realization. In opposition to these dominant discourses, I propose, based on the writings of Welton (1993), Hart (1990) and Holford (1995), that social movements become the focus of adult education activity and adult educators help create

new subject positions of radical freedom by incorporating the projects of new social movements into existing institutional practice.

Critical for this practice is the development of movement intellectuals. Holford (1995) states: “The notion of movement intellectual is key in an adult educational analysis of social movements, for it allows us to focus on the role of adult education as an agent of social change” (p. 106). This section focuses on two aspects of movement intellectuals, the process of leadership development necessary for the emergence of movement intellectuals from social movements, and the role of movement intellectuals in the reinterpretation and redefinition of institutional mandates. To examine the process of leadership development, I review the emergence of leadership from three of the narratives, the North Branch Women’s Group, the TYP program and the CED diploma program. To look at the role of social movement intellectuals in reinterpreting and redefining institutional mandates, I examine the narratives of the BLAC report, the rural conference and the library courses.

### **Emergence of Movement Intellectuals**

The North Branch Women’s Group started as a discussion and self-help group, to discuss common problems of life in north end Halifax and to find information or resources that may help in their solution. As the group identity formed and the friendships and trust grew between and among group members, the group became a mutual support group, helping its members with their interests and problems through analysis, actions and confronting powers for solutions. The identification of the issue of out of control dogs in the Uniacke Square public housing and the successful pressure on the housing authority to enforce its animal bylaws was an early successful action of the group and showed their

ability to identify issues, conduct a successful campaign and assist in the enforcement of civil behaviour. With the self-confidence from this and other successful campaigns, the members of the group did not hesitate to lobby politicians, start and distribute petitions, and help start and support important social and political campaigns in the community.

The work of the North Branch Women's Group helped to redefine the nature of library service in north end Halifax, from the traditional lending of books to the offering of literacy programs, assisting school children with after school study and providing organizing space for political action. The group helped to redefine the purpose and function of the library, to make it more responsive to the community and to greatly increase the utilization and circulation of the library. In February 2000, the African History Month Committee recognized the members of the North Branch Women's Group for their important contribution to the development of the programs, activities and identities within the black community in the last twenty-five years. The cultural development of the black renaissance in Halifax has much to credit to the leadership developed in the North Branch Women's Group.

The Transition Year Program was designed to overcome the systematic discrimination in the educational system against First Nations and Black Nova Scotian students. The first premise was to build a positive Mi'kmaw and Black Scotian identity to replace the interiorized negative identity created by the educational system and popular culture. This creation of a positive image system was disruptive to certain powers in the university, for the university attempted to streamline the program by integrating it through assimilation by not allowing its intramural sports teams or funding for development. This

led to the program isolated as a remedial program with little academic recognition or credibility.

The recommendation of the BLAC report is that the purpose of the TYP program be strengthened by improving the academic recognition and cultural identity of the program. This can be done by providing the remedial support through tutorials and a social network to support Black and First Nations students while seeking academic recognition for African Nova Scotian and First Nations studies. Dalhousie has already created a chair in African Canadian studies and the BLAC report calls for an Afrocentric Learning Institute to develop identity, cultural knowledge and curriculum. University College of Cape Breton has developed courses in the Mi'kmaw language and culture and the Mi'kmaw First Nations have moved to control their own educational institutions. Through control over educational programs and institutions, the African Nova Scotian community and Mi'kmaw First Nations will create new leaders for their communities. This development of new images of themselves and their future by these communities requires new forums for knowledge creation, new spaces for leadership development and new intellectuals to articulate these visions. The struggles for First Nations treaty rights in the fishery through court decisions and direct actions and the cultural renaissance in the African Nova Scotian community through their works in literature (George Eliot Clarke), drama (David and Anne-Marie Woods), and music (Four the Moment and Jub'alee) show the emergence of new "organic" intellectuals in the First Nations and African Nova Scotian communities. What is now necessary is to strengthen the structures for control over education and leadership development by the communities.

The Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute (ACEDI) has provided an important process to develop community leadership and to document the development of community institutions. Through the certificate program, first offered through the Nova Scotia Community College and then by the ACEDI and the diploma program with Saint Mary's University, the Institute has trained over two hundred community leaders in community asset mapping, community capacity building and strategies for sustainable development. The Institute has established links with a national network, the National CED Institute, to share best practices through documentation of case studies from across the country. One of the major contributions from the ACEDI has been the production of four volumes of case studies (Community Economic Development Centre, 1997, 1998; Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, 1999; Watershed Association Development Enterprise & Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, 2000) of community practice in Nova Scotia from the experiences, learning and analysis of the four classes completing the certificate program. These four volumes contain over fifty case studies that describe, analyze and evaluate community-based institutions and initiatives from throughout Nova Scotia. The writing, editing and publication of these case studies demonstrates the significant learning, knowledge creation and identity formation of the more than two hundred community leaders who participated in the certificate program. The fourth volume focuses on the African Nova Scotian community and includes nine profiles of community leaders who have made significant contributions to the development of the community and its institutions. By highlighting community role models from the African Nova Scotian community, the publication shows the role and contributions of community leaders to the analysis of racism and

unemployment, to the resistance to oppression through community and political action, and to the development of a culture of resistance, affirmation and celebration. As Upshaw (2000) says of the role of the leader:

To be part of the leadership there is much more than simply being aware of racial realities that we face. There is the dedication and commitment to acquire the knowledge about how to change or do something about that condition we became so aware of. Once we have achieved this, then there is the responsibility and accountability to access those skills that will implement, monitor and reassess the necessary change. Once you accept becoming a part of the leadership for change, you must make yourself vulnerable to personal attack.

