Changing the Climate:
Information, Knowledge, Change?--
Research in the Era of Globalization

A Multi-disciplinary Conference
For Graduate Students

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INTRODUCTION

In May of 2003, the University of Saskatchewan hosted its eleventh annual "Changing the Climate Conference" for graduate students. The conference included presentations from all disciplines and this year's theme, **Information, Knowledge, Change?--Research in the Era of Globalization**, encouraged this diversity. This conference is the only graduate student conference held at the University of Saskatchewan and is particularly valuable not only because it is organized by graduate students, but because it provides an arena for graduate students from Western Canada to present their work, to share information with students from all disciplines, and to engage in scholarly debate. Presenting and publishing research is also fundamental to graduate student work in a time of an increasingly competitive profession. As committee chair, I was fortunate enough to witness first-hand the impact that such a conference has not only on those that organize and present, but also on those that attend the conference.

We were fortunate this year to have participants from in and out of province as well as a captivating panel discussion and two exemplary keynote speakers. Scholars Dr. JoAnn Jaffe, Dr. Michael Gertler, and Dr. Bob Stock delivered the panel discussion entitled "Civilizing Globalization". To begin the conference, Dr. Louise Forsyth from the University of Saskatchewan delivered a presentation entitled "Can the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Fine Arts Change the Climate in the 21st Century?" Dr. John Willinsky from the University of British Columbia closed our conference with his presentation entitled "Open Access, Scholarship, and Public Knowledge" which inspired the "Changing the Climate's" first online publication of the proceedings. Those graduate students who participated in the conference presented papers on such disparate topics as multilingualism in education, colonialism in Canada, globalization and nutrition, and intra-gender issues. Undeniably the conference offered graduate students, professors and the public copious subjects for discussion and debate, the markings of a truly successful conference.

The papers in this journal are representative of exemplary scholarship graduate students are producing in an era of globalization. We thank those faculty members who reviewed the papers published here, for their valuable time and edifying assistance. It is my deepest hope that the "Changing the Climate" conference will continue to offer graduate students the opportunity to share their ideas in a comfortable yet challenging atmosphere, and to encourage students to transcend the often indistinct boundaries that separate disciplines.

It has been a privileging and educational experience acting as chair of the conference and co-editor of this journal.

Tenielle R. McLeod

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The Nine Flavors of Open Access Scholarly Publishing

Dr. John Willinsky
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After a print run of some 340 years, the scholarly journal has now assumed a parallel digital life. What began in 1982, when Bibliographic Information Services issued its first electronic edition of the *Harvard Business Review* has become a mass phenomenon. By the turn of the century, 75 percent of academic journals were offering online editions, and more than a 1,000 peer-reviewed journals existed only in digital form.[1],[2] While the print editions will continue for some time, the alacrity and thoroughness with which the journal has gone online strongly suggest it has a firmly digital future. The immediate, hyperlinked, and globally accessible environment of electronic publishing appears to serve journals and its readers particularly well. It certainly tops the list of research priorities among the patrons of my university library, with some 40 percent ranking it ahead of books, print journals, and other resources when it comes to what is most important for their research and scholarship. By contrast, rumors about the death of the book appear to have been exaggerated. The scholarly e-book has yet to find more than a toehold on the Internet, although a number of the classic texts in the Humanities, from Plato to Kant, are freely available online.

Electronic journals offer readers a particular ease of access. They can readily work across different journals, find exactly where certain ideas are being discussed, or move readily from citation to source. They find something that serves their needs, copy the article's bibliographic reference, and perhaps a quote or two. They press Print, or Save if it's a keeper, and they move on. Yet digital journal publishing stands poised to do something far more dramatic in promoting the vital circulation of knowledge. Online publishing technologies are capable of reversing what

has otherwise been a state of declining access, for faculty and students, to the burgeoning body of serial literature. In every field, open access journals are making research available to a much wider range of readers than print and subscription models have been able to achieve. The success of the open access publishing model is bound to have a profound impact on the state of knowledge, as that state depends on the extent of its circulation and exchange. And there are questions to be raised about that circulation.

As things now stand, the world faces a seeming paradox. In an Age of Information, buoyed by a knowledge economy of global dimensions, the traditional centers of knowledge and information, namely, the universities, are simply unable to keep up with their own production of published research. That is, even the best of the research libraries cannot afford to provide access to it all. The journals have become too expensive, even as there are more and more of them.(A) Decades of subscription price increases for print journals, increases that ran well ahead of inflation rates, have forced university libraries to cut their holdings. These increases can be traced back to a growing corporate concentration in scholarly publishing, especially in the sciences, which has resulted in three companies, Elsevier, Springer, and Taylor and Francis, controlling 60 percent of the journals in the leading citation index, ISI Web of Science.[3](B)

From their perspective, the publisher provides an invaluable, if not an irreplaceable, editorial and publishing service, a questionable point from a number of editors with whom I have spoken. And yet they undoubtedly stepped into the publishing breach, with the tremendous post-World War II growth in research and post-secondary education, to provide a necessarily expanded range of journals that went well beyond what the scholarly societies were prepared to offer.(C) Elsevier Science Chairman Derk Haank is not completely off the mark in claiming that his company, following its $30 million investment in an online system, is “making scientific

information more accessible to the community at large than ever before." [4],[5](D) Commercial publishing interests now have a major stake in academic publishing. The scholarly societies and other non-profit publishing interests have continued to charge less than the corporate publishers, but not without riding the wave of increasing prices, with many societies turning their journals over to corporate publishers.(E)

The impact of these price increases has affected access to the research literature at universities everywhere. At the high end, the Association of Research Libraries, representing the top 122 research libraries in North America, reports that its members have been forced to cut six percent of their subscriptions since the late 1980s, and that figure was only kept that small by chopping 26 percent off their book budgets during the same period.[6] The cuts to serial titles among less fortunate institutions, especially in developing countries, has been far more drastic and devastating, virtually wiping out their access to the current print literature.

The current migration of journals online has not, for the most part, changed any of that. While a number of journals briefly experimented with free access in the early days of going online, most have ended up simply extending their subscription model to the online environment, further bumping up prices for a new print-plus-online subscription service, with online-only access resulting in minor discounts.(F) At the same time, new forms of site licensing and pay-per-view fees have created additional revenue streams out of yesteryear's journals. Yet I say that nothing has changed, *for the most part*, because the Internet has also given rise to a radically new, alternative model of distributing research which, at least, has begun to alter the picture of what was otherwise declining access.

That alternative, known as *open access*, makes the research literature free to read online. For example, a number of disciplines and an increasing number of institutions operate "eprint

servers" which enable authors to place their published and unpublished work online in an open access and well-indexed format.[7] 2. As well, a number of journals, if only a few in each discipline, are experimenting with offering readers different models of open access (with more details on this below). This has been made possible by, first of all, the development of new online systems that reduce distribution and management costs.[G] While it is difficult to identify just how many journals have gone open access, the Directory of Open Access Journals list maintained by the University of Lund provides one guide, which within months of it opening was listing hundreds of journal titles, from across the disciplines. Brazil, for example, is moving toward open access for its scientific journal publishing activities virtually as a national policy, through institutional and other grants to its somewhat less than 200 scholarly journals.[8]

Now what needs to be made clear is that open access, even among journals, is not following a single economic model. Many people dismiss open access out of hand as clearly having no chance of being economically viable as it has no revenue stream. They fail to appreciate that among the various approaches to open access, there is still a place for subscription and other forms of revenue. To help clarify this situation, I present what I would identify as the nine flavors of open access which have demonstrated their viability (see Table 1).

Type of Open Access	Description	Journal or Portal Example
Eprint Archive	Authors archive preprints and/or postprints in OA archive.	arXiv.org Eprint Service
Unqualified	Immediate and full OA publication of journal.	*First Monday*
Dual Mode	Both subscription-print and OA journal editions offered.	*Journal of Postgraduate Medicine*
Delayed	OA edition available some months after initial publication.	*New England Journal of Medicine*
Author Fee	Authors pay fee to support OA publication.	Bio-Med Central
Partial	Some articles in an issue are OA.	*New York Review of Books*
Per Capita	OA made available to country based per capita income.	HINARI (World Health Organization)
Abstract	OA to journal table of contents and abstracts.	ScienceDirect
Co-op	Institutional members support OA journals.	German Academic Publishers (GAP)

Table 1. Types of Open Access Archives and Journals

To briefly describe the nine types, I have already introduced the *eprint archive*, which often carries on in peaceful co-existence with the journal system, as the journal policies enable authors to file their published pieces in open access archives.(H) Best known of these is the arXiv.org Eprint Service which began in high energy physics a decade ago and now provides a substantial portion of the literature in a number of related areas.[9]

In terms of open access journals, the peer-reviewed *First Monday*, which deals with technical, social and political issues related to the Internet, serves as a good example for a journal that is immediately, completely, and exclusively free-to-read, and as such might be referred to as an *unqualified open access* journal.

Then there is a *dual mode open access* model which, for example, in the case of the *Journal of Postgraduate Medicine*, publishes an immediate and complete edition online of its print version to which it continues to sell subscriptions. The *British Medical Journal* provides another example of a dual mode, this time with the support of the British Medical Association.

What might be thought of as an economically more conservative version of this dual mode is found with *delayed open access*, best exemplified by the *New England Journal of Medicine* which provides complete free access six months after initial publication for subscribers.(I) The dual and delayed modes might as well be thought of as open access with an undiminished subscription list and revenue stream, though whether this is a transitional stage or not remains to be seen.

A form of *author-fee open access* has been developed on a large scale by the leading corporate entry into the open access field, BioMed Central. It offers complete open access to 90-plus journals that are published exclusively online by charging author fees for successful papers.

A variation on this model, developed by Thomas J. Walker and in use with the *Florida Entomologist* and the journals of the Entomological Society of America, is to give the author a choice of paying for open access or leaving it within the fee-based edition.[10]

Still another variation in free availability is to make a portion of the journal free to read, in what I would call *partial open access*. Although from a reader's perspective this can be a frustratingly hit and miss system, it still provides access to certain kinds of scholarship to which they might otherwise be exposed.

For those hardest hit by the journal price increases, a measure of relief has been established through what I would term *per-capita open access.* This model includes the World Health Organization's successful efforts to convince the publishers of medical journals, including Reed Elsevier and others, to make the online versions of these journals free to those living in countries in which per capita incomes are very low. Similar programs have been negotiated by the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications.

A growing number of publishing portals that provide *open access abstracts* are becoming increasingly popular version of open-access "lite," especially with Reed Elsevier providing access through its Science Direct portal to the e-abstracts of its 1,700 journals. So, in addition to the eprint archive mode of open access, scholarly journals have developed an array of approaches to increasing access to the scholarly journal. My hope is to convince a great many more editors, scholarly associations, researchers and scholars that such approaches, as they increase the circulation of knowledge, would best serve the larger interests of learning, as well as their own interests.

Finally, one idea that has only begun to take shape is that of forming a co-operative among the principal users of the journals which would support open access journals as a means

of managing their access to the research literature, while providing the rest of the world with the benefits of this work. The Association of Research Libraries (ARL) has taken the first step down this path by supporting SPARC and Create Change programs that have, in turn, assisted journals and supported the development of institutional repositories.[11] Yet an *open access co-op* goes a step farther. The leading libraries would join in underwriting the direct serial expenses of open access journals on a long term basis. One example of co-op open access that has just begun to take shape is the German Academic Publisher's Project, made up largely of university presses and research libraries, dedicated to making open access viable for German academic journals by centralizing the development of management and publishing systems and operating through membership.[12]

However it is organized, open access means a gain in the circulation, exchange and advancement of knowledge. And that gain, especially in the case of open access journals, can be dramatic. Consider Gene Glass, for example. This professor of education at Arizona State University, best known perhaps for his development of meta-analysis (which enables the results of statistical studies to be aggregated), established *Education Policy Analysis Archives* as an unqualified open access journal in 1992. Eleven years later, and after publishing 312 articles (including 24 in Spanish or Portuguese), the journal's website has some 2,500 visitors per weekday. As academic journals go, that is a considerable readership, especially as it represents visitors from 75-80 nations and, according to a survey of readers Glass conducted, includes teachers (16 percent), parents (three percent) and a small number of journalists (one percent). The journal's two most popular articles – one on home schooling and the other on teacher characteristics and achievement – have had well over 50,000 hits each, with the rate still increasing years after publication, again bucking the typical academic pattern.[13] Glass runs the

journal out of his office, on an old computer that acts as a web-server, with no budget for publishing, apart from the time he devotes to editing it. Open access is changing the public and scholarly presence of the research article, and that increased presence is arguable good for the state of knowledge and the support that it receives from the larger society.

Now, the assumption here is not information is, or somehow wants to be, free. Anything but. Open access begins with the fact that researchers are engaged in expensive, labor-intensive work that often employs highly sophisticated equipment, fully equipped and staffed laboratories. Researchers fly to distant archives and remote sites; they hire teams of graduate student research assistants; they devote years to studying a single body of work. Much of this work is underwritten by public institutions, government grants, and philanthropic endowments. The very extent of this largely public investment is what sets scholarly publishing apart from the more typical commercial model. The work represented in a research article has all been paid for in advance. The article arrives at the publisher's door, having already been financed, up to that point, as a public good. The public does not expect to be repaid for this research investment, at least not through its publication.

The publisher not only does not have to pay its authors, the services of highly qualified editors and reviewers are donated, as well (with editors occasionally receiving some form of support as I will describe in a subsequent chapter). Publishers do cover the production cost of copyediting, layout, proofreading, printing, binding, mailing, and promotion; they are now putting up well-engineered websites for electronic editions of their journals. They bring management skills, as well as care and quality, to the journal's production. During the age of print, the finely produced journal, with a circulation that could run as low as 200-400 copies, required this mix of public and private investment. The high quality of paper, printing, and

binding were not so much a luxury as a necessity to the archival quality of the journal – as it stands as a record of the very minutes of science – preserving it for use by generations of scholars.

So things might have happily continued, had not the corporate interests within this limited, subsidized economy pushed journal subscription prices to the point where access to the knowledge went into a state of decline, at a time when new publishing technologies enabled researchers to take publishing back into their own hands. These new technologies have been used to demonstrate how access can be greatly increased, improving the circulation of knowledge, restoring the researcher's control of knowledge, and extending its value as a public good by making it far more widely available.

Now, it is certainly true that open access depends on the reader's ability to find a computer connected to the Internet, which is still a significant barrier in many institutions of higher learning in the developing world. Yet faculty members and students have much greater hope of accessing the wider body of research literature online, if only through an Internet café, thanks to open access, than they do through the dwindling supply of current print journals. We need to understand that the gains in access to knowledge are, at best, incremental, and are not to be judged against some unachievable ideal of universal access or complete equity of access.

In this current knowledge economy, the Internet appears able, through various models of open access publishing, to do more to extend the circulation of knowledge, and increase participation in a global exchange around that knowledge, than print has been able to achieve. Open access provides scholarly resources to vast numbers of faculty and students who conduct their studies outside of the privileged circle of the leading institutions. It opens a new world of learning to dedicated professionals and interested amateurs, to concerned journalists and

policymakers. These incremental gains in access do not, however, simply follow from our ready embrace of new technologies. Such gains are only achieved through the commitment of scholars everywhere to finding new ways of improving access to knowledge. Although the goal is the same, there is more than one path forward, more than one way of opening access.

Notes

(A) A recent Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers survey of publishers found that among 149 publishers, 783 new journals titles were launched between 1998-2003.[14]

(B) Elsevier, for example, has in recent years acquired the publishers, Harcourt, Academic, and Pergamon. See McCabe reports on mergers and monopolies among corporate academic publishers: “According to these empirical estimates, each of these mergers was associated with substantial price increases; in the case of the Elsevier deal the price increase appears to be due to increased market power. For example, compared to premerger prices, the Elsevier deal resulted in an average price increase of 22% for former Pergamon titles, and an 8% increase for Elsevier deal titles.”[15],[16] Also see Tamber.[17]

(C) The growth of basic and applied funding in the United States, for example, grew from $6 billion to $17 billion from 1960 to 1990 (in constant 1982 dollars), after a very rapid doubling in the first five years after 1960 (NSF 1990). Enrollment in higher education has grown on a worldwide basis from 51 million in 1980 to 82 million in 1995.[18]

(D) Elsevier’s own online journal archive, Science Direct, is proving to be one of the more successful e-business ventures. The parent company Reed Elsevier, fifth largest media company in the world, had revenues of $8 billion in 2002, of which $1.5 billion comes from online delivery of information to both scholars and professionals (physicians, lawyers, etc.) with an operating margin that Forbes.com calls “fabulous” at 22%.[19]

(E) Among the economic factors at work on the journal, the very reductions in journal subscribers, caused by price increases, have led to further increases for the remaining subscribers forced to generate the same revenue levels to produce the journal, in something of a vicious circle of declining access.[20] McCabe estimates for example that a 1% increase in price in 1999 resulted in a 0.3% drop in subscriptions. The economist Roger G. Noll also observes the larger social cost of these increases: “In addition, the high institutional price causes institutional libraries to be far smaller than would be socially optimal. Of course, for publications in science and engineering, this inefficiency ripples throughout the entire economy, for it means that education, applied research and development, and direct diffusion to the production of goods and services will proceed at a slower rate than otherwise would be the case.”[21]

(F) For example, the American Chemical Society states on its website, under the title ACS All-electronic Pricing for institutional subscriptions: “We are pleased to offer all-electronic access to ACS Web Editions. The electronic access fee is calculated by taking 100% of the print

expenditure. Print copies are added at 15% of the listed print price. Please contact your ACS Account Manager for a quote." For members of the ACS, on the other hand, *Organic Letters* is $25 online and $203 in print.

(G) For example, and in the interest of full disclosure, the Public Knowledge Project at the University of British Columbia, with which I work, has developed Open Journal Systems, an open source journal management and publishing system available at its website (http://pkp.ubc.ca).

(H) On whether an author's copyright agreement with a journal permits open access self-archiving, see Project RoMEO (http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/dis/disresearch/romeo); Elizabeth Gadd, Charles Oppenheim, and Steve Probets report that a little less than half the journals in their study permit both preprint and postprint self-archiving, with a third allowing post-print and 20 percent specifying preprint only.[22]

(I) For example, the American Education Research Association (http://www.aera.net) offers complete open access to its monthly *Educational Researcher* and to none of its other journals; the National Council of Teachers of English (http://www.ncte.org) provides access to *Research in the Teaching of English*, *College English*, and its other journals, one year after publication; and the Institute of Physics (http://iop.org) provides the first 30 days after publication of free access to its 36 journals. The major publisher of online journals, Highwire Press, provides immediate and delayed open access to 145 journals in the sciences and medicine (http://highwire.stanford.edu/).

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Can the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Fine Arts Change the Climate in the 21st Century?[1]

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When I look at the mediatised, globalised, technologised, and militarised world of 2003, I wonder about the place in today's society of what I call human values – values that reflect the unique complexity of each individual and the precious richness of cultural diversity. These values

are at the heart of teaching, knowledge, research, and creative practices in the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Fine Arts. I can see that all cultures and their discourses have been radically transformed over the decades that I have been in the university, sometimes in positive ways and sometimes in negative ways. There have been many struggles to change the climate. Where are we at now? Where might we be going in the near and longer future? Where are our passions and our commitment to make a difference? Addressing you as some of the brightest graduate students I have met, I wonder what kind of a career and a life you would like to have as a human scientist, humanities scholar, or artist? – and in what kind of world?

I completed my Bachelor of Arts in French and German at the University of Saskatchewan in the 1950s. This was not a decade when we were organising consciously or formally to change very much in society, but neither was it as conformist a period as is usually thought. I wrote for *The Sheaf* and was active in student politics. My friends and I believed that we were engaged with the intellectual and socio-political climate that surrounded us, and this

[1] This is a slightly modified version of an address I gave in May 2003 at the *Changing the Climate* conference organised at the University of Saskatchewan by graduate students in Fine Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (including professional schools).

was important to us. In the 1960s, I completed my Master of Arts and Ph.D. at the University of Western Ontario, specialising in the theatre of French classical comic playwright Moli re. The 1960s were a decade of radical critical thought, social protest, sexual liberation and, above all, music, poetry, and flower power. It was a time when many of us became activists because we had come to recognise, in ways we had not previously recognised, that Canadian society and the world as a whole turn in ways that produce oppression, injustice and violence. It struck us – with a force that left us no choice – that there is an urgent need for everyone to work for social justice in our teaching and in our lives. The Quiet Revolution in Québec, protests against the war in Viet Nam and Black Power movements in the United States, along with uprisings around the world against the colonising practices of European nations all incited us to get involved. We believed, naively perhaps, that it was possible to simply change society and its climate.

However, by the end of the 1960s we had learned that change takes longer than we had thought. Although we found the arguments to change society's institutions and practices inescapably clear, we soon discovered that there are many who resist change, for an incredibly varied range of reasons and using many rationales and strategies to do so. In the words of the wonderful Rosemary Brown, who died in April 2003 after an exemplary life and who never tired in her work against sexism, racism, and exploitation of populations in developing countries, "We were so na ve in those days. We thought if we just explained the problems women were facing to the politicians, things would change."[2] Brown explained that she had come to realise at the end of the 1960s that it would take hard, thankless work and acceptance of both ridicule and dismissal to change the climate in effective ways. She was widely quoted as saying, in her wryly and darkly humorous way: "to be Black and female in a society which is both racist and sexist is

[2] Appreciation by Judy Rebick, "Brown is Beautiful," PAR-L ListServ (29 April 2003).

to be in the unique position of having nowhere to go but up!" Rosemary Brown's slogan was "Brown is Beautiful." She used it as the title of her autobiography. She was the first woman in Canada to run for the leadership of a national political party and a second-wave feminist who made an enormous difference in the climate surrounding us yesterday and today. She was a presence and inspiration for many of my generation. Without her Canadian society as we now know it would not be the same.

In the 1970s I gave up the French classical theatre as an area of research specialisation, and I readjusted my academic focus so that it was directed to francophone Québec literature, an area in which I have been passionately involved ever since. I think that my passion for Québec literature was stirred by the beauty of its texts and its songs, its stress on the power of words and stories, and the compelling ethical issues that were emerging as a young generation of students, poets, artists, singers, and scholars in Québec was finding its beautiful range of voices. Also in the 1970s, I became an ardent feminist when I was co-author at the University of Western Ontario of one of Canada's first reports to a university president on the status of women. Doing research for that report was a real eye-opener, particularly as we gathered data not just on faculty members, but on sessionals and students, and on the support staff, many of whom were immigrant women. They usually did not dare to attend our officially announced fact-finding sessions. They were legitimately afraid of losing their jobs. But they would speak to me quietly in women's washrooms or late at night as they came to clean my office to give me specific details about their employment situation and the harassment they were experiencing from peers, even when they were unionised. The cynicism in university personnel policies was stunning. It was as though university decision-makers said implicitly, or perhaps explicitly, to themselves

and to other employers: *there is nothing to stop us from exploiting these vulnerable people, and so we will.*

Since those early days in my career in the 1960s and 1970s, it has mattered to me as a teacher, a scholar, an intellectual, and a citizen that I try to make a difference, to change the climate, to make Canadian society a little more just, a little more poetic, a little more beautiful, to seek to protect the natural world and its populations everywhere from violence, degradation, and shameful exploitation. My passion for people has endured, as has my passion for words and stories, and for ending oppressions. I continue to be fascinated by writing and events in Québec, and I have always been active in achieving equity for women. As a non-Aboriginal person I have also become passionately convinced of the need to listen to the drums, the soft voices, and the stories of Aboriginal peoples, to critically examine my own *whiteness* and economic privilege, and to work to end systemically rooted injustices suffered by Aboriginal women and men.

I believe that those of us who are fortunate enough to have access to the university and its resources must always remember that knowledge is power. Those who work in the socio-political systems of the university and the larger society and who keep it functioning must control knowledge, must have access to discourse, must have media available to them to maintain networks and communicate ideas. It is discourse (words, stories, texts, data) that perpetuates, disseminates and creates the ideological, epistemological, ontological, and social climates in which we find ourselves. Discursive tools also lend themselves to limitless creativity. They make it possible to explore, analyse, criticise, speak, write and act on the new directions our imagination and vision produce before us. Since this is so, those of us who believe these climates have needed and continue to need change and renewal must be particularly careful and thoughtful when we use words and the power they offer to us. In our place of resistance we must

be particularly wary when institutionally sanctioned voices, practices and traditions determine the questions we ask in our research and thereby limit the range of our explorations, causing us to reinforce bodies of knowledge that may be racist, sexist, or classist. Power structures and their media have great interest in keeping received knowledge intact, or at least under controlled evolution. Power structures depend upon successive generations to keep their systems relatively unchanged.

Many years ago I had one of those moments of revelation that happen in one's life. It was a moment that caused me to see something important I had not previously seen. I was a member of a university senate sitting next to an Aboriginal woman representing her community on the senate. During the meeting we received mounds of paper, looked at the overheads that had been prepared for our information, and heard oral reports from the people in charge of administration. Neither of us said a word during the meeting. At the end of the meeting the woman next to me said quietly, "No one ever asks me what I bring." And in a flash I saw that communication, if it can be called that during the long meeting, had been entirely unidirectional. The meeting organisers and university administrators were not interested in listening to the voices or the stories or the community reports of those who had come to the meeting and brought their own experiences, knowledge and concerns, much of which could probably have opened a window on panoramas for change. Instead, all of the documentation and oral reports were meant simply to say *that's how things are at the university*.

Memory of this moment keeps coming back to me, because I don't believe that those who *know how things are* and who keep them that way, who have primary responsibility for the generation of information – and its interpretation into knowledge – and who enjoy power and privilege in our society's universities and other institutions have yet learned to listen and to

engage in open, back and forth conversation with a range of people from their communities, all of whom would bring something important to the exchange. I think often about this situation – representative for me of attitudes that are closed to knowledge and experience that come in forms not meeting traditional academic criteria and that don't listen to voices and stories appearing at first sight to be irrelevant for the established agenda – when I hear universities expressing their wish to be seen as more welcoming to traditionally excluded people, such as Aboriginal women and men, members of visible minorities, and women in many disciplines and senior positions. University spokespeople, and spokespeople in many institutions in our society, announce wistfully that they do not understand why those who have been excluded do not rush in through the open doors and stay to savor the programs the university has put in place and the many advantages of being here. But maybe, just maybe, universities should be exploring much more aggressively the challenge of *changing the climate*. Universities' discursive traditions continue to be powerfully determined by patriarchal, eurocentric, and heteronormative practices and bodies of knowledge. Those whose life experiences do not resonate with the values and logic inherent to these institutionalised bodies of knowledge will inevitably feel vulnerable and not at home in the climates that nurture such partial knowledge. And yet, in most areas of the university, little attention is paid to the need for critical analysis of the ideological and axiological bases on which the disciplines disseminate and discover knowledge. The institution is profoundly resistant to change. Like a huge ship on its own course across a wide ocean, the university will come around only slowly.

The humanities, social sciences and fine arts, all of which are centrally rooted in human values and all of which require that students and scholars open their eyes to see what is going on their world and its climates, have a vital role to play in such critical analysis, in re-thinking the

way social institutions currently function, in bringing fresh knowledge onto the public forum, in speaking out about the need for change, and in renewing educational and research institutions at every level.

In trying to make some measure of difference in a distressingly unfair world and imperfect university system, I served as President of the Humanities and Social Sciences Federation of Canada. In this position I tried to make the political case to decision-makers in Ottawa of the importance for Canada of the humanities, social sciences and fine arts. At the time I believed, and I continue to believe, that those of us who work, study, and teach in the human arts and sciences do not receive the recognition our disciplines deserve. Our voices and our stories are increasingly silenced in a global society growing more and more utilitarian, seeking and generating knowledge that will serve the interests of those in the best position to exploit to their own self-interested ends the planet's human and natural resources.

I wanted to tell you today a bit about myself, my university career, and my ambivalent views on the university system because I am retiring at the end of June. This is a moment for me to take stock. Retirement is not an end; neither is it a beginning. It is a significant passage into different climates and other ways of being. I feel myself to be out on an edge. I shall remain passionately engaged with the university system as Canadian society's enormously precious resource for the preservation and discovery of knowledge, for the education of the country's population, and for the energy and vision to change climates. I am looking back today at the places I've been and the people I've worked with, and looking ahead at the roads that are waiting to be traveled, the shadows that have been haunting me and that I need to know better. My career as a humanist in Canadian universities has been consistently challenging and exciting, although certainly not without its frustrations. I hope that all of you will be fortunate enough to enjoy

satisfying and fulfilling careers that will allow you to say at the end of them when you come to the moment of retirement – as I am saying to you today – it has been good.

Have people of my generation managed to change the climate for the better in Canadian society generally and specifically in the areas of humanities, social sciences and fine arts? I don't really know. There are a few more doors open now than in the past, but the challenge to open them even wider for all women and men, boys and girls in Saskatchewan and the Canadian west – and to keep them open, while changing what's inside the doors, and to work to offer the same opportunities to all peoples around the world is huge and daunting. Climates, it has been my experience, are quickly and easily polluted by those who scorn their frailty or disregard them for opportunistic reasons. Whether climates are natural, social, intellectual, ethical, or political, they can be made toxic before we know it. And after the devastation has occurred, climates are very hard to clean up.

When I began my university studies in the 1950s, social scientists did few empirical studies as we know them today and rarely cast a glance at marginalised populations; Canadian artists (writers, visual artists, theatre people, musicians, filmmakers) were poorly known and minimally appreciated; most historians were preoccupied with events in the past involving the great men of the world's colonising powers, and the literary canon in most disciplines was determined almost entirely by the great works of dead white men. I, for example, completed my entire study of French literature (B.A., M.A., Ph.D.) reading only works written by mostly dead men who had lived and died in France (one 17th century upper-class woman: Madame de Lafayette). It was vaguely known by the scholars and specialists at the time that French was spoken in other countries (Québec, Ivory Coast, Haiti, Viet Nam, for instance), and it was even known that there were writers and artists in these countries, but it was taken for granted, without

any investigation, that the work produced by these creative people was inferior and of limited interest to those beyond the borders of these former colonies. Tragically, such a demeaning colonising and colonised mentality was shared even by the scholars and teachers in the colonies. And so I completed my entire university career without reading a single book by a Canadian writer (anglophone or francophone), and certainly without learning anything about the cultural history of Saskatchewan (20th century and earlier societies).

Fortunately, this climate for learning and doing research has changed, as a result of the work done by many scholars in many disciplines working for change. They have made a significant difference in the very definition of knowledge, and they have expanded to an international level the range of subjects an educated person should know about.

The socio-cultural and political climate of the early years of the 21st century has changed in many other ways as well, particularly as a result of galloping technology. I spoke at the beginning of this paper about "the mediatised, globalised, technologised, and militarised world of 2003." Many of the changes that have occurred have not been produced as a result of the desire to make the world a less oppressive, more just and gentler place. They are changes that have occurred without input from research in the arts and human sciences, and they have altered the very meaning of the humanities, social sciences and fine arts. As well, they have changed the discourse and the means by which humanists, social scientists and artists do their work and tell students and the world about it. They have created challenges, unimagined in the 1950s and 1960s, about how to discover, produce and share knowledge that does not lend itself to the abuse of power and that, instead, contributes to changing the climate. We are immersed in a climate of media, popular culture, virtual realities, news bites in 30-second clips, and wars that are represented as having been fought like video games. Behind the glossy façades we see on our

computer and television screens, we catch glimpses of other **real** climates where the unspoken suffering of those whose stories are rarely told or shown, whose faces speak their implacable tragedies, whose torn bodies cannot even find a place to rest, whose voices speak silently of stories they cannot share, and whose homes are piles of rubble or mere holes in the ground, while the grounds around their homes are polluted with land mines.

In the 1960s we used to learn by heart the songs, the poems, the stories told by Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Joni Mitchell. We truly did believe that their piercing gaze and compelling voice were giving us insight into situations that were outrageous but that could be turned around. Now, I am less optimistic that situations of poverty, despair and oppression can be turned around, regardless of how hard we try. With all the commercially driven electronic noise that **is** our cultural climate, I ask myself questions I have never asked before, questions like: *How can poetry **mean** in such distorted and unreal environments*? *Where is **here**? What is **true**? What is **fair**? What do I or anyone else **know** and how comfortable am I with my sources of knowledge? What community do I belong in? Who controls my body and its desires?*

Complex issues abound in the cognitive and ethical stratosphere where we have our being today. They are more complex than things used to be in the past because of technological advancement and the decline of almost all our institutionally-based cultural and moral certainties. Fundamentalisms and new forms of authority or control seem to be thriving in every part of the globe as individuals, seeing old anchors slip away, grasp at something/ anything that will make them feel safe and secure in virus-infected climates.

And yet, despite all this noise and confusion, I must admit that the world is good here for us today. There is no reason to despair in the face of daunting challenges. Indeed, we must not.

We must use the freedoms we enjoy to their fullest. The human spirit, imagination, voice, memory, and erotic power are strong and adaptable. There are many good things in the cultural traditions we inherited. The papers on the conference program show that you are responding constructively to the 21st century's world order, daring to resist its powerful imperatives when they go counter to respect, freedom and justice. I believe today, as I have believed over the decades, that all those who are fortunate enough to have a place in the university have a responsibility to use their skills and knowledge to do critical analysis of the climates that nurture or oppress us, to share their insights, and to use their access to oral and written discourse to take their place on the public forum and speak out. We need students, teachers and scholars who look, listen, reflect and communicate. We need public intellectuals who know how to use their skills to resist and denounce every abuse of power, knowledge and authority.

Rosemary Brown's example shows that it is never easy to go counter to the direction of the herd, but that educated people have an obligation to do so when the herd's direction is producing devastation and suffering. Her example also shows how richly a life can be lived when it is lived with commitment, honesty, courage, and integrity.

I wish you all well in your studies, and in the next half century or so when you make the passage into retirement from your university or other career, I hope that you will feel, as I do, that it has filled you with passion and joy beyond words, and that perhaps you have made at least a small difference in some people's lives.

Civilizing Globalization

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I start from the premise that globalization and also globalism, its market fundamentalist parent ideology, *should be and can be civilized*. Globalism itself is perhaps usefully encapsulated as "an exaggerated faith in the powers of the supra-national."

The assertion that globalization should be civilized is based on accumulating evidence that this hegemonic form of globalization is suicidal in planetary terms. Globalization in its present guise has spread disorganization and destruction. It is murderous where it reduces access to basic requisites of health and survival. Except for the lucky minority who find themselves at the privileged end of the growing gap between affluence and misery, it has meant less secure and more desperate lives.

The assertion that globalization can be civilized is both an article of faith and a positive reading of the rising resistance, both global and local. The note of optimism is based also on a reading of history that suggests some validity for the pendulum model: excesses in the direction of deregulated market-led growth, at the expense of social disorder and breakdown, give rise to calls for a new order that addresses unmet needs and evident failures. As has been many times been said, "this too shall pass."

Even avid apologists for globalism and globalization suffer the planned obsolescence, intractable urbanization, ubiquitous pollution, random crimes, multiple forms of terror, family breakdown, stress, depression, and illness. Air conditioned vehicles, tinted windows, bottled water, and gated communities—what Bauman (2002) calls voluntary ghettoes—cannot block out

all the nefarious effects nor erase all the doubts. This system too likely harbours seeds of its own undoing.

If civilized coexistence rather than some new form of extremism is to modify this wave of globalization, from what sources will it be derived? One should not be tricked by corporate media's disinterest or disrespect and thus underestimate the power of the great progressive social movements of our era. Naming only the most obvious, these include civil rights, human rights, women's liberation, environmentalism, and the growing corporate reform movement. The promise of a better future lies in the changes championed by international solidarity movements, community based organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, and other organs of civil society. The promise also lies with critical and committed public servants working in national, provincial, and local governments, and in supra-national organizations. While many such agencies are presently viewed with skepticism on all sides of the political spectrum, states and supra-national agencies will inevitably and necessarily play key roles in resourcing and institutionalizing of alternative arrangements.

The answers likewise are to be found in the multi-pronged movement for democratic reform, and in social innovations that can claim a rightful place alongside new technologies as benchmarks and harbingers of progress. We need organizations that promote sustainable livelihoods and human liberation. We must have organizational vehicles that reintegrate human concerns that are presently treated as externalities and addressed, if at all, remedially and to little effect. We will require a diverse organizational ecology that can address our many desires and our many potentials as social beings.

In terms of economic development, we must seek enterprises that are responsive and productive in various ways. We need economic organizations that yield local economic

multipliers of multiple kinds (jobs, opportunities, new productivity). They should be likewise beneficent in terms of social and environmental agendas (Gertler, 2003). This understanding has led me to investigate the potential links between sustainable development and various forms of co-operative enterprise (Gertler, 2001; Gertler, forthcoming). Case studies of co-operatives suggest their potential as *patient capital,* able to adopt a longer planning horizon and to pay attention to intergenerational equity. Co-ops also recommend themselves as *rooted capital*, with regionally-anchored perspectives based on the interests of members as patrons, owners, workers, residents, and citizens. Furthermore, as *democratic and accountable organizations* that are well equipped for learning, communication, networking, and collaboration, co-operatives both meet the goals of, and furnish the prerequisites for, sustainable development. These characteristics allow co-operatives and related associate forms of enterprise to embrace multiple bottom lines and to implement holistic, integrated approaches to regional development.

With Nancy Allan, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan, I share a research interested in the roles of co-operatives (and other intermediaries) in the development of new trading regimes. As an antidote to so-called free trade this includes, in particular, fair trade networks that facilitate eco-social justice in the production, marketing, and consumption of commodities such as coffee, tea, bananas, chocolate, and cotton. Such projects spring from many quarters and are related to other important initiatives to certify production processes (for example, in forestry or in animal agriculture) as nature- and worker-friendly. These are meaningful steps to link sustainable production and sustainable consumption in new forms of ethically regulated exchange.

> My own cautiously optimistic view of the potential for progressive change is sustained by field research experiences that have allowed me to meet people with the motive and the means. In 1999 and again in 2000 it was my privilege to study the roles of co-operatives in rural Costa Rica. As part of this work, I enjoyed extended visits to co-operatives that

were leaders in various combinations of fair trade marketing, reforestation, land reform, economic diversification, environmental management, and organic crop production. One such organization is Coopesilencio, a multipurpose production co-operative uniting 48 families. The co-op got its start in the 1970s when former field hands took control of an abandoned United Fruit Company plantation. Over three decades they have succeeded in creating a diversified and sustainable co-operative enterprise. Their operation includes 1000 hectares of oil palm, commercial tree plantations, natural forests, and an eco-tourism business complete with lodgings, scenic trails, and wildlife viewing opportunities made possible by their long-term partnership with a wildlife rescue and release project. I toured their oil palm stands with a self-taught consultant from a neighbouring co-operative who was helping to institute a comprehensive program of biological controls. This worker, turned farmer, turned cropping system specialist was painstakingly mapping each tree in their holdings. As he noted particular pest, disease, and nutrient problems he also identified opportunities for biological control measures such as establishing host plants attractive to beneficial insects (Gertler, 2001).