Knowledge carries with it a responsibility for action. This will challenge all of us to integrate our personal, professional and public lives and work for positive change. (p. 126)

The concept of the community leader or the movement intellectual as vulnerable to personal attack but with the knowledge, confidence, and commitment to work for positive change in existing conditions gives the criterion for an 'organic' intellectual who has the personal courage to act. Through the personal sharing, collective analysis and spiritual synthesis in the Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute program, leaders from throughout Nova Scotia have learned the skills to work with their communities to create new visions for the future.

### **Social Movement Leaders Reinterpret and Redefine Mandates**

A key role for leadership is the development of institutional mandates. This section will examine the role of community activists in the reinterpretation of the mandate for

research at the “Debt Crisis in the Rural Community” conference, of community leaders in defining the community learning needs for the library extension courses and the development of new mandates for new organizations by the Black Learners Advisory Committee.

In the analysis of the conference on "Debt Crisis in the Rural Community" in chapter 8, I describe the dynamic of the formulation of research questions and programs, with community activists with well defined and articulated research needs, while academics had a different dynamic that defines their research agendas and funding. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Federation has realized that this a large gap between academic research in the humanities and social sciences and the needs of community groups for research, so they formulated a proposal for community focused research and lobbied the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council to fund this new program. Funding was announced in the 1999 SSHRC budget and an overwhelming response from the universities led to an increase in funding the next year. This is a concerted effort to extend and develop the mandate for social science research funding, from knowledge created over people, to knowledge that can serve communities and social movement groups.

To include community activists as co-collaborators in the definition of research problems and the practice of research is the goal of participatory research and feminist action research. For communities and excluded groups to access the resources of knowledge creation in universities and research institutes, community and social movement leaders must demand that these institutions serve the democratic interests of civil society rather than the needs of capital and restricted elites. This shift in research



focus is even evident in the physical sciences, where research agendas now have to answer the question, “What is the impact of this research on the environment, on human subjects and on the development of knowledge?” as opposed to previous research funding paradigm which only asked: “How can this research further knowledge?” Through the process of knowledge creation in social movements, movement intellectuals have pressed for the development of new research areas: environmental studies, women’s studies, international development and community studies, First Nations languages and culture and African Canadian studies. The response by universities and research funding bodies to these needs will strengthen the capacity for social movement knowledge development and the integration of excluded issues and groups into the civil society.

The public library lecture series shows how a very traditional means of teaching, the public lecture, can be used to redefine traditional images of knowledge and ways of knowing. With lectures series on issues diverse as Maritime underdevelopment, peace, democracy, environment, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the lectures have challenged prevailing public perceptions of these issues and provided alternative visions and understandings. Key to the success of this process has been the collaborative planning, where the academics meet with the social movement leaders to discuss what to include in the series and how to position and present the issue for the public audience.

This process has led to the development of new courses, new areas of study which when brought back to the university have influenced the curriculum on campus. A recent example is the course African Nova Scotian Cultural Studies, which was developed by Tracey Jones at the North Branch Library. In the second year offering the course at the library, Ken Fells, principal of Nelson Whydner school in North Preston became the

course lecturer. The course was then moved to the Black Cultural Centre to take advantage of the cultural resources of the centre and provide a location from within the black community. At the first Saint Mary's University alumni event for African history month at the Black Cultural Centre in February 1999, the evenings speaker, Carolyn Thomas, a respected community leader, congratulated Saint Mary's for being the first university to develop such a course. Since September 1999, the course has been offered on campus with students both from the African Nova Scotian community and others who wish to learn about this unique culture. This change in curriculum has helped the formation of new subjectivities, as these curricula describe and develop new subject positions and practices from the African Nova Scotian community. This collaboration has shown how social movement leaders have helped to define the content of the teaching and the direction of the university curriculum.

The development of new mandates for African Canadian education is the main focus of the recommendations of the BLAC report. The report makes use of survey and participatory research to define the educational problems of the black community and to propose solutions to these problems. Using activist participatory research the report determines and defines problems of identity and action, and recommends the redefinition of the mandates for black education. These recommendations include the creation of the Council on African Nova Scotian Education and the African Canadian Services Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education. As well the reports recommends the creation of an Afrocentric Learning Institute to work on curriculum development and ongoing research. The first two were established by the Minister of Education within a year of the report. The Afrocentric Learning Institute is yet to be established. If this can be

established in cooperation with existing research and curriculum development organizations such as the universities and the provincial department of Education, it will help to consolidate both the identity and the achievements of the African Nova Scotian communities. The BLAC report makes a strong argument that an institute with a mandate to develop identity and curriculum will bring forward the development and assist in the solving of economic, cultural and integration problems of the African Nova Scotian community.

### **Creating New Social Imaginaries**

How then do social movements and coalitions create new identities, new images of the future, new processes and expressions? This section will examine how this new cognitive praxis (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991) is created through social movement and coalition building.

The first part of this section examines the new images of the future or social imaginaries raised by social movements and coalitions to contest the open space of politics. The section begins by analyzing the People's Summit, the coalition including labour, environmental and international development groups to raise alternatives to the G-7 leaders. It then analyzes the contribution of artists and theatre workers to these alternatives and new social images, specifically the work of Irondale theatre group. It finishes with observations on the success of the Gottingen Street occupation, on how through direct action a grassroots coalition created the image of service as opposed to the reality of government cutbacks.

The second part examines the identities and images of community created by social movements and coalitions. It shows how through Isabelle Knockwood's (1992)

narrative on residential schools she recovers First Nation's spirituality through the recovery of identity. It examines how the alternative budget process enables social groups to examine current power structures and imagine alternatives through the analysis of assumptions, priorities, and values. It ends with the unfulfilled promise of the Atlantic Popular Educators Network, that through the sharing of experiences of educators working with different social movements and coalitions building communities and confronting power, new practices will be created that contest the open space of politics with new social images of our collective future.

### **The Images of the Social**

By bringing together diverse groups for a common purpose, new alliances, conjunctures and coalitions arise. This was the experience with the People's Summit, where labour, international development organizations, and environmental groups came together with church groups, black and First Nations activists, community groups, feminists, students and academics, to present a critique of the seven most powerful world leaders and an alternative vision to the world. Similarly the Irondale theatre group and the Gottingen Street occupation contest existing social relations with images of an alternative future. This section will examine the ways that these coalitions and practices result in new social imaginaries, new visions of the future.

Welton (1997) describes the purpose for coalition that organized the People's Summit: "to create a space for the expression of different viewpoints in order to communicate their alternative vision to the general public" (p.35). For Welton, the P-7 shows the flowering of the diversity, energy and insights present in the social movements

of civil society. He draws upon Parkin's (1996) analysis to describe four functions that new social movements play in the practice of the People's Summit.

First, they strengthen civil society by forming new independent associations and organizations within civil society. These associations produce social solidarity and renew the spiritual and organizational resources needed for efficacious collective action. Second, by cracking open blocked public space, the new social movements ensure that reflective learning processes occur outside the control of government and private corporate interest. More public participation is demanded and new channels of communication are opened up beyond the grasp of the state and direct control of private capital. Third, the new social movements converging in Halifax ... signal the importance of creating a global civil society to counterpoint the globalization of capital. Finally, the new social movements practice a politics of inclusion by incorporating marginalized perspectives into their public deliberations. (p. 36)

The People's Summit was envisioned as a life affirming festival, a P-7 of peoples' participation versus the G-7 of global control and greed. Through the use of street theatre, demonstrations, picnics, a public market and displays, music, seminars, workshops, manifestos and public speakers, the coalition raised a number of issues to challenge the meeting of the world leaders: What can be done about world currency speculation and world debt? What can be done to solve world health, education and poverty? When will the First Nations of Canada receive justice? When will local communities such as Africville receive compensation for their losses? They were able to raise these questions,

both in the public media and in public forums, because the attention of the world, for a few days, was focused on Halifax.

The reaction of the city to the summit was instructive. The reflex of the people in the city was to celebrate, through fireworks, through outdoor concerts and through street parties. The P-7 gave a focus for the celebration, music at every event, criticism and content for the future. The type of organizing effort and the coalition that emerged was a model for future world summits and meetings, including the APEC meeting in Vancouver, the WTO negotiations in Seattle and the World Bank/IMF meetings in Washington. This new civil society coalition from below, "From the Ground Up," emerged in Halifax as a potent critic and alternative to the top down structures of the G-7 governments in power.

The use of artistic expression played an important part of achieving this social imaginary. The political process of encouraging involvement, belonging and responsibility is an emotional commitment, something that is made public through art, music and drama. Artistic and creative means are critically important in imagining a better future. The narratives of Irondale Theatre and the Gottingen Street Employment Centre occupation show the ways that new visions can be imagined.

Irondale uses participatory theatre to challenge audiences, raise political questions and engage audiences in a direct response. They use theatre games, simulations, and body sculpture to challenge participants to take an active role in solving problems. As a labour educator advised me, they were able to challenge labour leaders, who were often only use to an adversarial or respect based system, to participate in the games, and often lose themselves in participating. I have tried these techniques of simulations, skits, and street theatre at conferences and meetings and they have often expressed the conflicts,

competing priorities, and interests far better than any speech or verbal presentation. By challenging the participants, far more involvement and emotional investment is made in finding a solution.