More locally, in Saskatchewan, I have also had opportunities to study alternative food production and distribution systems. In a research partnership with the Saskatoon Farmers' Market Co-operative (SFMC), and with additional funding from the Community-University Institute for Social Research (CUISR) and the Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, it has been possible to investigate the economic and social importance of the Saskatoon Farmers' Market. Established in the early 1970s, the SFMC has some 120 members who work in approximately 70 enterprises. These farm- and urban-based businesses provide employment, income, agricultural diversity, locally controlled food production, rural-urban links, and a site for mutual education by patrons and producers. The festival atmosphere of the Market attracts women and men of all ages and serves as a venue for many other cultural and community events. The SFMC contributed its

expertise to the development and adoption of a Saskatoon Food Charter that commits the City of Saskatoon to strategies that increases food security for all its residents (Sanderson. Gertler, Martz, and Mahabir, forthcoming). SFMC leaders have also played key roles in a citizens' initiative to promote the development of a mixed-use, public space combining live theatre, a museum, artist studios, a farmers' market, housing and other activities in Saskatoon's South Downtown. This vision and process represents community economic development in an advanced and promising form.

Many of the farmers involved in the SFMC practice some form of organic or low (chemical) input production. These alternative production and marketing arrangements are local examples of global movements. According to the United States Department of Agriculture, there were 3,100 farmers' markets in USA as of 2002, up 79 percent from 1994 (USDA, 2003). Meanwhile, organic food retail sales in the United States have climbed at least 20 percent annually since 1990 (Dimitri and Greene, 2002).

Millions of people are involved in large and small projects of emancipatory politics. Such projects reveal the power of local acts of (radical) social imagination and assertion of autonomy. This is the opposite of resignation and heteronomy, the unselfconscious subordination of the self to another power.

Establishing a co-operative is an example of such an act. The last decade has seen an upsurge of co-operative and associative forms of organization. There are more than 700 million members of co-operatives worldwide, numbers that make the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) the world's largest NGO. Even in the USA, the alleged homeland of laissez-faire capitalism, 48,000 co-ops serve about one-third of the population.

People are still finding new and effective ways to resist. Recently, in Argentina, rather than letting themselves be locked out or thrown out of work, or standing by as businesses were run into the ground by corrupt or disinterested managers, workers have occupied and run almost 200 factories. These businesses employ some 10,000 people nationwide and produce everything from tractors to ice cream. The occupations have included a luxury hotel, a supermarket, and a regional airline that has been turned into a co-operative by its pilots and flight attendants (Klein, 2003).

It is argued by some that there are only two superpowers left in the world: the US military and the people. Protests against President Bush's preplanned war in Iraq featured the largest and most diverse peace marches ever seen in many cities of the world, including Saskatoon. Given a President and Congress unwilling to consider alternatives, these protests could not stop the war although they did create space for domestic and international debate, and for resistance by some governments. The civilization of globalization requires more than the short-term mobilization. It also requires attention to electoral politics so that people with strong beliefs in justice and the importance of democracy can particpate in key decisions. War, missile defense systems, and blatant international arm twisting remind us that the Age of Imperialism is not past. On the other hand, we live in a period of expanded international exchange, organizing, and mutual assistance by citizens and popular groups of all kinds. Globalization takes forms that are more or less destructive, and less or more constructive. We must make these difficult distinctions and act on all fronts if we seriously intend to promote just outcomes in development and international relations.

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Internationalization and the University of Saskatchewan: Options in a Globalizing World

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If globalization is 'changing the climate', what do these changes mean for our own province? For students of globalization, one of the most important themes is "the local" – namely the varying impacts of and response to globalization of different local communities and regions. This concept of 'the local' seems very relevant to our consideration of the implications of globalization for Saskatchewan.

Saskatchewan in the World

It is important to begin by noting the strong sense of identification of Saskatchewan people with their home province, and with their individual home communities. The loss of population in rural areas, and the loss of rural economic vitality, threaten the very survival of many communities, and is cause for great concern. The people of Saskatchewan, by and large, are determined to maintain their identity and that of their communities in a world beset by change. They expect the University of Saskatchewan to contribute tangibly to this objective. In talking about Saskatchewan in the world, we cannot lose sight of these very concrete local aspirations and expectations.

When we think of Saskatchewan in today's globalized world of professional expertise, the province pays a heavy price in terms of the outward mobility of Saskatchewan-trained doctors, teachers, engineers, and other professionals to growing, economically robust parts of the continent – to Alberta and Ontario, to California and Texas. Yet in reality we do the same in return – we poach professionals from other, lower-wage regions to replace those we've lost.

Fully 40% of the physicians serving rural Saskatchewan communities were trained in Africa, primarily in South Africa. Further down this hierarchy of poaching, South Africa recruits professionals from countries such as Ethiopia and Zambia and Tanzania to replace those lost. Spare a thought for rural Tanzania – there is nowhere for them to recruit replacement doctors to address child mortality rates exceeding 20% of live births and an HIV/AIDS epidemic affecting one in four young adults!

Saskatchewan has a globally dependent economy, and that has been the case for its entire history as a province. Saskatchewan's wheat, oilseeds, uranium, and potash are world-leading resources. Without access to world markets for these products, this province's economy and population would be a fraction of what they are.

There are many reasons for the decline of Saskatchewan's economy and population, and perhaps the way that globalization is unfolding may hold clues to this. If globalization represents, in some sense, a shrinking of the world, that process has done little to facilitate the growth and development of the contemporary Saskatchewan economy. The world has hardly shrunk in the sense of making global markets more accessible for our exports. We are as distant as ever from the international markets for our products – perhaps even more so than two decades ago prior to the elimination of the Crow rate that had long 'leveled the playing field' for Prairie farmers in terms of the cost of shipping their grain to market. In theory, world trade agreements should have created new market opportunities for Saskatchewan exports, but the reality is that huge farm subsidies provided to producers in the United States and the European Union put Saskatchewan producers at a major disadvantage – even before the American government launched its economic war on our farmers and forestry workers.

Within North America, Saskatchewan is not very well placed to take advantage of whatever opportunities are promised by the Free Trade Agreement. There is an advertisement that runs on local television stations claiming that Saskatoon is ideally located to serve the US market – *what map are these people looking at?* We're not all that close to Minot, North Dakota, much less to the nearest million-plus American city – Minneapolis – a thousand miles away.

If our location and primary product dominated economy do not lend themselves to the development of new opportunities for the people of Saskatchewan in the new global economy and society, what about another hallmark of this new economy – specifically the information, or the knowledge-based, economy? I'd like to argue that it is specifically in the area of knowledge-based development that Saskatchewan's greatest opportunities for the future are to be found. Capitalizing on those opportunities will only be possible if the province's universities can show us the way forward. In short, globalization offers immense opportunities for the University of Saskatchewan, but it is also perhaps one of the very biggest challenges this University has faced.

I believe that the University needs to be outward looking, not inward looking, at this critical juncture. Moreover, I would argue that looking outward – developing a global perspective in which we not only share our expertise with the world but also learn important lessons that can be brought home and applied here in Saskatchewan – is the best hope for this province's future well-being. Within the University of Saskatchewan, some Colleges and departments already have a well-developed international outlook, while others have unfortunately taken their mandate to serve the province very literally, with a curriculum and research initiatives that are entirely inward looking. These programs are so focused on

Saskatchewan that they fail to teach their students to think globally as a preparation to act locally.

Building Global Awareness?

How engaged are we in Saskatchewan with the world? I will argue later, in relation to student mobility, that the answer is 'not enough'. Our location costs us whenever we travel to other countries, or elsewhere in North America – long flights and significantly higher travel costs than those faced by residents of, say, southern Ontario or the BC lower mainland. Perhaps it is one reason why many of our young people have not had an opportunity to travel very far beyond their home province. This lack of experience is a major disadvantage, and it contributes to a widespread lack of awareness of and interest in the rich diversity of the world out there among many Saskatchewan youth.

Our school system also bears some responsibility for this state of affairs. Our son is starting high school next year, and so this winter we visited high school orientation programs with him. I was astonished to learn that geography is generally not taught, even as an option, in our high schools. Think of the importance of climate for Saskatchewan's farm economy and the devastation of the past 2–3 years of drought, yet there is no Geography in the curriculum. Think of the importance of understanding the complex social, political, and economic geography of the Middle East to make understand the implications of America's war in Iraq, yet there is no Geography in our children's high school training. This is hardly an auspicious foundation for the training of politically sensitive global citizens prepared to understand, and to thrive in, the complex global society of the 21st century.

Why Internationalize?

Whenever the question of internationalization arises, the question of our motives for doing so cannot be ignored. The literature typically distinguishes between three models of internationalization. In reality, all three of them are widely represented on the campus. As an institution, we are certainly not on one page about this.

First, there is the market-driven model of internationalization – internationalize to cash in on revenue generating opportunities. Admit more international students as a source of revenue, targeting in particular wealthy families in countries where substantial wealth is to be found. Brunei and Hong Kong, yes. Ethiopia, no. The market-driven model finds other revenue-generating opportunities in consultancies, contract research and contract training programs, targeted at those able to pay hefty fees.

Second, there is the liberal model of internationalization, a model that talks of the opportunity for us to share our expertise in the sense of doing good works. I often hear about how we need to be open to sharing our expertise with universities, governments, and communities in poorer countries. What I hear far less is the opportunity to learn valuable lessons abroad that we could and should bring back to Saskatchewan. To give but one example, we often speak of our expertise in this province in programs addressing the needs of native communities. The reality is that for all of our expertise, we have much to learn from others about these matters. We need to be looking to countries such as South Africa for lessons we can bring home as much as for the expertise that we may impart.

The third model is a so-called social transformation model that supports capacity-building and fundamental social, political, and economic change at the grassroots. It involves a commitment to working with local communities such that they take the lead in defining their

needs and the terms of engagement. Social transformation is a partnership directed as much as possible by our partners, not by our own profit or good-works agendas. At the University of Saskatchewan, the social transformation approach is best developed in the health sciences, most notably in the much-praised CIDA-funded project to train health workers in Mozambique. Among the hallmarks of this program has been its attempts to establish a reciprocal linkage of primary heath care lessons in Mozambique and in lower-income neighborhoods in Saskatoon.

University of Saskatchewan and its Mandate

The University is presently engaged in a major planning initiative, that involves the development of several university 'foundational documents', as well as parallel plans for each of the colleges. The process of integrating, and finally resourcing and implementing, these plans is a huge challenge, but also a huge opportunity to 'take stock' of where we've been, what we could be, and what we want to become.

This planning process was launched with the 2002 publication *Renewing the Dream*. It is worth noting the choice of strategic directions highlighted in this document:

- international standards
- academic pre-eminence
- a sense of place

The wording 'international standards' is interesting – not *internationalization* per se, but *international standards*. "In the new global environment, our competition for faculty, students, and research support is international, increasingly our obligations and opportunities are also international. We cannot serve our students, our disciplines, and our communities if we are content to measure ourselves locally" (*Renewing the Dream*, p. 3). This conception of international engagement, I think significantly, steers the University away from simply

capitalizing on international income-earning opportunities – the 'contracts to rebuild Iraq' mentality of carpetbagger internationalization.

The conceptualization of the third strategic direction – sense of place – is also interesting. On the one hand, it speaks to the long-standing view that the University of Saskatchewan is here to serve the citizens of this province with locally focused training programs and research and in some cases enrolment policies that have restricted access to out of province students. However, *Renewing the Dream* extends the idea of 'sense of place' to incorporate the interest of this University in being engaged, for example, in work in northern and Great Plains environments worldwide. Sense of place is not just about places in Saskatchewan!

Internationalization Foundational Document

Let me turn to the some of the specifics of the International Foundational Document. The priority areas for internationalization are discussed under 5 major headings, namely:

- internationalizing the campus learning environment
- enhancing success for international students at the University of Saskatchewan
- creating more opportunities for Saskatchewan students to study abroad
- strengthening international research and graduate training
- sharing international expertise through service and outreach.

1) The first priority area speaks to the need to create learning environments here at the University that inform and sensitize members of our learning community to the wider world. One priority area is to diversify the international content of our curricula. At present, there is a gross imbalance in course offerings – one could easily count on one hand the number of courses on Africa across campus, while course offerings on Europe are massive – some 50 undergraduate courses with a European focus in the Department of History alone! Opportunities to study

international languages – and literatures too – open study and career doors in the non-English speaking world. Sadly, our language programs have shrunk rather than grown in recent years. At the same time, the University has successes and strengths to build upon – to name but two, an International Studies program that has been in existence since the 1960s, surely one of the earliest, and a well-established International Business program. Religious Studies offers a very popular, innovative course taught in the Chinese language, taken mostly by students from many parts of the Chinese diaspora.

Almost all of these courses are in Arts & Science; there are relatively few specifically international courses offered in other colleges. Hopefully, a substantial core of internationally focused courses will be developed as well in other colleges – in the Health Sciences, in Education, and in Agriculture. Such courses are very important in developing greater interest in global diversity and global issues of particular relevance for students across the campus, not just in parts of it.

Another dimension of the campus learning-environment involves opportunities to learn from each other. We have students from more than 80 countries studying at the University – not just from the likes of China and Germany, but also from Chad, Sri Lanka, St. Lucia, and Mongolia, to name a few sources of our students. To what extent do we take the opportunity to learn from these students? Such opportunities exist in the classroom environment, as well as in organized extra-curricular activities such as international student societies. It also occurs in conversations over coffee or coca-cola – the ultimate symbol of corporate globalization – between classes, at lunch, in the dormitory. The International Student Office does a marvelous job of organizing programs for international students on a shoestring. But from discussions with some of our international exchange students, this is something individual students and faculty do

relatively poorly. Many international students who would like to get to know their fellow Canadian students better, say they have had difficulty doing so. They find Canadian students, on the whole, a bit shy and preoccupied with their own interests.

The ideal for the future would be the development of a Global Commons – a centrally located facility that could act as a congenial meeting place for all students, Canadian and international, a place to gain information about international opportunities, a place that celebrates and promotes the diverse talents and experiences of our community, and perhaps a place with residence space housing Canadian and international students. Of course, we need not wait for such a facility to establish a more inclusive social and learning environment – the key is the commitment of a substantial proportion of students and faculty to make an inclusive learning environment a reality.

2). The Foundation Document speaks at some length about improving the learning climate for international students studying at the UofS. This year, we have passed 1,000 registered international students at the University for the first time. The foundational document on Enrollment Planning envisages a growth in the proportion of international students to 7% of the student body by 2003-04, up from the current 5%.

Increased enrolments of international students represent a tremendous resource for this university. At the graduate level, international students represent over one-fifth of all students – the highest proportion at any major Canadian university. These students make our graduate and research programs in many departments much stronger.

The Institution seeks international undergraduate students primarily because they pay more than double the tuition paid by Canadian students. In a province with a declining population, international student revenue will form an increasingly important contribution to ‘the

bottom line' of the University of Saskatchewan. This quest for international student revenues is a global phenomenon – we are not alone in this.

Yet there are perils. Australia illustrates what can happen when institutions become addicted to the cash – much like our governments are addicted to gambling revenues. In several Australian universities, international students comprise a quarter or more of the student population. There are concerns about standards of education offered these students, and in some cases the academic standards achieved by students. If the University of Saskatchewan is to admit more international students, then it must reinvest a substantial portion of its income from them to strengthen teaching and support services in colleges and departments with heavy international student enrolments and in central support services – the Writing Centre, computing facilities, counseling services, and so on. Our objective must be failure rates that are no higher than those for Canadian students, and excellent rates of satisfaction among graduating students.

Revenues are not the only reason for admitting international students. Indeed, revenues can provide a source of scholarship funds to support students who would otherwise have no opportunity for higher learning – young refugees mired in camps in Pakistan and Kenya, for example. As previously noted, international students are also important learning resources in our classes, and everywhere around campus, helping us to become more aware of global diversity, and reminding us of the importance of acknowledging and respecting difference.

3) Increased international mobility for Saskatchewan students is the third priority area for development in the Internationalization Foundational document. This is an area where the UofS lags far behind many other universities in Canada. In recent years, about 100-130 University of Saskatchewan students have taken advantage of exchange programs or study abroad opportunities to study in another country each year. In comparison, some 650-700 students leave

University of Calgary to study abroad each year. For Queen's University, the number has recently passed 1,000 students per year studying abroad.

One of the barriers we must overcome is relative inflexibility in many degree programs on campus, especially those offering some form of professional certification. Sadly, rigid curricula masquerading as academic rigour get in the way of diverse academic experiences that would offer invaluable learning experiences. To give but one example, many language students find it difficult to participate in exchange programs that would allow them to immerse themselves in their language of study because of third year program requirements they are supposed to be taking here on campus.

Spending a year in Germany or Mexico or Japan, studying alongside local students, offers rich learning opportunities, and not just in the classroom. Students are immersed in another culture; where a language other than English is the medium of communication, their language skills grow by leaps and bounds. Students experience being a minority in another society – they learn to fit in and they learn to accept and to appreciate cultural difference. They also get a new perspective on home by traveling abroad.

Exchanges are but one form of international academic mobility. Group term abroad programs, such as the one offered in Guatemala, or shorter taught-abroad courses such as those offered in several parts of the world by different colleges offer a briefer, more controlled exposure to life abroad – often a necessary first step for students to go back for more. International internships, such as those offered in the International Business program, provide hands-on work experience with a company, an international organization such as the World Bank, or an NGO such as Oxfam. I feel passionately about international study because of the way it has changed my life, and changed the lives of many students and faculty I've encountered.

We must be aware of issues of concern related to international study. Some of these relate to the cost of participating – of ensuring that these programs will not be available only to students with well-off parents. Others relate to the need for rigorous orientation programs to prepare our students to have a safe, successful experience abroad, and for a safety net to assist students experiencing some difficulty while studying internationally. Still others relate to the ethics of one-way traffic of students from rich countries to poor countries for exchanges, study abroad courses and internships. We have a responsibility to ensure that our international student mobility programs support a healthy two-way flow of students and provide tangible learning opportunities for our host communities.

4) International research and graduate training is an essential part of how we pursue the internationalization of the university. Many of our faculty are already involved in collaborative research with colleagues in other countries – far more than is generally recognized. In the sciences, for example, such collaborative research seldom shows up in the titles of research and funding proposals.

It is not enough to increase international research simply for the sake of doing so. We need to address questions of what types of research we wish to support, and why. For example, much cutting edge research in areas such as biotechnology potentially has profound social, economic, and environmental implications when applied at the community level in the South. There needs to be a greater awareness of the possible implications of such research, and a firm institutional commitment to protect indigenous societies and environments from poorly conceived technological interventions.

Contemporary researchers working abroad, especially in developing countries, are confronted with a wide array of ethical and practical issues that were hardly dreamed of a

generation ago. Examples include the rights of indigenous peoples to be protected from exploitative research that invades people's privacy and appropriates intellectual property. We must ensure that there is fully informed consent and mechanisms to ensure that people approached by foreign researchers are dealt with respectfully and honestly. The development of research ethical guidelines and protocols, developed by the Tri-Council and other academic and funding bodies, represents an important step in the right direction. Nevertheless, our protocols for ethical research are typically still crude instruments that do not really leave much room for host societies to shape the research agenda reflexively as the research process unfolds.

The University of Saskatchewan needs to take a strong stand that recognizes the potential harm done by exploitative research and the ill-informed application of research results in vulnerable, developing societies. It is especially important to establish clear, ethical protocols because it is precisely in areas such as biotechnology – a very important area of research in several colleges of this university – that the greatest potential for abuse exists.

There are several other ethical issues that relate to research and graduate training. One concerns the type of training offered to international graduate students. Where it is appropriate and possible to do so, international students should have the option to engage in research conducted in their home countries and/or of particular relevance to their home countries. Providing the most relevant training to our graduate students is an integral part of our institutional responsibility as global citizens to promote international social and economic justice.

5) Our good fortune in learning through studying about international topics, participating in exchange programs in other countries, and working on research projects with colleagues from abroad brings with it obligations. One of the most important is the imperative to share our

knowledge with others, not just within academic circles, but also in communities at home and abroad. It may involve speaking to school children or community organizations about international issues. Ethical research involves taking the results of our research back to the communities studied, and helping them to understand and benefit from the results. Sometimes it involves lobbying governments to make needed policy changes.

Service and outreach is everyone's business. Each student, faculty, and staff member builds the university by helping to create an inclusive learning environment, particularly for international students. In turn, an inclusive environment encourages these students to share aspects of their culture with others, on campus and in the community.

College Plans

The next stage of the planning process entails the development by each college of their own planning document. Internationalization will be a component of each of these college plans, and it is anticipated that each college will find its own set of more specific objectives and programs that fit under the large umbrella of the University plan. Some of the college plans have been very impressive. The Colleges of Agriculture and Medicine in particular are to be commended for internationalization strategies that are visionary and socially responsible. They are among at least three colleges planning to establish their own international initiatives offices. Each of these plans includes provisions to significantly increase opportunities for their students to complete at least part of their studies in another country, and for more internationally focused courses and programs of study on campus. Each discusses the need for research and outreach programs that will help to support socially just and sustainable development in countries with the greatest needs.

Conclusion: Responding to Globalization by Thinking Globally, Locally

Let me return to my early argument about the potential for Saskatchewan to respond to the challenges of globalization by reaching out to the world, both in our teaching and in our research. Without doubt, there is, and will continue to be, strong opposition to this view from those who not only insist that the University maintain a "Saskatchewan first" model of development, and who take this mantra literally – that the University should concentrate on training students to stay at home by giving them a Saskatchewan-focused education. For many attached to the "Saskatchewan first" model, internationalization is a tangible threat to the province's future.

Unfortunately, the facts speak for themselves. Training doctors and teachers and planners and nutritionists to stay and work in Saskatchewan certainly does not stop them from taking advantage of employment opportunities in other provinces and countries. If we fail to nurture global citizenship, we fail to give our students necessary grounding to function effectively in our globally interconnected societies and economies. We also short-change Saskatchewan if our students are not equipped to learn valuable lessons from other societies that can be brought home to improve our own societies.

On the economic front, the development of academic excellence – especially in our research – offers the opportunity to make Saskatchewan a Canadian and indeed world leader in certain areas, such as sustainable dryland agriculture, and governance, for example. The synchrotron represents an attempt in this direction – to make Saskatoon a world-class center of knowledge in one type of research. So, in a sense, is Innovation Place. In short, these initiatives are creating a climate of excellence and developing a critical mass for knowledge production in

areas of comparative advantage. In the process of pursuing these initiatives globally, the local needs of Saskatchewan are also served.

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"Disparate Voices: The Role of *Kim* in Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient*"

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Kim, by Rudyard Kipling, and *The English Patient*, by Michael Ondaatje, were created almost a century apart by authors with different cultural backgrounds, yet they are each dependent on the converging stories of Western and Eastern characters, whose worlds and cultures have become intertwined by personal choice or inclination as well as by political and historical forces beyond their control. Ondaatje weaves culturally diverse voices and stories together in the microcosm of a deserted Italian villa, where Hana's refuge and solace in reading *Kim* foreshadows the arrival of Kip and their ensuing relationship. An examination of each novel's characters reveals disparate voices which have been irrevocably altered by the influences of colonization; the postcolonial expression of *The English Patient* reexamines the traditional colonial expression of *Kim*. In 1907, Kipling's perspective was framed by India under British rule. Ondaatje published *The English Patient* in 1992. Unlike Kipling, Ondaatje is aware of the experiences of post-independence India, and has set his novel in the period immediately preceding it, when anti-imperialist feelings, such as those expressed by Kip's brother, were voiced throughout India. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said claims that "each cultural work is the vision of a moment, and we must juxtapose that vision with the various revisions it later provoked" (Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 67). In this Saidian sense, Ondaatje revises Kipling's story, and uses *Kim* to critique empire, rather than defend it.

In the war-torn world of *The English Patient*, Hana attempts to take refuge from pain and conflict in books. Ondaatje describes their significance:

> They became half her world. She sat at the night table, hunched over, reading of the young boy in India who learned to memorize diverse jewels and objects on a tray, tossed from teacher to teacher – those who taught him dialect those who taught him memory those who taught him to escape the hypnotic (Ondaatje 7).

Each character in the villa is trying, in some sense, to escape; escape the war, or the past, or where they came from. The "young boy in India" is Kim, the title character of Kipling's novel, who is representative of both the British Empire in India and an exotic and romanticized colonial impression of the East. Kim's view of India is created by a foreigner, who portrays India from abroad with all the colour, chaos, and naïveté which that entails. Hana and the English patient are alone in the villa at the beginning of the novel, and the book serves as a textual access to another world. Kipling's story "intoxicates" them, and serves as an escape for the two of them as "those running away from or running towards a war" (Ondaatje 93). Hana reads *Kim* aloud to her patient, and takes comfort in the familiar story. Ondaatje writes: "All this occurred before the sapper entered their lives, as if out of this fiction. As if the pages of Kipling had been rubbed in the night like a magic lamp. A drug of wonders" (Ondaatje 94). His language foreshadows Kip's arrival at the villa and portrays Kip as an otherworldly figure; he comes into their lives as though from a fantasy, a story. This is an allusion to Kipling's claim that words are the ultimate drug. For both Caravaggio and the English patient the use of morphine eases their pain and makes them able to speak of that which would otherwise have gone unspoken; they combine the physical drug with the fascination of the story. Kip enters their lives like a "drug of wonders" to fulfill the same purpose.

Just as the English patient has rewritten his copy of Herodotus to make the story part of the journal of his life, Hana begins to rewrite *Kim*, only she does so with information of Kip's

life in Lahore, the same city that Kipling lived in and wrote about. Kipling's novel opens with Kim sitting on the cannon "in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun Zam-Zammah on her brick platform opposite the old Ajaib-Gher - the Wonder House, as the natives called the Lahore Museum" (Kipling 1). He defies the law by sitting on a cannon that represents the conquest of India by Imperial forces in front of a museum in which a colonial government dictates which artifacts are representatives of a culture. Of this place Hana writes within the pages of *Kim*: "He says the gun – the Zam-Zammah cannon – is still there outside the museum in Lahore. There were two guns, made up of metal cups and bowls taken from every Hindu household in the city – as jizya, or tax. These were melted down and made into the guns. They were used in many battles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries against Sikhs" (Ondaatje 118). Her perceptions of India that were created by Kipling's novel begin to change as her relationship with Kip progresses, and the image of the cannon evolves from a symbol of the British Empire (As Kipling states: "[They] Who hold the Zam-Zammah …hold the Punjab") to one of Indian suffering and sacrifice. She alters history and slips into fiction by adding the information to the pages of *Kim*.

When Kip arrives at the villa, Hana feels that he and the English patient will not like each other, and deliberately keeps them apart. She is wrong, for when she discovers them together "[t]he Englishman turned to her and said, 'We're getting along famously!'" (Ondaatje 88). Both men are highly educated and each of them lived away from his country of origin. The English patient recognizes the similarities between them, and comments: "Kip and I are both international bastards – born in one place and choosing to live elsewhere. Fighting to get back to or get away from our homelands all our lives. Though Kip doesn't recognize that yet" (Ondaatje 176-7). With his words the English patient demonstrates a sensitive but limiting version of Kip

and claims to know more about Kip than Kip knows about himself. His statement about Kip's lack of recognition contains the condescension of age and experience toward the younger man, as well as the cosmopolitan voice that speaks for both of them, yet it also reveals a truth - Kip will struggle with his identity and his homeland.

The English patient is an explorer who looked for meaning in the desert. The English patient fails to recognize that, although he has received a similar education, Kip is not searching for the same things. In chapter seven, "In Situ," Ondaatje describes Kip's education in England. In situ, in place, implies a sense of belonging that Kip feels in this world. As an outsider, Kip was "accustomed to his invisibility…It was [for Kip] as much a result of being the anonymous member of another race, a part of the invisible world" (Ondaatje 196). The feeling of being outside was altered under the direction of Lord Suffolk, who served as both teacher and mentor to Kip and taught him about English culture. Ondaatje describes his teachings: "Lord Suffolk chatted about the migration of robins from the war zones of Europe, the history of bomb disposal, Devon cream. He was introducing the customs of England to the young Sikh as if it was a recently discovered culture" (Ondaatje 184). Kip feels intensely loyal to Lord Suffolk: "Kirpal Singh had been befriended and would never forget it" (Ondaatje 187). Kip embraces the relationship "as if he were the prodigal son returned" (Ondaatje 189); he thrives in this environment, and as his education continued, "[h]e was beginning to love the English" (Ondaatje 190). Kip's loyalty to the British becomes ingrained; of all the characters in the villa "he is the only one of them who has remained in uniform" (Ondaatje 74) and he does so until he leaves the villa and leaves the instruments of his trade and his uniform behind. His education serves as a powerful force of subordination to and respect for the customs and ideas of the British.

By embracing his education and Lord Suffolk's introduction to the lifestyle of the colonizer, Kip rebels against his brother, who "broke the tradition of our family and refused, in spite of being the oldest brother, to join the army. He refused to agree to any situation where the English had power" (Ondaatje 200). Kip and his brother represent the complexity of being both Indian and under the rule of Britain, a role that Kipling simplified and portrayed more as one of unproblematic acceptance.

Kipling's story revolves around Kim, an orphaned boy of European parentage, and the lama, a Tibetan monk and Boddhisattva figure who is searching for the River that will cleanse him of his sins. The conflict of the novel is the choice that Kim must make between two modes of living: the imperialism of the British or the Buddhist Way of the lama. Kim, as a child orphaned in India, has never had a European identity, but when he is confronted with a choice between two worlds he remains the same person - the alternating attractions never give rise to a genuine struggle, such as the struggle that Kip undergoes in *The English Patient*, a novel that complicates Kipling's picture of India. Kip takes Kipling's version of the Oriental and makes it ironic. "As an Indian in England and then in Italy, Kip must turn the (post)colonial tables on the British Kim in India – but in intensely complicated ways" (Simpson 220). *The English Patient* questions how a young Indian man could risk his life for the imperial presence in his country, even when his family is opposed to it. This question is answered in part by *Kim*. Hana looks for the parallels between their lives and Kipling's novel, and finds them in surprising ways.

> Hana had watched him [Kip] sitting beside the English patient, and it seemed to her a reversal of *Kim*. The young student was now Indian, the wise old teacher was English. But it was Hana in the night who stayed with the old man, who guided him over the mountains into the sacred river…And in some way on those long nights of reading and

> listening, she supposed, they had prepared themselves for the young soldier, the boy grown up, who would join them. But it was Hana who was the young boy in the story. And if Kip was anyone, he was the Officer Creighton (Ondaatje 111).

Creighton is a scholar and worldly authority, who represents an orderly, British world. He appears only when his presence is necessary to control Kim's education or actions. Little is revealed about Creighton's person beyond his authoritative demeanour, though he does desire to belong to London society: Kipling writes "nine men out of ten would flee from a Royal Society soiree in extremity of boredom; but Creighton was the tenth, and at times his soul yearned for the crowded rooms in easy London where silver-haired, bald-headed gentlemen who know nothing of the army move among spectroscopic experiments" (157). Creighton's appreciation of London society is mirrored by Kip's appreciation for Lord Suffolk's teachings where each feels a sense of being in place – in situ. Hana, however, is like the boy who sat on the Zam-Zammah cannon in defiance of military order – she abandons her uniform and her role as a nurse and the army's expectations of her at the beginning of the story. Through these characters, Ondaatje reorders Kipling's world to demonstrate the complexities of human relationships and the shifting modes of power that challenge the more traditional perspective of *Kim* to examine how two cultures can potentially redefine each other.

Kipling has been widely regarded as an artist of consummate skill, and praised for his ability to portray the beauty and exoticism of India at a time when imperialism was at its height. He does so, however, from the perspective and reality of European power. *Kim* is a canonical text in which a foreign land serves as the backdrop for the story of a European protagonist's journey. Said discusses the need to read a text not just as it perpetuates the process of imperialism, but also with "an effort to draw out, extend, give emphasis and voice to what is

silent or marginally present or ideologically represented" (Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 66). *Kim*, then, must be read today not just as a novel about the history of British India, but also as a novel about the experiences of an India whose people were soon to regain their independence.

In *Orientalism*, Said recognizes that a categorization of class, race, and mentalities exists, and that "underlying these categories is the rigidly binomial opposition of 'ours' and 'theirs,' with the former always encroaching upon the latter" (Said 228). At moments in *The English Patient* it seems that reconciliation of these categories, that Said labels "ours" and "theirs," is possible because such categories are complex and shifting, not rigidly binomial. For example, when Kip dismantles bombs in Naples he enters a church to sleep. He feels comforted by the terra cotta statues "painted the colour of white humans" – he considers them parental and feels trusting and at peace as he sleeps. The description of the scene reads: "The tableau now, with Kip at the feet of the two figures, suggests a debate over his fate. The raised terra-cotta arm a stay of execution, a promise of some great future for this sleeper, childlike, foreign-born. The three of them almost at the point of decision, agreement" (Ondaatje 280-1). The angel and the woman are representations of heaven and humankind and Kip feels comfort and belonging with them. The moment seems to bring dichotomous moments together.

These tenuous bonds of belonging, however, are destroyed by the American bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; from the instant that Kip hears of them over his radio, his perceptions of his role are permanently altered. In his anger he confronts the English patient:

> I grew up with traditions from my country, but later, more often, from *your* country. Your fragile white island that with customs and manners and books and prefects and reason somehow converted the rest of the world…Was it just ships that gave you such power? Was it, as my brother said, because you had the histories and printing presses?

> You and then the Americans converted us. With your missionary rules. And Indian soldiers wasted their lives as heroes so they could be *pukkah*. You had wars like cricket. How did you fool us into this?" (Ondaatje 283)

Kip can immediately recognize the reasons for his brother's resistance to fight in English wars. In *Kim*, the opposition is between the way of the lama and the Great Game of the British; in *The English Patient* Caravaggio recognizes the truth that has exploded Kip's world: "They would never have dropped such a bomb on a white nation" (Ondaatje 286).

Kip instantly understands the truth that is later voiced by Caravaggio, and he feels that he can not remain in the villa, outside of India, any longer. He is an outsider in the colonized world: "He feels all the winds of the world have been sucked into Asia…he had brought out the photograph of his family and gazed at it. His name is Kirpal Singh and he does not know what he is doing here" (Ondaatje 287). The dichotomy between the East and West can not be reconciled; he feels the political in an intensely personal way.

Hana can not, at first, understand Kip's personal reaction to the bomb. In the same way that Kipling is blind to the rising conflict in India, Hana can not see the influence of the political on the private. She does not know why he has to leave, and asks him: "Kip, it's *me*. What did we have to do with it?" She can not see; it is not until after Kip is gone and she writes to Clara that the enormity of what happened and its impact on the personal becomes apparent in her: "From now on I believe the personal will forever be at war with the public" (Ondaatje 292). In the same letter she asks: "Do you understand the sadness of geography?" (Ondaatje 296).

By acknowledging the increasing sadness of geography in a powerful and poetic way, Ondaatje critiques imperialism, war, and violence. Said argues that Kipling, as an Orientalist, did not stand apart from the Orient objectively, and he wrote of the glories, difficulties and

celebrations of the British tradition of the colonizers in the colonies, while almost completely ignoring the colonized. *The English Patient* commands a reinterpretation of the shifting influence of an empire at its height when Kipling wrote *Kim*, but on the verge of falling apart in World War II. It is through this reinterpretation of literature that both imperialist and postcolonial perspectives may be given voice.

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Removing Rural Roots:
Spatiality and the Rural Labourer
in William Wordsworth's "Resolution and Independence"
and Jean-François Millet's The Gleaners

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Among the tendencies of globalization, its spatial implications have been examined with marked frequency in recent theoretical studies. Globalization, as one social theorist explains, is the culmination of the trend throughout recorded history "toward the enlargement of the geographical scope of human communities" (Modelski 49). It is the condition, another theorist remarks, of living "in a world society, in the sense that the notion of closed spaces has become illusory" (Beck 101). "However resonant the term 'place' may be of rootedness and fixity," other theorists have asserted, "no place can ever be wholly abstracted from the social relationships, capital flows, cultural representations, and global forces that late-twentieth century theorists have come to call 'space'" (MacLean, Landry and Ward 1). In opposition to these bewildering extensions and "abstractions of space" (295), David Harvey argues, a pronounced "clinging, often of necessity, to a place-bound identity" has also emerged:

> it is exactly at this point that we encounter the opposite reaction that can best be summed up as the search for personal or collective identity, the search for secure moorings in a shifting world. Place-identity, in this collage of superimposed spatial images that implode upon us, becomes an important issue, because everyone occupies a space of individuation (a body, a room, a home, a shaping community, a nation), and how we individuate ourselves shapes identity. (302)

It is precisely this spatial complexity—the unprecedented enlargement of human communities coupled with the "search for secure moorings in a shifting world," as Harvey puts it—that I wish to examine not in the context of our contemporary global society but rather in relation to profound social changes occurring in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During

the last four decades, and particularly since the 1980s, critical theory across academic disciplines has been marked by a resurgence of interest in the concept of space and its relationship to social life. However, that interest in spatiality has focused, for the most part, on the political, economic, social, intellectual, and aesthetic changes in the modern and postmodern eras. Theorists, I would argue, have inadequately accounted for a distinctive spatiality that emerges in the Romantic period, when the first phases of the revolutions in industry, agriculture and travel significantly altered people's experiences of space. My paper examines the conception of space in the context of these social changes in the Romantic period and quite specifically in relation to the depiction of the plight of rural labourers in two works of art from the first half of the nineteenth century: William Wordsworth's poem "Resolution and Independence" and Jean François Millet's painting The Gleaners. The key concepts and phrases that theorists have used to describe our contemporary global system—concepts such as "the 'placelessness' of community, labour and capital" (Beck 103), the marked "[g]eographical mobility" of peoples (Harvey 294), and the pronounced unfolding of a "world horizon" (Beck 102)—are particularly relevant to this earlier, transformative period in human history.

As Saree Makdisi has argued, in Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity, one of the few studies examining spatiality in the Romantic period, this era "mark[s] . . . the beginning of a process" we now recognize as "globalization" (xii), and, as such, it exemplifies the "growing abstract world-space and world-time of modernization" (13). In Britain, significant agricultural changes occurred particularly between 1780 and 1830, as the agrarian sector became increasingly commercialized. The appearance and use of rural land, as Anne Janowitz has explained, was radically altered through "the enclosure of open-field farms, commons, and wastelands, the draining of bogs and fens, the conversion of arable to pasture

land, [and] the consolidation of land into larger holdings," all of which aimed to increase productivity and serve a growing national market (153). Examining this process of agricultural improvement in Britain and its spatial implications, John Barrell points out that people living in rural areas experienced a new "sense of inhabiting a wider space." The process of enclosing common fields and wastelands constituted the imposition of a "wider, mobile, linear sense of space," produced by new roads and allotments of private property, on the traditionally "circular" and self-contained space of parish communities and their open fields (106). For rural inhabitants, increasingly able to "to move with ease across wide tracts of country," the new idea of space "is one which regards the individual place always as part of a larger area" (93). That experience movement, he continues, creates "detach[ment]" from the land and its communities, for people passed through as "stranger[s]" (93, 91):

> The concern to be always moving through a place, to see it never primarily as a place-in-itself, but always as mediated by its connection to one place to the east, and another to the west, produces a sense of space which is always defined by this linear movement, so that to stop at a place is still to be in a state of potential motion, on the look-out . . . for the road to the next town. (89)

Examining similar processes in France several decades later, Robert L. Herbert identifies rural depopulation as the most profound social transformation:

> The only word for this vast shifting of rural people is migration. So great were the numbers leaving for the city, and so great was the utter disruption of traditional harvesting and culture, that by 1860 a total of nearly one-sixth of people who lived on the land left their villages each year, some of them as migratory agricultural workers who would later return, but many of them . . . never . . . [came] back. ("City" 45)

As Eric Hobsbawm explains, the emerging capitalist economy depended on a surplus population, particularly a class of free wage-labourers, who, no longer tied to the land, could be "torn away from their roots and allowed to move freely." The "sheer bulk of commerce and migration"—

the “movement” of both “men and goods,” Hobsbawm explains, reached unprecedented momentum in the nineteenth century (211).