At their presentations to both the 25th anniversary of Metro Council and the CED Diploma Program, the Irondale Theatre group presented the dilemmas of the Antigonish movement: Should Jimmy Tompkins go for control by heading up the extension department with the funding from the Carnegie foundation, or should he continue to work with the people? Should the steam trawlers be banned from the fishery? Should the Antigonish movement take part in political action, or is the future with the people deciding their own course? These questions resonated with the audience, challenging them to tackle these difficult questions, and together find solutions.

Finding solutions is what the occupation of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre was all about. In protest against the cutbacks in service from the federal government, the community quickly acted by occupying the community based employment centre. As the action was almost spontaneous, the process was decentralized, democratic and participatory. Strategy was planned every evening at 5 p.m. through an open discussion of aims, means and results. Open communication with the local newspaper and electronic media led to the spreading and repeating of the story in the media describing a direct action to solve a local problem. Drawing in the local artistic community for ideas and support, the coalition used street theatre, puppets, props and local performers to create a people festival atmosphere to the protests, marches and demonstrations. This led to wide spread support from local politicians who wanted to make a point that the federal government should not unilaterally withdraw services. The

protest was successful on several levels, the most important being that through participation and involvement it created a expressive story that was quickly identified by individuals, politicians and eventually, the government.

### **New Identities and Communities**

Crucial to the development of a social movement is the development of identity.

Eyerman & Jamison (1991) state:

The cognitive praxis of social movements is an important source of new societal images and the transformation of societal identities. Revolutions are the most extreme example of this, but all social movements, be definition, bring about some kind of identity transformation. On one level, they do this by setting new kinds of problems for societies to solve, by putting new issues on the historical agenda. On another level, they do this by proposing new cosmologies, or “values” which enter into the ethical identities of individuals. And on a more institutional level, they do this by generating new “types” of professional intellectuals, who, as it were, carry the cognitive praxis of the movement on into the larger society. (p. 166)

These symbolic challenges can be seen in the work of Isabel Knockwood's writing and work as an elder, the practice of the alternative budget and the mission of the Atlantic Popular Educators Network. This final section will examine the construction of subjectivity from the subject positions of new identities in these narratives.

In Out of the Depths, Isabel Knockwood (1992) relived, for us as well as for her Mi'kmaw community, the humiliating experience of residential school. This very public "therapy" was a necessary step for Isabel and many who have had this formative



experience, to work through their internalized negative experience to a more positive experience of their Mi'kmaw identity. After writing the book, she then returned to an earlier manuscript that she had written on Mi'kmaw spirituality. This emergence of Mi'kmaw identity, through the revival of the language, summer spiritual gatherings and cultural traditions of drumming and dancing all provide examples of the creating a new social imaginary, the rebirth of the Mi'kmaw nation. This new creation is coming about through control of education, both elementary and secondary education in the communities and post secondary training and university programs. It is also coming about through the reaffirmation of the treaties through the courts, such as the Marshall court decision to allow Mi'kmaw to obtain a reasonable livelihood from hunting and fishing, something that the fisheries licensing system, the quota system and historic oppression have denied them for three hundred years.

The emergence of these cultural, educational, and economic subject positions call for a radical redefinition of the relation between the Mi'kmaw First Nation and the post-colonial society and economy where they are located. As evident with the violence confrontations over the fishery at the Burnt Church reserve in New Brunswick and with Indian Brook fishery in Saint Mary's Bay, this redefinition challenges existing power relations and calls into question issues of colonial authority, natural resource ownership and community control.

In the Kwe', the preface to Out of the Depths Knockwood (1992) speaks of the spiritual tradition of the talking stick and how it is used to solve problems.

The Talking Stick goes around until it returns to the person with the problem or issue, who then acknowledges everyone present and what they have said.

Sometimes the solution or answer comes as soon as everyone has spoken.

Maybe the person has already thought it out, or maybe it may come as an inspiration on the long trek back home. Or else, it could appear in the form of a vision or a dream. Dreams were a very important part of problem-solving with the First Peoples of the land. Maybe a Spirit Guide will come, or some new information be brought to light or a series of events will fall into place (pp. 6-7)

The recovery of identity, traditions and the method of the Talking Stick now allow the Mi'kmaw First Nation to form a vision or a dream, for through their recovery of language, culture, education and economic rights they are reasserting their right to a future.

The alternative budget provides another means to imagine an alternative future. The process of working with members of unions and social advocacy groups to analyze the assumptions in current government monetary and fiscal policy and budget documents leads to the uncovering of the principles and values of the existing government. By starting from the alternative principles of equity, social investment and collective responsibility, the alternative budget group draws up position papers analyzing existing areas of government revenue and expenditure and showing how they could be different if they are based on the new assumptions and principles. From these working papers an alternative budget is constructed, showing a coherent vision of the application of the new assumptions, values and principles. The budget process involves skills at group analysis and synthesis. It also requires skills of engagement, for if the process is to have effect outside the group, they must present both the alternative principles and values and the alternative vision of the future in a form that engages both the members of the unions and

advocacy groups and the general public. Through the use of popular education methods and techniques, the alternative budget process can raise questions about the direction of current government values and expenditures and provide alternative visions of the purpose and practice of government. The process of members of unions and social advocacy groups undertaking this analysis and engaging their membership and the public in discussion and debate of alternative visions is a demonstration of adult education for social change.

The vision of the Atlantic Popular Educators Network is that through the sharing of the experiences of using adult education for social change from diverse sectors and communities of practice, new forms of analysis, means of mobilizing and social images of the future will emerge. The hope is that by bringing together labour educators, literacy workers, theatre and artistic workers, African Canadian and First Nation educators and activists, environmental educators, feminist activists and community development workers to share the experience of their work and the methods that they have developed for raising consciousness, creating identities and mobilizing action, APEN will create new possibilities, new visions of the future. Of particular concern to APEN, as was the concern of the People's Summit, is the inclusion of marginalized groups and voices, for by hearing the voice of the excluded, the regimes of knowledge/power are challenged and new realities are imagined. By exploring the new subjectivities that can be created through new conjunctures of interests, ideas and projects from active social movements, APEN can help create a more responsive, people centered world.

### **Conclusion: A Network of Activists**

The analysis of this chapter showed the possibilities for the fostering of agency by analyzing the new division of labour, by examining the creation and actions of movement intellectuals and by the creation of new social images of the future. In analyzing the change in the division of labour and the emergence of the knowledge economy, the analysis shows the privileged position of adult education for the new economy requires increased literacy, mental labour and knowledge creation. In examining the creation of movement intellectuals, the analysis showed the need for the development of support and trust, the expression of identity and vision and the realization of vulnerability and commitment to act. The role of movement intellectuals was further examined through the definition of research problems and paradigms, the creation of curricula and knowledges and the creation of new institutional forms. Finally, the ability of social images of the future to call forth action was analyzed through the construction of social imaginaries in coalitions like the People's Summit and the Gottingen Street occupation and through artistic creation such as that of Irondale. The section ended with the invocation of identity and community through the struggle of the Mi'kmaw First Nation for cultural recovery and recognition, the creation of alternative visions by the methodology of the alternative budget, and the promise of APEN for creating new social visions by confronting power through hearing the excluded.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION: NEW THEORIES AND FOUNDING IMAGES

This dissertation has documented the variety of practice of adult education for social change in Halifax during the 1980s and 1990s. Through examining the dynamics of institutional conflict and support and the methods for generating action through the creation of new subjectivities, the analysis has shown the cognitive praxis of adult education for social change, how adult educators help to generate new identities, movement intellectuals and social imaginaries of new social movements. This conclusion reviews the five questions that guided my inquiry, the examination of motivation, learning, power, institutions, and agency in the practice of adult education for social change. It then reviews the contribution of this analysis to the development of the theory of adult education for social change. Finally, the chapter returns to my own context, the practice as an adult educator in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The conclusion ends with new images for Halifax and the Maritimes, those that deal with a new relation to First Nations, that capture the creativity of diverse cultures and communities and show a new cultural coalition for the future.

#### Results of the Inquiry

In the first chapter, I identified five questions that guide this inquiry. These included: What motivates people to join social movements? What learning takes place in social movements? What concepts of power are being used? What institutional dynamic is present? and What is the relation between learning and power? Each of these questions formed the theme for a chapter of the dissertation, the first three presenting the narratives of adult education for social change practice (chapter 5 – Working with Others, chapter 6

-- Establishing Knowledge, chapter 7 -- Establishing and Losing Power) and last two forming the analysis of practice (chapter 8 -- Institutional Dynamics and chapter 9 -- Creation of Agency). This section will summarize the results of this inquiry, showing the insights that can assist with the generation of the theory of adult education for social change.

### **Motivation**

Chapter 5, "The Experience of Community Practice: Narratives of Working With Others," presented five narratives describing adult education for social change: the North Branch Women's Group, Transition Year Program, Dartmouth Literacy Network, Red Herring Cooperative Books, and Metro Council on Continuing Education. It showed three strategies for forming social movement action groups: working with the people, pragmatism with compassion and working through networks. In examining the motivation of those joining these groups, it showed the formation of group identity and solidarity, the need for an ethical guide for action (that of compassion and justice), and the need for a diversity of viewpoints and perspectives.

### **Learning**

Chapter 6, "Narratives of Establishing Knowledge," presented six narratives of learning and knowledge development in social movements: the story of the Shubenacadie residential school, the occupation of the Gottingen Street employment centre, the theatre of Irondale, the public lectures at the library, the debt crisis in the rural community conference and the BLAC report. The presentation showed three strategies of developing knowledge, that of the creation of narratives, of drawing on traditions and of using participatory research. In showing the variety of means of constructing knowledge it

demonstrated the “cognitive praxis” of social movements when they use creative means of communication to contest political and institutional decisions. It also showed the role of adult educators in helping to construct narratives, in developing new curricula and in the process of formulating research programs.