These agricultural changes, and the effects on rural labourers of the shifting experiences of space that accompanied them, were acknowledged by artists working in the period. The two works that I examine bracket the first half of the nineteenth century: Wordsworth’s poem “Resolution and Independence,” composed in its earliest version in 1802, was first published in 1807 in Poems, in Two Volumes, in a section titled “Poems Composed During a Tour, Chiefly on Foot”; Millet’s painting The Gleaners, for which preparatory sketches and paintings were made throughout the 1850s, was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1857. Separated by fifty years, these two works perhaps constitute an unusual juxtaposition. Wordsworth died in 1850, seven years before Millet’s painting was exhibited, and Millet, to my knowledge, was not familiar with Wordsworth’s poetry. As well, the settings of the two works are quite different: Wordsworth writes about the barren and “lonely moor” of rural northern England, while Millet paints the agricultural region surrounding the small community of Barbizon, situated south of Paris on the edge of the forests of Fontainebleau and the flat, extensive Plain of Chailly. Moreover, somewhat disjunctive in my choice of these two works is their basis in different artistic traditions: English Romantic poetry in the early decades of the nineteenth century and French Realist painting in the 1850s.

However, my choice of these two works, in spite of their contextual differences, is based more intuitively on the affinities I observed in Wordsworth’s and Millet’s depiction of rural labourers. While separated by time, place, and artistic mode, “Resolution and Independence” and The Gleaners similarly depict solitary figures, whose bodily appearance, gestures and movements reflect the artists’ recognition of the hardship of their physical labour. As well,

Wordsworth and Millet, in these two works, locate their figures in a barren spaciousness, a spaciousness through which their labour—gathering leeches, in the first instance, and stray blades of grain, in the second—forces them to move with ceaseless monotony. "From Pond to Pond he roam'd, from moor to moor, / Housing, with God's good help, by choice or chance," Wordsworth writes of his leech gatherer (110-112), and Millet's human figures, as John Berger has remarked, move across landscapes of "starkest simplicity," engaging in a "continual struggle" with the soil (229).

Wordsworth's poem, like Millet's painting, is firmly rooted in the material and social conditions experienced by rural labours in the first half of the nineteenth century. Initially titled "The Leech-gatherer," the poem, as Wordsworth acknowledges, is based on an actual encounter with the figure he describes: "This Old Man I met a few hundred yards from my cottage at Town-End, Grasmere, and the account of him is taken from his own mouth," Wordsworth explains (qtd. in Curtis, Poems 408). That encounter is described in more detail by Dorothy Wordsworth, the poet's sister, in The Grasmere Journals:

> we met an old man almost double, he had on a coat thrown over his shoulders . . . . Under this he carried a bundle & had an apron on & a night cap. . . .He had had a wife, "a good woman, & it pleased God to bless us with ten children"—all these were dead but one[,] of whom he had not heard for many years, a Sailor—his trade was to gather leeches but leeches are scare & he had not strength for it—he lived by begging & was making his way to Carlisle where he should buy a few godly books to sell. He said leeches were very scarce partly owing to this dry season, but many years they have been scarce[.] (23-24)

Dorothy's account of the leech gatherer, while detailed in its description, ends rather abruptly, as she continues her account of the day's activities, which suggests the commonplaceness of encounters, such as this one, with vagrants traversing rural roads; indeed, her Grasmere Journals include numerous accounts of the solitary and displaced people she and Wordsworth

encountered: beggars, orphans, widows, discharged soldiers and sailors, and other travellers—human figures, moreover, that constitute the subjects of many of Wordsworth's poems.

Wordsworth's first version of this poem, titled "The Leech-gatherer," which is remarkably close to Dorothy's account, underscores the migratory nature of the leech gatherer's existence:

> I yet can gain my bread tho' in times gone
> I twenty could have found where now I can find one
>
> Feeble I am in health these hills to climb
> Yet I procure a Living of my own
> This is my summer work in winter time
> I go with godly Books from Town to Town
> Now I am seeking Leeches up & down
> From house to house I go from Barn to Barn
> All over Cartmell Fells & up to Blellan Tarn[.][1]

While this first version of the poem is principally a character sketch of the old man (Curtis, Wordsworth's Experiments 102), the final lines mark a shift from that external account of the leech gatherer to the internal response of the poet, who is profoundly moved "to find / In that decrepit man so firm a mind" (144-145), a response Wordsworth reiterates in a letter to Mary and Sara Hutchinson in 1802: "I cannot conceive a figure more impressive than that of an old Man like this, the survivor of a Wife and ten children, travelling alone among the mountains and all lonely places, carrying with him his own fortitude and the necessities which an unjust state of society has entailed upon him" (de Selincourt 366-367). The final version of the poem, which Wordsworth titled "Resolution and Independence," more fully develops this latter emphasis on the thoughts of the meditative poet, who responds to the leech gatherer as "a Man from some far region sent, / To give me human strength, and strong admonishment" (118-119) in the midst of his own despondency and fears of poverty and premature death, which he identifies with his

[1] Jared Curtis, in his edition of Wordsworth's Poems, in Two Volumes, does not attach line numbers to these lines; they precede the stanza that begins at line 141 (323).

poetic vocation. However, the final version of the poem, I would argue, loses none of its material specificity in its account of the leech gatherer: the old man's poverty, solitude, weariness, physical appearance, and migratory movements are still clearly expressed. Providing the following striking image, Wordsworth writes,

> His body was bent double, feet and head
> Coming together in their pilgrimage:
> As if some dire constraint of pain, or rage
> Of sickness felt by him in times long past,
> A more than human weight upon his frame had cast. (73-77)

The following stanza provides another image of the leech gatherer's weariness, embodied, again, so simply and concretely, in a telling physical gesture:

> Himself he propp'd, his body, limbs, and face,
> Upon a long grey Staff of shaven wood:
> ……
> Motionless as a Cloud the Old Man stood[.] (78-79, 82)

That the leech gatherer's employment is "hazardous and wearisome" is evident as well in the meagreness of the rewards of his labour: "Once I could meet with them on every side; / But they have dwindled long by slow decay; / Yet still I persevere, and find them where I may" (131-133).

Central to the poem's rootedness in the material and social world is its treatment of spatiality. The poem is permeated with the movement and spaciousness characteristic of the lives of the rural poor. The leech gatherer's activity is set within a solemn vastness, which not only emphasizes the enormous distances he travels but also heightens the solitary nature of his existence. Throughout the poem, Wordsworth describes the landscape in which his movements occur as a "lonely place," a "lonesome place," "lonely Moor," a "naked wilderness," and a "weary moor." As well, the leech gatherer's origins are startlingly undefined: he appears to the

poet as "a Man from some far region sent" (118), "far from all house or home" (156).[2] Clearly "troubled" by the old man's existence, the poet remarks: "In my mind's eye I seem'd to see him pace / About the weary moors continually, / Wandering about alone and silently" (136-138). The poet himself is similarly a wanderer—"I was a Traveller then upon the moor" (15), he tells us: "My course I stopped as soon as I espied / The Old Man in that naked wilderness" (57-58). However, the poet's own experience of wandering allows him only to imagine the leech gatherer's physical journeys in his "mind's eye"; the actual extent and shape of that "continual" movement associated with vagrancy, is not, in its boundlessness, fully comprehensible to him.

Wordsworth, however, establishes a more complex spatiality in this poem. While it is characterized, on the one hand, by this barren and incomprehensible vastness within which the leech gatherer moves from pond to pond, in search of a few tiny leeches whose numbers have "dwindled long," the poem is also marked, on the other hand, by a contrasting conception of space, in which this rural labourer, while diminished by his solitary travels in an expansive and "lonely moor," is also an enduring figure within it. Wordsworth sets the leech gatherer firmly in the spatial foreground, as a monumental figure filling the poem's canvas, as it were. As Gary Harrison observes, Wordsworth's representations of labours replace the "picturesque 'long shot'," more typical in the eighteenth century, with "a potentially disturbing 'close up' shot": his "poetry substitutes for the panoramic distance a disturbing proximity where the spectator comes face to face with the poor" (566). Wordsworth's critics in the early nineteenth century, Harrison continues, were "not fully prepared to grant the marginals and outcasts of their society a sense of character and history . . . and a place within the privileged space of the lyric poem" (575-576). The deliberateness with which Wordsworth achieves that "close-up shot" is evident in both the poet's physical proximity to the leech gatherer and the subtlety with which he is then able to

[2] The second quotation in this sentence comes from "The Leech-gatherer," not "Resolution and Independence."

observe his movements. "My course I stopped," he explains, as he encounters the old man: "Close by a Pond, upon the further side, / He stood alone" (57-60). Further reducing that small distance between them, the poet tells us, "To the Pool's further margin then I drew; He being all the while before me full in view"; and he ultimately draws right "to his side" (62-63, 90). From this proximity, his activity is comprehended now not as gross movement across great distances but as minute and subtle motion: "he the Pond / Stirred with his Staff, and fixedly did look / Upon the muddy water, which he conned, / As if he had been reading in a book " (85-88). "Motionless as a Cloud the Old Man stood," the speaker tells us, noting how, paradoxically, the subtlety of the leech gatherer's movement, like a cloud's, is almost imperceptible, a virtual stillness. That Wordsworth gives the leech gatherer a "privileged space," as Harrison puts it, as an enlarged figure in the poem's foreground, as it were, is evident in the series of metaphors that elaborate the poet's first "view" of the old man:

> As a huge Stone is sometimes seen to lie
> Couch'd on the bald top on an eminence;
> Wonder to all who do espy
> By what means it could thither come, and whence;
> So that it seems a thing endued with sense:
> Like a Sea-beast crawl'd forth, which on a shelf
> Of rock or sand reposeth, there to sun itself.
> Such seem'd this Man[.] (64-71)

While these metaphors, as some literary critics have suggested, seem to strip the leech gatherer of his humanity,[3] they also serve, on the contrary, to counteract the instability of his existence—his old age, poverty, and "Employment hazardous and wearisome!"—as images of permanence and monumentality: a "huge Stone" "couch'd" on "an eminence"; a "Sea-beast crawl'd forth" on rock or sand. Wordsworth bestows the leech gatherer with permanence and dignity not only

[3] Jared Curtis, for instance, writes that "Wordsworth's old man is lifted out of the immediate circumstances" through the poet's imagination (110).

through this spatial proximity and monumentality, but also through the old man's speech, which is curiously more suitable to a poet than to one who labouriously stirs the waters of ponds:

> His words came feebly, from a feeble chest,
> Yet each in solemn order follow'd each,
> With something of a lofty utterance drest;
> Choice word, and measured phrase; above the reach
> Of ordinary men; a stately speech! (99-103)

While literary critics have argued that Wordsworth demonstrates his insensitivity to the leech gatherer's condition, turning this encounter with the old man into a self-encounter, Wordsworth, I would argue, arrives at this rather dignified representation of the leech gatherer precisely because of his engagement with the material conditions of rural labourers. "Resolution and Independence" exemplifies Wordsworth's recognition that globalization, a process extending at least as far back as the eighteenth century, has produced, as David Harvey argues, "increasing abstractions of space" (295), and these abstractions, in turn, have prompted a search "for secure moorings in a shifting world." In his treatment of the leech gatherer as both a victim of contemporary material conditions and an emblem of human fortitude and permanence, Wordsworth acknowledges the spatial complexity associated with economic and social change, which he expresses by coupling the figure's movement in a vast and disorienting space with a close-up and "full . . .view" of his monumentality as a human being.

The spatial complexity that underpins Wordsworth's depiction of the leech gatherer's existence as migrant rural labourer is expressed with striking similarity in Millet's The Gleaners (Fig. 1). The painting, like Wordsworth's poem, has its foundation in the artist's keen observation of contemporary social life, in this instance, of peasant life in the agricultural region of Barbizon, where Millet settled in 1849, after receiving his academic training as a painter at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. As art historians have pointed out, his work must be understood

as an effort to bring together his classical academic training, particularly its emphasis on the careful rendering of the human figure, with his humanitarian compassion for uprooted and displaced peasants—an effort, that is, to create a new "visual language to express these marginal figures" (Murphy, Drawn 11). His drawings and paintings, as T.J. Clark observes, constitute a "systematic description" of the "key tasks and situations" of the members of a social class struggling for survival (80): the winnowers, sowers, shepherds, wood cutters, faggot gatherers, diggers, and, in this work, gleaners. Unlike his contemporary, Gustave Courbet, Millet was not a radical socialist who sought to bring about social change through his art; rather, as art historians explain, he was a compassionate humanitarian who represented the age-old struggle among peasants for survival, "a struggle," he felt, that "would continue forever, unchanged. Millet was a fatalist," Robert L. Herbert writes, "who found no possibility of reform" ("City" 47). Millet, however, was greeted by his contemporaries as a reformer. The appearance of his works coincided with the period between 1848 and 1852, when the peasantry in France had become a radical force, and paintings such as this one raised fears among Millet's viewers that his art sought to incite peasant revolts. That Millet continued to exhibit his work at the Salon, in spite of its radical appearance, is a testament to the strength of his academic training, for he expressed his social message within the rules of the academy: the emphasis on compositional skills, refined drawing, realistic figures and a colouristic range (Murphy, Drawn 15). Indeed, the formal qualities of art—particularly the handling of figures in space—provide Millet with a pictorial language that enabled him to create powerful symbols of "wronged humanity" (17). Millet's human figures—those who have been marginalized by society—are placed not in the painting's background, at a comfortable distance from the viewer, as painters in the eighteenth century, or even John Constable, in the early nineteenth century, had done, but rather in the foreground, in

"full . . . view," as Wordsworth writes of the leech gatherer, and dominating the picture space. Moreover, Millet's use of space, like Wordsworth's, is characterized by its complexity: while his figures occupy a disturbing proximity to the viewer, they are also set within a spacious landscape, a spaciousness that he creates through his "structural simplicity." That space, in many of Millet's works, is "the broad plain of Barbizon," where Millet could "place . . . a human form against the flat horizontals of land and sky" (Herbert, Millet 81).

The centrality of space to Millet's expression of the human condition is evident in both paintings and drawings that preceded The Gleaners. In his oil painting Harvesters Resting (Fig. 2), exhibited in 1853, Millet depicts the subject of gleaning. Based on the Old Testament story of Ruth and Boaz, in "The Book of Ruth," the painting portrays a community of harvesters on the right, with Ruth, the gleaner, on the left, welcomed into that group, as the outstretched arms of Boaz, next to her, indicate. Originating in biblical times and continuing into the nineteenth century, gleaning was the right of members of a rural community, particularly those most in need, to follow behind the communal harvest to collect and keep the stray blades of grain that escaped the reapers' sheaves. In "The Book of Ruth," gleaning is celebrated as a virtue, not condemned as rural poverty; Ruth, a widow, dutifully supports her aging mother-in-law by "glean[ing] from early morning without rest," we read in the biblical account, and Boaz, in whose fields she labours tirelessly, desires that she be recompensed for her goodness and invites her to join the harvesters' noonday meal, ensuring also that they will share their sheaves of wheat with her. Millet portrays this biblical story, depicting Ruth not as a social outcast but as a member of that community, and the towering haystacks that close off the picture space enhance that intimacy. Ruth, moreover, as her size and placement suggest, is not distinguished from the others, but rather seemingly an equal among them.

In one of the pencil drawings executed as a study for The Gleaners (Fig. 3), completed the same year that that he exhibited Harvesters Resting, Millet portrays three women who are actively gleaning. In this work, he adds the bent posture necessary for gleaning and conveys rather forcefully the tiring quality of their work. As Alexandra R. Murphy points out, "the parallel poses and outstretched arms of the women picking up grain . . . emphasize their forward movement," powerfully suggesting "that they must continue across the entire field in this position to acquire the few blades of grain [we see] in their left hands" (Millet 77). While Millet conveys that sense of movement of the tired women, he also places them remarkably close to the harvest; in effect, the gleaners are not separated from the harvesting activities. Again, the towering haystacks, as well as the vertical format of the drawing, create an enclosed space, minimizing the sense of distance the women travel for their meagre reward and suggesting that the gleaners, in their proximity to the harvesters stacking grain on the haystacks, are hardly removed from the bounty of the harvest.

The painting The Gleaners (Fig. 1), however, embodies a more poignant social message, one that suggests a progression from his earlier works, for he depicts, here, not the "harmonious community" of labourers represented in The Harvesters but rather a "sundered community" (Murphy, Drawn 24), in which the gleaners are set in striking isolation from the harvest. The women are brought to the foreground and the harvest is now pushed deeper into the distance: a broad, flat space, accentuated by Millet's use, now, of a horizontal format, separates the wealthy farmer, with his many workers and seven stacks of hay, from the poor peasant women. Again, the angle at which we view the three women, with their outstretched arms, indicates their relentless forward movement across this large open field. The women's bent poses, like the leech gatherer's, accentuate their fatigue, and the symmetry with which Millet portrays the

movements of the three figures "expresses the habitual nature of their task, a symmetry that is mockingly repeated . . . in the wagon and haystacks to the rear" (Herber, Millet 85-86). That Millet is emphatic in his expression of a disorienting spaciousness within which the gleaners work is evident in his depiction of an expansive skyline that touches the tip of the woman's head on the right, effectively "lock[ing] her" to the ground—to that broad horizontal plain where she is forever destined to labour. Millet, as Alexandra R. Murphy has written, "sought the most telling gesture of a task, subordinating background incidents to a timeless image joining work and worker inseparably" (Millet 43). In "isolate[ing] a single figure at his [or her] task," that is, in "concentrating on a gesture and a pose that monumentalize that activity" (47), Millet, like Wordsworth, renders a complex spatiality. The women, clearly, are monumental figures: robust in appearance and individualized in their three distinct poses. As Robert L. Herbert observes, they embody "the sculptural cadences of older art: one senses Poussin and, further back, the great weights of Parthenon sculpture" (Millet 84). The curves of the women's bodies and the sweep of their active arms embody "Michelangelesque gestures" ("City" 46), an indication not only of Millet's classical training and admiration for the Old Masters but also of his desire to invest his peasants with a sense of endurance and timelessness: "secure moorings in a shifting world." That Millet further explored this pictorial approach to his depiction of rural peasants is evident, finally, in Man with a Hoe (Fig. 4), exhibited in 1860. In his three great paintings of the 1850s, Millet moves from a depiction of "harmonious community" in The Harvesters, to a "sundered community" in The Gleaners, to intense "human isolation" in Man with a Hoe (Murphy, Drawn 24). Here, within a barren and spacious landscape, reduced to its essential elements, Millet creates a figure who is both diminished by the broad horizontality of the flat

plains within which he labours and simultaneously, in his monumental presence, fully in command of that space.

While Wordsworth' "Resolution and Independence" and Millet's The Gleaners hardly constitute a generalization about the depiction of rural labourers in artistic works of the first half of the nineteenth century, they provide at least a starting point for further exploration of artists' conception of the increasing inseparability of social transformation and spatial change. On their own, these two works do constitute some measure of broadness: the inclusion of both literary and visual modes, England and France, the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, and male and female labourers. In effect, Wordsworth's "Resolution and Independence" and Millet's The Gleaners provide the basis for at least a tentative assertion that poets and painters sought to record what they perceived as the increasing displacement, and counteractive placement, of figures in rural space during the first half of the nineteenth century. Their works exemplify the emergence of a new attentiveness in artistic works of the period to the spatial complexity of globalization, a complexity that, as these two works suggest, entailed both an unprecedented enlargement of human communities and the search for permanence—a space of individuation, in David Harvey's words—within that disorienting flux.

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Reclaiming the Oral:
The Connection of Nationality and Gender to Anna's Spiels in
Susan Swan's *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World*

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While my presentation does not address the theme of globalization head on, it does look at how one author shaped a literary representation of relations between the nations of Canada and the United States. In a time when global, political rhetoric frequently focuses on the divisions between cultures creating an us vs. them style of discussion, I feel an understanding of how relationships between nations are represented in literature is important. Susan Swan's novel *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World* is a fictionalized biography of Anna Swan, an nineteenth century Nova Scotian Giantess who moved to New York in order to earn a living as a performer with the use of her extraordinary body. Within *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World* Swan portrays Anna's desire to be acclaimed as a legitimate actress, known for her theatrical ability as well as her size, but her career in theatre was solely confined to the sideshow. I am using the term sideshow to cover all areas where the abnormal body was displayed for the amusement and terror of paying audiences including circuses, carnivals, actual side shows and places such as P.T. Barnum's American Museum in New York. The sideshow existed on the margins of theatricality where the abnormal human body, those bigger or smaller than normal, with fewer limbs or extra hair, was presented as a spectacle to be viewed by a paying public. Within *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World*, the American, oral narrative form of the sideshow spiel is subverted and used as a tool to break down cultural binaries that posit the abnormal body, the feminine and the Canadian in opposition to the normal body, the masculine and the American.

The sideshow spiel exists as an oral narrative form and was developed and honed in the United States of America in the 19th and early 20th centuries during the heyday of sideshows, circuses and carnivals. Deborah Tannen explains that "sideshow pitches were constructed in ways similar to those identified … for oral epics: formulaic phrases woven together in a flexible but structured sequence to yield a text that sounds memorized because it is astoundingly fluent" (371). The traditional sideshow spiel consists primarily of the words spoken by the male barker in order to entice the circus and fair going public to gawk at the people and animals on exhibit in the sideshow. As well, once the members of the public have paid their fee to view the exhibits, which would have included people with varying kinds of extraordinary bodies, including the obese, the very tall and the very short, bearded ladies, conjoined twins and frequently people missing limbs, the sideshow barker would spiel off a script describing, in always exaggerated and false terms, the origins and lives of the sideshow exhibits. Rachel Adams explains that

> Whereas once human prodigies were treated as the bearers of divine meaning, by the nineteenth century freaks [the term she uses to refer to those with what would have been considered abnormal bodies] had no inherent significance, although their abnormalities seemed to cry out for interpretation. As a result they required narratives about exotic places, miraculous events, or horrifying accidents that might have coherence to bodies that otherwise suggested an intolerable fragmentation and dissolution of meaning. (Adams 5)

Sideshow performers were given new histories and new lives through the spiels of the barkers because their histories had to be as exotic as their bodies or the distance the viewing public felt from the sideshow performers would be significantly decreased. Frequently the performers had

no say in what was being said about them by these men who controlled how they were viewed by the public and rarely, if ever, did the histories presented in the spiels relate to the actual lives of the performers.

Swan creates a very different kind of spiel within *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World*. Many of the spiels re-created in this text are presented as the words of an exhibit herself and unlike the spiels spoken by a barker, Swan gives Anna her own voice and allows her to express herself directly to the public that views her both inside and outside the venue of the sideshow. This direct interaction with the public was not unheard of in actual sideshows, but Adams suggest that it was usually the result of unruly crowds or one or two persistently rude audience members. She explains that "The customer is expected dutifully to absorb the spieler's monologue while gazing at the prodigious body in awestruck wonder, then mak[e] a docile exit. However, historical evidence reveals how rarely this theory was realized in practice for sideshows were hardly spaces of restraint or decorum, and things seldom go as planned: freaks talk back" (Adams 13). Swan presents Anna as unafraid to speak back to her audience, especially during her early years traveling from fair to fair during harvests in Nova Scotia, and as retaining that ability to speak her mind in any forum. Anna also is presented as spieling for herself while she works in P. T. Barnum's American Museum, although Swan says Anna's spiels while at the American Museum are written by her manager Apollo.

Barnum, as many of you may know, existed as a historical figure and is one of the most well known names associated with the exhibit of abnormal bodies. His American Museum was a successful and profitable business and he frequently took his performers on tours through the United States and Europe. Johanna Gibson explains that despite his notoriety, or perhaps

because of it, Barnum has the most creative, and fictitious histories written for the people he employed.

> P.T. Barnum…used to fabricate whole cultures, often employing African-Americans to pose as Zulus, 'cannibals,' and 'savage' barbarians, creating outlandish stories about their 'discovery' and 'capture.' The Wild Men of Borneo, for example actually grew up on a farm in Ohio. In such cases, the freak show promoted itself as a scientific and educational presentation, providing the visitor with what was apparently a vision of a 'native' way of life. The people exhibited were constructed as the living specimens 'taken from nature,' and re-presented in reconstructions of their 'natural' habitats. (Gibson 141)

The people working for Barnum were never what they were said to be and his American Museum was about image and not education. Frequently the spiels taken as truth by audiences attending performances by Barnum's troupes would be discredited years later. Within *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World* Barnum is very similar his historical portrait. Swan shows him to be focused on making money and drawing in crowds, which makes Anna's speeches even more extraordinary. Her ability to speak for herself breaks down the social hierarchy created by the spiel. Her abnormal body does not need to be translated to an audience through the words of a barker and Swan gives Anna a control over the history presented to her viewing public that did not usually exist in sideshows outside of the text.

As well, Swan has Anna spout impromptu spiels while she is in public and this is where Anna, and Swan, make very pointed commentary about the socially constructed prejudices that attempt to construct Anna's role in society for her. This inversion of the traditional binary of barker/exhibit as well as the subjects that Anna includes in her spiels allow Swan to deconstruct

other overarching cultural binaries. Because of the length of this presentation I feel I should only focus on one of Anna's spontaneous spiels and her first spiel to Barnum, while she and her mother are in labour negotiations with him, seems to me to be one of the most pertinent representations of how Swan constructs the relationship between the Canadian and American National identities.

When Barnum questions the technological and medical achievements of "the Canadas" as Anna terms Canada, Anna immediately starts to lecture him in "the forthright lecture voice I used to divert jesters when I stood on my overturned tub at the country fairs" (Swan 68). Anna goes on to "clear up some misconceptions about the Canadas, which are thought to be a technologically backward dominion, important only as a massive exporter of wheat and timber" and because her lecture developed out of Barnum's disbelief that Canada could create a cough syrup to rival those created in the United States says "the Canadian cough drop is unequaled as an oesophageal elixir, and if administered in regular doses, along with maple leaves, our pills produce a calming side effect. In time, the user will exhibit an agreeable tendency to avoid confrontation and seek consensus instead" and eventually ends with the self-effacing statement that "Of course, I can't speak for all of my dominion" (Swan 68-69). Within this spiel Anna, and Swan, construct a very interesting idea of how Canadians view themselves in relation to their Southern neighbours. Barnum with his casual assumption that anything from another country would be inferior to an American product causes Anna to leap to the defense of her country and its technologies, but she uses the sideshow spiel format to convey her defense, which problematizes the lecture. The genre of the spiel with its connection to hyperbole and disconnection from truth suggests that Anna is both trying to educate and trying to dupe Barnum about the nature of Canada, in much the same way, to bring in a current representation from

recent history, Rick Mercer's television special *Talking to Americans* uses the legitimate genres of the petition and the news interview to get average Americans to support completely ludicrous ideas about Canada, such as signing a petition for the Canadian government to stop abandoning the elderly on ice flows. Anna is self-congratulatory in tone when she suggests that Canada has superior conflict resolution skills and methods, but does not suggest that these skills and methods are inherent to Canadians, instead suggesting that they are the side effects of a superior cough syrup.

Swan makes Barnum a metaphor for an America unwilling too look beyond its borders for solutions to its problems, but does not suggest that Anna's solutions should be taken too seriously because of the tone Swan has Anna deliver them in. Here the Canadian perspective, in the form of Anna's lecture, is not intended to be taken seriously by the reader, which speaks to a Canada that does not take itself seriously even in its own defense.

Smaro Kamboureli suggests that this inadequate defense is a failure on Anna's part and due to her inability to abandon the masculine oral narrative of the sideshow spiel. She says: "Obviously, and to her credit, the sixteen-year-old Anna wants to assert her Canadianness, which she fears is threatened by Barnum's enterprising will. But if she succeeds at all as a Canadian here, her young female voice is totally consumed by the male rhetoric she employs" (7). What Kamboureli sees as a failure due to the language Anna uses to create her lecture, I see as Swan's attempt to problematize the ever shifting Canadian identity.

This is not a question of whether Anna succeeds as a Canadian, but instead her spiel to Barnum should be read as a subversion of the language forms used to characterize her, and other exhibits in sideshows, and a success based on her willingness to speak for herself and her country even if her mode of defense is ironic and comic. Teresa Heffernan points out that

> Anna's ironical commentary is also self-directed, for she has traveled to New York (in keeping with the artistic drain from Canada to the United States) precisely to seek the fame and fortune which she cannot attain amid the "harmless" Canadians. Anna's employment of irony disrupts the dominant/other dichotomy. In this exchange with Barnum, she provokes and challenges the American while acknowledging her own frailties. This impure intersection between two oppositional ideologies allows for the possibility of a critical tolerance or a negotiated space instead of alienation of or dominance over what is perceived or constructed as "other." (Heffernan 27)

Anna's critique can only be read as both self and Barnum directed because she is in New York to meet with him and gain employment at his American Museum. Swan is not attempting to invert the binary that Barnum has created that positions the American as superior to the Canadian, but instead wants to suggest that a binary opposition between the two countries is unnecessary because neither can be seen as superior to the other: ignorance of those outside yourself is neither better nor worse than an ironic view of yourself and others.

Anna's gender and age are also significant. While she is allegorically speaking as Canada to the United States, she is literally speaking as a teenage girl to an adult man. Anna proclaims her legitimacy as a woman when she corrects Barnum and differentiates herself even from her own mother who, as Anna explains, "was looking up mortified at the way I was drawing attention to myself" (Swan 70). She attempts to explain herself to her mother saying: "Momma, I was making your point about Yankee ignorance" but is quickly reprimanded by her mother who follows a more restrictive code of conduct and says "Don't you know it's rude to poke fun?" (Swan 70). Anna claims a space for herself within the discourse that Barnum, one of

the most well known people associated with the display of abnormal bodies, would understand: the discourse of the sideshow. As her mother says, it is rude to poke fun, but Swan has Anna make a spectacle of herself and Barnum during her impromptu lecture and as such is not simply inverting traditional gender dichotomies.

It is also important to remember Anna's size and the amount of physical space she is claiming for herself during this spiel. Anna is much larger than both her mother and Barnum and because of this stands apart from either the femininity represented by her mother or the masculinity represented by Barnum. Anna's size sets her apart and in a sense she is always a spectacle, but her words are what draw attention to Barnum and his views and include him in the spectacle that is her life.

The history of the sideshow spiel is not well known because, as understanding of abnormal bodies rose, the sideshow went out of vogue and the primarily oral sideshow spiels that attracted a viewing public were decreasingly necessary. The nature of the sideshow spiel and its connection to exaggeration and fiction make it an oral form which lends itself well to the ironic and subversive. Swan gives Anna voice through her recreation of the sideshow spiel something which was not the standard but also not unheard of in actual sideshows; however, the genre of the spiel forces the reader to become critical of everything Anna says and to read the words Swan ascribes to Anna with an eye for the ironic. *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World* does not invert a binary that posits the American as superior to the Canadian, or the feminine superior to the masculine, but uses the format of the sideshow spiel to problematize the relationships of these previously oppositional groups.

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Trade as an agent of change: Globalization and the fair trade movement

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1. Introduction

The international fair trade movement is an alliance of small producers and consumers of commodities and handicrafts that seeks to promote social change by ensuring adequate prices for producers and good quality products for consumers. This movement puts the principles of fair trade on the global agenda, and allows individuals and groups to be involved in the fair trade of a small number of products and to participate in a global discourse about what such relations can and should be.

The fair trade movement links producers and consumers through various organizations. Examples abound: from associations of farmers and artisans in the South, to small and medium retailers in the North, from putting a pro-fair trade question on the civic ballot in Berkeley, California, to repeated lobbying efforts to convince universities to bring fair trade coffee and clothing to their campuses.

The goal of this paper is to examine popular and neoliberal understanding of fair trade in the context of sociological theory. I will discuss various theoretical modes of social movements and suggest that the fair trade movement is defensive, according to Habermas' definition. I will also analyze the spread of the popular fair trade movement using diffusion of innovation theory.

2. Neoliberal trade, fair trade, and their critics

1. Neoliberal views of trade

According to Solomon (2001), neoclassical economists believe that trade is fair and that all parties benefit from it. It is efficient because parties have different resources and value them differently, creating room for exchange. Maximizing trade benefits countries, firms and consumers; protectionism is counterproductive. Export-led growth, they argue, is central to development, and development leads to higher labour and environmental standards (Jones, 2001, p. 518).

Neo-mercantilists promote fair treatment of states and firms; a level playing field means that no party engages in predatory tactics. Protection of industries through tariffs or other means is sometimes necessary although it means reduced utility. The anti-dumping school, opposed to sending goods to foreign markets for sale at low prices in order to maintain prices at home, sees trade as legitimate as long as no party gains an unfair competitive advantage by lowering wages or environmental standards. Proponents of this point of view explain that the global economy's liberalized trading environment encourages capital to move to areas with lower standards. They support labour's right to organize and argue for minimum environmental standards (Jones, 2001, p. 518).

Bhagwati (1999) defends multilateral trade agreements, arguing that the developing world has the most to gain. If not for such agreements, he says, there would be many bilateral talks where hegemonic powers would "play their own games of divide and rule," something less easily done at multilateral talks (OECD, 2001, p. 50). He fails, however, to explain how having many powerful countries at the same table would protect the powerless.

Bhagwati (1999) criticizes those who would impose social agendas on trade institutions (p. 3). Thinking as an economist, he wants to see trade advance efficiently and fully as a moral force for good since, he claims, the world's millions cannot be rescued "from continuing deprivation and poverty without pursuing wealth-generating policies." He further states that growth "will likely

induce values and institutions such as democracy and respect for human rights." Thinking as a citizen, however, Bhagwati wants to see the advance of social and human rights agendas (p. 11). He fails once more to acknowledge that free trade, with its focus on efficiency, does little to promote those agendas.

World Trade Organization (WTO) Director-General Michael Moore says that rich countries should open their markets to developing country exports (agricultural goods, textiles and clothing) and developing countries should reduce their trade barriers. Doing so would boost the world economy by more than $600 million, he says, and developing countries would benefit more by expanded trade than they would with international aid (OECD, 2001, pp. 50-1). He stops short of saying what percentage of that amount would actually reach the developing countries. The current impasse over agricultural subsidies at the WTO's Doha round of trade talks shows just how little influence the developing countries have (*The Economist*, Mar 29, 2003).

Brazil's recent experience shows the shortsightedness of neoliberal advice. Liberalization set the stage for the country's economic growth, but imports have grown faster than exports and agricultural trade has grown only half as fast as trade overall (OECD, 2001, p. 51). If a large, relatively advanced developing country such as Brazil receives such limited benefits, and if developing countries are urged to continue to export textiles and agricultural products rather than diversify, how can they hope to catch up? Are Moore's suggestions for trade concessions by rich and poor countries of the same magnitude? Is Bhagwati's optimism for the likelihood of economic growth to engender democratic values well founded? Many proponents of the popular understanding of fair trade believe they are not.

Nowhere in the recipes for liberalized trade can one read about those who do not benefit: small producers, artisans and labourers involved in an often-desperate struggle to survive.

Neoliberal trade theory does not acknowledge the economic and social benefits created by farmers employing sound environmental practices, by cooperative organizations where women learn leadership skills, or by sending children to school instead of, or even as well as, to work. Further, this theory does not adequately account for social and environmental damage.

Bhagwati (1999) argues against "advancing social agendas by linking them to trade" (p. 7). Although products from countries that violate civil and political rights or unethical companies may be refused, trade will not change those practices and the subjective nature of morality could be chaotic. He concedes that a majority of countries in the WTO or the United Nations could impede or even halt a country's trade for moral reasons (p. 10) but such action is seldom taken. Although linking moral issues to trade could bring them to light, he says, trade would be "clutter[ed] up and slow[ed] down," affecting competitiveness. It would be more efficient to reap the gains of freer trade and pursue other agendas elsewhere. He concedes, however, that the international institutions responsible for pursing those agendas are not equipped to do so, acknowledging that exposing unfair policies can harness moral pressure for change.

2. A critique of neoliberal trade

Who will pursue Bhagwati's "other agendas" if they are not linked to trade? The European Fair Trade Association (EFTA, 2001) explains that corporations, not states, are the main players in international trade. States are merely their guarantors and their sales representatives in international diplomacy, "and often their financing bodies as well" (p. 11). In contrast, the fair trade model attempts to treat all parties to a transaction fairly, and it challenges the dominant form of modern commercial practice.

EFTA describes fair trade as a partnership, "based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade" (p. 24). It offers better trading conditions to disadvantaged producers and workers in the South and helps them secure their rights. Fair trade organizations are backed by consumers who support producers, raise awareness and campaign for changes "to the rules and practice of conventional international trade". EFTA's strategic intent is to empower these producers and workers, helping them gain security and economic self-sufficiency, and to play an active role internationally to promote greater equity in international trade (p. 24). This focus on equity and workers' rights describes the vision of a social movement.

EFTA argues that a country's wealth-creating capacity, not its foreign trade, is its major source of development, and its citizens are threatened if trade relations reduce that capacity. Nearly 70 per cent of world trade is carried out among developed countries while the main source of development for developing countries is in the informal sector, which has few connections with world trade (p. 16). Fair trade offers a "humane, democratically accountable and sustainable system of commerce" that protects the rights of people and the environment (p. 14). But can such a system survive in today's neoliberal trading arena? A growing number of people believe it can, and many of them have organized around the popular understanding of fair trade. Instead of advocating that if countries apply free trade "the rest will be granted…as an extra," EFTA suggests establishing a set of global fair principles and ensuring that free trade is consistent with them.

Fair trade rewards small farmers and artisans for producing good products under healthy conditions, and gives consumers access to a limited but increasing array of goods. Although in financial terms the fair trade movement is small, it is not insignificant and involvement in the fair trade market can be a lifeline for economically vulnerable producers. In 1999/2000, for example, EFTA members sold nearly $39 million in handicrafts from some 400 Southern groups. Many were

made by women who were entirely responsible for family income, with the income essential for survival (p. 149). Fair trade coffee farmers sold some 30 million pounds of coffee in 2000 (Global Exchange, 2001), a not insignificant amount but small in comparison to the 165 million pounds of coffee they produced in 2000. As important as sales may be, EFTA declares that it is the fair trade movement's challenge to business (plantation-style monoculture, the hegemony of the "big five" coffee companies, or sweatshop produced soccer balls, rugs and clothing) that allows it to claim membership in the ranks of today's social movements.

3. Critiques of fair trade

The case of fair-trade coffee illustrates problems raised by critical friends of the movement. Meacham (2002) refers to ethical producers who cannot be certified simply because they are too big, and notes that the fair trade price-support system may reduce incentives to improve quality. In their study of the banana industry, Hudson and Hudson (2003) explain that Rainforest Alliance "ECO-OK" bananas are grown under adequate environmental conditions but produced by giant Chiquita Brands International. Once these somewhat environmentally-friendly ECO-OK bananas were sold in Europe, sales of more accurately labeled fair trade bananas, which protected workers as well as the environment, plummeted.

Pendergrast (2002) points to fair trade's failure to address the plight of coffee labourers, much more numerous than small farmers, and suggests expanding the definition to include larger farms that abide by carefully considered criteria, and including non-specialty beans sold for commercial-grade coffee which makes up so much of the market. If it were easy for consumers to buy fair trade or fair-labour coffee at the supermarket at reasonable prices, he suggests, the market

could become much bigger and benefit more producers. Surely this issue will not disappear, and activists will have to confront it if the movement is to thrive.

Finally, and most significantly, LeClair (2002) points out that fair trade may simply prolong the dependence of developing countries on products with poor economic prospects (p. 949). The increased price of handicrafts, textiles and commodities that he qualifies as "artificial" provides an incentive for producers to continue to market these goods "regardless of the relatively poor economic prospects" of producing them in the long-term, he says. Fair traders, he explains, counter this argument by explaining the need to support producers during a transition to goods providing higher returns, and for buyers to encourage them to do just that (pp. 955-56). But if fair trade does what it says is does, and pays a fair price, there may continue be room in the market for many small producers.

In spite of these questions asked by its friends, does the fair trade movement have anything to offer to producers or consumers? Do its activists have common images of the future, or wish to press a common cause? Do producers fighting to preserve their way of life and consumers who want to improve society have overlapping images of the future? Does a movement composed of actors with such different experiences and unequal power share an interest that can lead to autonomy?

Laudable as this activity and its objectives may be, fair trade supporters and critics alike may ask if it is sufficient to define fair trade as a social movement. According to descriptions of social movements proposed by Touraine and Carroll and Ratner, the answer seems to be yes, while it would fail if measured against Habermas' definition. Touraine (1988) argues that social movements transform relations of social domination involving production, agents of cultural change, and resistance to the social system. Carroll and Ratner (2001) refer to collective subjects

who are capable of resisting the "objectifying practices of capitalist marketing and state administration" (p. 609). Habermas (1985) defines the task of defensive social movements as defending and restoring endangered ways of life, while offensive movements have emancipatory potential. The next section will examine arguments put forward by the above-mentioned authors.

3. Theoretical approaches to new social movements

1. Touraine: social movements defined by conflict

Touraine (1988) characterizes groups by the type of conflict they take on in their aim to transform an aspect of society. Collective behaviour defends, reconstructs or adapts a sick element of the social system, or society itself. Struggles are mechanisms for changing decisions and are factors of change and, therefore, are political forces. Social movements, on the other hand, seek to transform relations of social domination applied to production, knowledge and ethical rules. Groups may be involved in one or more types of conflict in constructing reality.

In Touraine's view, collective behaviour can create reform or revolution when rapid social change threatens communities, and occurs when dependent or colonized societies question modern values of growth and development. Today, he explains, the West is seeing the spread of ideas about community and identity that lead to collective behaviour defined in terms of the functioning of the social system, rather than the actors' representations or projects. Collective action is oriented by external constraints and directed by a leader, often a charismatic one. Struggles are limited actions with a common objective, rather than common values. Some struggles lead to changes in power relations but they do not seek to combat a dominant power, even though the actors may wish to have decision-making or political power.

Social movements, according to Touraine, invert the relation between collective action and the social system. They are not a response to social situations; the situations result from conflict between social movements. Today's struggles, collective behaviour, and social movements are independent of each other, and social movements are no longer national in character. Social actors are not nationally defined; they act in the marketplace or other areas of international conflict, defined by technology or economics. The resulting sociological subject is a conscious one. If cultural models turn into social practices through conflicts between opposed social movements, they can become models for the creation of norms, and that implies a conscious subject.

The idea of social movement and class may coincide, he says, but class is a situation and a social movement is the action of a subject or actor. Actors are involved in conflicts, not just contradictions, and a social movement is the action of a social class involved in economic, social and political behaviour. This leads to the idea of representative democracy where political actors depend on and represent social actors. Political debate becomes a struggle that conveys a social movement. Social class-consciousness is present in any conflict over cultural resources; political consciousness translates social movements into political action.

Social movements, then, in Touraine's analysis, are more than agents of cultural change and resistance to the social system. They are agents in the structural conflicts of a social system, and groups may belong to more than one type of conflict as they construct reality. The fair trade movement, made up of conscious actors who seek to make a living as well as to reconstruct certain elements of international trade, and to resist and challenge a culture that seeks material gain above all, fits Touraine's description of a social movement. While every movement requires competent leadership and many organizations must, in their initial stages, be headed by multitalented actors,

the fair trade movement depends more on the daily struggle of many than on the collective behaviour or charismatic leadership of a few.

2. Carroll and Ratner: social movements defined by approach

Carroll and Ratner's (2001) divide between radicals and reformists is similar to Touraine's distinction between making change through social movements and reconstructing the social system (Touraine, 1988, p. 63). Touraine says social movement groups take part in transformative action, similar to that carried out by those who Carroll and Ratner call radicals.

Calling all actors "activists" (a label Touraine only uses for those involved in social movements), Carroll and Ratner differentiate between social movements by their approach to building community, meeting constituents' needs, and mobilizing and engaging in collective action for change. A group's project is defined by the way it pursues these tasks rather than by the nature of the conflict itself, and its strategies can be affirmative (reformist) or transformative (radical). Finally, they suggest, a group's counter-hegemonic capacity depends on its practice.

Groups can be involved in both affirmative and transformational activities and, for Carroll and Ratner, the question of which predominates decides their efficacy as a social movement, not whether or not they are one. They ask how a group's political practice contributes to the creation of an oppositional culture. Has it formed itself as a "collective subject" capable of resisting the "objectifying practices of capitalist marketing and state administration?" (p. 608) To answer, they look to how the group takes on certain tasks.

Carroll and Ratner say that social movement organizations (SMOs) must first provide a basis for building identity and community, either by politicizing pre-existing formations or transforming "received identity-scripts." They must resist co-optation of identities by consumer

capitalism while maintaining “openness and permeability” (pp. 608-9) so their discourse may be extended into civil society.

Further, they say, SMOs must provide for their constituencies’ needs. They must make space for themselves by maintaining a social base and innovate to meet the constituency’s needs and empower it at the same time, or risk losing community support. They must “elaborate a repertoire” of collective action for cultural and structural change that contests hegemonic relations and practices. Finally, they must innovate to present their interests in a way that represents a clear break from dominant practice and “resonates with other progressive struggles” (p. 609).

Carroll and Ratner question whether the SMOs proposed remedies to injustice are affirmative or transformative. Is its orientation towards affirming the values of a stigmatized identity, or undoing the basis of that identity? Does it invest more effort in reducing the effects of inequality or in eliminating the basis for it? In this vein, fair trade activists must ask themselves whether a movement that attempts to improve the conditions of trade in unimproved commodities and handicrafts can hope to do more than reduce inequality – if it can do even that. They must also take to heart Carroll and Ratner’s discussion of the importance of providing services to members, maintaining connections with other progressive struggles, and reaching out to society at large.

The fair trade movement does contain elements of Carroll and Ratner’s three tasks: community building, meeting needs and mobilizing for change. It attempts to resist the dominant model’s objectifying practices and provides an alternative to it, is making inroads into civil society and, by doing so, provides for at least some of the needs of the diverse members of its community, an accomplishment that cannot be underestimated. Further, the struggle waged by its members does resonate with and inspire other progressive struggles. But a movement that supports only a fraction of the small farmers and artisans who need it, and is supported in return by relatively few

consumers, risks losing the ability to pose a direct challenge to international trade and, therefore, to transform society.

3. Habermas: new social movements and the lifeworld

Habermas (1985) studies the involvement of social movements in developments "that noticeably affect the organic foundations of the lifeworld" and make people more aware of what is going on in the world around them. Very complex problems, whose scale has put them beyond the citizens' control, are symptomatic of an even greater social ill, the fact that unjust social and economic relations between people and nations can exist independently of the state (p. 394), whether or not the state may be interested in action.

Habermas discusses conflict between a centre interested in maintaining capitalist growth and a periphery made up of heterogeneous groups critiquing it. He refers to historical examples of craftsmen, workers, the populist middle class, and reformers involved in defensive movements. Today, similar groups can be found in the fair trade movement, motivated by a desire to protect what is positive in trade between small producers and consumers (pp. 392-3). Habermas' description of the German "scene" of the mid-1980s includes many of today's fair trade actors: environmentalists, those interested in North-South conflict issues or resisting what he calls "modernist" reforms, and the women's movement.

For Habermas, social movements are offensive or defensive and says that only today's feminist movement, whose claims would overturn "concrete forms of life marked by male monopolies" (p. 393), is an offensive one. But the fair trade movement is striving to overturn forms of life created by neoliberal economic ideas, and a case can be made that it has offensive elements. If feminists would break the sexual division of labour (p. 393), surely fair trade is attempting to

break the economic divide between North and South, or metropolis and hinterland. Movements of resistance and withdrawal may not conquer new territory, but a movement that demands fair working conditions and a fair return for labour does just that.

For Habermas, there is a difference between movements that defend traditional and social rank and those trying out new ways of cooperating and living together (p. 394). The fair trade movement fits the latter category by attempting to create trade that works for everyone. While some fair trade supporters may be interested in acquiring the finest gourmet tea and coffee or the latest organic cotton garments, many others go out of their way to seek out fair trade products, be they imported or locally made. The fact that the fair trade movement is financed by its Northern, more affluent members (unlike the organic movement, which requires farmers to pay the considerable costs of certification) defines a new kind of producer-consumer relationship.

In terms of revitalizing possibilities for expression and communication, especially by the powerless (p. 395), perhaps the ground is more fertile in the South where consumer culture does not yet reign supreme. One reads of people using creativity and humour to describe their bitter experiences and, at least temporarily, to overcome them. In the North, the simple act of buying locally produced food helps reinforce consumers' resolve to think globally. It also puts money in the pockets of small producers, helping keep them in business and large-scale, inefficient agriculture at bay.

The fair trade movement, then, fits the social movement definition even though it is not offensive, according to Habermas' definition. The example of fair trade coffee, which links geographically and socially separated producers and consumers, both relatively powerless participants in the marketplace, shows how effective a social movement can be. When Habermas calls for "the revaluation of the particular, the natural, the provincial, …decentralized forms of

commerce…[and] simple interactions…meant to foster the revitalization of possibilities for expression and communication" (p. 395), he could be describing the project of the fair trade movement. He could be describing fair trade organizations when he calls for alternative practice directed against "profit-dependent instrumentalization of work, …market-dependent mobilization of labour power, [and the] extension of pressures of competition and performance…." His remedy, that "monetarization of relationships" should be "reorganized in a participatory mode, along the lines of self-help organizations" (p. 395), also outlines the challenge to fair trade organizations. They provide modest but meaningful help to small producers while providing consumers with products produced under decent conditions, and challenge dominant ways of doing business.

4. Examples of today's social movements

1. Is fair trade defensive or offensive?

James (2002) lists nine types of non-governmental organizations working on fair trade, including certifiers, importer-distributors and wholesaler-retailers, and faith, environmental, organic, labour and international development agencies (pp. 1, 14-15). Their project conforms to Touraine's types, and is both transformational and affirmative, according to Carroll and Ratner's definition. James' point is not the number of groups involved but the breadth of the critique of unfair trade, reflecting Habermas' warning that a state that allows unfair practices and does not protect its citizens can lose its legitimacy.

Social movements are hybrids, whether they attract members on the basis of their practice or the kind of conflict in which they are involved. Referring to "the greatest catch-22" faced by the poor, Silver (1998) suggests that if they only had the money, "they might successfully organize a movement to ameliorate their conditions" (p. 1). He asks how those with very few resources can

collectively mobilize, and points to the additional challenge of integrating groups with different resources into a social movement with a collective identity. Both problems confront the fair trade movement. Many producers and artisans are struggling to survive and, while some consumers may struggle to pay fair-trade prices, they are generally more affluent than their partners.

The idea that social movements exist if elite funders "galvanize" them, he says, leads to two types of activism: moneyed (and money is the key to using other resources), with its tendency to mainstream protest, and community or grassroots organizing for transformational action (pp. 2-3). A collective identity, Silver says, is important for movements not organizing along class lines, and he questions whether groups can understand who they are without the common experience of economic exploitation.

The fair trade movement does not depend on financing by an elite but does require that supporters pay more than the going price. According to the Fair Trade Federation (1996), identical coin purses selling for $5.00 may return as little as eight cents to the artisan when sold in an import store compared to $1.86 in a fair trade business. Coffee farmers receive US$1.26 a pound for green coffee when the world price is less than 50 cents (Global Exchange, 2001). Sometimes the fair trade and conventional products come from the same source and are distinguished only by the label, with the fair product selling for twice as much. Consumption depends on the consumer's good will or political commitment and, in the case of consumable goods such as coffee, tea or bananas, requires renewed commitment with each purchase.

Social movements must also motivate their members to act in a way that promotes the greater social good. In other words, the fair trade idea must be taken to those predisposed to support it. Although fair trade supporters are not members of a financial elite, they must enjoy a certain economic status to be able to buy fairly traded goods, reducing the number of actors who can "buy

into" the movement. In fact, TransFair Canada, with close to half its revenue coming from license fees that are passed on to consumers, spends roughly similar amounts on certification costs, public education and administration, and seems to have been able to avoid at least some of the elite-activist difference. But grant making, TransFair Canada's other revenue source, is time consuming and can distract activists from their main task. Even though individual fundraising allows some individuals to support activities in which they are unable to participate directly, a social movement must eventually find ways to finance itself.

In their discussion of fair trade, Simpson and Rapone (2000) describe fair trade pioneer Equal Exchange's task as follows:

> …[to] redefine First World consumer culture from a relationship between purchasers and products to one in which consumers are aware of the social, environmental and cultural conditions under which their products are created. This awareness can add meaning to the lives of consumer, potentially enlisting them in a transnational social movement to promote social justice and ecological sustainability (p. 56).

If Equal Exchange, brokers in the relationship between consumers and producers, can redefine even some aspects of North American consumer culture and enlist consumers in a social movement, it must be a transformational one that will lead to radical action, satisfying criteria set out by both Touraine and Carroll and Ratner. It is likely, however, that Habermas would deny that reshaped consumer awareness alone is sufficient to create an offensive movement.

2. Brazil's landless rural workers' movement (MST)

In the late 1970s, peasants from Brazil's landless workers movement (*Movimiento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*, MST) carried out a series of unconnected land occupations.

Eventually, supported by some segments of civil society and inspired by their own courageous actions, their isolated efforts were brought together and the MST was created. Plummer and Ranum (2002) explain that its goals include the struggle for land, for agrarian reform and, ultimately, a more just society (p. 19). Today, according to Petras (2002) it is the best-known rural movement in the world and "the most successful in improving the life of rural families." Its success includes providing for the livelihood of thousands of families whose welfare was ignored by the Brazilian state, and having obliged the Brazilian government to expropriate several million acres of land from major landowners for redistribution (p. 2), an achievement that provides for at least some of its members' present and future needs at the same time.

But a more just society is unsatisfying for those who are hungry. An MST supporter denies that the movement began with "the law to fight for land." Rather, it began with "the concrete necessity of workers for food, for work, for living conditions that are minimally dignified" (Plummer and Ranum, p. 19). Only when there is food on the table and a measure of dignity for workers can the greater political struggle occur. Likewise, MST's temporary gains could not have been maintained without a broader struggle for political and human rights. It teaches peasants about agricultural production and is also active in the anti-globalization movement through international peasants' organizations and resistance to the neoliberal agenda of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (p. 21). MST's history points to the necessity of satisfying people's immediate physical needs as well as their need to participate in society, and to the necessity of affirmative and transformational action being carried out simultaneously.

While the fair trade movement is younger than the MST and must operate across states, classes, and languages, the movements do have some elements in common. Perhaps the most important is the hybrid nature of both programs that combine defensive and offensive action,

providing for members' needs and changing institutional practices. The fair trade movement does not seek to acquire land for landless labourers (and has been criticized for ignoring them) nor does it make an explicit call for agrarian reform. By paying an adequate price, however, fair trade helps keep small farm families afloat and puts fair trade on the international agenda for farmers, consumers and, increasingly, the corporations that exploit them. By bringing producers and consumers together, the movement is stronger because of its diversity.

5. Diffusion of innovation and the fair trade movement.

1. Rogers' description of conventional and new approaches

While the fair trade movement may not yet be a candidate for offensive social movement status, it is important to examine how its message reaches the intended audience. Rogers' (1995) work on diffusion of innovations focuses on the conventional marketplace may also be applied to social movements. Commercial marketing is driven by a desire for profit, and is aimed at the "relatively more elite" (p. 84), whose support for social movements can be problematic. Social and commercial marketers can be "direct adversaries" over issues such as cigarette smoking and bottle-feeding of infants. But societies can, and do, force people to adopt innovations, and impose their will on individual behaviour, although this approach can be unpopular. Social marketing of innovations that promote health and literacy applies commercial strategies to nonprofit products and services (p. 83). But the innovations of social movements challenge the dominant order and, by definition, go beyond providing services.

Not only that, social marketing campaigns often "seek to convince people to do something that is unpleasant." Rogers' actors act in their own interests rather than for some greater good, and he does not discuss instances such as fair trade where most people can be made better off (83). This

may point to the greatest challenge to any social movement: to convince people that their program will lead to a better society. For Rogers, effective social marketing needs adequate funding, competent staff, and sufficient time and research, problems "more formidable than the typical marketing problems facing commercial marketers," (Fox and Kotler, quoted by Rogers, p. 84). Social marketers must compete with powerful, well-funded opposition if their message is to prevail and must devise new strategies to confront it.

If the message is transformational, claiming, for example, that social or cultural institutions must be completely overhauled, social marketing is insufficient for needs provision and community building. It may, however, be able to define a problem and provide a rallying-place for others with similar concerns. But without a program to move beyond education to implementation on a large scale, the fair trade movement will remain marginal, at best.

Rogers says that audience segmentation to reach those most likely to respond to the message, evaluation research, low-priced innovations, and effective communication will make social marketing more effective (p. 85). But the fair trade movement must do this as it wages its campaigns, and turns to the innovativeness of its activist members for the answer. His first step, recognition, points to the importance of the social construction of the need or problem, and he cites the change in attitudes to automobile safety that occurred once the view of "old-guard" decision-makers had changed, the result of a campaign that combined the expertise of scientists with a political process to call attention to the problem.

The international fair trade certification network has enjoyed tremendous growth in a market that usually ignores ethical shopping practices and has inspired many groups to take action. In this way, principles are combined with procedures, taking advantage of the skills, knowledge and commitment of people at both ends of the exchange.

2. The Berkeley Initiative

Many activists are tired of waiting for government action and some have used the state's apparatus to advance their cause. In 2002, citizens of Berkeley, California, brought forward a civic initiative to require commercial establishments to brew only fair trade, organic, or shade grown coffee (City of Berkeley, 2002). Although not on the same scale as the MST land invasions in Brazil, the Initiative was effective, even in defeat, in reaching beyond the self-identified fair trade community, locally and nationally. By describing new cultural ideas about how coffee should be sold in their community, the Initiative reminded people of their own role in creating a better society.

The Initiative sought to "improve the lives of struggling coffee farmers…and ensure the preservation of the natural environment in coffee communities and beyond" (Global Exchange, 2002, p. 1). Even though it had the backing of many social change groups it fell short of both Touraine's and Carroll and Ratner's transformational criteria and was clearly defensive on Habermas' scale.

The attempt to use the ballot is an example of a social movement adopting collective behaviour as outlined by Touraine (1988). Under the leadership of a local lawyer and a development organization, and supported by a collectivity of organic consumers, farm workers, environmentalists and international development organizations, the Initiative represented a social consciousness, similar to the national one Touraine describes (p. 65). It wished to adapt a sick element of the social system, that of commerce gone awry, resulting in impoverished communities and a degraded environment.

Carroll and Ratner (2001) would describe the Berkeley Initiative as affirmative, attempting to satisfy the needs of a constituency while transforming the received-identity script of powerless

Northern coffee consumers buying coffee from even more powerless Southern producers, to one of membership in a community of actors with transformative programs. But in attributing responsibility for the well being of consumers and the environment at least in part to businesses, the Initiative may have been an important step in the development phase Rogers (1995) describes, and lead to future transformation.

Using Rogers' description, the Initiative can be viewed as the activity of people who recognized a problem and researched it through their organizing activities. Armed with this information, they changed an old idea, condoning the use of kinds of coffee that contribute to social ills, into a new one that would require the sale of fair coffee, and attempted to diffuse it through the ballot box.

3. Recent approaches to the diffusion of innovation

Rogers (1995) suggests that the diffusion of an ideological innovation is, more than any other factor, due to interpersonal network links because it does not have "a material referent" and because of its social construction through interpersonal communication with others (p. 313). Two Canadian examples illustrate this point. Oxfam's "Mugged" campaign criticizes the coffee industry, proposes steps to support farmers, and offers resources ranging from on-line help in finding fair trade products to well-researched publications about globalization and how trade could work for the poor (Oxfam, 2003). Save the Children Canada's "Positive Chocolate" campaign documents child abuse in the chocolate industry, outlines children's basic rights, urges Canadians to buy fair trade chocolate and lobby supermarkets to stock it, offers an on-line petition, and solicits funds for its community sponsorship program (Save the Children Canada, 2003). Both campaigns are based on ubiquitous commodities and attempt to educate consumers as well as encouraging them to take concrete, meaningful action.

With greater awareness and demand comes the participation of more actors at both ends of the fair trade equation, leading to a stronger social movement. TransFair Canada, for example, licensed just five fair trade coffee enterprises in 1997; by 2002 there were 89, with tea and cocoa added. While this increase is not unusual in an era of specialty coffees of all kinds, it must reflect the resonance of the campaign and the movement behind it. Coffee sales increased nearly eighteen fold in the four years between 1998 and 2002, when sales were some 395 metric tonnes (Whitby, 2002), although it would be unrealistic to expect the initial rate of increase to continue indefinitely. This modest success can be a base from which to shift the movement's focus from defensive to offensive.

Wejnert (2002) describes diffusion of innovations as the spread of "abstract ideas and concepts, technical information, and actual practices within a social system." Communication and influence increase the probability that "individuals, groups, organizations or national polities" will adopt an innovation. Those with public consequences involve collective actors, including social movements, which are concerned with societal well being, relate to broad issues, and appeal to and engage a broad audience. Adoption of innovations with public consequences can lead to reforms that are "historical breakthroughs" (pp. 1- 2), she argues. The inclusion of more products – from wine to bananas – on the fair trade list is encouraging, although it does not challenge the importance of drugs or oil on the world market.

According to Wejnert, innovations with public consequences are adopted when information and models are uniformly distributed, and when norms, values or expectations reflect widespread and shared understandings of social reality. She points to the spread of mass education, social security systems and models of nation-states. But social uncertainty and conflict can be caused by innovation and these and other costs can exceed the actors' resources, often inhibiting adoption (pp.

3, 6). The challenge for the fair trade movement, then, is to develop a discourse that includes as many sectors as possible.

Strang and Soule (1998) describe political activists attuned to both successes and disappointments (p. 266) that can lead to unanticipated consequences. That supermarket chains now offer inexpensive organic products shows that profitable ideas spread, and leaves observers relieved that organics are finding space in supermarkets but fearful that the initiative may be taken over by profit-making enterprises. With activists having dragged Starbucks into the fair trade arena, they may be pleased with the increased market share but concerned that they demanded too little from Starbucks.

Spread is the key term in a process that embraces "contagion, mimicry, local learning and organized dissemination," and the diffusing item can be a "behaviour, strategy, belief, technology, or structure" (pp. 265-6). While classic diffusion studies dealt with the introduction and adoption of innovations, recent work looks at social movements to explain collective action and the spread of protest symbols and tactics, looking at

> …behavioural strategies and structures rather than technical innovations, emphasizing adoption by social collectivities more than by individuals within them, and working with a much larger historical and spatial canvas, incorporating diffusion as one sort of explanation rather than as the overarching framework (p. 268).

Innovativeness, the "flip side of diffusion studies," examines what makes organizations capable of devising or adopting new technologies and practices. Strang and Soule discuss diffusion from external sources such as the mass media or change agents, and internal sources such as strong or weak network ties, and these processes can operate in tandem or separately (pp. 270-3) and, in the fair trade movement, do so through the media and national and international networks. Overlap with

organic and environmental issues is also important (the “other progressive groups” mentioned by Carroll and Ratner), as the Berkeley Initiative showed.

Strand and Soule also point out that conventional change agents can include the professions or other experts, but in social movements the line between experts and adopters is blurred, and activists can fill both roles (p. 272). Classic research focused on the mass media while contemporary analysis looks to the same kinds of sources, “often viewed more collectively [such as] the national business press or the legal community” (pp. 270-1). Self-help groups using popular networks often bypass conventional actors and are ignored by them.

Internal diffusion occurs as information and influence flow within an adopting population, with networks as conduits. Strong social ties can cause actors to adopt others’ perspectives but may also mean that they “have little to report to each other.” Collective action can also diffuse through weak ties “carrying the news of what others have done” (p. 273), especially if activists are engaged in a multiplicity of issues across sectors. Spatial proximity also facilitates interaction and influence. Culture can also be important and activists can promote the spread of tactics “where relational ties are thin” (p. 275). One challenge to fair traders, then, is to think beyond their traditional allies. Perhaps the very heterogeneity that tends to dilute fair trade’s common interest may increase its potential for diffusion.

Recent attempts to promote fair trade coffee at the University of Saskatchewan have built on earlier local and international campaigns, activists’ personal networks and their experience in other campaigns. The latest initiative is organized by a group of students and backed by Oxfam Canada. Participation in the campaign was an option for students in a class on international health issues, and a few faculty members used their positions to lobby University administration. This

loosely coordinated activity has been endorsed by faculty and student organizations, and fair trade coffee is now offered at the Faculty Club.

Still, according to Strang and Soule, none of the structural bases for diffusion can predict what will diffuse and what will not. Practices diffuse "as they are rendered salient, familiar and compelling through interpretation." Sources and adopters both play active roles in promoting diffusion and discursive frames can enable or disable protest (pp. 276-8). This may explain the potential for movement between Touraine's different types of groups, or between affirmative and transformational action, as defined by Carroll and Ratner. It also may explain the repeated attempts by activists to enlist universities, trade unions, environmental organizations and religious congregations to their cause.

Strang and Soule declare that practices that "accord with cultural understandings of appropriate and effective action" diffuse more quickly than practices that do not. For example, decolonization spread because it "resonated with … models of national community, popular sovereignty and expanded participation" (p. 279). It may be similar to today's spread of fair trade, which many activists characterize as resistance to neocolonialism, because it resonates with models of international and local community autonomy as well as economic sovereignty and participation.

Diffusion operates in cycles, with its tendency to spread counterbalanced by ever-stronger response from the opposition. Strang and Soule describe the diffusion of "new frames of meaning across as well as within movements," citing how the idea of rights spread from the civil rights movement to the women's movement, and its influence on the peace movement. Most practices seem to diffuse through mimetic processes in autonomous organizations populated by rational actors. Once they take hold, local rationality is replaced by conformity to institutional models,

sometimes diffusing “rapidly and indiscriminately” (p. 280), a day to which fair trade activists look forward.

Finally, Strang and Soule point to the need to study practices and tactics that fail to diffuse, a topic that should be of interest to the fair trade movement, still in its early stages and facing an uphill struggle. They contrast the “iconographic immediacy and symbolic power” of some innovations with situations when collective action was repressed (pp. 285-6), and ask how some tactics build solidarity and whether they lead to desired results. With so much at stake at every level of a multi-million dollar industry, repression may come in many forms, but may also strengthen activists’ commitment and lead to further questioning of the *status quo*.

6. Conclusion

Carroll and Ratner (2001) caution that many social movement activists question the effectiveness of using modernist action for political mobilization (p. 14). Indeed, the pressure of providing services while attempting to transform clients into actors, and society into an institution that satisfies everyone’s needs, can be overwhelming. The fair trade movement is making strides towards a time when fairer social and economic relationships will be the norm at the same time that it provides at least some services to its actors.

The fair trade movement is attempting to defend and restore the endangered ways of life that Habermas (1985) describes and, to use Carroll and Ratner’s term, has both affirmative and transformational elements. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine an organization that sees the need for social transformation without providing material assistance to its members as it attempts to effect change. The diffusion of an ethical innovation may pose more vigorous challenges than commercial or “morally neutral” innovations but may also inspire in ways they cannot.

It is encouraging to see that the international fair trade network today includes several commodities (i.e. coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar) as well as handicrafts, textiles and clothing. The independence of smallholders the world over and the willingness of the poor to risk the little they have for a better future may help to explain their willingness to act in order to advance the diffusion of an innovation that affects them and others. Perhaps the most far-reaching consequence to be diffused occurs when, through their participation in social movements, those who have been objects become subjects participating in their own, and society's transformation.

Touraine's (1988) continuum, from collective behaviour, to struggle, to social movements, may be descriptive of a heterogeneous movement that operates across classes and continents but may not advocate strongly enough for transformation. Carroll and Ratner's emphasis on tasks, from building community to meeting peoples' needs to mobilizing for change, describes the work of all social movements but their focus on action leaves the nature of the change unexamined. Habermas' distinction between defensive and offensive movements, while a useful measure for judging today's social movements, may be overstating the difference between them, or may be more applicable in the North where conditions are less polarized than in the South and may be more homogeneous. Surely none of today's social movements has been created for purely offensive reasons, nor is any group so focused on defending itself that it fails to see that society needs to be reformed. Ultimately, no group should ignore Habermas' implicit warning against being diverted from an offensive stance, lest they be consumed by the immediate, short-term needs of their membership and, by focusing exclusively on them, condemn themselves to fruitless struggle.

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Globalizing the Beauty Myth:
Reflections of Colonial Traditions

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Globalization, and associated concerns about sweatshop abuses and exploited Third World countries demand public attention and critical consciousness. For many of us, and by "us" I refer to North American consumers living in relative luxury, a trip to the mall to buy a new pair of jeans or a new lipstick is nothing remarkable. Rather, we experience these purchases as simply a part of our everyday lives. For others among us, our purchases may occur with consciousness about how our consumerism plays a role in perpetuating global social justice. Some of us might be boycotting Walmart because of its American roots or because it sells products made in "Third World"[4] sweatshops. Some of us buy our coffee from fair-trade dealers. I suspect that many of us, though, give little thought to our daily or weekly shopping ventures, thinking of them merely as domestic chores. Whether it is bread or beauty products, our purchases constitute the necessities that make our survival–be it physical or social–possible.

In my research I have focused on a sector of capitalist consumption that affects women in particular–the beauty industry. As I learned about how the beauty industry functions within the context of globalization, I began to see how our consumer roles help perpetuate global exploitation. For example, while I allow daily barrages of media messages to convince me that having the right shade of lipstick is important or that I should really do something about my physical "flaws" (such as wrinkles, fat, or body hair) and that there are products that can help me achieve these worthy goals, some man, woman or child is working a sixteen-hour day in a

[4] The writer recognizes the term "Third World" as problematic in its implication of hierarchy or peripherality, but uses it for lack of a less ethnocentric term. The ethnocentrism of this term will be discussed later in the paper.

sweatshop in Thailand, the Philippines or Mexico to make products that the worker cannot afford to buy. More often than not, the sweatshop worker is a woman, chosen for her "nimble fingers" and "docile nature" (Elson & Pearson, 1997: 193.) As I began to understand the inherently exploitative nature of global capitalism, I felt the pain of my own complicity as a western consumer in the violent machine. However, as I continue to study globalization and beauty consumption, and as my own research unfolds–research that involves talking with other middle-class women like me who buy beauty products-my understanding of the consumer role has expanded beyond a simple binary of exploitative consumer and exploited producer. While, clearly, I live a life of privilege and luxury relative to most of the world, I also begin to see that as a western consumer of beauty products I am a pawn in the capitalist machine.

It is important to note, too, that the paradigm of the privileged, luxury-consuming Western middle-class woman versus the exploited Third World woman producer represents a binary that is, like most binaries, a useful although limited tool of representation. In fact, there are wealthy privileged women living in "Third World" countries and there are women working in sweatshops in the West. However, the categories Western consumer and Third World producer do represent functional roles played in the global capitalist machine. In the course of my research, which involves an examination of the relationship between these two roles, and of the awareness Western women might have about how our consumer roles affect the global picture, I have been learning that we do not generally link our consumptive patterns to the exploitation of producers. Instead, we purchase cosmetics, colognes and fashion clothing as part of the burden of trying to "keep young and beautiful," a costly and time-consuming activity in itself, but one which inevitably supports our primary survival activities. The women I

interviewed have said that they feel their participation in beauty consumption is a necessary part of their social and professional success.

Thus, it seems that as beauty product consumers, we are both agents and pawns in the exploitative globalization of capitalism. As pawns, we are victimized by the beauty industry's predatory messages, perpetuated in advertisements through a variety of media. This kind of victimization is particularly insidious because it is so pervasive that it is generally consumed unthinkingly. Furthermore, patriarchy's acceptance of the idea that it is "natural" for women to enjoy shopping for cosmetics, jewellery, hair colour, and equally "natural" for us to spend enormous amounts of personal resources in the pursuit of beauty, ads to the insidiousness of what Naomi Wolf has called the beauty myth. In fact, what many of us think of as natural is a learned belief system that has been telling us, through daily media messages, that we are inherently inadequate unless we look a certain way. That way, for the most part, is young, blonde, thin, tall, and huge breasted- an appearance unattainable to the majority of women in the world. It is not hard to see whose interests are being served in brainwashing women into internalizing this beauty ideology. Beauty consumers are locked into a patriarchal value system, which is supported by capitalism spread globally.

While capitalism can be seen as a system in which the free market dictates the economy as well as social and political norms, globalization is an extension of this system. Under globalization, which basically means global free trade, national governments are being eroded by economic policies designed to enable and promote trade seemingly at all costs. Globalization, with its associated false notions of a benign "global village" in which the "world is growing smaller," is in fact just another name for the most recent era of colonization.

Globalization refers to economic trends in the past fifty years that have amounted to world-wide free trade. While economic policies like the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have been in place for some time now, the policies of the WTO in 1996 mark the greatest shift in power from governments to corporations. Under these unprecedented economic policies international tariffs have been removed, and trade is privileged over all national, political, social or environmental considerations. This shift in emphasis is often referred to as the corporatization of the global economy, because corporate interests dictate national laws. As under its predecessor, colonization, globalization forces are destroying the integrities of communities all over the world in order to accommodate Western expansionism. This time though, in our post-colonial world, the expansion does not take the form of colonial occupation but of what is becoming known as neo-colonialism, or economic colonization lead by multi-national corporations.

In the colonial era of the nineteenth century, imperial Britain found it was first necessary to destroy a people's existing economy in order to impose on it the values and economic structures of the imperial force. (Beneria & Sen, 1997:43; Charlton, 1997: 10-11.) Likewise, the domestic economies of Third World countries have been destroyed by domestic economies under the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP's) of the 1980's. Under the SAP's the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank imposed economic restructuring on poor countries in exchange for the refinancing of international debts incurred in the post WWII era. (Visvanathan, 1997: 2) These SAPs have included policies that ensure cutbacks in public spending, the privatization of government enterprises and the shifting of manufacturing and agriculture toward export for Western markets instead of for domestic markets (Wiegersma, 1997: 258). The effects of these policies have been deleterious to the most economically vulnerable people, many

of whom are women and children. Thus, SAP's have not only contributed to the further impoverishment of many of the world's poorest people, but they have helped set the stage for the multinational corporations of the globalization era.

Like any colonization, globalization has had huge cultural implications for the colonized. For example, while whole communities' livelihoods and family structures have changed to accommodate the changing work environments imposed by SAPS and multinational corporations, people have also been exposed to American advertising and to American products and the values they represent. Thus, Japanese girls and women now have their eyes surgically altered to appear more western, which is equated with beauty and power (Wolf, 1990: 75.)

The same kind of ethnocentrism motivated the English colonizers to save the "heathens" from their own culture, by means of not only military force but also what Edward Said has referred to as "ideological pacification**"** (Alternative radio, 1993.) Advertising is one of the ways that the colonialists spread their doctrine. The advent of widespread advertising did not occur until the middle to late 19th century, coinciding with the growth of capitalism and the overproduction of commodities that resulted from the industrial revolution. This overproduction of goods was the impetus for capitalists to create a publicly perceived need for the commodity through advertising (Robbins, 1999: 6.) Meanwhile, European colonizers had been usurping lands and peoples *en masse*, creating a greater supply of raw materials as well as markets for the commodities being produced. Thus, right from its inception, the advertisement has played a role in promoting hegemony by imposing an outside ideology on a colonized people.

Figure One

Anne McClintock describes how Pears soap ads from the imperial era promoted not only soap, but the imperialist ideology. "Soap" she says, "was credited not only with bringing moral and economic salvation to Britain's 'great unwashed' but also with magically embodying the spiritual ingredient of the imperial mission itself" (McClintock, 2000, 307.) She interprets a Pears soap ad from the imperialist era (see figure one) in which a white boy benevolently bestows "the precious talisman of racial progress" upon a black boy by washing him with Pears soap. The boy is magically transformed, emerging from the bath-tub with white skin. However, his face, which McClintock calls symbolic of "rational individuality," remains black. Apparently, the ad suggests, the "pale of civilization" can only extend so far.

Said's "ideological pacification" is a term that could also apply to the process that women who view daily beauty advertisements undergo. Most ads use a simple formula aimed at first lowering our self-esteem, then offering to restore us to confidence with a product (Wolf, 1991: 276.) Typically, an ad first suggests that the viewer is lacking in a quality crucial to her success - "do you have dry fly-away hair?" Then it describes a product that is purportedly able to redress the inadequacy: "With product X, say good-by to those horrible frizzies forever!" Naomi Wolf, in *The Beauty Myth*, refers to the following ad for Niosome Systeme Anti-Age cream. Even the product's name suggests that aging is a problem needing to be fixed. The product promises to make up for what the consumer is inherently lacking.