### **Power**

Chapter 7, “Narratives of Negotiating, Establishing and Losing Power,” presented the experience of six organizations and coalitions: the International Education Centre, the Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute, the professional development centre at the World Trade Centre, the Alternative Budget, the Peoples Summit and the Atlantic Popular Educators Network. These narratives showed the political struggle for developing and negotiating institutional mandates, the ability to generate and lobby for resources and the strengths of coalitions and networks in confronting power and developing alternative visions. The narratives showed that power is negotiated among social movements and institutions, that establishing power is a reciprocal process between those with resources and those with ideas, and that the development of power is contingent upon creating social images of the future.

### **Institutional Dynamics**

Chapter 8 analyzed the process of power relations of social movements working with educational and community institutions. This included examining social movement projects that are conducted within institutional mandates, those that involve a conflict with the parent organization and those that lead to the creation of new institutions. The prospect for independent, community based institutions was examined as well as the opportunities for councils, coalitions and networks. This chapter showed the wide variety

of strategies of adult educators working for social change both within their institutional mandates, by reinterpreting mandates and by creating new mandates and institutions. It also showed the strength of temporary and ongoing coalitions and networks in providing opposition and alternatives to existing power structures and as a location for developing both techniques and identity of adult educators for social change.

### **Creation of Agency**

The final chapter of analysis, chapter 9, examined the creation of agency through subject positions. Starting with the changes in the division of labour, the analysis showed the importance of adult education; for the knowledge economy requires increased literacy and knowledge creation. For the development of movement intellectuals the analysis showed the need for trust, identity, vision, and commitment and their role in defining research, knowledge and institutional structures. And the analysis showed the ability of coalitions to generate new social images of the future and how creative expression can increase the emotional commitment to these visions. The chapter ended with the analysis of how new identities confront power by raising the voices of those excluded and how through raising these questions, new visions of the future will emerge by invoking the questions, analysis, and practices of new social movements.

### **Theory of Adult Education for Social Change**

In chapter 4, I contrasted the dominant meritocratic adult education discourses of program planning and self-directed learning with a discourse of adult education for social change based on the development of identities, knowledges and social imaginaries by social movements. In chapter 3, the literature review, I showed how the dominant discourses of the nineteen sixties and seventies, in spite of the “social purposes” tradition



in adult education, had prevented the development of the theory of adult education for social change in English North America until the 1990s. In the early 1990s a series of review articles by Cunningham (1992) and Quigley (1991) call upon other standpoints and experiences to legitimate the discussion of social movements while a series of theoretical articles by Finger (1989), Hart (1990), Welton (1993) and Holford (1995) theorized the role of adult education in new social movements. By the 2000 meeting of the Adult Education Research Conference, over half of the papers dealt with adult education for social change from a great variety of perspectives: postmodern, Afrocentric, feminist, transgender, and transformational; in chapter 3, I reviewed five of the papers that deal with issues of race, popular theatre, research, politics, and place. What contribution does this dissertation make to the development of the theory and practice of adult education for social change?

First, following the lead of Holford's (1995) seminal article, the analysis has shown how "knowledge and reality are significantly constructed by social movements and adult educators are key in this process" (p.109). From Knockwood's (1992) construction of the narrative of residential schools to the BLAC report's use of participatory research to define the problem of racism and propose solutions to the alternative budget coalition's call for popular principles and values in government policies and budgets, all of these and others narratives documented in this dissertation show the ability of social movements to create knowledge and construct reality. The dissertation outlines a description of this process. First in the construction of identity. From the group formation of the North Branch Women's Group to the recovery of First Nation's language, culture and spirituality to the articulation of the methods and practice

of popular education, the development and expression of identity is the first important process in the emergence of a self-conscious social movement. Next is the emergence of movement intellectuals, the leadership of movement groups that work through the institutions of knowledge creation -- the schools, universities, media, and popular institutions -- to create the public image of the social movement. This dissertation shows how this development of leadership takes place in groups such as the Transition Year Program, the CED diploma program and Red Herring Cooperative Books. Finally is the articulation of an alternative vision of the future, developed in a participatory process by diverse methods and processes by the social movement; this social imaginary contests the open space of politics, the agora of the Greek polis "where citizens meet to make politics work" (Martin, 2000, p. 259). The work of Irondale Theatre, the Gottingen Street occupation coalition, the alternative budget coalition, the People's Summit and the Atlantic Popular Educators Network all show the ability of social movements to contest the agora.