Original Sin

> Q. I am only 12. Do I need NSA?
> A. Yes, definitely. The causes of ageing have already begun, even though the signs may not yet be visible.
> Q. I am over 45. Is it too late to start using NSA?
> A. It's never too late. (Wolf, 1991: 95)

This ad suggests that aging skin is "sinful," and like sin itself, may be invisible to the untrained eye. Even an innocent child of twelve is an ageing "sinner" in need of saving. Like many ads, this one works by creating a fear of physical or social disaster, which may be creeping up on us unaware. The only solution is to buy the product. Because we are inundated with ads like this one in a variety of media every day, ads we barely notice at a completely conscious level, we must assume that we have become culturally indoctrinated to some degree.

Likewise, colonized peoples are brainwashed by the colonizer into believing that their language, religion, economy, lifestyle and entire culture are wrong, that they are "backward" and in need of change. Even a seemingly innocuous term like "developing country" implies that the country in question has not yet attained adulthood, but like a child, is in an immature state. Likewise, the term "development" suggests an absolute and inevitable correct direction in which to "develop." These terms imply that cultural maturity is synonymous with Western power. Likewise, the term "Third World" is problematic in its inference that some countries are on the periphery of the more central "First World" which is the West. Furthermore, some people within the First World live in economic conditions that are similar to those in some Third World areas. Thus, the inevitable interpellation of a colonized people is clear in the language used. Some scholars have adopted the term "two thirds world" to resist imperialist terminology and ways of categorizing people. Instead, this term indicates the two thirds of the world who live in Third World poverty.

The power of white imperialism is wider today than in the past, since the boom in information technologies in the past fifty years. Now, western ideologies are exported *en mass* through advertisements in a variety of media: in particular, radio, television, the movie industry and the Internet. The beauty industry's powerful too,lmedia representation, is further augmented by the patriarchal context in which it exists. For under patriarchy, women's value has long been associated with their appearance. Naomi Wolf speaks about the significance of the association of women with beauty in *The Beauty Myth*.

The beauty myth, Wolf explains, is a cultural narrative in which "beauty" is an objective and universal reality that women want to embody. Men, she says, want to possess the women who embody it. Wolf goes on to argue, however, that "beauty is a currency system like the gold standard" which like any currency is "determined by politics" (1990:12.)

> In assigning value to women in a vertical hierarchy according to a culturally imposed physical standard, it is an expression of power relations in which women must unnaturally compete for resources that men have appropriated for themselves. (Wolf, 1990: 12)

In other words, women must be beautiful to succeed in life, either by attracting a wage-earning man, or a well-paid job.

Colonialism has always had specific repercussions for women. As Maria Mies argues, colonialism, as a capitalist venture, is based in usurping natural means of re/production: the earth and woman (1987:175.) Scholarly analyses of the western colonial era and of recent development projects, has revealed that women from both the colonizing and colonized nations have suffered specifically under westernization. Through globalization, the most recent form of western colonization, and in accordance with modernist discourse, the natural realm is destined

to be dominated by the "strong." What women and the colonies share is that both have been "demoted to the 'realm of nature'" (Mies: 4.) As part of nature, women and Third World countries are considered exploitable resources:

> Women and subjugated peoples are treated as if they did not belong to society proper, as constituted from (male) wage-workers and capitalists. Instead, they are treated as if they were means of production of 'natural resources' such as water, air and land. The economic logic behind this colonization is that women (as the 'means of production' for producing people) and land, are goods that can in no way be produced by capital. *Control over women and land is, therefore, the foundation of any system based on exploitation*.
>
> (Mies:5; emphasis mine)

Mies' argument could be easily extended to include the peoples of colonized lands who have become, under globalization, sources of cheap labour for the capitalist machine, which the beauty myth feeds. Furthermore, the beauty myth as an ideology that feeds beauty advertising is doubly based on the control of women. Their very femaleness is colonized and redefined in beauty advertising. In a system already prejudiced against women, women who do not or cannot conform to social standards of female beauty are doubly disadvantaged.

Globalization, then, is an inherently exploitative relationship between the West and the poorer nations of the world. The exploitation of women is particularly significant in their roles as both primary sweatshop workers and primary consumers of beauty products. Colonialism, as a logical progression of modernism, provides the historical roots of globalization and the theoretical roots of the beauty myth. Thus, the impact of a western-based globalized beauty industry has particularly disturbing implications for women worldwide.

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The Implication of Globalization for Education Leaders

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"Globalization is a coup d'etat in slow motion." John Ralston Saul

The world has been on an evolutionary course since the beginning of time. Small clans of people would migrate to a food source and often come upon other clans. In some instances those encounters were peaceful, but in others, one group chose to overpower the other for survival. They competed for the largest game, which would sustain their clan for a long period of time. Frequently, they would cooperate in acquiring resources, both human and natural, to sustain their own. As humans have evolved, we have moved from those nomadic lifestyles to an agrarian society, to industrial societies, to what we now identify as knowledge based or information societies.

It is imperative in today's rapidly changing societies, to identify the context in which this competition is thriving. Technology has provided North American societies with the ability to communicate more effectively, and therefore acquire information at a tremendous rate. The Information or Technological Revolution is progressively blurring the lines between the public and private sector (Courchene, p. 21). Globalization has been the medium. The dual nature of globalization is economic and institutional, and operates simultaneously and rapidly (Astiz et al, p. 67). Rather than providing the structure for equal distribution of resources, globalization has polarized the wealthy nations from the poor, in an even more dramatic fashion. According to Dale & Robertson (2002), globalization is "a complex and overlapping set of forces, operating differently, at different levels, each of which was set up intentionally, though their collective

outcomes were not uniform, intended, or predicted" (p. 2). Another way to reflect on the term globalization is "not only a passive diffusion, it is also an active, even aggressive, process of social transformation" (Astiz et al, p. 66).

What are the implications of globalization to educators in Alberta, Canada, and indeed the world? How does education fit in to global trade agreements? Does it have a direct effect on teaching and learning? Does it create problems or offer solutions to our educational systems?

Human development is inevitable as people learn, adapt to and with their environment. However, all human development has not progressed at the same rate or with the same conditions. Similar to the clansmen, different societies have sought to exploit the wealth and strength of other clans. In fact, much of human history has been centred on the notion of the global dynamics (Astiz et al, p. 68). The Age of Imperialism in the 1800's had a profound impact on the world as it exists today. The Age of Discovery and colonialism set the stage for the exploitation of resources, both natural and human, in lands far away from home. Much like Charles Darwin's *survival of the fittest*, the world has developed into economic and geographic regions that compete for the world's resources. The strongest are the ones that survive. Many people on the planet would suggest that by operating the world by economic power only, we are not utilizing the most valuable resource the planet possesses- the people.

Global Implications

We don't have to search very far to see images of children starving in third world countries. Non-governmental organizations, like Oxfam or World Vision have been quite effective in sending the message to affluent North Americans that there is a significant portion of the world population that on a daily basis, is starving, exists within a militaristic, oppressive regime, and does not have basic health care or education. We respond in kind, often through

guilt, by sending hundreds of millions of dollars, either through foreign aid, or personal donations, with the sincere hope that the money we are sending is going to the people that need it the most. Yet, we are becoming sceptical. Many arguments surround the notion that the majority of the money is going to support these oppressive regimes, and that very little is going to the people. Arguments have also been given that due to the surgence of homelessness and poverty in our own countries; perhaps we should do something about that first. All of these arguments are valid but miss the basic understanding of globalization. As people of the world start to bridge the gap of humanity, with satellite images and the Internet, we also recognize that the gap is ever-widening. Throughout the world, people are able to see what people in the Northern hemisphere possess and ask, "Why can't I have those consumer products, that freedom, and that lifestyle too?" It is the same scenario that was played out in France prior to the French Revolution and the United States of America prior to the War of Independence. In each case, the people rose up against an oppressive regime and achieved their freedom, equality, and a better standard of living. What is to say that this couldn't happen again? Now, however, people are fighting to maintain their own traditions and way of life. Some argue that the idea of globalization is rather, an Americanization or Europeanization of the cultures of the world (Courchene, p. 28). Are we homogenizing the planet?

The political and economic structures that are in place are creating a widening gap between the haves and the have-nots. Since the fall of communism in the former Soviet Union, governments in the West have systematically decentralized and provided greater opportunities for businesses to operate without regulation. These market-oriented governments have followed the neo-conservative agenda, espousing Adam Smith's capitalist *trickle down* and *invisible hand* theories. These neo-conservative policies are being carried out throughout the world by ideology,

international trade, investment treaties and agreements, as well as international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Kuehn, p. 2). By all rights, the neo-conservative theory would contend that the wealthy would make sure that the structure is in place to sustain society because it is in their best interest to do so. One of the significant flaws to the theory however, is the notion of consumerism. Accumulated wealth is absolutely necessary to feed our consumer need.

Governments have provided the structure for neo-conservative, capitalist policy to exist. Throughout the world countries are forming trading blocks to protect their economic interests. The European Union (EU), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Free Trade Agreement (FTA), North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), both under the WTO, and now the proposed Free Trade of the Americas (FTAA), including both North and South America, have implications for our way of life and the lives of others on the globe. As well, other world organizations, that are political in nature, have a profound impact on the economic well being of planet. Organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the G8, and G20, all provide political and economic endorsement of neo-conservative monetary policy.

Many of the protests that have happened since the protest in Seattle during the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting are a direct result of the seeming inevitability of the growth and accumulated power of these organizations. What makes these organizations vulnerable to protest is that they are not democratic, elected, or open to consultation. Also, they treat social programs, health care and education programs as commodities to be bought and sold (Kuehn, p. 1). As well, these organizations can directly limit the power of a democratically elected

government, through limiting funding and loan restructuring to countries unless they follow the rules and regulations set down by these organizations thereby crippling a country's economy. The IMF and WTO are able, through conditionality, loans, debts, and other strategies, to impose their model not only on the leading nations, but on the whole world. (Dale & Robertson, p. 14) For example, in 1994, the IMF forced Nicaragua's government to freeze social spending (Barbieri, p. 11). As a result, there are a growing number of countries that are allowing for greater private participation in educational enterprises, which are then subject to international trade rules (Kuehn, p. 2).

So, how does education fit into international trade? The World Trade Organization and the World Bank openly endorse the privatization of educational systems throughout the world (Kuehn, p. 2). The WTO has already labelled public funding of educational institutions as a trade barrier, which may be subject to disputes, tribunals or court challenges (Robertson, p. 11). Who would this benefit? The benefit goes to those that can pay and those that will profit. It is estimated that the world's expenditures on education exceeds one trillion dollars (Robertson, p. 11). The potential profit for shareholders of private education businesses is enormous. "[Education] is the last great frontier to be tapped for profit-making ventures" (Kuehn, p. 2). If this market could be opened up to international trade the impact would be tremendous. "The WTO makes a point of naming medical services and education - primary, secondary, tertiary, adult - as services that could be opened up to foreign competition" (Robertson, p. 10). The World Bank developed the World Education Market, held first in Vancouver, Canada, in May 2000, where buyers and sellers of education related goods and services were able to trade their commodities (Kuehn, p. 3).

There have, however, been benefits with the advancement of globalization. "Globalization has given strength and encouragement to democratizing movements in many parts of the world" (Courchene, p. 37). Since the fall of communism in the former Soviet Union, many nations began endorsing democratic principles in electing governments.

Globalization has also offered nations the ability to know and understand the variety of world cultures. With that knowledge people are more willing to support other nations with development schemes. For example, the G8, at the Genoa conference endorsed the *Dakar Framework of Action* for free universal primary education by 2015. As well, the G8 agreed to make progress toward gender equity by 2005. They determined that the quality of education globally should be measured by the achievement of certain learning outcomes (Framework Document for G8 Education Task Force Consultations). Although they were not specific about the funding attached to such a program and the specific learning outcomes that were to be achieved, at least the need to develop the human capital that exists on the planet is recognized. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in April of 2002 outlined an *Action Plan on Basic Education*. "CIDA believes that education is the key to poverty reduction, to sustainable development, and to peace and stability within and among countries" (CIDA, p. 1). This plan is to compliment the G8's recommendations for universal primary education and gender equity.

Another benefit of globalization was the establishment of the G20 in 1999 as an economic council of both emerging and developed nations. This forum gave those emerging nations a voice in determining global economic policy. It also provides a venue for the promotion of economic stability and therefore, system stability.

Globalization will have a significant impact on the way the world operates. We have never before, been closer to what Marshall McCluhan claimed as, *the global village*. We are just starting to realize the implications of globalization on our way of life, and the lives of the others we share the planet with. Education is the next sector that will be impacted. The benefits may or may not be equitable. It will depend on what we choose to do within our own countries and communities.

National Implications

The Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and the United States was a trade agreement to open trade between the two countries and came into effect January 1, 1989. To build on this relationship, the parties entered into an agreement that included the original members of the FTA and Mexico in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on January 1, 1994. NAFTA is consistent with Article 24 of the GATT and prevails over all other trade agreements (Foreign Trade Information System). The implications of NAFTA on public education are wide and varied. For example, in Article 102, the basic principles of national treatment, most favoured nation treatment, transparency, the facilitation of cross border movement of goods and services and the provision of adequate and effective protection of intellectual and property rights are examined (Foreign Trade Information System). The national treatment provision (Article 301) creates an obligation that once goods have been imported into a member country they will not be subject to discrimination (Foreign Trade Information System). Article 1102 explains the basic obligation of national treatment where it provides investors the right to establish an investment on as favourable terms as domestic investors and as favourable treatment as domestic investors after treatment (Foreign Trade Information System).

What this means for public education is that once the private American education market has been imported into Canada, there is no way to turn it away. As well, it is possible that once it has entered Canada, businesses must not be discriminated against in an unfair market. If public education has a monopoly on the market, private imported companies could challenge this as an unfair trading practise and the entire public education system could be subject to the infiltration of the private education market.

DeVry Institute in Calgary is a good example of this. It is a private college, but it has been imported into the publicly funded education system as an alternative to the current Canadian college system. By all rights, under NAFTA, DeVry could challenge the existence of unfair trade practises in Canada and would likely win the court challenge.

Robertson suggests that there are three main objectives to trade agreements including national treatment, the inclusion of services as well as goods in trade agreements, and the principle of no return (Robertson, 2000, p. 9). Canada has entered into trade agreements with a variety of trading partners in APEC, NAFTA, GATT, and the newest, FTAA. We can expect that the conditions outlined in NAFTA would be repeated within these other agreements. One of the greatest arguments against these trade agreements is the apparent exploitation of weaker nations by wealthier ones. “It was not part of NAFTA’s purpose to create a social union between the participating countries; nor was it intended to address the inequalities between them” (Dale & Robertson, p. 21). One could argue that the poor treatment of the economically weaker countries entering into these trade agreements is simply another attempt at colonialization without the cost of management.

Local Implications

All of this discussion regarding global and national implications of globalization has obviously had an impact on the local situation. The rules of the WTO and IMF apply in Alberta as well as Nicaragua and Sierra Leone. The rules of NAFTA and the FTAA also apply in Alberta as well as Nevada and Chile. In Alberta, however, we have witnessed dramatic reforms in the way that government does business, and in the business of education itself. The Klein government has been the first in Canada to embrace neo-conservative political and economic policy by restructuring, decentralizing and creating instability both morally and financially in many of the public sector industries. As a result of these policies, education has experienced a complete overhaul. Many school boards were eliminated, education budgets were dramatically slashed, school management practices were shifted to site-based and parent advisory councils were created. The creation and implementation of new charter schools within the province allowed for private schools to be partially funded by the government, which may contravene the national treatment obligation under NAFTA.

It is necessary that there is a shift in thought to where education is no longer regarded as a social service. As educators, we need to address our vocation as the developers of human capital that are integral to the economic prosperity of the nation and require the same access to resources and funding as private institutions. “The core thesis of human capital theory is that peoples’ learning capacities are comparable to other natural resources involved in the production process; when the resource is effectively exploited the results are profitable both for the enterprise and for society as a whole (Livingstone, 1997, p. 9). Courchene expands the notion of human capital and its important part in Canada. “A successful human capital future of all Canadians requires that we create an environment where talent and enterprise can remain in Canada” (Courchene, 2001,

p. 237). With the trade agreements in place, it is much easier to move not only goods and services, but people too. It is imperative that for Canada, and indeed Alberta, to maintain their advantage, the development of human capital is crucial.

As school leaders, we must be vigilant in our understanding of the implications of globalization on public education. As much as we would like this globalization train to stop, it is not going to. We must be aware of its impact on education so we can be ready when change occurs. The responsibility of educating our youth falls upon us. We need to make sure that we are consistently doing the right thing for our students and the future of our society. As Benjamin Disraeli said, "The youth of a nation are the trustees of prosperity". We owe them the best opportunity for the future.

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Narrative and Education

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There is a recent awareness of the power of narrative as a way of knowing rather than merely as a means of representation (Sommers, 1994). The University needs to recognize narrative as knowing because narrative knowing supports a personal narrative that Giddens (1992) describes as the key to reflexive understanding and as the means to a democratic society. Currently the university does not recognize its own narrative (Bok, 1998) and the meaning of narrative to students. The alternative to the use of narrative in University is a reification of knowledge and a commodification of culture as students become increasingly disconnected from their learning. Narrative fits one of the primary ways that we understand: through story (Bruner, 1996). Hopkins (1994) states that the need for knowing narratively has increased in importance due to the rapid changes presented by modernization and globalization. More importantly the use of narrative in education provides a connection to experience and morality that captures the complexity and contradictions of life, and empowers the learner through caring interdependent relationship (Witherall, 1991,Gilligan, 1988). In this article I will explore my own story in connection to narrative and how the University needs to understand the involvement of narrative as a means of education to counter the trend of student's disengagement from learning.

My Connection to Narrative

My experience with the educational power of narrative came through a love of literature. When I was doing my Education degree I majored in English. In one of my educational foundations classes, which focused on the philosophy and sociology of education, I was asked in which class I thought I learned the most. My answer was in English classes, where stories were

puzzles about life you could look at and relate to your own life. Later in English I was introduced to the philosophy of the Russian philosopher and literary critic Bakhtin. Bakhtin saw narrative as a way of capturing the 'eventness' of life that was a part of the surplus left over after the generalizations of theory had been exhausted. He saw the surplus as the most important part that captured our caring and our connection to others. At that time I was doing a double honours degree in English and Sociology and Bakhtin fascinated me by what he was saying about the powers of good literature to capture the ambiguity and contradiction of life. Later while doing my Master's degree in sociology I became acquainted with the power of narrative as a research method and am working on a study involving narrative. My action research uses narrative to assess the changing nature of the university.

The purpose of my study was to investigate the apparent tendency for University students become disengaged from their learning. Astin (2000) suggests that most University students are spending less time studying and consider the purpose of University education as obtaining grades and credentials. This is in contrast to Astin's initial studies in the 1960's when he found that most University students saw the purpose of University education as developing a philosophy of life. The research question of my study is how narrative is being used in the university to provide students with a connection to what they are learning, and a motivation to learn. This question will be examined by how the stories of the students in the study class connect their classes, to the larger narratives of the university and society as a whole in the context of "reflexive modernity" (Giddens, 1992).

The focus of my study was an interdisciplinary course that gave undergraduate students in Sociology and Social Psychology an opportunity to gain research experience. The project of the course was to gather information about first year University students' experience at the

University of Saskatchewan and how that experience related to their learning. I was a teaching assistant in the course and was involved in class discussions, and taught two sessions, one on values and the University and the other on qualitative sociology and narrative methods. The study examines the personal understandings of the students, and the professor in the course, as viewed through my own sense of a community of understanding. Narrative will be looked at in regards to the personal narratives of the students, their understanding of narrative, the tensions and ambivalence in their narratives, and how their personal experiences with narrative in the University have related to their learning. How narrative is used in the University will then be considered in connection to students' motivation towards learning. On a larger scale, narratives about the University will assess the overall direction of the University in relation to the tensions between a commodification process in the University and the building of community in the University and between the University and society at large. Narrative theory will be explained in the next section followed by an examination of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, and an exploration of how motivation is connected to community and narrative.

What is Narrative and What Does it Do?

I did a presentation using Astin's (Pascarella, and Terenzini, 1991) propositions of involvement as a way of building community in the University. Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) commented that Astin's propositions were a step in the right direction, but they needed to be placed in a larger context. In learning about narrative I have come to realize that narrative can provide the context that is needed. Pascarella and Terenzini completed a compiled study of how college affects students. In reflecting upon the study Pascarella noted that the most important questions about University education are still to be asked. Those questions, such as the

connection of learning to culture, and the ability and motivation for lifelong learning connect to the understanding that narrative has to offer.

Educational critics such as Postman (1995) connect knowing through narrative to motivation. Postman states that a narrative of interdependence needs to be chosen above narratives of reason, science, economic utility, consumership, and technology in order to give students a why for learning. Postman equates narrative to god with a small g since it provides us with a reason for being. Narrative is story and as such it has the story elements of plot, character and setting. It is also a way of knowing and Bruner states that "[I]t is through our own narratives that we principally construct a version of ourselves in the world, and it is through narrative that a culture provides a models of identity and agency to its members." (1996, xiv). Narrative is a way of capturing our changing sense of self in a changing world (Hopkins, 1994, Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). Through connecting our experience to the narratives of institutions and grand narratives we connect ourselves to various levels and kinds of community linking self to society (Hopkins 1994, Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). Narrative creates a sense of openness that captures the fallibility, contradictions, and ambiguity of life (Morson & Emerson, 1989, Postman, 1995). Most importantly narrative encourages intimacy and relationship through the sharing of stories a more personal and meaningful way of learning is achieved (Giddens 1992, Gilligan, 1988).

In my study I connected the narratives of the students to the use of narrative in the University and found that narrative was mainly used as an illustration of theory by professors. The students in the study had a strong sense of the need to be self-motivated but recognized that they were extrinsically motivated to a large degree. They saw the use of narrative as providing a connection to their learning but had problems in connecting their problems with motivation to a

lack of community. The narrative of the University was discovered to be one that promoted a model of the rational actor over one of community through an examination of current literature on learning and motivation.

What narrative is Not

When I was a student in the College of Education I remember hearing about how educational methods follow trends such as open classrooms and the whole language approach without fully evaluating what there consequences were. Narrative as a means of education should be considered as to be aware of what any negative effects may be. Narrative is not a panacea. Narratives and narrative methods must be used in the context of what is taught and considered in regard to their effectiveness.

Narrative is not a way to lessen standards. To be effective narrative needs to be connected to the subject matter taught in a way that connects the student to what is to be learned. There also needs to be an evaluation of larger cultural narratives that are framing what is learned, and to change evaluation so that it captures the social aspects of learning (Evers, Rush and Berdrow, 1998). In using narrative students should be prepared by doing reading and writing papers, but they can also become connected to peoples lived experience and the subjective nature of knowledge by doing interviews (Macrorie, 1988). Narrative methods, if used properly, can cover the same amount of subject matter in a given time and do so more effectively. The success of narrative in the University is attested to by the increasing use of case studies (Honan, and Rule, 2002). Hopkins (1994) recognizes a need for education to use narrative as way of involving students in their learning and connecting them to a sense of an interdependent community.

Using narrative is not a way of losing objectivity. Narrative education can be considered objective because knowledge is only known through the knower. Although there is a physical

reality and an objective culture, it has to be constantly reinterpreted as people try to match the world outside to their experience. Narrative is not the only way of knowing but at the same time it is much more than telling stories; it is a way of giving context to our knowledge.

Narrative is not just information or a way of representing information, it is also a way of expressing identity that connects structure and agency through narrative identity (Somers, 1994). Narrative identity is constructed around intimacy that allows the individual to reflect upon themselves and change their personal narrative, the narratives of institutions and society to foster a democratic society (Giddens, 1992). It is also a way of knowing that builds identity through relationship and caring (Gilligan, 1982, 1988).

Furthermore, the use of narrative is not something new. Teaching at the university is already using narrative, and it is using it much more than in the past. Evidence is in the acceptance of qualitative methods in sociology, the development of women's voice through narrative in women's and gender studies, reader response theory in English, and case studies in medicine and law. Native studies show the recognition of narrative as part of First Nation's culture. Lecturers use narrative to create examples that show life's contradictions and ambiguities. Interdisciplinarity also depends upon a sharing of narratives that support and contextualize different disciplines. Cooperative education as work-study supports the sharing and connecting of stories from work to the culture of the university. What is not recognized widely in the University is that we know primarily through narrative (Bruner, 1996) and how it has the potential for empowering us through our learning (Gilligan, 1988). My study showed that for students in the class narrative's use in University teaching was mainly as representation through story telling.

Why Narrative?

How we learn cannot be separated from what we learn. In a rapidly changing world students need to be able to recognized how they change in relation to a changing environment (Hopkins, 1994). In order for students to be motivated to learn they need to be connected to a narrative of interdependence that gives them a purpose to learning (Postman, 1995). Narrative also connects the individual to the importance of caring and to how the ability to care and intimacy develop the awareness of a personal narrative. Our emotions and our sense of conscience shape our understanding of our world and connect us to a different way of knowing through caring community. The university needs to move away from the individualism that it now represents through a focus on the reputation and resources of the University to one that develops the talent of all learners (Astin, 1999). Narrative provides a way to make a connection between individuals and communities of learning to change the University into a place that promotes an interdependent caring community and a better society.

The American educational philosopher John Dewey speaks of learning as " in and of experience" (Hendley, 1986, p. 24). Hendley states that Dewey " wanted his school to be neither child-centered or curriculum centered; it was to be community centered" (p. 24). Hopkins sees the connection of education to community in students' experiences made meaningful through narrative. He points to the changing nature of communities in the context of the global economy and says:

> If the purpose of schooling is to prepare people to live successful and productive lives, and if the shape of those lives is predictable only in the loosest and most general sense because of the fluidity of the social and economic environment, then the problem of educators differs fundamentally from that in previous and more predictable times. Those who are to live productively must know how to continue to learn from phenomena that are not presently in view, and especially how to respond to and use the resources of the social, technological, and the practical environment adaptively. Cognitive rigidity under

> such conditions is crippling. And a fixed curriculum, mechanistically transmitted, is also increasingly irrelevant to people's lives. (p. 8)

The Canadian philosopher and media guru Marshall McLuhan speaks to the problem of rigid learning in "The Medium is the Massage" and quotes Dewey stating:

> Compartmentalization of occupations and interests bring about a separation of that mode of activity commonly called "practice" from insight of imagination, from executive "doing". Each of these activities is then assigned to its own place where it must abide. Those who write the anatomy of experience then suppose that these divisions are in the constitution of human nature. (1969, p 54, 55).

In the university interdisiplinarity has addressed setting some of the problems of the compartmentalization of knowledge, but the focus of University education should go beyond the exchange of narratives from different communities to an understanding of the power of narrative as a means of learning.

Educator Kenneth Bruffee speaks to the need to interconnect communities of knowledge in the university through discussion groups saying:

> Knowledge, then, can be constructed through "negotiation among the community of knowledgeable peers, negotiation of at the boundaries among knowledge communities, and negotiation at the boundaries between knowledgeable communities and those who wish to join them" (1999, p. 63)

The use of discussion groups thus produces new narratives through negotiating knowledge and involves both students and teachers in a learning process. Sharing narratives can also be accomplished through co-operative learning in the form of work-study, connecting the narratives of the work place and the university. Astin (1999) also talks about the need to involve learners in their learning, and examines students volunteering as a means of connecting students to their community and to learning experiences. The sharing of narrative in and of itself is not sufficient

to promote more motivated learning, there needs to be an understanding of how narrative connects to caring.

Experiences of volunteering connect narrative to an emotional need to care. Gilligan explores the importance of caring to identity in her “ethic of care”(1982). The ethic of care has three stages: caring for self, caring for others, and caring for self and others. In caring for self, the individual is guided by self-interest formed by a lack of connectedness and a need for survival. Caring for others happens once the individual is able to relate to the needs of others and becomes concerned about them in order to gain social acceptance. In caring for self and others, individuals discover that they are neglecting their own needs in order to gain social acceptance.

Caring for self and other involves an exploration of the boundaries of caring and how the individual relates to society through their caring. It also allows the individual to grow beyond the limits of normativity captured in the dependency of caring for others. Not only that, the individual develops their own identity which allows them contribute to society in a meaningful way through their difference. Caring for self and others recognizes interdependence based upon recognition of sameness and difference, and dependence and independence. Giddens recognizes the intimacy of caring as one of the key components in developing the reflexive self which allows the individual to recognize the narrative of self and overcome compulsive or addictive behaviour (1992). Gilligan (1988) connects caring to narrative and says:

> If the process of coming to know others is imagined, instead, as a joining of stories, it implies the possibility of learning from others in a way that transforms the self. In this way the self is in relationship and the reference for judgment becomes the relationship (1988, p. 6).

Wuthnow (1991) looks at how narratives of caring are not legitimized by our society and how caring needs to be connected to a sense of community to build a caring identity that allows us to care for those outside of our immediate social circles. The importance of caring, then, needs to

be a part of the experience and the narratives of the university and of the involvement of students in the university.

Learning in the University is predominantly based on theory and the transmission of knowledge through lectures rather than the connections provided through narrative. Bakhtin refers to the importance of caring as a part of the surplus, or what is left over after the generalizations of theory have been exhausted and is the most important part of knowing (Morson & Emerson, 1989). For Bakhtin, the narrative of the novel gives a way of capturing the ambiguity and the contradictory nature of life. True understanding of life exists in experience and in the "eventness" of life that cannot be captured by theory. Theory is useful but only as a guide, and Bakhtin speaks out against theoretism that governs life rather than living life in the present moment. He sees in the novel a way of developing an ideal hero who can be placed in the context of the novel, situating the reader between author and text, and text and culture. His view is much like that of George Herbert Mead's with role playing except, the playing of a role is no longer monological but based upon broader relationship. Like Gilligan, Bakhtin sees morality connected to the experience of a given situation and he describes a need to live aesthetically through the role of the ideal hero in life situations. The ideal hero avoids the problem of empathy, the assumption that the other is the same as the person trying to understand, or the detachment of theory, which rules out the particularity of life. Through the ideal hero the personal reflexive narrative that Giddens refers to can be broadened to include the experience of the lives of others and the understandings provided in literature, history, and cross-cultural studies.

Theory is important to life and learning but needs to be connected to life through experience. Narrative accomplishes this connection through interconnecting narratives on

different levels, and through research (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Hopkins (1994) relates the use of narrative in the classroom as the difference between promoting a love of learning and making education a game that has to be endured which has little to do with experience. He writes of narrative as changing power relationships in society by empowering students. Educational critic Neil Postman (1995) speaks of narrative as god with a small g because it connects students to their interdependence and gives a purpose to learning. Narrative connects us to an experience of our interdependence that allows us to act interdependently. It provides us with a sense of caring, belonging and autonomy and empowers us. It connects our past to our present giving us the ability to change our future and provides a way of breaking out of the frame works of society by contributing to imagination.

When Narrative?

Narrative is always around us and represents one of the primary ways of knowing that connects our learning to experience (Bruner, 1996). Narrative can be used at the start of each class as a way of introducing the teacher and the students to each other, indicating the experiences they bring to the class, their hopes for the class and who they are. Narrative is a way of interviewing people to capture their stories as well as a way of connecting personal stories to theory, other stories, and other communities of knowledge. It can provide context for the history of a subject giving it deeper meaning. Through case studies, work-study and other methods it connects theory to practice. Group discussions can be used in the negotiation of communities of knowledge within the classroom, the university, the city, the country and the globe.

Where Narrative?

Narrative is pervasive and exists at all levels of society. Narrative exists at a societal level in the context of grand narratives and myths. It is a part of institutions reflecting their formal and

informal culture. It also occurs on a personal level showing our development and our interconnection to others. The connection of narrative to our lives lets us make connections to how we exist in different contexts and at different times. As we see narratives of history and our own past we can use them to reconstruct a narrative of our past that allows us to change through a narrating our future. Teaching in the University trough using narrative can give an opportunity to connect students to a caring community in the University and extend their ability to know through a recognition of narrative.

Conclusion

In a rapidly changing globalized world narrative offers the possibility of interdependence reflecting how we can live through caring community rather than just expressing our mutual existence. Using narrative in the University as a method of involving students in their learning has the potential of providing a link between the student and the community. It empowers students to reflect upon their changing position in a changing society, and to act upon that knowledge in a way that builds community. Interdependence, then, can be understood as empowerment and as a sense of belonging and autonomy that recognizes or need to care for the world and make it a better place to live.

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The Power of the Pen: Virtually Speaking

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We live in the *Age of Information.* Never has global communication been so fast, straightforward and effortless, and information so widely available, than in our twenty-first century world of high-speed digital networking. The Internet, email, web-cam, telephone, and fax, provide almost instant messaging, and immediate access to information in most locations on our planet.

It seems paradoxical that despite these vast and world-wide linkages, many individuals feel disconnected and alone. The world appears fragmented, with dissonance between nations, religions, value systems and individuals. Michael Adams (2001) declared we are living in an age of hyper-cynicism, locked in the modernistic paradigm of individualism, in which there exists a lack of meaningful interpersonal, inter-group, and intercultural communication. We are questioning traditional values, and loosing faith in public institutions. There is widespread dissatisfaction with education, with concerns regarding equity, quality, and accountability and an ever-widening gap between access to information and the creation of knowledge. According to Bohm (1996), "in schools and universities, students tend to feel that their teachers are overwhelming them with a flood of information, which they suspect is irrelevant to actual life" (p.1).

Bohm suggested that although an excellent infrastructure for communication is in place, we have lost sight of the root meaning of *communication*: based on the Latin *commun*, and the suffix *ie*, similar to *fie,* it means 'to make something common**.'** Dialogue [*dia* - through, and *logus* – meaning] takes communication one step further: in dialogue, there exists the possibility

of individuals coming together to share in the creation of new common meaning and knowledge. Therefore, the challenge is to find ways to connect the disconnected, and find meaningful ways of teaching and learning so that together individuals can learn and share new ways of knowing. When we speak of dialogue, the image of face-to-face interaction comes to the fore.

In this paper, I explore the educative power of virtual dialogue, asynchronous communication across time and space, as a means of overcoming the dual paradoxes of a networked world and isolated individuals, freedom of information yet lack of knowledge. In my exploration of dialogue in virtual education, I ask the following questions. What is dialogue? Who are our learners? What is the role of the teacher in virtual learning? What is the role of dialogue in virtual adult learning? What would a virtuous policy for virtual adult education look like? This paper is structured as follows. The first section sets the scene by defining Computer Mediated Communication [CMC]. I then visit writings on dialogue by David Bohm, Mikhail Bakhtin, Paulo Freire, and Linda Ellison and Glenna Gerard, and weave their meanings into my own vision of virtual dialogue. Whitesel (1998) reminded us, tools are used by craftsmen and "technology does not teach students: effective teachers do" (n. p.) With these wise words in mind, I investigate the characteristics and roles of virtual learners and instructors. I proceed to explore the role of dialogue as a tool in virtual education. Finally, I propose a policy for virtual dialogue as a keystone in connecting adult learners as they transform information into knowledge.

Setting the Scene

Teaching and learning by Computer-Mediated Communication [CMC] is becoming an important alternative to traditional face-to-face education. As Internet access becomes available to large numbers of people worldwide, distance education is developing exponentially to fill the

ever-expanding niche afforded by this new medium. Whereas in the past distance education focused on learners studying largely in isolation with the advent of CMC, distance education has acquired a new dimension that has made the whole process more visible and interactive, offering flexibility of study at a time, place and pace convenient to the learner. Further education is becoming available and accessible to a much larger and more diverse global population.

Boettcher & Conrad (1999) identified three types of online courses that are currently offered: *web courses*, which have material posted on a website that allows access at all times but no interaction among students or with an instructor; *web-enhanced courses*, which use both face-to-face and web delivery, and *web-centric courses* which are interactive courses, conducted exclusively online and delivered through a website that provides direct human-to-human communication, with the computer acting simply as a transaction router and providing simple storage and retrieval functions. In this paper, I explore CMC, which utilises the web-centric method of delivery. It involves asynchronous communication among learners and the instructor using, as a minimum, email and a web-based discussion board. Asynchronosity refers to the facility for students to take part at any time and place convenient to them and to the intervening time gap between communication and response (Allen, Hartman, & Truman, 1997).

Teaching and learning using CMC adopts a constructivist philosophy of collaborative meaning making. Collaboration requires interaction and communication; dialogue is an integral component of communication. Before we can explore the use of dialogue in virtual learning, first of all, we must discover *what is dialogue*?

What is Dialogue?

Dialogue, as a pathway to shared knowing, is the foundation of cognitive, social and spiritual behaviour. The ancient Greek philosophers, for example Plato and Socrates, were masters of dialogue. The indigenous peoples of the ancient Americas developed their own tool to facilitate honest and honouring dialogue; it was known as the Talking Stick and provided each speaker with uninterrupted and unhurried time.

While acknowledging the existence of many discourses on dialogue, I limited my inquiry to the writings of David Bohm, Mikhail Bakhtin, Paulo Freire, and Ellinor and Gerard to help in the quest to find and define my own meaning of dialogue as it pertains to virtual adult education. I chose these writers because they provided insights into different facets of dialogue. Bohm, as well as providing a theoretical analysis of dialogue, also detailed a concrete process; Bakhtin presented an exposition of individual expression through the socially constituted fabric of language; Freire connected dialogue and epistemology, and Ellinor and Gerard described dialogue in practice.

David Bohm

David Bohm (1917 – 1994) was one of the foremost theoretical physicists of his generation, an explorer of consciousness, a student of Oppenheimer, and a friend of Einstein. Feat (1996) identified Bohm as one of the most original thinkers of the second half of the twentieth century. Bohm made influential contributions to physics, philosophy, consciousness, psychology, language, and education. Bohm observed that the general lot of mankind was caught in a web of contradictory intentions and actions, which led to personal and social fragmentation. His writings on dialogue were an intent to shed light on the activity of this fragmentation – not only as a theoretical analysis, but also as a concrete experimental process.

Bohm (1996) described dialogue as a learned process towards shared and new meaning. He portrayed the image of dialogue as a "stream of meaning flowing among and though us and between us" (p. 6). As meaning flows within a group, it creates the possibility of emergence of fresh understanding – the conception of something new. Bohm suggested that "this shared meaning is the 'glue' or 'cement' that holds people and societies together" (p. 6). In dialogue, a group of people may come from many different backgrounds with many different sets of assumptions -- a true microcosm of society. Bohm, a physicist, compared this group of people to white light, which is incoherent, travelling in all directions, conflicting, interfering and cancelling. If we can focus the light so that it goes in the same direction, then it gains the power, penetration and focus of a laser beam.

In his consideration of the process of dialogue, Bohm not only explored the effects of thought and assumptions, but described a forum for dialogue and examined obstacles to dialogue.

***Thought and assumptions*.** According to Bohm, the process of dialogue is hampered by the fragmenting quality of thought and by the set of assumptions we harbour. Most of our basic assumptions and opinions arise from our interactions with society; we find it hard to resist defending these assumptions and opinions, and, because we feel ownership, our defence is often charged with emotion. Although a challenging task, effective dialogue must travel beyond the assumptions, to the process of thought behind them. By learning to suspend assumptions when they are challenged, so that we neither act on them, nor suppress them, we can alter the collective thought process. In the course of uncovering our assumptions, examining them, and seeing what they mean, we become more familiar with our own thinking…comparable to Socrates' advice, "know thyself." At the same time, we need to listen to opposing opinions, to suspend them and

examine their meaning, so that we can share a common content even although we may not be in agreement. While attempting to see a shared whole, truth may emerge unannounced.