The second contribution builds upon Welton's (1997) and Parkin's (1996) analysis of the People's Summit, that the coalitions emerging from civil society strengthen social capital, open blocked public space for reflective learning processes, bring a global perspective and have a radical politics of inclusion by bringing marginal perspectives to the public. The analysis presented in this dissertation shows how bringing together social movement subject positions in organizations such as Red Herring, Gottingen Street employment coalition, APEN and the P-7 results in radically new social imaginaries. At Red Herring Cooperative Books, the cooperation of activists from the women's, gay and lesbian, environmental, international solidarity and student

communities created this politics of inclusion to form a social space for the integration of those unemployed, disabled and alienated into the building of social movements. During the occupation of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre, a radically democratic open coalition forced the government to maintain services for the community by marshaling the resistance, creativity and political support of the community. APEN presents the possibility of popular educators learning techniques of knowledge creation, identity articulation and construction of new social images from the diverse experiences of labour, popular theatre, community economic development, First Nations, African Canadian community, literacy organizations, students and teachers. And the People's Summit showed the success of a radically inclusive process that achieved public debate discussion of such issues as diverse as the expropriation of Africville, First Nation's sovereignty claims, reform of the IMF and World Bank, control of currency speculation and environmental sustainability. This dissertation has presented a method of analyzing the creation of agency and subjectivity through the process of bringing together diverse and divergent social movement subject positions.

Finally, the dissertation shows the role of institutions in providing the contested location for adult educators working with social movements for social change. Although Lauzon (2000) questions if university continuing education can make a contribution to social change because it is "now a business first and foremost and subscribes to the money code of value" (p. 92), this dissertation shows how adult educators working in universities contribute to social movements through Isabelle Knockwood's creation of narrative, the creation of new social movement curricula through the library courses, the acquisition of skills through professional development programs and the development of

research agendas through input from community activists. That these roles are contested was shown in the closure of the International Education Centre, the controversy of the identity and purpose of the Transition Year Program and the founding of the Atlantic CED Institute. And the university is not the only contested institution, as shown by the struggles to define new mandates and purposes for the Dartmouth Literacy Network, the Health Action Coalition and the Black Learners Advisory Committee. This dissertation shows the contested space that adult educators occupy when working with social movements, both within their institutions and within community groups and coalitions. By bringing the new subject positions generated by social movements into their institutions, coalitions and community organizations, adult educators work at creating the new radical politics of inclusiveness.

This dissertation calls for a theory of adult education for social change that specifies the role of adult educators in working with social movements for the development of social movement identity, the creation of movement intellectuals and the forming of new images of the social. It calls for a theory and practice that is open, global, imaginative, creative, and inclusive. And, it shows the dynamics of institutions as locations for this practice.

### **Further Areas of Research**

With this description of adult education for social change, there is much to be done in documenting practice, developing identities, creation of social movement intellectuals and projecting new images of the social. The documentation of the complexity and diversity of adult education and social movement practice such as the volumes of case studies from the Atlantic Community Economic Development Institute

(1999) or the book Popular Education and Social Movements in Scotland, (Crowther, Martin, & Shaw, 1999) are excellent examples of the type of documentation and analysis that more needs to be done. That these collections are collective efforts, often the result of practitioners taking part in professional and academic certificate and degree programs demonstrates the institutional role for the creation of knowledge from social movements.

The development of the identities of adult educators for social change is a major focus for such groups as the Atlantic Popular Educators Network and the Canadian Network for Democratic Learning. The role of research and educational institutions in the support and development of these groups still presents many unresolved questions. Until adult educators can convince the broader social movements of the political value of the knowledge creation and public education process, these associations will have a difficult time to survive. By acting both in broader social movement networks and coalitions such as the Alternate Budget Coalition and focusing on the means and methods of education and mobilizing, adult educators can demonstrate the value of developing the skills, methods and means of adult education for social change.

### **New Social Images for Halifax**

To conclude, I return to my location, the municipality of Halifax and the discussion in chapter 2 on the founding legend of the garrison. Along with McKay (1994), I call for us to “imagine another Nova Scotia community, one that open the doors... to people of colour, to women, to gays and lesbians, to workers, and to rural producers, to the history of popular struggle and resistance, and to an optimistic, open-ended sense of a common future” (p. 308). New social images are necessary if we are to create a more inclusive future.

First, we must come to terms with the history of genocide, cultural assimilation and oppression of the Mi'kmaw First Nation. In writing Strange Humours, a drama about the relationship between the British and Mi'kmaw on the founding of Halifax, Mary Colin Chisholm (2000) was inspired by Paul's (1993) history We Were Not the Savages. Calling his book the "germ of my obsession," Chisholm created a drama based on the events from the founding of Halifax in 1749 to the first peace treaty in 1752. After refusing to recognize the Mi'kmaw presence, Cornwallis declares war on the Mi'kmaw and a bounty for their scalps after they attack a wood cutting party on their traditional trade route. After 3 years of Goreham's rangers devastating the Mi'kmaw, Cornwallis signs a peace treaty with Jean Baptiste Cope of the Shubenacadie Band, recognizing hunting, fishing and trading rights and calling for assistance with rescuing shipwrecked survivors. The play ends with Cornwallis refusing to implement the terms of the treaty, showing that justice is not equal under the English in Nova Scotia.