***Forum for dialogue*.** Bohm envisioned dialogue as people sitting in a circle, open and equal, enabling direct interaction. It should be seen as free space, in the sense that anything may come in; no areas are off limits; people may choose when and whether to contribute. There are no obligations. There is no authority or hierarchy. A facilitator may be useful to give direction to the group initially, but her function is work herself out of a job. Bohm commented, "when a dialogue group is new, in general people talk around the point for a while. In all human relations nowadays, people generally have a way of not directly facing anything" (p. 18). Bohm recognised that in our disconnected world, we shy away from controversy and conflict. We like a smooth surface; the turmoil is hidden. The aim is that as trust builds and fear diminishes, the surface gets broken, and the group becomes self-directing.

Bohm's writings on dialogue find a familiar echo in the words of Schechter & Faithorn, (1987) who described an indigenous American talking circle.

> Speakers can speak from a deep place without concern that they will be interrupted, criticized or judged. Thus they can be more truthful, creative and less self-conscious... The process is not one of making strong arguments for or against something, or convincing one another of right or wrong, but a process of becoming still and quiet, connecting with greater wisdom. When the truth is spoken on some issue it is seen and heard as such- it rings true. (n. p.)

***Obstacles to dialogue*.** Often obstacles to dialogue lie in perceived differences in power. Some people see themselves in a dominant role, and feel compelled to get their point of view across, while others, possessing lower self-esteem, have yet to find courage to use their voice,

and feel left out. By concentrating on formulating a response, some forget to listen. In the limited time available, there is no time to absorb everyone's meaning. Bohm (1996), having initially advocated complete freedom, qualified by saying there must be principles, not rules, "so that we see the necessity or values of certain procedures that help" (p. 30); for example, we must give each person space to talk.

For Bohm, dialogue was a mutual interaction that meant going beyond biases to listen deeply to another's words, and respond respectfully.

Mikhail Bakhtin

Mikhail Bakhtin (1895 – 1975) was a Russian philosopher and writer on topics as varied as Freud, Marx, and the philosophy of language. His two most productive literary periods occurred in the darkest times of recent Russian history, the 1920's, in the post-revolution, and post war climate, and in 1930's when he was exiled to Kazakhstan. Much of his works did not reach the western world until decades after they were written.

In *Discourse in the Novel,* Bakhtin (1981) deconstructed the usage of language in the novel; however, the riches of Bakhtin's meanings lie beneath the surface, in his theory of dialogics, and are not deconstructive, but constructive. Bakhtin, in a broader and deeper sense than the other writers on dialogue described here, viewed dialogue as our meaning-making interaction of words internally in our thoughts, with those external - spoken and written. Bakhtin considered that all individual expression is the product of several concomitant voices, existing within us as well as outside, that are connected by the socially woven fabric of language. Bakhtin's concept of metalinguistics proposed that each voiced or written expression does not stand alone. Forming from what has gone before and anticipating the response "the word is born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder within it" (p. 279). The individual utterance is seen as the

crossover of a speaker's specific intent and the listener's active response, which are connected to one another through stable, yet often unconscious, genres of speech.

> As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, as heteroglot opinion, language, for individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes ‘one's own’ only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language . . . but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one’s own. (pp. 293-294)

The words we speak belong in part to someone else and only become our own when we instil in them our own meanings and intentions. As we write, the words we form on paper are not simply preconceived ideas; rather we generate the ideas through the process of writing. Similarly, the reader does not merely absorb ideas directly from the words, but generates her own version of the text through the process of reading. Both writing and reading are meaning-making processes. Our meanings become dialogical in the back and forth of conversation, not in their presumed definitions. “Everything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole--there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others” (p. 426).

Bakhtin believed that our thoughts and uttered words are in response to another, and contain a trace of others’ perspectives. In our words, we are aware that our view is not one that everyone will endorse and so we anticipate some argument. To realize the potential of dialogue, we would neither relinquish nor cocoon our points of view; rather, we should collaborate in

relating, creating, and extending shared meanings. In dialogue, we creatively digest others' voices with our own, constructing something new in terms of the uniqueness of our own perspectives and histories.

Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was a leader in the struggle for the liberation of the marginalized classes. The educational and organizational assignments he undertook led him to formulate a means of communicating with the dispossessed that would later develop into his dialogical method for adult education. Freire was the catalyst in bringing literacy programs to thousands of peasants in Brazil (Collins, 1977). He passionately believed that the path to permanent liberation was through education to raise people's awareness of their oppression, as well as through praxis, which is a complex activity by which individuals create culture and society, and become critically conscious human beings. Praxis comprises a cycle of action-reflection-action, which is central to liberatory education - a philosophy that education is the collective responsibility of learners, teachers, and the community alike who, through dialogue, seek political, as well as economic and personal empowerment (Heaney, 1995).

***The process of dialogue*.** In *Pedagogy, Culture, Language and Race*, Freire & Macedo (1999) distilled their thoughts on dialogue, through dialogue. According to Freire, dialogue characterises an epistemological relationship and is a search for the delimitation of a knowable subject. In agreement with Bohm, Freire recognised that learning occurs in a social context. "Dialogue is an indispensable component of the process of both learning and knowing" (p. 48), and as such should never to considered as merely a technique or tactic to involve students in a particular task. Dialogue as a process of learning presumes curiosity about the object and the willingness and openness to engage in theoretical readings and discussions. This epistemological

curiosity is essential to achieve unity between theory and practice. As well as epistemological curiosity, students must have the necessary apprenticeship in the new body of knowledge; they must be able to use already acquired knowledge as a foundation, and as a key to unlock the meaning of new knowledge.

Like Bohm, Freire emphasized that dialogue is much more than a process for sharing individuals' lived experiences, and most definitely not a form of group therapy that focuses only on the psychological aspect. Sharing of experience must also be understood within a social praxis that requires political and ideological reflection and action.

Ellinor and Girard

Linda Ellinor and Glenna Gerard (1998) endeavoured to promote the use of dialogue as a means of widening the information arteries within organisations, so that employees at every level can begin to think along leadership lines and take responsibility for how their actions affect the whole organisation. They highlighted the creation of collaborative partnerships and the development of skills to build the trust needed to surface the undiscussable issues and to open doors to new ways of creative thinking. Using David Bohm's philosophy on dialogue as a foundation, Ellinor & Gerard explored dialogue-in-practice.

***Dialogue in practice*.** Ellinor and Gerard (1998) perceived the process of dialogue as "a structure that creates a container that is both open enough and strong enough to allow for the exploration of issues and questions that are important, for widely different options to be voiced, and, even more importantly, listened to**"** (p. xlvii). This practice of dialogue emphasizes active listening to others voices as well as sharing our own views and is a potent means towards empowering individuals as well as transforming organisational learning by fostering mutual trust and respect, a spirit of inquiry, and shared meaning.

***Dialogue and discussion*.** Ellinor and Gerard (1998) elaborated on Bohm's differentiation between dialogue and discussion, emphasizing that discussion implies breaking up rather than bringing together, analysis rather than synthesis. In discussion there are trade-offs and restrictions - areas that are non-negotiable and untouchable. Using the metaphor of a ping-pong game, Bohm likened discussion to batting back and forth of ideas until someone emerges a winner. On the other hand, in dialogue there are no opponents, no winners, and no losers.

Ellinor and Gerard described dialogue and discussion as two opposing ends on a conversation continuum, which they illustrated by asking us to focus on recent meetings we have attended and reflect on whether people were trying to learn from each other to gain a larger perspective and find shared meaning (dialogue), or focussed on defending and justifying their own position (discussion)? Organisational communications contain elements of both discussion and dialogue; the position on the conversation continuum depends both on the nature of the individuals and the overall climate of the organisation.

Ellinor and Gerard gave meaning to dialogue, by explaining what it is not, and clarified the characteristics of dialogue and discussion in Table 1. The Conversation Continuum.

Table 1. The Conversation Continuum

Dialogue	Discussion/Debate
Seeing the whole among the parts	Breaking issues/problems into parts
Seeing the connections between the parts	Seeing distinctions between the parts
Inquiring into assumptions	Justifying/defending assumptions
Learning through inquiry and disclosure	Persuading, telling, selling
Creating shared meaning among many	Gaining agreement on one meaning

Ellinor and Gerard (1998) defined discussion as convergent conversation, travelling an ever-narrowing road to one best perspective, opinion and answer. On the other hand, dialogue is a divergent conversation that expands what is communicated and explores many different avenues that lead to different places. Ellinor and Girard emphasized the importance of inquiry, reflection, and listening as part of dialogue, reinforcing their meaning by quoting Krishnamurti;

> If we try to listen we find it extraordinarily difficult, because we are always protecting our opinions and ideas, our prejudices, our background, our inclinations, our impulses; when they dominate we hardly listen at all to what is being said. (p. 102)

For groups to develop collective intelligence necessitates listening on three levels - first to the other, second to one's self, and third, listening for collective themes and the dynamic stream of freshly created shared meanings.

So What… Is Dialogue?

Bohm envisioned dialogue in a global capacity as the cement in creating unity in diversity, bringing coherence to isolated voices, finding of shared meaning, and reducing the fragmentation that is endemic in our world, whereas Freire viewed dialogue through a strictly epistemological lens. Ellinor and Gerard demonstrated theory-in-practice, using Bohm's philosophy and applying it to organisational transformation. They used dialogue to empower, drawing upon lived experience not only as a foundation for building on existing knowledge, but as a doorway to confronting deeper issues and finding new collaborative ways to solve old problems.

Although there are many points of convergence, we can see that dialogue is a term that has different meanings to many people; for some it is almost a synonym for discussion or even conversation at any level. Therefore, before we commence dialoguing, it is very important that

we teach its process and philosophy, that we distinguish between dialogue and discussion, and so provide a solid grounding to support first steps on its journey.

Our distillation of the meanings of dialogue, proposed by expert voices, allows us to blend them to our own definition of dialogue. I see dialogue as a dynamic living entity that catalyses the fluid creation of meaning though human interaction. Dialogue is an active process of constructive learning and knowing, in which we engage internally within ourselves, and externally with others. In suspending our assumptions, and opening ourselves to listen and respond to both our own internal voices and the external voices of others, we construct something new. Dialogue includes, yet goes beyond spoken words and recognises that writing, reading, and internal dialogues are also meaning-making processes.

Before examining the role of dialogue in adult virtual education, we need to provide context, that is knowledge of virtual learners and the role that educators play in the learning process.

Virtual Teaching and Learning

Contrary to popular opinion, online learning is not an easy option; workload for the instructor as well as the learner is much higher than in a traditional classroom. The same leadership skills, such as vision, trust, building relationships, communicating, celebrating, and rewarding are needed; however it takes more effort and consciousness for leaders to promote this in the virtual world. According to Palloff & Pratt (2001), “it is our best practices that must follow us into the cyber classroom, and those practices are the basis for which we call electronic pedagogy, or the art of teaching online” (p. 26). When the only connection we have with our students is through words on a screen, there are several criteria on which an online instructor

must concentrate in order to achieve best practices: an instructor should know her students and know her role.

In describing the on-line learning environment in an adult education setting -- adult learners, adult learning, and the instructor's role, as well as using findings from research studies, I include some of my own experiences as a virtual adult learner and instructor.

Virtual Adult Learners.

Virtual adult learners may come from diverse cultural backgrounds with widely differing life experiences, value and belief systems, ways of social interaction, communication, and learning styles; not surprisingly, there is no such identity as the typical adult learner. However, Palloff and Pratt (2001) suggested adults who choose distance education as a means of learning do share certain characteristics. Most often they are voluntarily seeking further education, highly motivated, have higher expectations than traditional undergraduate students, and are more self-disciplined. Virtual learners tend to be older than the average student; although, as more university courses are being taught online, an increasing number of traditional undergraduate students are choosing this more flexible option as part of their course complement. Successful online students include those who enjoy learning for learning's sake, demonstrate good thinking skills, are self-directing, and possess the ability to work and do independent research. Knowles (1984) advised that when adults view tasks as relevant, motivation and enthusiasm are high, resulting in a greater likelihood of participation in collaborative approaches to learning, such as discussion, and small group learning.

MacKeracher (1996) affirmed that learning is facilitated in learning environments that are free from threat, and that provide support for personal change. The development of mutually trusting relationships that encourage feedback reduces the fear of failure. No matter how self-

directing adult learners may be, they are vulnerable. According to Marion (1999), because their self-concept is already well organised, when adults invest themselves and their efforts in the belief that they are going to succeed, should they not meet their goals their self esteem is assaulted. Valerie Beckingham (Beckingham & Wainio, 1997) described her initial feelings at the start of a virtual learning experience:

> I began the course with both anticipation and anxiety… There were the usual pre-course questions: Would my contributions to this class be valued? Would I be able to fit into this class? Would I find the time to be a fully participating, well-informed member of this class? Adding to these was the general insecurity of a middle aged woman who got most of her education rather late in the day and who always wonders if what she know is good enough. (p. 42)

Having participated in a virtual learning environment, I can echo strongly the feelings expressed by Beckingham. Despite many years of experience as an educator, or perhaps because of this, I found myself filled with self-doubts as I embarked, midlife, on furthering my own learning in this new medium. The intrinsic motivation that had been fairly dormant during my undergraduate days so many years ago manifested itself in a need, not only to succeed, but to be the best I could be. Compounding these insecurities was my lack of knowledge of the Internet and email, and of the medium of virtual learning. It was into a very unfamiliar and frightening milieu that I took my first virtual steps. However, having ‘found my feet’, I found the collaborative approach and the freedom to explore new directions provided the fulfilment and challenge I needed as an adult learner.

Virtual Adult Learning

According to Hart (2001), true understanding is cultivated through empathy, appreciation, openness, accommodation, service, and listening and reflection. Learning occurs in the formation of new or modified meanings through interactive processes. Palloff and Pratt (2001) described collaborative learning as much more than the acquisition of knowledge. This type of learning, defined as deep learning by Anderson and Garrison (2000), "is directed towards comprehending the significance of content and its relationship to existing knowledge frame" (p. 26). The co-creation of meaning and knowledge that can occur in a collaborative online learning environment can serve to create a level of reflection that results in transformative learning as students contemplate their self-growth.

The Role of the Virtual Instructor

In much of the literature on adult education the word *facilitator* is used. The root of the word is the Latin word, facilis, meaning easy, and so a facilitator makes progress easy. MacKeracher (1996) explained that many adult educators, acknowledging the self-directing nature of adult learning, avoid using terms such as teacher or instructor, as these connote highly directive behaviours. Instead, they use the word facilitator to refer to those who assist adults with learning activities, including teachers, instructors, trainers, and counsellors, and such like. On the other hand, Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1999), illustrating Bakhtin's concept that the meaning of a word comes from the intent we give it on usage, viewed the term, facilitator, in its literal sense, *to make progress easy*. He perceived facilitation as an abdication from the role of a teacher by failing to provide neither challenge nor direction to the learner. Freire reiterated vehemently: "I consider myself a teacher and always a teacher. I have never pretended to be a facilitator… Also

in being a teacher, I always teach to facilitate. I cannot accept the notion of a facilitator who facilitates so as not to teach" (p. 46).

In Freire's opinion, facilitation is a form of 'laissez faire' education. He argued that there cannot be real education without direction, because all teaching situations involve the achievement of goals and objectives, and a teacher must maintain a certain amount of authority through his knowledge of the subject matter he teaches. Freire recommended a balance -- educators must not allow their active and curious presence to over shadow that of their learners, but neither can teachers be shadows of their learners.

Palloff and Pratt (2001) suggested that the instructor's role as a learning facilitator is to follow the discussion and gently guide and redirect by asking clarifying and expanding questions. This does not mean that the instructor is not actively involved in the learning process. Spark (1961), in the words of *Miss Jean Brodie,* summarised the role of a teacher in any environment: "To me education is leading out of what is already there in the pupil's soul. To Miss McKay it is a putting in of something that is not there, and that's what I call intrusion" (p. 61). Effective teaching and learning, whether in a traditional or virtual milieu, is active and constructive and uses existing knowledge and meanings as a foundation for new learning.

Providing direction. Although virtual learning is based on constructivist philosophy, and is student-centred, the initial impetus must come from the instructor. According to Palloff & Pratt (2001), the role of a virtual instructor is to create an environment conducive to learning that encourages participation and enquiry, a task that Brookfield (1990) observed is one of the most difficult and daunting the virtual educator faces, yet the most essential. Initially, the educator must establish the goals, objectives, and timelines of the course of learning, ensure that learners are familiar with the technology, ascertain whether the knowledge base of her

learners is a sufficient foundation on which to build the course, and importantly, make certain they understand the process of virtual learning. It cannot be assumed that learners are familiar with a learning process that involves active interaction with fellow learners and self-reflection on the knowledge acquired; this must be taught. Adult learners find it difficult to pass meaningful comment on each other's work: they are also vulnerable to implied criticism. Therefore, the instructor should model the process of respectful yet meaningful interaction.

Although the objective is for the learner to take responsibility for her own learning, knowledge generation, collaboration and process management, the instructor must find a balance between providing direction and allowing the freedom to explore that can be so exciting, stimulating, and challenging for adult learners, and between giving up power and retaining it.

Establishing guidelines. Kahai & Cooper (1999) emphasized the importance of establishing ground rules for communication prior to the first meeting of the CMC group, so that a climate of trust can develop. Guidelines should be clear, yet relatively loose and free flowing, allow significant input from the participants, and provide a safe place where trust can develop within which students feel free to express themselves and discuss material related to the course. Although decisions should be made collaboratively, and all voices heard when a proposal for change is made, the instructor should retain the ultimate decision making power in the area in the assignments so as to keep the course on track to achieve the learning objectives.

Participation. It is the instructor's responsibility to strive to achieve maximum buy-in by promoting collaboration and interaction so as to create a triple loop learning process in which participants can reflect on their learning, themselves as learners, and the learning process (Palloff & Pratt, 2001). Although the instructor should model good participation by being frequently logged on and contributing to the dialogue, the challenge is to balance contribution; too much

can reduce the interaction among learners and create a dependence on the instructor, and too little will inhibit participation because students are de-motivated by receiving little feedback. Palloff and Pratt (1999) recognised that imposing rigid guidelines for number and type of contributions to the dialogue can be constraining, causing participants to worry about the nature of their posts, rather than simply post. Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1999) advocated against the "facilitator who merely orchestrates students in pure verbalism" (p. 52), and thus creates a superficial democracy in which all students **must** take their turn to speak whether or not they have anything substantive to contribute.

> A vacuous dialogue for conversation only is pernicious to the extent that it deskills students by not creating pedagogical spaces for epistemological curiosity, critical consciousness, and agency, which is the only way through which one can transcend valorised experience to embrace new knowledge to universalise one's own experience. (p. 53)

However, in virtual education there is a place, and more importantly a need, for experiential communication. Learning is facilitated when past experience is used as a foundation upon which to construct new learning. Dialogue at the personal level is necessary so that connections can be made and commonplaces found on which to build an interactive learning community. Wainio (Beckingham and Wainio 1997) identified: "it was important to have some mental picture of the person at the other end of the email, just to know that it was not a computer but another human being with whom I was communicating" (p. 48). With no visual image of fellow learners, the sharing of personal information and experiences plays a vital part of forming mental connections among fellow learners, allowing to trust to build and a safe environment for collaborative learning to develop.

Assessment. Harasim, Hiltz, Teles, and Turoff (1996) recommended that evaluation and assessment should be part of the learning-teaching relationship, not focussed solely on student performance, but in the learning process, in the interactions between learners, and between learners and teachers: students learn from each other and together create higher levels of knowledge and meaning. And so part of the assessment process is the dialogue that occurs; however, the ultimate grade assigned is the responsibility of the instructor.

As an adult learner at the completion of a virtual learning experience, on one occasion I found myself in the position of having full autonomy in both determining my grade and justifying it. Habituated as I was in the traditional modernistic approach to educational assessment, my first feelings were of intense frustration. I assumed that I had done my part – the coursework, the interaction, the creativity and the reflection. I knew what I had learned. I knew that never before had I reflected so intensely about my own learning, and been so creative in its exposition. And thus, I believed the grading part belonged to the instructor. He knew the quality of the work I had produced and the effort I had put in. *These assumptions are very hard to suspend***.** The big transforming 'Ah-ha' came in the justification process as, in my inner dialogues, I struggled against my canny Scot's upbringing, the inner Presbyterian voices that condemned any self-praise as sin. The reflection was bringing new meanings, the dawning of an acceptance that the process was in itself a learning process. Was the process valuable? Yes. Was the process just? I do not believe so. Assuming complete honesty, self was assessed against self-expectations. Each individual has different self-expectations. As grades are used as external validators, then they must reflect consistency in levels of achievement.

Although learners should be self-directed, and self-assessment is valuable and insightful, for assessment to be viewed by learners as just, there must be some instructor input into the

process. As Freire identified, there is a difference between democratic teaching and laissez faire pedagogy: teaching always has an objective and so cannot be non-directive. Complete relinquishment of power by the instructor may be viewed as indifference, and therein lies a danger of disempowering learners. Achieving the correct balance between learner autonomy and instructor direction is not easy.

Having defined dialogue and identified the characteristics and roles of adult virtual learners and instructors, the questions that remains are: How seamlessly do the dimensions of dialogue traverse the boundaries between virtual and face-to-face communication?

Virtual Dialogue?

Features such as asynchronicity and lack of physical presence in virtual dialogue have advantages and disadvantages when compared to traditional face-to-face communication. Bohm (1996) identified equality of participation, as well as time for reflection, as obstacles to traditional dialogue. In CMC, dialogue is asynchronous; learners may contribute to the ongoing dialogue at any time from any place, as opposed to the immediacy of face-to-face communication. Virtual learners have no physical contact; mostly they will have no knowledge of each other's appearance, age, cultural background or status, unless a person chooses to make that public. However, there is no body language to moderate what is said: meaning comes solely from the interpretation of the written word. In considering virtual dialogue and collaborative interaction, these factors, equality of participation, time and space, body language and finding meaning, are critical.

Equality of participation. Bohm (1996) perceived that some individuals take on a dominant role in dialogue, and feel compelled to voice their opinions at the expense of their less assertive peers. This lack of respect leads to a power imbalance, which does not foster trust.

However, as we cannot see each other in cyberspace, and it is harder to read status cues in electronic messages, the tendency of high status individuals to dominate dialogue may be lessened (Kiesler, Seigel, & McGuire, 1984). Virtual communication has the potential, because of its anonymity, to balance the power structure and so provide a more equal forum for communication. Beckingham (Beckingham & Wainio 1997) commented

> I often find it easier to speak openly and honestly about my feelings on-line than off-line. We carefully maintain the walls between us and others, mending breaches as soon as they appear. Perhaps email places enough distance between us that we do not have to worry about fences being breached or scaled. (p. 52)

The perception of distance in CMC may induce a sense of safety to speak with greater freedom.

Equality of access is another valuable feature of CMC. Disabilities such as deafness, Turette's syndrome, cerebral palsy, and physical deformities become invisible on-line, and so for those who find it difficult to participate in face-to-face dialogue, there is the opportunity to contribute as individual thinkers and transmitters of ideas, as spiritual beings and not as physical entities (Rheingold, 1998).

Time and space. Bohm was also concerned that in the immediacy of face-to-face dialogue we concentrate on formulating our response and forget to listen to what is being said. Sometimes there is no time to synthesize and reach that point of shared meaning. In virtual dialogue, asynchronicity becomes a positive factor; unlike verbal dialogue, which is gone as soon as it is uttered, virtual dialogue is stored; it can be revisited and reframed, allowing for subsequent analysis and synthesis. Efficient storage and recall of cognitive information is useful, as human memory, although evocative, can be vague and unreliable (Etzioni, 2001). The immediacy of

real-time dialogue can promote irrational response and loss of civility, whereas CMC provides a delay loop, which may prove effective as a cooling off mechanism.

By providing seamless time and space for reflection and considered response, there is opportunity for individuals who may feel intimidated by thrust and repartee to contribute, if they so choose. However, it must be noted that the practice of 'flaming', posting derogatory and inflammatory messages, can be equally, if not more damaging, than heated face-to-face to exchanges, making it very important to establish clear guidelines and protocols for on-line communication.

Body language. Face-to-face communication is viewed as a rich medium in that it conveys non-verbal cues, for example facial expressions, gestures, vocal intonation and volume. As Bohm noted, "the thought process is an extension of the body process, and all the body language is showing in it. When people are in close contact, talking about something they care about, their whole bodies are involved" (p. 31). In virtual communication we cannot see words tempered by a smile, nor feel the response of others to what we say. Rheingold (1998) reminded us that words on a screen can hurt people. Although virtual communication might seem to have the transience of a telephone conversation, it has the reach and permanence of a publication.

Finding meaning. We put our own interpretation on the language text that appears on a screen. It then becomes difficult at times to find the meaning of the written words. As Bakhtin (1981) said, it is not the words that hold the meaning, but the intent that we put into them. Reading the intention becomes a difficulty in interpretation of virtual dialogue, as Valerie Beckingham (Beckingham & Wainio, 1997) pointed out, "You cannot see eyes on email, nor hear subtle inflections in voices. Words must work harder when they stand alone than when they are carried also by eyes and voice" (p. 52). Consequently, it becomes much more important in

virtual community that we understand and that we follow through the dialogic process: we respect; we suspend our assumptions; we do not judge; we ask for clarification; and we remain open. This is the challenge.

In virtual dialogue, we can make use of the gift of time and space to listen, reflect, suspend assumptions and consider response; for learners serving their apprenticeship in this medium there exists the possibility of more equal participation and a shifting of power as they explore new ways of knowing and find new meaning. Mitchell and Sackney (2002) observed, "the creation and assimilation of knowledge is never static, controllable or hegemonic. As others gain knowledge, they become empowered, and move forward to take their place in the power structure" (p. 78). Virtual dialogue can provide the pathway in cyberspace for knowledge creation and learner empowerment.

However, the absence of visual and verbal cues can lead to misunderstandings; clarification of meaning becomes important. Conrad (2002), in a Canadian study of graduate level virtual learners, found that learners' silences were as important as their contributions as indicators of unresolved conflicts. To promote conditions which foster communication that is open, honest, and challenging, yet respectful leads us to consider what a policy for virtual dialogue might look like.

Creating Policy for Virtual Dialogue

We started our exploration of dialogue with agency, for we had a purpose, with epistemological curiosity, for we were eager for more knowledge, and critical consciousness, as we examined various conceptions of dialogue with our minds open. Now, having served our apprenticeship with masters of dialogue and considered its implications for virtual learners and instructors, we have a firm knowledge base on which to build a policy for virtual dialogue that

ensures our learners have a safe and secure learning environment to participate in “normative discourse with dialogical competence” (K. Walker [personal communication, October 17, 2002]). We start with a description of adult learners, adult learning, and on-line instruction; our prescription is to complete this stage of the journey with educated people. I do not say ‘end’ the journey, as the path to learning is never ending. The process we are using to get from description to prescription is dialogue (Figure 1).

We can only achieve a good policy for dialogue as an online learning tool by passing it though a normative screen, which filters, arbitrates, and accommodates our rules, procedures, processes and principles so that our policy allows transformation of learners to educated people in a manner that considers community, efficiency, equality and liberty.

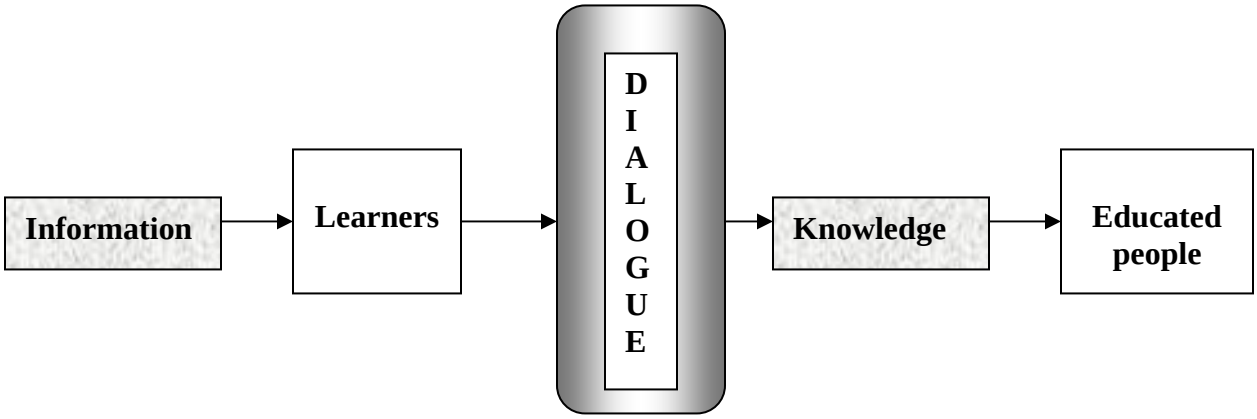

Figure 1. The process of dialogue.

The Normative Screen

Dialogue is a dynamic living entity that catalyses the fluid creation of meaning though human interaction. It characterises an epistemological relationship that can provide unity between theory and practice. As an active process of constructive learning and knowing, we engage in dialogue internally within ourselves, externally with others, and create new knowledge

from their union. Virtual dialogue is built on mutual trust, respect and celebration of diversity. It provides an equal forum for interaction as well as space for reflection and suspension of assumptions. It is an asynchronous process by which we open ourselves to listening and responding. By melding our own internal voices and the external voices of others, by processing information into knowledge, together we create something new.

A Policy for Virtual Dialogue in Adult Education

In creating a policy for interactive distance learning using CMC, a university department focusing on a constructivist philosophy of teaching and learning, may find a section on virtual dialogue helpful in promoting a collaborative learning approach and building a community of learners separated by time and space, yet connected by a network of communication.

A policy for virtual dialogue in adult education should be based on the following principles:

- we provide a safe environment that promotes open communication;
- we teach our students how to dialogue in process;
- we ensure that they have a sound knowledge base on which to build;
- we use past experience as a foundation upon which to construct new learning;
- we encourage epistemological curiosity, and we model it;
- together we establish boundaries;
- we show respect at all times;
- while retaining our authority as a teacher/learner, we commit to empowerment of learners.

Such a policy celebrates learning as a partnership, encourages flexibility in exploration, promotes respectful communication, and acknowledges that different paths may reach the same end. It

recognises the important role of the on-line instructor in facilitating and modelling the learning process, and in empowering learners, a role that is different from the traditional conception of an adult educator as an imparter of knowledge through the medium of lecture. Moreover, it also promotes the role of the learner as an active participant in not only her own learning, but in the learning of fellow participants.

Implementation of such a policy would enhance the impact and effectiveness of collaborative learning at a distance by giving learners an opportunity to discuss and reflect their learning, to share ideas and experiences and to undertake the group based learning activities that allow them to apply knowledge, practice skills and explore attitudes and values (Spronk, 1999).

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to explore the role of dialogue in an adult on-line learning environment as first, a pathway to connect individual learners separated by time and space, and second, a process of promoting meaningful interaction among adult learners in the creation of knowledge from information.

This paper has been a learning journey that explored dialogue as seen through the eyes of David Bohm, Mikhail Bakhtin, Paulo Freire, and Linda Ellinor and Glenna Gerard; their reflections enabled me to express my own conception of dialogue, to explore the role of dialogue in a virtual adult education environment, and finally to formulate answers to my initial questions: *What is dialogue? Who are our learners? What is the role of the teacher in virtual learning? What is the role of dialogue in virtual adult learning? What would a policy for virtual adult education look like?*

Dialogue means different things to different people; sometimes it is used as a synonym for discussion and even general conversation. However, dialogue is more than just a word; it

characterises an epistemological relationship that can provide unity between theory and practice. Dialogue is a dynamic living entity that catalyses the fluid creation of meaning though human interaction. Dialogue goes beyond the spoken word to recognise that writing, reading, and internal dialogues are also meaning-making processes; it allows us to distil our own knowing and learning internally within ourselves and externally with others.

Learning on-line provides an alternative to traditional face-to-face education. Adults learning in a virtual environment may come from widely differing backgrounds and yet may share certain characteristics that promote success in this non-traditional learning milieu, for example the ability to work and do research independently and to direct their own learning, as well as high levels of motivation. However, there is no such thing as the typical adult learner or the typical virtual learner. Entering a virtual learning environment, many adults feel vulnerable, uncertain and insecure. The on-line instructor plays a vital role in modelling respectful online interaction, providing direction, encouraging participation, and assessment. The objective is for the learner to take responsibility for her own learning; thus the instructor should find a balance between providing direction and allowing freedom to explore, between giving up power and retaining it.

The virtual learning environment provides the opportunity for interactive and collaborative learning. Barnes (1977) declared “knowledge is not produced passively by perceiving individuals, but by interacting social groups engaged in particular activities: it is evaluated communally, and not by isolated individual judgments” (p. 124). Virtual dialogue is the process that allows learners to share and relate new learning to their existing knowledge frame. Features of virtual dialogue, for example asynchronicity and lack of physical presence, provide advantages and disadvantages when compared with traditional face-to-face dialogue.

Advantages include greater equality of participation, time for considered response, and efficient storage and recall of cognitive information. Disadvantages occur owing to lack of spontaneity of response, and misconceptions that may arise in the absence of visual cues.

A policy for virtual dialogue in adult education includes providing a safe environment for dialogue, teaching learners the process of dialogue, encouraging epistemological curiosity, valuing learners' past experience, and providing a balance between learner autonomy and instructor direction.

Virtual dialogue has the potential to connect and unite individuals across the globe in the creation of knowledge from information. With the meeting of minds, the spinning of a cyber web of human relationships is where the potential for cultural and political change can be found.

A virtual dialogue, although recognizing and valuing conflicting viewpoints, is not in itself conflictual, confrontational, nor cut and thrust. The sharing of our meanings brings coherence to our light - the clarity of the laser, without the sharpness of the knife. There are no winners. There are no losers…

Only when things are investigated is knowledge extended;

only when knowledge is extended are thoughts sincere;

only when thoughts are sincere are minds rectified;

only when minds are rectified are the characters of persons cultivated;

only when character is cultivated are our families regulated;

only when families are regulated are states well governed;

only when states are well governed is there peace in the world.

Confucius (De Bary and Bloom, 1999, p. 54)

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Ghana and the Global Information Economy: Marginalization, Dependency and Social Exclusion

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Introduction

Recent innovative advances in information and communication technologies (ICTs) has brought to the fore some optimistic ideas about how developing countries can engage in a death-defying leap over some stages of industrial growth. Proponents of these arguments often point to the potentials embedded in ICTs. As dynamic tools, ICTs are capable of building synergistic linkages for development. The dynamic and pervasive nature of ICTs in terms of providing niches for development cannot be debated. However, situations in most developing countries are falling far below what even the pessimists anticipated. Based on this realization, this paper argues that most developing countries, especially those in Africa, are experiencing marginalization, deepening dependency and social exclusion from the technological revolution occurring today.

Ghana's exclusive dependence on raw primary exports is discussed in relation to the changes that have occurred in the world economy. It is argued that, in the face of ongoing massive transformations in the world economy based on information processing, Ghana's dependence on agricultural and mineral raw material export is not only accelerating its dependency but marginalizing it from reaping even the basic benefits of the global information economy. This is because, apart from the continuous fluctuation in world market prices for such commodities, advances in genetic engineering have further diminish Ghana's participation in the

old colonial division of labour. The consequences are not limited to Ghana's marginalization and the deepening of its dependency alone but, more importantly, in the social exclusion of its citizens from the emerging global information economy.

ICTs and the Global Information Economy

The integration of telecommunication and computer technologies in the 1950s enabled the production and networking of computers to each other and to terminals. This development necessitated the combination of electronic circuits on very tiny surfaces of silicon, popularly referred to as the 'chip' (Hamelink, 1997). The outcome of this was the innovative transformation in ICTs and the complete revision of the forces and modes of production. Consequently, there is a dynamic change from a world economy to a global economy. The global economy is "an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale" (Castells, 1996:92). This conceptualization portrays the global economy as a distinctive socio-economic reality, because at

> its core, the fundamental source of wealth generation lies in an ability to create new knowledge and apply it to every realm of human activity by means of enhanced technological and organisational procedures of information processing (Castells, 1993:20).

In other words, the defining factor in market access, competition and production is information processing. As such, the global information economy is markedly distinct from a world economy, in which the accumulation of capital ensues all over the world. Based on this understanding, the global information economy then denotes a new mode of production. The make up of this new socio-economic reality indicates a dynamic shift from land, labour and capital as the basic factors of production to information processing, which is distinctively based on acumen, ingenuity and knowledge (Hoogvelt, 2001).

It is clear that no country can develop all the new technologies essential for the global information economy. Though imported technology is vital, it needs not mean technological dependence (Laxer, 1985). While borrowing of technology through arms-length arrangements is necessary and important, this paper argues in favour of domestic innovation. This is based on the assumption that competitiveness in the rising global information economy is less dependent on a country's position in the old colonial division of labour. This is because the new economy seems not to have been based on commodity trade or availability of extractable natural resources per se, but on a country's ability to engineer domestic innovation and adaptation of ICTs.

Ghana's ICT Infrastructure and Connectivity

Though no country has been left out of the ICT revolution, the rate of penetration has been very low in some regions of the world, especially Africa. This is true in the case of Ghana. The subscriber base of mainline telephones jumped from about 78,900 in 1995 to about 240,000 by the close of 2001. This increase saw a leap in teledensity from 0.3 per cent in 1996, to 0.9 per cent in 2001 (ITU, 2002). In the area of mobile cellular telephones, Ghana experienced very rapid growth. The fierce competition in this sector resulted in a rise in usage from 22,000 subscribers in 1999 to 401,710 subscribers in 2002. This increase in cellular usage and coverage pushed up the market penetration rate from 15.23% as of March 2002 to 19.74% as of September 2002 (Ghana Home Page, ND).

In spite of the rapid developments in the telecommunications sector in Ghana, it is far behind other technologically emerging developing countries. Due to Ghana's lack of substantial development in the area of ICTs, it is very difficult to adequately capture the extent of ICT hardware and software penetration (Jensen, 2002). However, of the over 29 Internet service providers (ISPs) licensed to operate only three are active. This, notwithstanding, the subscriber

base as well as Internet usage increased from 13,000 in 1999 to about 400,000 in 2001 (UNECA, 2002). By this increase, Ghana had about 6.8 subscribers per 10,000 inhabitants of the population of about 20 million browsing the World Wide Web through the 192 local Internet host sites by the end of 2000 (ISSER, 1993 and 2001).

The mode of development embedded in recent innovative ICTs develops according to their own judgement. They do not react instinctively to economic necessities. As such, it is perhaps unfeasible for any country excluded from the ICT revolution to build up any important linkages with the global economy moderately than a dependent, irrelevant and marginalized one (Castells, 1998). This is because in spite of the immense potential embedded in newly advanced ICTs, finding a significant niche in the global information economy depends on the ability to produce new knowledge. This in light of current events is possible only through information processing. Thus in this direction, the abundance of labour and arable land or the reliance on a country's role in the old colonial mode of production is not only inappropriate but, more importantly, contributes to marginalization.

With almost three decades into this new global economy, Ghana is still solely dependent on the export of primary commodities. For instance, agriculture alone employs 60% of the nine million person labour force, leaving industry with 15% and the services sector with 25% as of the end of 2002. Ironically, even with 60% participation rate in agriculture, the country imports large quantities of food each year. In 2001, Ghana's food imports were to the tune of US$2,652 million, while export of food stood at US$1,893 million (Ghana Home Page, ND). This situation made Ghana's external debt service ratio increase from the estimated 10.7% of exports in 1982 (Hutchful, 1989) to 175% of total exports as of the end of 2000 (ISSER, 2001). This is not

startling at all, since IMF credit increased from US$46 million in 1970 to US$740 million in 1992. By the end of 2000, Ghana's external debt stood at US$5.5billion (ISSER, 2001).

The overdependence of the Ghanaian economy on raw material exports and the lack of investment in techno-scientific education is the result of the absence of domestic innovation of technologies. As noted by Castells, the outcome of the emerging new global information economy and its attendant mode of production are the "social exclusion and economic irrelevance of segments of societies, areas of cities, of regions, and of entire countries" (1998:344). The absence of any significant investment in research and development, as well as science and technology education explains Ghana's inability to engage in domestic innovation, creation and adaptation of ICTs.

Unfortunately, even with such an inadequate ICT infrastructure and connectivity base, Ghana ranks high among Sub-Saharan African countries whose ICT diffusion levels are far more advanced. However, taking the worldwide state of ICTs into account, Africa is marginalized in the global information superhighway. This is to be expected since the basic infrastructure for the diffusion of these advanced ICTs are either grossly inadequate, outmoded or lacks basic maintenance. It is interesting that in Ghana today, one finds government offices and public Internet cafés using computers that are DOS-based, with 386 and 486 processors (Jensen, July, 2002) running at a snail's pace. Apart from the fact that these Internet cafés charge their customers based on the number of minutes used in browsing the World Wide Web, it is also very unproductive. Based on this, one can argue that the deepening of Ghana's dependency and marginalization from the global information economy flows from ill-designed, inadequate, under funded and uncoordinated policies.

The Relationship between Ghana and the Global Economy

The dynamic changes that have occurred in the world economy, as earlier noted, have made information processing its most rewarding feature. In this vein, for a country to actively participate in this new economy, it must either be at the forefront of the innovation of technologies, or be vigorously adopting and diffusing technologies to its needs, wants and constraints. There are signs that this is not happening in Ghana due to its over-dependence on raw material commodity exports. The over-concentration on raw agricultural and mineral extraction explains why little attention is being paid to the building of human and technological skills. Unfortunately, these are the necessary skills for active participation in today's global information economy.

It can be argued that Ghana's marginalization is not new. It is an ongoing process starting from its integration, albeit unequally, into the capitalist economy during the period of colonial rule. However, Ghana's marginalization has been increasing continuously as a result of internal mismanagement, corruption and lack of domestic capacity to innovate and create transformative ICTs. From all indications, the global information economy has "not developed a relationship, other than exclusionary one, with the African periphery which is not engaged in competitive industrialisation at all" (Amin, 1997:1). The new global information economy necessitated by ICTs has become the last straw accelerating Ghana's marginalization from the hierarchy of nations. Consequently, large segments of Ghana's population are socially excluded from reaping the benefits of today's technological transformations.

Ghana's dependence on raw agricultural exports, for example cocoa, is the basic reason for its marginalization from the new global information economy. For instance, since 1988 the price per metric tonne of cocoa has witnessed a steady decline on the world market. The average

price fell from US$1,883.3 million in 1988 to US$1,693.5 in 1989 and then to US$1,007.5 in 1993. Two years after these declines, the unit price went up, only to slide again in 1996 to US$1,399.7. From 1996 onwards, the rise and slide trend continued until 2000 (ISSER, 1993 and 2001). Though the fluctuating pattern of a rain-dependent commodity like cocoa should be expected, it is clear that the inconsistent nature of the world market price is a greater disincentive for production and planning.

Unfortunately, the IMF and the World Bank keep pushing Ghana into concentrating on the production of cocoa and other primary agricultural products for export. This has deepened Ghana's dependence and integration as servants of the rich economies (Cardoso, 1993:156). As such, it is not difficult to fathom why a chocolate bar is more expensive in Ghana than in most non-cocoa producing countries. This is the dependency syndrome affecting development efforts in the developing world. It will be very difficult for Ghana to get out of this dependency situation unless steps are taken to encourage domestic innovation and creation of ICTs. Domestic adaptation, innovation and creation of ICTs would not only make Ghana one of the emerging global technological hubs but, more importantly, will lead to the expansion of the economic base, thus invariably creating more jobs.

Excluded from the technological nodes of the information age, Ghana has little or no prospects for development in the new global economy. This is based on the reality that, unlike in the past where the abundance of raw materials was a sufficient means of active participation in the international economy, the ability to move into the information age depends on the capacity of the whole society to be in position to digest and process complex information (Castells, 1998b).

Therefore, by continuing to rely on the export of agricultural and mineral resources in this age of information processing, Ghana should not expect any meaningful return from the global information economy but rather marginalization and social exclusion. As noted by Castells, the basic font of wealth production in the

> global information economy lies in a country's ability to create new knowledge…by means of enhanced technological and organizational procedures of information processing (1993:20).

This calls for investment in science and technology education and the expansion of the economic base beyond the traditional narrow agricultural and mineral raw material production. The consequences of not forcefully pursuing the above policy measures will result in further deterioration in the standard of living of most Ghanaians. This will invariably, deepen Ghana's dependency, marginalization and social exclusion.

Conclusion

It is clear that a country's position among the hierarchy of nations today, unlike in the past, does not depend on the abundance of extractable natural resources. There is enough evidence to generalise that participation in the global information economy depends on Ghana's ability to build a human skill base in order to generate knowledge directed at the creation and innovation of ICTs. So far this is not happening in Ghana.

It is not that Ghana cannot compete actively in the emerging global information economy. Ghana's problem has been the lack of consistent policy that will deal with the issues of building human technological skills. Once steps are taken to build these skills, the skills thus acquired will ultimately be translated into domestic innovation, creation and adaptation of ICTs to Ghana's needs, opportunities and constraints.

By continuing to rely on the export of agricultural and mineral resources in this age of information processing, Ghana should not expect any meaningful return from the global information economy other than marginalization and insignificance. The basic fact is that Ghana is marginalized because it is behind in technology diffusion and the building of human skills needed for participation in today's knowledge-based economy. This is because large segments of Ghana's population have not even benefited from the diffusion of old technologies, such as telephone and electricity, let alone from recent innovative ICTs.

The economic reform undertaken through the structural adjustment programme (SAP) was unfortunately, geared towards the production of more raw materials to feed the industries of the developed economies. Recent innovative ICTs are not widely diffused. There are no concrete steps taken to encourage domestic creation and adaptation of these technologies to local needs, wants and constraints. Though one can argue that this was the result of colonialism, the complicity of Ghanaian leaders in the perpetuation of this dependency cannot be overlooked. After so many years of domestic mismanagement, patronage and mediocrity in the name of self-rule, both colonial and post-colonial leaders have to share the blame equally.

There is the need for Ghana to put in place policies in the areas of science and technology education, as well as strategies for research and development. Of equal importance is the ways and means such policies will be funded, promoted and sustained. The successful implementation of such policies will invariably be transformed into the production of knowledge and the domestic innovation of ICTs.

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In search of greener grass: Considering multilingualism in the English-speaking global village

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Introduction

One of the most liberating things I first learned about feminism and scholarship is that, as people with multitudinous life stories, we are all sources of insight and inspiration. Personal experience is a foundational cornerstone upon which feminist research is built. With this in mind, I felt strengthened and encouraged to use my own experience in an exploration of English language hegemony in our globalized world and the impact this has had on linguistic and cultural diversity today. Ultimately, my experience of language learning and English hegemony has emerged as a microcosm of what the "global village" faces on a larger scale.

In this presentation, I describe how the hegemony of the English language, globalization and our educational choices are intertwined. By sketching out my personal experience, I trace the effects of English as a dominant force in my own life as a multilingual learner and as a teacher of English as a Second Language (ESL). With this experiential backdrop, I raise questions that search out alternatives to the excessive power attributed to English by mainstream North American culture and, indirectly, by those under its influence through globalization. I seek to address the tension between the headlong rush to promote English the world over and the concept of multilingual education for native English speakers. My final purpose here is to make the case for native English speakers to learn other languages as a counterbalance to the strong current toward English language precedence via globalization.

Greener grass

Growing up in a privileged environment, I never realized what opportunities I was surrounded by until I was challenged by circumstance to go beyond my narrow frame of reference and learn: I did not understand how my background had hindered me in appreciating what was available to me. We often claim that *the grass is greener on the other side*, but sometimes we neglect to take advantage of it when we are already on the so-called other side and the grass is perfectly within reach. That is at least the best way I can think to portray what I have faced in my life as a formal and informal learner of languages and as an educator of language and literacy.

My language landscape

Like most Canadians, I am a cultural and linguistic hybrid. This has without question contributed to my interest in languages and cultural diversity today, though it was certainly not always in the forefront of my consciousness or curiosity.

My mother and father come from vastly different cultural experiences and family histories. Despite this, they managed to find some common ground in a relationship and the upbringing of three children. They met on the campus of the University of Calgary in the mid-sixties: the paths that had brought each of them there are worth a story in themselves. My mother was born in Hungary just before the end of the Second World War. Her mother hailed from Transylvania, a Hungarian-speaking province in Romania, and her father was a Slovak national from Hungary. After the war, the family moved to Czechoslovakia. As the Red Army marched across eastern Europe in the late 1940s, my grandparents and my four-year-old mother attempted to flee the continent. After an interminable wait in a German displaced persons camp, they missed the boat to Canada and decided to take the next one out – destined for Venezuela.

By the time my mother and her family reached Canada a few years later, she was ten years old and was faced with learning her fourth language.

My father is a monolingual English Canadian of Scottish descent. He grew up in a coddled, middle-class environment in Victoria and Calgary. His parents were staunchly committed to upholding the essence of British Empire loyalty and Scottish culture, which did not embrace cultural or linguistic diversity of any kind. When my parents were to be married, the contrast between the families was almost satirically antithetical. The recent film *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (2002) is a surprisingly accurate and amusing portrait of what I believe to be the experience of many culturally and linguistically cross-bred families in North America, including my own.

As the firstborn, I presented my parents with new opportunities to experiment with teaching and learning different languages in childhood. My mother made a concerted effort to speak Hungarian to me, hoping that I would uphold her first language, and her own love of learning languages, instilled at an early age. My father was very supportive and encouraging of this endeavour: he felt it was important for his children to learn languages, even if that meant he would not be able to actively participate and communicate with us beyond English. By the time my sister, the third child, was born, I was enrolled in pre-school and had English-speaking friends who occupied a good deal of time with me. I was also staying up in the evenings and spending more time speaking English with my father. Hungarian began to fall by the wayside as a viable mode of communication in our home. Gradually it became the language we heard primarily from our grandparents, to whom we ultimately responded in English.

Growing up in a small town in English Canada during the years of the Trudeau government's promotion of bilingualism, my siblings and I attended school in a French

immersion program. Both of my parents were eager to give us every possible chance to learn beyond the bounds of the narrow curriculum that schools offered at that time. My mother had a fear that her children would grow up without the same exposure to languages and cultures that she had had, and I imagine that her fear was fuelled when she heard us consistently reply in English when we would have been capable of using Hungarian. The circumstances under which we grew up were significantly different from those of my mother, who had sought refuge as a non-citizen in temporary homelands. We had the good fortune and privilege to be born in a place where it was not necessary to escape, but where socio-cultural ease bred linguistic inertia. Though we attended school in French immersion, my mother was eager for us to be even more deeply immersed than the local program at school could allow. The most attractive alternative that she could conceive of was to take us to Montréal, where she and my father had lived briefly before we were born.

I attended secondary school and CÉGEP in Montréal, where French eclipsed our school and social lives entirely; Hungarian became even more obscured in the background of our language landscape. English was used strictly at home when we were together as a family, even when my father was absent.

Several years after moving there, I graduated from an English university in Montréal. I decided to go to Hungary where my mother and her family had originally come from. It was a time of transformation there, as the Iron Curtain separating the “west” from the Soviet satellite countries in eastern Europe had come down a few short years before. Within months, I had revisited what was technically my first language and learned a good deal more. I felt joy at suddenly being able to engage in lengthy conversations with my grandmother and listen to the stories from her childhood and youth she could recount to me in Hungarian, accessing them

much more readily in her mother tongue than in her adopted English (Sumara, 2002). I was exhilarated by a whole new world that opened itself to me through the understanding of a different language. The lengths my mother had gone to in order to provide my siblings and me with exposure to various languages became real for me; I grasped the importance of being able to express myself to people who could not speak the language I still feel most comfortable in: English.

In Budapest I ultimately found employment in a large, Canadian, multinational firm. My language skills were undoubtedly an asset, although I knew from the beginning that it was primarily for my French and English skills that I was able to get work, not necessarily my Hungarian. At that time, several international companies were expanding into Eastern Europe and proficiency in the English language provided an elite group with a commanding position for first-draft options in employment.

Despite the fact that the firm I worked for was in Hungary, the majority of the Canadian (and other native-English-speaking) expatriate employees did not feel obligated to learn Hungarian for the purposes of their work there. By contrast, *all* of the Hungarian employees of the firm were expected to be fluent in English, if not in French as well. At the same time, the Canadians and other native English speakers enjoyed a much higher status in the company hierarchy, while the Hungarians were generally relegated to support staff positions or, if they held jobs that were comparable to those of the native English speakers, they did not benefit from the same level of prestige.

With a mounting distaste for corporate business, I sought out a certification course to become an English language instructor. My tactic was to teach English while I continued to travel around the world. I believed I would be helping people by instructing English, giving

them the chance to express themselves in another language, thus improving their earning potential and enhancing intercultural communication. I also hoped to learn about the places I wished to travel to, although learning the local language was not my highest priority – "intercultural communication" usually works only in one direction for native English speakers. It never dawned on me that my new field of work was so closely related to the corporate world I had attempted to abandon. North American economic expansion around the globe and the rapid spread of the English language are so narrowly linked that it is often difficult to determine which spawned the other.

My experiences in teaching English both abroad and in Canada have generated countless stories that illustrate how deeply the hegemony of English is ingrained in our psyches and consequently, how very little it is questioned. Initially, I stayed in Europe and worked as a free-lance instructor of business English. The vast majority of my students were people who worked for large, multinational corporations and needed English to communicate with colleagues locally and in other countries. They ranged in their language levels from novice to advanced and they ranged in the corporate hierarchy from shop-floor employees to the upper echelons of management. They learned English within the context of their occupations, while at the same time they wished to raise their confidence in another language so as to communicate more freely and comfortably.

At this point in my career as an English language teacher, I began to understand that as a native English speaker (and in some cases, as a North American), I had particular privileges I had hitherto not even discerned, let alone acknowledged. Robert Phillipson discusses the imbalanced nature of what he refers to as English linguistic imperialism in "Linguistic Imperialism" (1992). He defines the term thus:

> […] *the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages*. Here *structural* refers broadly to material properties (for example institutions, financial allocations) and *cultural* to immaterial or ideological properties (for example, attitudes, pedagogic principles). (p. 47 original emphasis)

In Europe, I realised that had my students not had the chance to learn English, they would not likely have risen in their workplace hierarchies. In some of the most draconian instances, they may well have even lost their jobs. As a native English speaker, I had never been faced with such manifestly undeserved options for my livelihood. Phillipson elaborates on this:

> The structural and cultural inequalities [of English linguistic imperialism] ensure the continued allocation of more material resources to English than to other languages and benefit those who are proficient in English. (p. 47)

Simultaneously, the English language teaching (ELT) business caters to the perpetuated belief that in learning English, the career advances we make will go hand-in-hand with *economic* advancement and subsequent disposable income for conspicuous consumption, a core objective of globalization. Surrounded by media coverage on American cable news channels and the promotion of American popular culture via movies, music and clothes, non-native speakers take on subliminal desires which are recreated in the English language classroom. To compound the situation, many of the multinational corporations for whom my students worked were tightly knit into the force of modern economic expansion through globalization. The pressure to learn English was strong, as many of the companies were affiliated with world-wide multinationals that had their headquarters in North America – a direct result of international mergers and

corporate takeovers. Employees were expected to have faith that learning English and wanting ever-more economic profits (for the company and the individual) were the keys to ultimate happiness.

Language is intrinsically connected to thinking processes, belief systems, attitudes, customs and values. This internalization of the "baggage" that comes with English (or any language in general) was repeatedly demonstrated to me in the work I did as an English instructor in Europe as well as in Canada. I had an almost imperceptible awareness of teaching not just my language, but my lifestyle as a whole: the beliefs, attitudes, customs and values that are undeniably a part of my North American, English-speaking persona. Because English is the most widely spoken language in the world, the hegemonic implications of this cultural homogenisation are dizzying.

Globalization is not a master-minded occurrence that is entirely beyond the control of those implicated in it. The students I worked with were not semi-comatose workers who punched in to be reprogrammed for their jobs in English. Power relationships are about negotiation: there is a supply of a given service or commodity (in this case, the English language) and a demand in response. Sheila Shannon (1995) writes to this:

> To maintain its dominant status, a language has to be associated with political, governmental, economic, and social domination and the consent of the people. Linguistic hegemony is constantly negotiated as a language's dominant status is strengthened or weakened, as persuasion is more or less successful for popular consent, and as it is resisted. (p. 176)

When a language is accepted, as opposed to resisted, the impact on other, less powerful languages is destructive. Shannon also claims that "the hegemony of English has the potential

power not only to diminish the use and value of minority languages, but also to replace them entirely." (p. 175) In cases where the majority of work correspondence and communication takes place in English (even in non-English-speaking environments), this may prove a very real threat to languages, cultures and value systems that are different.

Ultimately, I returned from my travels and settled into teaching English in Vancouver before coming to Saskatchewan to pursue graduate studies. The west coast is an ELT haven, where a large number of international students go to learn English. The learners I encountered there were significantly different than the European business people I had worked with beforehand. Yet the implications of global English hegemony were very much in evidence in the Vancouver ESL classroom, just as they had been in the business minds of Europe. It was not until I learned to doubt and critique the *status quo* that I realized what staggering power English has. At that point I realized how dangerously unquestioned this erosion of linguistic and cultural diversity is.

Multilingualism in the global village

I am as guilty as any other native English speaker in perpetuating the hegemonic power of English, in times when diversity in the global village has become crucial for the village to survive as an authentically and inclusively *global* phenomenon. When Marshall McLuhan coined the term global village in the 1960s, he was referring to how technology has increased our capacity for accelerated communication to and from virtually any point in the world (Symes, 1995). Symes interprets McLuhan's concept from two different angles: that of a village as a small physical space and thus easily and rapidly traversed to communicate effectively; and that of a village as a community in which everyone has a role as an active citizen and participant in determining what happens in our shared society. In using the term global village here, I hope to

reclaim it in its truly global aspect, with the sense of community and active participation that Symes refers to in the latter interpretation. Here, diversity and sharing are underscored as opposed to the over-simplification of the world into a one-dimensional provincial square where everyone speaks the same language and caters to the same values and beliefs with nary a thought to how this so-called village came into being and why it is that way.

In examining my life experience, languages always seem to have been part of my identity and my interpretation of the world. I have had ample opportunity to grasp the greener grass of linguistic diversity: I grew up in a bilingual home, went to school in a bilingual environment, worked in a setting with a broad range of different cultures and languages and am now married to a non-native English speaker, living again in a bilingual home. Yet, somehow English remains paramount and washes my language landscape in a largely homogenous, muted hue. I cannot help but wonder if my experience has been so deliberately oriented to language learning, what then is the experience of the average North American English speaker who has not had the same opportunities to learn other languages? What are the educational and social alternatives that provide us with opening our minds and ears to a variety of languages, rather than to one above all? Are we not preventing ourselves, as native English speakers and consumers of mainstream culture, from breaking through to the greener grass of a diverse global village where languages of all kinds and cultures of every nature are honoured on an equal par? Perhaps we believe that we already have everything we need: as native English speakers, why bother to learn other languages when people from around the world are clamouring to learn our own mother tongue? I am convinced that if trends continue in this vein, we as a globalized society will become ever more restricted and elitist in this deference to English, defeating the very purpose of a global community. Only those with the “right” language and culture (be it native or

imposed/learned) will be permitted to participate in decisions about the world that change and affect every last individual and community in the most remote places, impinging on all of their languages.

Conclusion

I do not for an instant purport that English language instruction should be halted to deter more people around the world from learning English. On the contrary, my sincere hope is that more native English speakers will become aware of the erosion of linguistic diversity and take an active role in learning a relevant language to broaden their own understanding of the world and the vast variety of cultures and peoples that is in it. This vision may be idealistic or optimistically long-range, but my primary goal here has been to heighten our collective consciousness and present new perspectives on the not-normally-questioned status of the English language in the age of globalization.

The *status quo* is not a chance happening – we are constantly in need of asking why and how things came to be the way they are. In so doing, the best place to start is with our own understanding of the world. In North America, English holds such authority that multilingualism is almost seen as a liability rather than the invaluable resource that it is. In actively inviting linguistic pluralism into our communities, schools and homes, we can foster a love of learning about the world beyond our ken, advance an abiding open-mindedness, and encounter true pleasure in facing and embracing difference.

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Toward a Universal Declaration of Interdependence:
Reflections for Global Education

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I. Introduction: The Question Regarding the Possibility of Drafting a Formal Declaration of Interdependence

In his article, "The Ticking Bomb,"[5] Wade Davis addresses the contemporary global threats of international terrorism, environmental devastation, economic disparity, and rampant warfare. For him, these are the result of the blindness on the part of some human beings to the fact that they are fundamentally dependent for their survival on other human beings, and on the planet in general. Instead, it seems that all life is becoming subservient to the emerging 'global' economy with its 'manifest destiny' of Western development and infinite economic growth. This 'value program' of the global economy seems impossible to curtail. But, without being placed 'in check', the global economy led by multinational corporations, whose sole ethic is the maximization of money profits, threatens to outstrip all cultural diversity and life on the planet. Pointing to the inevitable resentment of the dispossessed and those adversely affected by the global economy, Davis writes,

> True peace and security for the 21st century will only come about when we find a way to address the underlying issues of disparity, dislocation and dispossession that have provoked the madness of our age. What we desperately need is a global acknowledgement of the fact that no people and no nation can truly prosper unless the bounty of our collective ingenuity and opportunities are available and accessible to all. We must aspire to create a new international spirit of pluralism, a true global democracy in which cultures, large and small, are allowed the right to exist, even as we learn and live together, enriched by the deepest reaches of our imaginings. We need a global declaration of interdependence.

A formal adoption of a declaration of interdependence has already, in part, been attempted by several political and lobby groups concerned primarily with environmental issues surrounding the notion of development. For example, in 1992, the David Suzuki Foundation drafted a one-page declaration of interdependence in conjunction with the United Nations' Earth Summit in

[5] Wade Davis, "The Ticking Bomb," in *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, July 06, 2002, p. A11.

Rio de Janeiro.[6] Similarly, in 1993, the UIA / AIA World Congress of Architects drafted a 'Declaration of Interdependence for a Sustainable Future'.[7] However, while constituting an admirable first step in this direction, documents such as these suffer either from being too 'naïvely poetic' to being still immersed in the rhetoric of global economics and 'sustainable development'.[8] Furthermore, a universal declaration of interdependence should be articulated in the same spirit as, mandate, and with the same importance and status as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Regarding the possibility of the United Nations adopting such a document, in 1998, the United Nation's Commission for Social Development did write a short draft declaration of interdependence characterizing human relations as "organic, two-way, reciprocal" and affirming that every human being is "part of a unified whole."[9] But, as yet, the United Nations has not resolved to draft a formal declaration of interdependence.

In my view, in a similar manner to the Declaration of Human Rights, a Universal Declaration of Interdependence should be treated as a founding document establishing the very principles of a renewed United Nations. Instead of only asserting what are 'rights' are, as we do today, we should also make an assertion of our 'responsibilities'. And, rather than eclipse the former, the principles of the Universal Declaration of Interdependence would work in conjunction with the Declaration of Human Rights, which assert the inalienable rights of the individual. It would affirm the diversity, yet fundamental inter-relatedness and solidarity of all beings on the planet by 1.) declaring the inalienable rights of all sentient beings, as well as 2.) articulating the fact that the ways of life, thinking, and actions of living beings have a direct causal impact on all other beings on the Earth, as in the perspective of 'Deep Ecology'.[10] It will be the purpose of this paper to attempt to answer three questions regarding such a document: 1.) Why do we need a universal declaration of interdependence?, 2.) Where can we find novel ideas, leadership, and language for a universal declaration of interdependence?, and 3.) What would the

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[6] See Declaration of Interdependence of the David Suzuki Foundation, 1992, at www.davidsuzuki.org.

[7] See the Declaration of Interdependence for a Sustainable Future – UIA / AIA World Congress of Architects, Chicago, June 18-21, 1993, at www.uia-architectes.org.

[8] Generally, sustainable development is development of resources in a managed and conserved manner, in order to maintain their abundance for use by future generations. Sustainable development, while part of an ecological world-view, is not part of a 'deep ecological' world-view.

[9] See "A Draft Declaration of Interdependence" – U. N. Commission for Social Development, February 1998, at www.un.org/esa/socdev/docs.

[10] In contrast to other forms of ecological theory, deep ecology is the point of view that not only should we care about and maintain the environment for the sake of the survival of the human species, but we should care about the environment for its own sake, namely, because it has value in itself.

intended aims of a declaration of interdependence be? Subsequently, I shall evaluate what content and methods are useful for global education.

II. Why Do We Need a Universal Declaration of Interdependence?

In response to why we need a universal declaration of interdependence, we must examine the value program of the contemporary global economy. A value program is a set of implemented values, structures, and standards by which individuals direct their lives and by which societies and cultures direct themselves. According to John McMurtry in *Unequal Freedoms*, the value program we have inherited and adopted by way of the contemporary global economy is quite simply, excessive greed and consumerism. This value program can be summed up as the idea that "the pursuit of personal maximal income is natural, rational, and required for society to work."[11] In this sense, the value program of the global economy is solely concerned with competition towards the maximization of money profits, and it does so without regard for the flourishing of life. Within the value program of the global economy, one literally does anything one can get away with in order to maximize one's own profit. And for McMurtry, this value program *qua* 'program' is a closed one, namely, it is never questioned, only blindly accepted. It is forbidden to question the implemented values of the global economy. Specifically, in the global economy, it is held that no one should interrogate or operate against the 'invisible hand'. As he states, "one must never interfere with (the market's) production or its prices on moral, political, or any other grounds"[12] even though the global economy remains a survival of the fittest death-struggle in which there will be only one victor.[13] Such a world-view is not conducive to a perspective of interdependence and mutual cooperation between groups, nations, societies, and organisms. On the contrary, the world-view of the global economy is largely responsible for the disruption and extinction of those groups, nations, societies, and

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[11] J. McMurtry, Unequal Freedoms, Toronto, Garamond Press, 1998, p. 61.

[12] McMurtry, Unequal Freedoms, p. 58. McMurtry further states, the "vital sources of criticism of the global market value code are designated as 'meddling in affairs about which they know nothing' or 'communist' in inspiration. Stigmatizing any and all critics of a social value program is, as we know, a standard defence mechanism whereby an unexamined value program remains unexamined." (p. 17)

[13] According to McMurtry, in Unequal Freedoms, "Market theory introduces the logic of social Darwinism before Darwin. Darwin reproduced the struggle for survival, in which masses of the species die as a matter of course, to the non-human realm, in which selection is not by man-made design." (p. 76)

organisms.[14] Hence, a declaration of interdependence would introduce part of a value-system[15] based in the mutual growth and togetherness, and the cooperation of diverse elements, which challenges the value program of self-maximization of the global economy.

In his critique of the values of the global economy, McMurtry recounts how the value program of the global economy liquidates the 'civil commons', adversely affecting developing nations and damaging the environment in the process. By the phrase, "liquidating the civil commons"[16], McMurtry means to point out that the global economy considers the "universally accessible resources" which "provide for the life preservation and growth of society's members and their environmental life-host"[17] either as resources for money-profit, or as irrelevant for money-profit, and thus, as having no intrinsic worth in themselves.[18] Instead, the only measure of 'value' in the global economy is the acquisition of increasing amounts of money currency. As such, in the global economy, access to the goods of the civil commons that we all need is no longer guaranteed. For example, the global market turns publicly protected goods, such as health care and education[19], into private goods, and commodifies or renders subservient to money-profit the biological needs of human beings and other organisms, such as rainforests, water, and the air. In the value program of the global economy, these are eroded and destroyed, considered irrelevant and/or made subservient to the global economy.

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[14] We see the direct effects of the global economy here at the University of Saskatchewan in the form of higher tuition fees and diminished academic freedom. The corporate influence on academia finds itself largely in the 'profit criterion' of truth. Similarly, research is less contingent than it used to be. Instead of money following good research, research follows money, based on the instrumental value it has in the global economy.

[15] A value-system is defined by McMurtry comprises values which are "joined into an overall structure of thinking, whether conscious or largely unconscious in formation, make up a value system. A value system connects together goods that are affirmed and bads that are repudiated as an integrated way of thinking and acting in the world." (Unequal Freedoms, p. 7) It may be added that while a value program is fixed, a value system is still open for revision.

[16] McMurtry, Unequal Freedoms, p. 28.

[17] McMurtry, Unequal Freedoms, p. 24.

[18] As McMurtry explains, "the nature of the civil commons can be expressed as follows: *It is society's organized and community-funded capacity of universally accessible resource to provide for the life preservation and growth of society's members and their environmental life-host*. The civil commons is, in other words, what people ensure together as a society to protect and further life, as distinct from money aggregates. But global market doctrine not only does not distinguish these opposed values. They are treated as identical values (…) whereas the market offers commodities for a price to those able to pay, the civil commons guarantees access of all to the goods required to safeguard and advance life-capacities." (p. 24)

[19] The corporatization of universities is but one more chapter in this story of the liquidation of the civil commons.

McMurtry further paints the widespread picture that because there are no protective borders to trade, multinational corporations are able to "buy and sell across markets without having to contribute proportionately to the immense costs of infrastructures, protection, and public services in any one country."[20] Without substantial protective barriers, multinational corporations are able to displace the people of developing nations from their land, in order to seize and to strip the resources of that land, with no obligation to those people. Multinational corporations are also able to use up the labor force, which they employ cheaply, in order to export and sell its products to consumers in developed countries. By producing for the multinational corporation rather than for themselves, the labor force is taken away from producing needed goods and services for its own community. Instead, the labor force of the host country produces only for the developed world. Thus, the multinational corporation, seeking only money-profits for itself, contributes little to the community which it strips, leading to poverty and starvation. Multinational corporations have no obligation to local, host economies and may "abandon them at will."[21] This has led to a world in which ten percent of the human population consume roughly eighty percent of the resources of the planet and to the poverty and starvation of the peoples of developing nations. In this way, the global economy ensures that people in underdeveloped countries can never attain the same affluent lifestyle as in the West, possibly leading to bitterness, resentment, and possibly violence and terroristic acts perpetrated on Western institutions. However, a declaration of interdependence operating in conjunction with the defense of human rights would improve the quality of life in underdeveloped nations by defending that multinationals cannot maximize money profits without considering their dependence on the people and resources of the developing world. By way of an affirmation of our dependence on the underdeveloped world, we would be consciously aware, for example, that the products we buy are not really made by a corporation named 'Nike', but by the resources and people of Indonesia. Thus, we would treat the people and resources of Indonesia as equal partners, who we cannot just rip off. For, in actual fact, and emphasized by way of a declaration of interdependence, it is the developed world that is dependent on the developing world. Because of its infantile consumerism, the developed world has ceased to be self-sufficient. For increasingly, the developing world assumes and performs the labour that we do not want to do,

[20] McMurtry, Unequal Freedoms, p. 115.
[21] McMurtry, Unequal Freedoms, p. 116.

and relegate to others. However, by way of a declaration of interdependence, multinational corporations would have to realize that developing nations hold the key to our own flourishing, and therefore, they would assume responsibility for their well-being, compassionately assisting them equally in their own flourishing. Therefore, instead of the current state of affairs analogous to the Hegelian master / slave dialectic writ large on the global scale, where the master one-sidedly and condescendingly stands over the slave, there would be a symmetrical recognition of the aims of both the developed and the developing world. Furthermore, by articulating the symbiosis of organisms and cultures in a global community, a declaration of interdependence could offset some of the growing resentment of developing nations, and develop a spirit of compassion and good-will between peoples and cultures. Overall, by asserting that the growth of one society directly affects the growth of others, a declaration of interdependence would stand in contrast to the value program of self-maximization implied in the global economy and the subsequent liquidation of the civil commons. Instead, it would develop the conscious awareness that our own survival is contingent upon the well-being of the other peoples and creatures, organic and inorganic, which co-habitate the Earth with us.

A declaration of interdependence would also affirm the rights of all nations and cultures to exist beside each other, free from hostility. As such, it would be an important articulation of positive peace philosophy. Positive peace philosophy is concerned with the prevention of war and for non-violent conflict resolution, as well as with developing and maintaining a culture of global justice, involving the upholding of human rights across the globe, promoting intercultural understanding, and improving living standards. From the perspective of a declaration of interdependence, no one could be said to 'win' at war, rather, everybody would be said to 'lose'. Instead, under a declaration of interdependence, what you do to another, you do to yourself. In other words, our health depends on the health of others, for those others equally have the capacity destroy our lives. Declaring war on another stands in direct contrast to the perspective of interdependence, for it is the statement of the desire to annihilate other human beings who, in reality share the same human anatomy. Particularly, it is the ultimate example of the complete disassociation of one nation from another, and of racism: that *we* have no relation to *them*, and that *their* lives mean nothing to *us*. But, the articulation of such dissociation creates no real boundaries, for the world itself is a global community, whether we like it or not. Consequently, a declaration of interdependence stands in direct contrast to the proliferation of arms, to infantile,

militaristic ‘reasonings’ for war, and to the fallacious notion that differences between nations can be resolved through war. In short, a declaration of interdependence would be positive step towards developing a globally mature attitude with respect to resolving conflict with other nations.

A declaration of interdependence is also an important key to preserving the environment, and biodiversity of species. Currently, the mass extinction of species is continuing at a rapid rate. Through a declaration of interdependence, it would be maintained that diversity of species enables healthy organic evolution on the planet, namely, it would allude to the fact that the stability of species is based in the richness of diversity. A declaration of interdependence would go a long way to offsetting some of the chief environmental problems, such as excessive pollution stemming from overpopulation. Even though North Americans use up more resources per person than any other population on the globe, generally, the more people there are, the more resources, particularly, fossil fuels are used up, which in turn creates more pollution. Currently, China, India, and the overpopulated countries of the Far East seem to be continuing their paths towards development, requiring more energy. They are creeping towards ever higher levels of pollution, creating the formation of noxious clouds above their cities. It would be simplistic to say that in order to offset environmental catastrophe, they must curtail their populations. But, again, a lot of the onus on industrialization and development in these countries is from the multinational corporations of the West and hence, to a large extent, the pollution which these nations create and ‘carry’ stems from the production of goods which benefit only the developed world. Therefore, the West must assist these nations in developing environmentally-sound technologies so as to curtail the increasing amounts of ‘greenhouse gases’ pumped into the atmosphere. These greenhouse gases are destroying the ozone layer which filters out the harmful radiation from the sun. Environmental degradation is a common problem which threatens our very survival, equally. Under the perspective of a declaration of interdependence, we would recognize that we must reduce our levels of consumption, that we are dependent on non-renewable resources, and that we must conserve them. Instead of the attitude on the part of human beings that their activities are self-contained or ‘insulated’ from the rest of the world, we would become conscious of the fact that our actions directly affect all other beings on the planet. In part, the former view of insularity stems from our own presuppositions stemming from the ‘modern’ world view, for example, from the substance-based ontology of Descartes, the

mechanistic and materialistic presuppositions of Newtonian physics, and the overstatement of Humean scepticism. As will be shown later in the next section, a declaration of interdependence contrasts with these perspectives. In any event, it is for these many reasons that we need a formal declaration of interdependence.

III. Where Can We Find Novel Ideas, Leadership, and Language for a Universal Declaration of Interdependence?

With respect to the possibility of drafting a Declaration of Interdependence, the question is bound to be asked: where can we find ideas, leadership, and language to construct and implement such a project? It might immediately be suggested that one possible thought-pattern that might seemingly help us in such a direction is from the current post-modernist movement. In its use of deconstructive[22] strategies, post-modernity seeks to challenge the presuppositions of infinite development, technological progress, and the presuppostions of traditional metaphysics which are embedded in our language. As McMurtry states, the

> position (of post-modern thinkers) is that all doctrines pretending to be universal, necessary, and good for humanity are dictates of empowered dogma whose logic is to seek erasure of difference and plurality. In place of absolutist, immutable, and general structures of understanding or rule, they propose decentered autonomy of the local, the contingent, and the particular. (p. 42)

Therefore, initially, post-modernity might seem to champion a preservation of diversity, which might be said to be an important first step in providing the case for interdependence. However, it must be pointed out that post-modernity absolutizes 'difference', and leaves no room for the solidarity meant by the concept of mutual dependence. McMurtry continues,

> Postmodern theory and practice would seem to be in absolute contradiction with (the) global (economic) system of rule. But is the postmodern celebration of difference and plurality unconsciously imitative of the very 'free consumer' of this world who, with enough money, can select whatever difference is for sale in the market? Is this why the critiques of 'revolutionary poststructuralism' have, in the main, been directed at everything except the actually ruling structure of the world? Is postmodernism itself, despite appearances, just another ideology justifying the global market in a new way? (p. 42)

[22] See J. Derrida, Of Grammatology: Corrected Edition, Translated by G. C. Spivak, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

As post-modernity absolutizes difference and negation, it offers no alternative metaphysic, no ethics[23], and no basic world-view or perspective of its own. In fact, it continuously deconstructs all determinations whatsoever, without any attempt at reconstruction. Consequently, in my view, post-modernity leads to a static nihilism, offering only the value of negation and difference, and changing nothing in the global economic value program. In essence, in its absolute critique of modernity, much of post-modernist thought has ceased to be concerned with the flourishing of life. Instead, much post-modernist thought operates as a justification for sadism[24] and the destruction of life.