Knockwood (1992) calls for spiritual healing to deal with the mental and physical abuse from residential school. She states:

many of us have returned to a traditional path as the source of our strength. ...  
Some of us have come to realize that we were abused not only physically but spiritually. For us, the Native Way with its Sacred Circle and respect for all living things is a means of healing that abuse.

It makes me angry that the people who almost destroyed me got away with it because they grew old and died before I could confront them. My anger led to frustration because there is nothing I could do to even things up. I cannot confront

those who lied to me about myself and about my people and withheld  
knowledge from me which could have allowed me to live up to my fullest  
potential. (p. 158)

Any new image must include the Sacred Circle and respect for all living things as the basis for a new understanding with the Mi'kmaw First Nation. The Marshall Supreme Court decision recognizing First Nation fishing rights that have been denied is another important step. The recovery of language, culture, and native spirituality is taking place in the Mi'kmaw communities through the assuming of self-government and control of social services, education, economic development. Adult educators working in educational institutions and community groups have much to contribute to the recognition of the Mi'kmaw culture. An inclusive vision of the future of Halifax would include a return of the Mi'kmaw each year in "Tquoluiku," the frog croaking month of May, to their fishing camps at Horseshoe Island and the Narrows.

A second creative force that must be included if we are to have a more powerful image of the future of Halifax, is that of the Africville and the vitality, strength and culture of the African community. Here is what poet Tynes (1990) says in her poem "Africville Spirit:"

I grew up knowing about Africville and hearing  
of Africville through the family talks  
and from the Africville friends of my own folks.  
I believe what I learned at home  
and what I say and insist to my students and to any audience:  
that it is important to recognize

Black community and to own community and all Black experience.

That there are no borders, no boundaries, no frontiers that matter  
in the Diaspora, in the North American,

Western world Black reality.

That the 49<sup>th</sup> Parallel or the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific  
does not matter or make a difference.

To people of colour, oppression is oppression.

That disenfranchisement  
and racism is the same everywhere.

That Soweto is Chicago is Toronto  
is Detroit is Montreal is New York is Halifax and Dartmouth is  
Africville.

Tynes (1990) calls upon us to recognize that oppression is oppression and racism is the same everywhere. And that no frontiers matter in the Diaspora, as Africville is our own internalized image of community vanquished. George Eliot Clarke makes the parallel between the expropriation of Africville and the expulsion of the Acadians, for both events have taken on mythic unifying significance for cultural identity. And since the expropriation of Africville in 1968, there has been a cultural renaissance in the African Nova Scotian community with writers, playwrights, actors, poets and musicians receiving recognition from across the country. However, an inclusive image of Halifax includes the return of Seaview Baptist Church to the site of Africville.

The image of the destruction of the Halifax Explosion dominates Hugh MacLennan's (1982) first published novel, Barometer Rising. Loosely modeled after the



Odyssey, Neil MacRae, the hero, returns from being given up for dead on the battlefield of France during the Great War, to his Penelope, who he has to win from her suitors. Keefer (1987) calls the book “Birth of a Nation” because it is preoccupied with the creation of Canadian consciousness. The hero, on leaving Halifax at the end of the novel, ruminates about his destiny:

But if there were enough Canadians like himself, half-American and half-English, then the day was inevitable when the halves would join and his country would become the central arch which united the new order. (p. 218, MacLennan, 1982).

Woodcock (1970) uses MacLennan’s (1982) choice of the Odyssey from this book, one of the first self-conscious books of modern Canadian literature, to title his critical study of Canadian literature, Odysseus Ever Returning. For Woodcock, the image of Odysseus not quite making it home was an appropriate metaphor for Canada, never quite making the full consciousness of its hero status or its manifest destiny. These metaphors of disruption, of longing for return and of never realized possibility are fertile images for the creative imaginations present in social movements.

If like McKay (1994) and Fingard, Guildford and Sutherland (1999), the citizens of Halifax want a new inclusive founding legend to replace the image of the garrison, we need to fashion a new legend. This legend can build upon both the utopian view of Lord Salisbury in that Halifax should be a place “where class distinctions dissolved, the common miseries faded from the memory and riches abounded in vast expanses of land” (Fingard, Guildford, & Sutherland, 1999, p.12). As well as the bacchanalian view of the 1749 pessimists “There is nothing there (Chebucto) but Holidays/ With Music out of

measure;/ Who can forbear to speak the Praise/ Of such a Land of Pleasure.” (p. 12)

The images of disruption (founding, explosion), longing for return (return of Mi’kmaw fishing rights, return of Africville) and possibility (creative construction of utopia) are present in community struggles and coalitions of Halifax, from the occupation of the Gottingen Street Employment Centre to the creative expression behind the People’s Summit. It is up to the ongoing institutions and coalitions of Halifax, from its universities, libraries, schools, community organizations and popular coalitions, through its leadership and creative expression to create this identity and social imaginary. And adult educators through organizations such as Metro Council and Atlantic Popular Educators Network have much to contribute.

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