Having thus briefly examined and rejected the alternative philosophical root of post-modernism for a declaration of interdependence, I believe that we can find ideas, leadership, and language in the more moderate and constructive philosophy[25] of Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947) and with those familiar with Whitehead's work. For in contrast to substantialist, mechanistic, and materialistic world-views sponsored by Newtonian physics, Cartesian metaphysics, and Humean scepticism, Whitehead's philosophy of organism is based in the notion that "the world is not (originally) made up of independent things, each completely determinate in abstraction from all the rest."[26] Rather, for him, the primordial fact of the world is its character of organic interdependence. Specifically, Whitehead's metaphysics depicts the relatedness, solidarity, and togetherness of all entities, each requiring each other in order to exist, and each thoroughly engaged in the life-process of becoming. And, in Whitehead's view, organic life is the primary ontological unit. There is also a strong precedence for Whiteheadian leadership for this project at the level of the United Nations. For example, in 1948, Charles Habib Malik (1906-1987), a doctoral student of Whitehead's and a high-ranking Lebanese statesman was appointed by the United Nations to chair the Assembly's Social and Humanitarian

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[23] See J. Derrida, The Gift of Death, Translated by D. Wills, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

[24] See G. Bataille, Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

[25] Some such as D. R. Griffin in D. Dombrowski's Kazantzakis and God, Albany: SUNY Press, 1997, pp. vii-x and J. Cobb in "Constructive Postmodernism" in *Whitehead and China in the New Millennium Conference Papers*, 2001, pp. 105-116, argue that Whitehead's philosophy is a 'constructive post-modernism', while others like A. Cloots in "Whitehead's Late-Modern Conception of Speculative Philosophy," in *Whitehead and China in the New Millennium Conference Papers*, pp.140-142, think that Whitehead's cosmology is more akin to a 'late modernism'.

[26] A. N. Whitehead, "Harvard: the Future," in Essays in Science and Philosophy, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1948, p. 157.

Committee which drafted the famous Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[27] Therefore, I feel that Whitehead's philosophy of organism is one of the most important avenues to explore in the direction of drafting a formal Declaration of Interdependence. It offers to us ideas and terminology conducive to such a task. It is one of very few complete systems of organic metaphysics constructed in the twentieth century.[28] And, it is not a closed system, rather it is open to revision.[29] Here, I shall present a brief overview of the cosmological perspective of interdependence which is defended by Whitehead.

Whitehead's cosmological system depicts itself as a useful, interpretive apparatus which lends itself well to the type of multi-perspectival outlook regarding nature which is, at once, presupposed by and desired by the biological sciences. Whitehead, writing in 1925, believed that "the science of living organisms (was) (…) coming to a (stage) adequate to impress its conceptions upon philosophy."[30] Thus, his view of nature is said to be inspired from the scientific theories that arose to dominance during the first third of the twentieth century. Particularly, he cites the development of the theory of relativity as well as "the biological developments, the doctrine of evolution, the doctrine of energy, and the molecular theories (which were) rapidly undermining the adequacy of the orthodox materialism,"[31] as reasons for his metaphysical writings. Whitehead endeavours to purge us of our habit of clinging to the ontological and metaphysical views of eighteenth century science. He interprets nature and the processes of the actual world through the conceptual lens of the notion of 'organism'. His categorial scheme is "a system of thought basing nature upon the concept of organism, and not upon the concept of matter."[32] Consequently, the basic units in the terminology of Whitehead's system, namely, 'actual entities', are synonymous with the notion of 'organism'.

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[27] Malik's Ph.D. dissertation was entitled, 'The Metaphysics of Time in the Philosophy of A. N. Whitehead and M. Heidegger'. On the United Nations website: www.un.org/ga/55/president/bio13.htm, it states "As a leading United Nations personality, (Charles Habib Malik) is perhaps best known for the important role he played, as Chairman of the Assembly's Social and Humanitarian Committee in the hammering out and adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Malik also wrote important books such as: *The One and the Many: The Individual in the Modern World*, *The Wonder of Being*, *The Problem of Asia*, and *Man in the Struggle for Peace*.

[28] See also J. Buchler, Metaphysics of Natural Complexes, Albany: S.U.N.Y. Press, 1990 and S. Alexander, Space, Time, and Deity, New York: Macmillan Co., 1934.

[29] See A. N. Whitehead, Process and Reality, New York: The Free Press, 1978, pp. 3-17.

[30] A. N. Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, The Free Press, 1967, p. 41.

[31] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, p. 113, (my addition).

[32] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, p. 75.

Whitehead's vision of nature is that all actual entities of the objective world, even the ones we consider 'animate' or 'inanimate', 'sentient' or 'non-sentient' are to be treated as 'organisms'. And, each organism is integrally linked to their surrounding environment and to varying degrees, contributes determination to other organisms. "It is hazardous," he writes, "to draw any sharp distinction between living things and inorganic matter."[33] For in his interpretive scheme, there is no strict barrier between organic life and material objects. Furthermore, his scheme contrasts with the view of the traditional 'substance' metaphysics as set forth by Descartes, in which every entity is said to enjoy a static 'self-sufficiency', independent from all others. As Whitehead writes of the effects of Descartes' substance ontology on the human psyche, particularly, how "the emergent individual value of each entity (was) formed into the independent substantial existence of each entity,"[34] and similarly, how "the independence ascribed to (…) substances carried them away from the realm of values altogether. They degenerated into a mechanism entirely valueless."[35] This last point might be said to coincide with McMurtry's critique of the value program of the global economy, as it has developed. On the contrary, Whitehead's 'actual entities' are finite "creatures which become,"[36] perish, and are constituted by their various relations with other actual entities. Hence, for Whitehead, what happens to one organism or what it contributes to the environment directly affects the life of the many and vice-versa. Similarly, in articulating his philosophy of interdependence, he writes that the organism "which by its influence deteriorates its environment, commits suicide."[37] Actual entities are thoroughly engaged in the organic life-process, and the surrounding 'societies' of other actual entities are foundational for their own existence. Thus, the employment of Whitehead's metaphysical notion of 'actual entities' as the basic ontological units, or 'cells' composing nature enables us to designate the inter-relatedness and inter-functionality of organisms in causal nexus[38], rather than their strict separation from one another. For example, Whitehead's analogy to 'organism' allows us to refer, as we do, to the Earth itself as a 'living organism' composed of interconnected ecosystems or 'societies' of actual entities, mutually affecting and operating in conjunction with one another. Similarly, in quite Whiteheadian

[33] Whitehead, The Function of Reason, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969, p. 5.
[34] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, pp. 194-195, (my addition).
[35] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, pp. 194-195.
[36] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 35.
[37] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, p. 109.
[38] Generally, in Whiteheadian terminology, a 'causal nexus' is a functionally interdependent group or society of entities within which the entities involved mutually share the causal determination of each of its members.

fashion, ecologists speak of the Amazon Rainforest as the 'lungs' of the earth, designating its function in relation to the organic whole. In fact, near the end of *Science and the Modern World*, Whitehead wrote of the rich organic interdependency of the diverse species, trees, elements, and weather patterns found in the Brazilian rainforest. He writes,

> The trees in a Brazilian forest depend upon the association of various species of organisms, each of which is mutually dependent on the other species. A single tree by itself is dependent upon all the adverse chances of shifting circumstances. The wind stunts it: variations in temperature check its foliage: the rains denude its soil: its leaves are blown away and are lost for the purpose of fertilisation. You may obtain individual specimens of fine trees either in exceptional circumstances, or where human cultivation has intervened. But in nature the normal way in which trees flourish is by their association in a forest. Each tree may lose something of its individual perfection of growth, but they mutually assist each other in preserving the conditions for survival. The soil is preserved and shaded; and the microbes necessary for its fertility are neither scorched, nor frozen, nor washed away. A forest is the triumph of the organisation of mutually dependent species. Further a species of microbes which kills the forest, also exterminates itself. (…) Every organism requires an environment of friends, partly to shield it from violent changes, and partly to supply it with its wants.[39]

In further depicting the solidarity of actual entities that compose nature, Whitehead states that actual entities "constitute a continuously extensive world."[40] That is to say, in virtue of the multitude of existing 'actual entities', nature itself is seen as an "organic extensive community."[41] While some organisms may be considered to be more relevant, contributing more determination (functionally-speaking) to certain other actual entities, there are no strict boundaries or lines of division which may be said to separate the lives of organisms, species, ecosystems, and for that matter, natural occurrences. Whitehead holds that those boundaries are largely abstractions; the necessary product of, and conceptual tool of descriptive reason, but they do not actually exist. It is for this reason that biological scientists must continuously perform a balancing act of maintaining focus on their particular organic subjects in detail, while keeping in the back of their minds that the functioning of the one is directly related to the functioning of the organic whole and vice-versa.

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[39] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, p. 206.
[40] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 35.
[41] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 289.

While nature, for Whitehead, is "indefinitely subdivisible,"[42] actual entities communally live in, and compose what he calls the 'extensive continuum' of space and time, which is in fact unbounded. Actual entities and societies of actual entities, analogous to ecosystems, mutually interpenetrate one another. It is for this reason that he warns us against a narrow locus of investigation. Rather, for Whitehead, the natural sciences must maintain their awareness that "any division, including some activities and excluding others, also severs the patterns of process which extend beyond all boundaries."[43] That is to say, organic processes occur and extend across our ontological divisions of the world. While we divide up the world in order to make sense of it, in reality, those boundaries do not in effect exist. For Whitehead, there are no barriers to organic processes, a perspective that stands in contrast with the global economy in which there are no borders mediating trade. In short, a formal declaration of interdependence, adopted along Whiteheadian lines, would place the global economy 'in check'. For it may be said to demonstrate the global reality of organic life, thus re-instating the intrinsic value of all entities in themselves. In any event, from this perspective of interdependence, Whitehead's cosmology may also be seen to defend scientific investigation from unmitigated Humean scepticism regarding determinations of causal connection, which are currently used to offset scientific claims about the causes of environmental degradation.

Currently, critics who oppose recent scientific hypotheses which are supportive of the conclusion of the interdependence of ecosystems, species, and climate, for example those regarding global warming and environmental degradation, do so along traditional, modernist, Humean critiques of causality. Many critics of the ecological movement take issue with the claims of scientists that, for instance, the pollution resulting from industrialization in Northern Europe over the past two hundred years has contributed to the desertification of Africa. In these types of scientific hypotheses, the environmental impacts of a certain human activity are not necessarily said to be local, thus implying interdependence of organic processes. But, sceptics of these hypotheses regarding environmental impact, maintain, along Humean lines, that there is no empirically observable causal *connection* between the industrialization in Northern Europe and the desertification in Africa. This neo-Humean scepticism seems to refute outright the claims of such scientific hypotheses. While, admittedly, the sceptics are right to challenge the scientists,

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[42] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 285.
[43] A. N. Whitehead, Modes of Thought, New York: The Free Press, 1966, p. 140.

and it is the sceptical challenge that motivates scientific inquiry to find precise causal links which explain the occurrences of environmental damage in the first place, their claims should not be overstated. Rather, it should equally be asserted, along Whiteheadian lines, that there is no empirically observable causal *separation* between industrialization in Nothern Europe and the desertification of Africa. Thus, in opposition to Humean scepticism, Whitehead's metaphysics supports the

> motive of unrest which urges scientists beyond mere satisfaction with the simple description, beyond even the general description. It is the desire to obtain the explanatory description which may justify the speculative extension of Laws, beyond actual, particular instances of observation."[44]

Under Whitehead's cosmology that articulates the primordial fact of organic interdependence, there would be more openness to scientific hypotheses regarding the possible origins of instances of environmental degradation. Particularly, from this perspective, instead of having the burden of proof resolutely on the side of having to scientifically prove the causal *connection* between the hypothesized origin of the degradation and the degradation itself, the burden of proof would be balanced between hypotheses for and hypotheses against making the connection. In other words, the hypotheses regarding the *separation* of the hypothesized origin of the degradation and the degradation itself, would equally have to be proved scientifically. From the Whiteheadian viewpoint, nature is itself "a circumambient world of causal operations,"[45] namely, not only are entities relationally interdependent, but that they are interdependent in the causal sense.

Another way in which Whitehead's philosophy of organism conveys interdependence, is in its emphasis on 'logical contrasts'. For Whitehead, the notion of 'logical contrasts' arguably forms the most important idea in his cosmology, for this is how he argues against perspectives which hold that there is a "vicious separation of"[46] actualities. According to him, a contrast does not signify the incompatibility of actual entities, nor does it mean the complete disassociation or bifurcation of opposed extremes. Rather, a logical contrast is representative of the 'concrescence' or 'growing together' of actual entities, and in particular, depicts that "opposed elements stand to each other in their mutual requirement."[47] In other words, opposed elements are characterized by Whitehead in their 'symmetrical reciprocity' and co-dependence. This is

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[44] A. N. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, New York: The Free Press, 1967, p. 128.
[45] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 176.
[46] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 346.
[47] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 348.

the meaning of his statement that "no two actualities can be torn apart: each is all in all."[48] Furthermore, in Whitehead's view, the "promotion of the art of life" [49] itself involves the "enjoyment of novel contrasts,"[50] where "life-tedium is fatigue derived from a thwarted urge towards novel contrast."[51] Hence, from McMurtry's considerations, the value program of the global economy which is devoid of an awareness of interdependence, does not promote the art of life. Instead, it causes the life-tedium and fatigue of entities in its insistence on unending production, infinite economic growth, and relentless competition without relief, all without care for "the rhythm of life."[52] From these reflections, it could further be construed, along a Whiteheadian view, that education itself as 'the promotion of the art (or the flourishing) of life' could be construed as the development of the awareness of contrasts, and of "contrasts of contrasts."[53] It is for these many reasons that the ideas, leadership, and language for a declaration of interdependence can be said to be found within Whitehead's cosmological writings and with those familiar with his cosmology.

IV. What Would the Intended Aims of a United Nations Adopted Declaration of Interdependence Be?

A third inevitable question is as regards what the aims of a formal United Nations adopted Declaration of Interdependence would be. Quite simply, the fundamental aim of a declaration of interdependence is to articulate the conscious awareness of the fact that our activities, and predominantly, our economic activities directly affect all living beings and ecosystems on the planet, which in turn sustain us. A United Nations adopted Declaration of Interdependence would definitely contrast against the self-maximization principles of the global economy. Particularly, instead of the value of self-maximization, it would assert that human beings are dependent on factors extraneous to themselves, and have an *obligation* and *responsibility* to all other human beings, to all species, and to the planet. In other words, it would not only consist in the fact that we are obliged to "mutually assist each other in preserving the conditions for survival,"[54] but would extend the responsibility of mutual assistance to preserve the conditions for the flourishing of organic life on the planet, as in the perspective of

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[48] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 348.
[49] Whitehead, The Function of Reason, Boston: Beacon Press, 1969, p. 4.
[50] Whitehead, The Function of Reason, p. 22.
[51] Whitehead, The Function of Reason, p. 20.
[52] Whitehead, The Function of Reason, p. 22.
[53] Whitehead, Process and Reality, p. 278.
[54] Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, p. 206.

Deep Ecology.[55] Practically-speaking, a declaration of interdependence would serve as a basis for questioning with respect to the disruptive activities of human beings on the flourishing of life on the planet, as well as with regard to the values of the global economy. Furthermore, a formal Declaration of Interdependence would entail a universal resolution for *action* to reduce levels of consumption of resources in the developed world, to create and assist developing nations acquire environmentally-sound technologies, and to preserving the conditions for prevention of violence, terrorism, and warfare. It might also be a framework to eventually establishing an internationally recognized legal basis for preserving the global civil commons as well as upholding the rights of all sentient beings to exist, to be free from suffering, and to flourish.

V. What Content and Methods Would be Useful for Interdependence Education?

The prospective advancement of Interdependence Education could be analogous to, and integrated with contemporary human rights education that develops the awareness of the inalienable rights, liberties, and the equality of all human beings, especially as declared in the United Nations Declaration of 1948. It would aim challenge the value program of the global economy, as well as to develop the conscious awareness of the interdependence of all life on the planet, as well as our own responsibility for, and obligations to all life on the planet. Some have designated this role of responsibility and obligation, as 'stewardship'. Therefore, it would subsequently aim to instill develop the learner's capacity for action and advocacy regarding environmental issues, peace and non-violent conflict resolution, and global social justice, namely, as taking up the role of 'steward' of the global community. But, perhaps even more profoundly, interdependence education would teach students the care and 'promotion of the art (and flourishing) of life,' as well as an overall awareness and 'enjoyment of contrasts', and of contrasts of contrasts, in the Whiteheadian sense.

The promotion of interdependence education will be curricular as well as methodological. Examples of curricular promotion of interdependence education might include: 1.) ethically-based studies regarding the environment, the rights of non-human animals, and questioning of the values of the global economy, 2.) considerations of scientific studies regarding environmental degradation and the claims of the opponents to the findings of those studies, 3.) considerations of opposed points of view, and how they 'stand together in their mutual requirement'. Examples of

[55] Deep ecology holds that human beings should preserve the environment not only for the sake of our own survival, but because it has intrinsic value in itself.

methodological promotion of interdependence education might include: 1.) group work, cooperative learning[56], or discussions which teach students the value of others' perspectives, as well as the relationship between their own perspectives and those of others, 2.) opportunities to communicate with persons of other countries, perspectives, faiths, and cultures emphasizing good-will and mutual interest, and 3.) having in class 'time-outs' in which students are made consciously aware of the interdependence of their own bodily functioning with the rest of nature.[57] While these curricular and methodological examples to promote Interdependence Education might represent the 'tip of the iceberg' so to speak, Interdependence Education would coincide with the aims of Human Rights Education and Peace Education. Overall, Interdependence Education would aim at developing the learner's individuality within a primordial framework of interdependence.

VI. Conclusion: Toward A Formal Declaration of Interdependence

The preceding analysis has attempted to answer several questions regarding the possibility of drafting a formal United Nations Declaration of Interdependence. While admittedly, much work still needs to be done in this direction, it has demonstrated that a declaration of interdependence would affirm values which contrast with the value program of self-maximizing heralded by the global economy. It would affirm the responsibility and obligation of human beings for one another, for other species, and for the planet. I have also characterized how Whiteheadian philosophy may provide the ideas, leadership, and language for a declaration of interdependence. Furthermore, I have briefly examined some possibilities for what I call 'Interdependence Education.' In closing, a further reflection might be that a declaration of interdependence could also stand as a reasonable alternative to a global government, which in some left-wing views, is the only way to regulate the global economy.[58] In my view, establishing a global government, democratically or otherwise, is an exceedingly dangerous idea which would inevitably give global power to a few 'ascendant' individuals.

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[56] For example, an individual's mark would be evaluated on how well a group of students has learned the material. Thus, an individual would be responsible for the learning of others, on which his grade is dependent.

[57] Students could be made aware that their breath is really not their own, namely, that their bodies do not create the breath they breathe. Rather, it is the oxygen in the air, created in part by trees and foliage, which is responsible for their breath.

[58] The prospect of a global government may also be constitutive for a debate among Whiteheadians themselves. See D. R. Griffin's "Whitehead, China, and Global Democracy in the New Millennium," in *Whitehead and China in the New Millennium Conference Papers*, 2001, pp. 209-215.

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Things Fall Apart: An International Perspective on Intra-Gender Misogyny

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> Rather than seeing men as the universal oppressor, women will also be seen as partners in oppression and as having the potential of becoming primary oppressors themselves.
>
> –Filomina Chioma Steady

> It was my impression that French academic women were more competitive, more critical, and less tolerant with each other than they were with men or than men with women.
>
> In any event, I found little evidence of the female solidarity—even in its most superficial form—that I expected to find.
>
> –Susan Carol Rogers

> Half of the problem rests with the women. They are so busy bitching about one another; the men say the women are acting just as is expected. If we as women don't put one another down, things should work out better.
>
> —Buchi Emecheta in Adeola James

> Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.
>
> –Mt. 12:25

There is much strength in unity, especially when there are powerful enemies to fight. In 1992 the first international conference on Women in Africa and the African Diaspora (WAAD) was organized at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka . The conference attracted hundreds of mostly women participants from over 42 countries; virtually all the continents were represented. The conference started very well on July 13, 1992, but the cordial mood in the conference suddenly changed as the conference participants were divided along colour lines. The crux of the matter, according to Julie Okpala, was as follows:

> The Africans in the Diaspora argued that the conference was, for them, like a homecoming; a return to their roots away from their current domicile where they felt

> unaccepted, dehumanized, and segregated, unable to enjoy the benefits and privileges of the developed world. They further argued that the inclusion of whites in the conference was an indication that their kindred in Africa neither understood nor appreciated the emotional turbulence they have been experiencing in foreign lands. (421-22)

The claims of the Africans in the Diaspora may be legitimate, but unfortunately for them and fortunately for the conference organizers, the Igbo cultural attitudes to visitors is "rooted in the spirit of oneness of humanity. Pushing out the whites, their visitors, from the conference was contrary to the Igbo tradition. This tradition asserts that a friendly visitor is never rejected ('pushed out in the rain')" (Okpala 422). By the end when the controversy died down, "Everybody broke down—Africans in Africa were crying, Africans from the Diaspora were sobbing, whites were weeping. It dawned on many of us (black and white) that we needed each other for meaningful and peaceful coexistence. There was absolute calm and suddenly a chorus, 'The More We Are Together the Happier We Shall Be,' was raised by a black person. The conflict was resolved by a decision to allow white [women] participants to present their papers" (Okpala 423). One cannot underestimate the degree of hindrance intra-gender prejudice, whether caused by racism or not, can pose for the women's fight for equal rights with men and for the general development of women. There is need to talk about intra-gender misogyny and to reorientate the minds of women about it in order to deal with it rather than ignoring intra-gender misogyny and sweeping it under the carpet as though it is non-existent. It is a serious matter among women, whether in an all-black setting or in a racially-mixed setting.

Intra-gender discrimination is a matter that has not received an adequate treatment in feminist literature and criticism despite the fact that such writers as Maya Angelou and Buchi Emecheta have acknowledged it. It is a matter that calls for urgent attention because it impacts upon women's fight for equal rights with men. One might excuse this lacuna in feminist scholarship with the rationalization that misogyny among women is not as overwhelming and

threatening as sexism from without; hence the prioritization of the struggle against sexism as though it is a battle to end all battles, excluding the familiar problem of intra-gender prejudice. The truth is that intra-gender conflicts have helped to prolong discriminatory and oppressive attitudes towards women by betraying double standards and irony in women's claims for equality with men.

Florence Stratton's analysis of the image of the African woman in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and challenge of what she describes as "Achebe's underlying assumption that things could not fall apart for African women because they never had been and never would be together" (38) has an ironic application in this study because despite Stratton's challenge, Achebe's assumptions are true because women lack unity among themselves. Women are not supposed to be partners in the oppression of other women; if they are, they cannot realistically point an accusing finger at men for oppressing women. Focusing attention upon men alone as the main oppressors of women presents an incomplete and a hypocritical picture of the actual situation. This paper examines some prejudicial tendencies among women, quite apart from the existing male dominance and various forms of oppression and discrimination against women. It is time to explore such tendencies so that women can authentically push forward with their claims against a misogynist society.

My discussion will focus on an analysis of selected works by Black women in Africa and the Diaspora that address intra-gender misogyny. Nigeria will provide the material for a central case study of a women's organization that has been found to be oppressive against women. Other examples and references will derive from culturally specific cases in India, U.S.A., and even from France. These analyses will proffer reasons for the status quo and offer solutions to the problem. The autobiographies of Maya Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, and the

London-based novelist, Buchi Emecheta, *Head Above Water*, provide examples of the subtle way that intra-gender attitudes militate against the feminist cause as Adeola James in *Their Own Voices* reveals that many female writers suffer cynicism particularly from fellow women, more than from men (36).

A cogent example of the increasing complexity and pervasiveness of intra-gender prejudice is the case of a very strong association of married and unmarried females from Eastern Nigeria referred to as "Umuada" or "Umuokpu." This association is often dreaded by men and women alike, especially by married women. Members of this association are often approached cautiously because of the strong influence and enormous power they wield; in fact, they are capable of ruining anything for anybody, once they set their minds to it. Their influence is absolute. A Nigerian Professor, Queen Nwoji, discussing the institution at a conference, has observed that "the 'Umuada' issue is dreaded and handled with all amount of carefulness, especially by those traditionalists who are afraid of gods and goddesses (arusi) in Igboland" (3). They are one of the most powerful women's groups in Igboland and are reputed to be capable of settling "internal disputes in the villages of their birth; they could stop wars and settle disputes between that village and the ones into which they are married" (4). Kamene Okonjo on discussing "Women's Political Participation in Nigeria," explains that Umuada comprises:

> The widowed, married, and unmarried daughters of a lineage, village, or a village group. Because of the exogamous nature of marriages in Igboland, the married daughters acted as arbiters between their natal lineage, and the lineages into which they had married. They were thus able to prevent wars. They also took keen interest in the local politics of their natal lineage, and village. When necessary, they took a common stand on an issue, forcing the political authorities of their villages to implement their wishes or demands. (98)

The institution is not a secret cult since admission is open to all grown-up daughters from a particular village. The authority of "Umuada" stems, partly, from the traditional respect

accorded to women as prime movers for peace. Ordinarily, the institution is beneficial to women; however, in the recent times, it has become notorious for its appalling treatment of widows, especially if the "Umuada" feels that the particular widow maltreated her husband in life. Some of these practices have been on the wane for sometime now, but some have persisted. This appalling treatment includes, among other things, making a widow to sleep on the floor throughout her period of mourning for her husband and, in some extreme cases, prohibiting her from bathing, and making her wail aloud for all to see that she is deeply touched by the death of her husband. In most cases a widow is forced to shave off all of her hair and wear a mourning dress of either black or white.

Because most African communities are indigenous, one cannot underestimate the extent of the power of certain culturally-entrenched traditions. These traditions rarely die out and are more highly respected and revered than the imposed European system of government. Uche Bialonwu, a Nigerian novelist and poet, recounts her life experience with Umuada after the death of her husband in 2001. The matter is serious. She tags her account a testimony of deliverance by God; she firmly believes that it took God to deliver her, though she was also personally daring in her challenge to the Umuada's malevolent intentions. Accounts abound of how some widows who had opposed the Umuada had had something bad happen to them supernaturally. For this reason most widows would, out of fear, seek peace with them and never oppose them outrightly. Bialonwu refused to comply with any of the Umuada's dictates. Instead of being cowed by their protestation against her boldness, she challenged the wickedness of their practice.[i]

It may not be correct to blame the undermining of the powerful presence of sisterhood among women only on the Umuada. In fact the erosion of sisterhood might be traceable to colonialism, for example, in the Nigerian setting. The imposition of colonialism and capitalism

has destroyed the traditional ties among women, heightening the potential of intra-gender prejudice to erode relations among women and to substitute for sisterhood a disdainful disregard for the well-being of their fellow women. For instance, the Umuada group and similar women's institutions were not dreaded at all by women in the pre-colonial or colonial period because they represented a sisterly solidarity against male oppression and were even used in Igboland to resist colonial government.[ii]

Polygamy, which was acceptable for economic reasons and provided women with a greater level of independence, can serve to illustrate the existence of better cooperation among African women than is the case presently. In such settings, most women lived peaceably with their co-wives. For instance, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, set at the dawn of colonization in Nigeria, depicts Oknonkwo's three wives living like sisters and co-operating to protect each other. However, this is neither the case in Isidore Okpewho's *The Victims* nor in Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood*, novels all set in the neo-colonial period. This difference reflects the changing times in Nigeria. In the latter two novels, the co-wives are like competing devils, scheming and plotting against each other. Are racism and colonialism alone guilty of this new intra-gender prejudice? Perhaps not. The onus of action still is on the individual, though the situation might have been created by some uncontrollable factors; nevertheless, the individual makes choices and should be held responsible for their consequences. That said, the tendency of women to hate and plot against one another derives partly from their feeling of subservience to men. Women often find themselves in the invidious position of having to choose whether to put down one another and consequently gain ascendancy with men or to cooperate with each other and suffer male prejudice together. In this way women have become unconscious victims of patriarchal society. Though colonialism and capitalism might be root

causes, the fact is that women are more likely than men to be cynical against their own sex. Thus the first step for women is psychological liberation. [iii]

Racism largely accounts for intra-gender misogyny between black and white women. Nevertheless, some documented evidence concerning black and white women in antebellum and postbellum America emphasizes the point that intra-gender prejudice should not be excused on the platform of race, since white women do not demonstrate similar prejudice against black men, assuming they have a common cause to fight. Harriet Jacobs (1813-1897) in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself* writes of how she not only suffered sexual abuse from her white master but also was persecuted by her mistress, who accused her daily of seducing her husband.[iv] Jacobs's account might serve to illustrate the unfortunate case of a slave mistress and female slave relationship, but the Women's Movement of 1830-1920 in the United States elucidates how institutionalized discrimination against black women by white women prevailed. In "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women," Rosalyn Terborg-Penn writes:

> Discrimination against black women in abolitionist societies organized by white women appears ironic when one considers that white women complained of discrimination by men.
>
> Abhorrence of slavery was no guarantee that white reformers would accept the Afro-American on equal terms.
>
> The black feminist movement in the United States during the mid-1970s is a continuation of a trend that began over 150 years ago. Institutionalized discrimination against black women by white women has traditionally led to the development of racially separate groups that address themselves to race-determined problems as well as to the common plight of women in America. (301-303, 313)[v]

The insidious effects of intra-gender prejudice become alarming when mothers, through negatively informed cultural practices, mete out death to girl babies in their preference for boys. Clara Joseph, in "Mother's Space in Nayantara Sahgal's *Mistaken Identity*," writes from her study of the novel, "Fertility means the woman's ability to produce sons. Therefore, it is not

enough that the mother become pregnant; she must have sons, not daughters. The birth of a girl is non-birth; the mother remains non-mother" (303). This kind of attitude is sanctioned by the state, which insists on a patrilineal form of inheritance transfer rather than a transfer based on "the pre-state tradition of matrilineal" (303). In order to satisfy the misogynist dictates of the state against their own sex, women become the perpetrators of female infanticide. Joseph writes: "The nation state may not hire officials to kill the females that are born. But connivance in these deaths becomes de-facto state policy because officialdom allows non-officials (specifically women) unofficially to do the dirty work" (63). Joseph quotes Sahgal as writing:

> There are records of strangling with the umbilical cord. Another popular method was a pill of bhang.
>
> Very safe and simple this was. The midwife put the pill on the infant's tongue and it slid down the throat like a sweetie, or she smeared the mother's nipple with it and the infant swallowed it with the first suck. However, if they buried the infant alive as some did, first they filled the hole up tenderly with milk. . . . The killing of girls falls by default into the hands of women. If girls are born, it is the fault of women; therefore it is for women to remove the 'mistake.' (63, 303)

It is outrageous that women driven by the policy of their nation should be the very ones that champion and carry out female genocide, an act horrifying enough, yet done without qualms because the state has succeeded in corroding the humanity of females and has become their moral and social conscience. Women have imbibed the societal prejudice against their selfhood and role; they become perpetrators of women's inferiority. This practice also occurs in China where the abortion of female fetuses by women is rampant through the indirect instigation of the state policy that stipulates the birth of one child for a couple. Women's preference for men's approval over their own sex betrays an ingrained sense of sexual inferiority. It often takes courage to challenge the status quo, and courage takes psychological liberation.

This preferment of male children over female children by meting out death to female children resonates in Buchi Emecheta's autobiography *Head Above Water*. Her birth made her mother ashamed and confused. She was left to starve to death, until her father intervened. In this case, men who are often blamed for the subjugation of females turn out to be their saviours, which is paradoxical because it is the patriarchy that institutionalizes the obnoxious attitude of female inferiority, but it is up to women to perpetrate it. A more informed and courageous approach would have been for women to ignore men in their eccentricities, and if they feel otherwise let them come and execute their dirty job themselves.

Emecheta's experience of female prejudice continues even in her life in London with her husband. She observes the lack of cooperation among women and claims that women delight in putting one another down because of their envy and jealousies (James 37). She substantiates her claims with her experience in London narrating how during a mock reconciliation with her husband, many of her women friends were very enthusiastic about the reconciliation, which made her suspect her friends of jealousy at her success outside of marriage. She asserts:

> The few women friends I had at the time. . . were so keen on my entering into matrimony again that I became suspicious. They could not have been enjoying themselves that much, and I later realized that the facts that I got myself published and was reading for a degree were too much for some of my female friends. With a man like my husband in the house to make me unhappy I probably would not have time to open my books, to say nothing of writing again. (91)

It may be that women make fellow women victims out of their frustration with patriarchal society and their powerlessness with their men. Nevertheless, women are blameworthy for their actions even as they assume subservient positions in the society, which may incite them, out of jealousy and envy, to work against fellow women; they demonstrate no such attitude towards men in better jobs. However, racism is a given indirect factor that contributes to the situation

because Emecheta's Black female friends in London needed to struggle harder to survive than if they were in a Black society and their jealousy is consequently aroused to see one of their kind succeed where they have failed or have accepted a subservient position.

Intra-gender prejudice is also substantiated in Angelou's relationship with her father's girlfriend, Dolores Stockland, as Angelou writes in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. Though her father has showed little or no interest in his children's future and well- being, suddenly he invites her for a vacation with him and Dolores, a girl in her early twenties while Angelou was fifteen at the time. Even though racism may have informed her father's attitude towards both Angelou and Dolores, the treatment Dolores metes out to Angelou is better informed by intra-gender prejudice. She observes about her father: "It seems hard to believe that he was a lonely person, searching relentlessly in bottles, under women's skirts, in church work and lofty job tiles for his 'personal niche,' lost before birth and unrecovered since" (197). Dolores, who is in dire need to believe in him, also ignores the obvious and is willingly deceived. Though Angelou's father works in the kitchen of a naval hospital, they both say that he is a medical dietician for the United States navy (193). Having lost his sense of identity, he lives in the delusion that he is a successful man; he deceives his girlfriend, is indifferent to his family, and is unfulfilled in life. His conflict about his life and identity makes him project onto others, especially women, the symbolic chaos within him. For this reason, he enjoys pitching his daughter against his girlfriend and amuses himself in their discomfiture. Angelou elucidates this conflict: "We indulged in a test of strength for weeks as Dad stood figuratively on the sidelines, neither cheering nor booing but enjoying himself greatly" (194). At one point, he quarrels with his girlfriend, and in Angelou's bid to intervene and encourage the girl, the girl vents her frustration upon her. Out of Dolores' frustration with her would-be husband, she fights with Maya, cuts her with a knife and

lies against her to make sure that she is sent out of the house. Angelou is taken away to a temporary house and she has to face homelessness because her father and his girlfriend do not want her back in the house. Dolores would rather team up with her oppressor, who happens to be a male, than with one of her kind, according to the de facto intra-gender prejudice.

In a conversation with Rosa Guy, Angelou expressed her worry over the loss of "the propensity to build friendship and the need for friendship among Black women," which she claims is "the singular most important aspect of [their] survival" (Chamberlain 18). It can be said that women's barbarity to their fellow women is embedded in most cultures; it is a serious snag in the women's movement. Mabel Segun in her poem, "Women Together," satirizes the irony of intra-gender misogyny:

> Women's lib
> Women's fib;
>
> Women together,
> Women to get her!
> Mocking solidarity.
> Women strugglers,
> Women stragglers,
> More stragglers than strugglers. (22)

The woman internalizes or domesticates her oppression and out of jealousy seeks occasion to unleash it on a fellow woman. Women are fast losing what they used to have, which is worrisome and threatening to the feminist fight. Existence of intra-gender prejudice calls for cogent measures that will discourage this abysmal attitude and help women to consolidate their fight and make their total liberation faster. Much would be accomplished if only women would fight as sisters, as demonstrated in Igbo women's use of the unity in sisterhood to resist colonial government and unanimously maintain their rights of decision about their lives in the colonial era in Nigeria. How much women could achieve globally if only the canker worm of intra-gender prejudice could first of all be reckoned with and eliminated. If this paper has served to

alert its readers to this issue, it has achieved a lot because women need to be liberated from themselves first, so that their fight can be authentic, and its success sustained.

NOTES

[i] Some of the points mentioned in Bialonwu's address to "Umuada" are quoted below:
"I am working with women's organizations to stamp out the very widowhood punishments, rites and rituals they specialize in.
I was not going to practice any of the so-called widowhood rites, including shaving my hair or wearing black.
I am campaigning against these customs because I believe they no longer serve any useful purposes and are oppressive to women, so performing them was out of the question.
I am asking them to stop these practices forthwith and to stop punishing fellow women.
I did not show any fear. I did not believe that not observing the ritual would harm me in any way, now or in the future. They had insinuated this. I found out that they plant this fear and doubt in the minds of vulnerable widows to make them comply.
I trusted and still trust in God. He is my refuge, shepherd and protector" (Bialonwu, 3).
She succeeded in her fight against that organization because of the type of connections she has in Nigeria and much more because her State Legislature Government had passed the "malpractices against widows prohibition law" in 2000; nevertheless, women have to do some fighting because certain traditions never die out easily.

[ii] Kamene Okonjo, discussing women's institutions in Nigeria and the power they wield, writes: "Prominent among the institutions evolved by women for the running of their affairs in both types of political system, are the *Igboro-Ani,* the *Umu-Ada* and the *Inyemedi"* (98). I will concentrate on the findings about the Igbo women's organization and how they single-handedly resisted the colonial government. Okonjo postulates: "Independent evidence exists that women had the right to manage their affairs in traditional Igbo society. Sylvia Leith-Ross, the British government anthropologist, writing in 1939, observed that Igbo women were politically and economically the equals of Igbo men and that such industrious, ambitious, and independent women were bound to play a leading role in the development of their country. She had been astounded at the way Igbo women had accomplished 'a movement as original, and formidable as the Aba Riots, known to them as the Women's War, which necessitated the calling in of military forces before order could be restored and the subsequent appointment of a Commission of Enquiry.' Her impression was that more than the men, the women seemed to be able to cooperate, follow a common aim, and to stand by each other, even in difficulties.

The Women's War took place during the colonial era and was a protest against the rumored taxation of women and the excesses of the Indirect Rule System in Igboland" (97). Women in the past have been known to succeed more than men in their organizations to accomplish anything they set their minds to, but the situation has changed drastically nowadays, with their loss of economic independence and the capitalist system that set them at a disadvantage with education. In fact it was only in the early 1980s that most universities in Nigeria began to record an increase in the number of females enrolling.

[iii] Molara Ogundipe-Leslie in her studies has identified six mountains at the back of women, which the woman must necessarily demolish before she can make any reasonable progress in her quest for equal rights with men. She identifies the sixth mountain on the woman's back as the woman herself. She claims that that "is the most important. Women are shackled by their own negative self-image, by centuries of the interiorization of the ideologies of patriarchy and gender hierarchy. Their own reactions to objective problems therefore are often self-defeating and self-crippling. Woman reacts with fear, dependency complexes and attitudes to please and cajole where more self-assertive actions are needed" (36). Ogundipe-Leslie's observation supports my argument that women need to deal with themselves first and that most times they specialize in putting other women down in order to pander to men's whims on the superiority of the male gender.

[iv] Harriet Jacobs (a.k.a Linda Brent) devotes a chapter of her narrative to the issue of intra-gender prejudice among slave mistresses and female slaves. Slavery was an unfortunate issue but it brought out some aspects of women that

contributed to making the conditions of slavery worse for female slaves. Brent writes in the chapter entitled "The Jealous Mistress": "Mrs. Flint possessed the key to her husband's character. . . [and] she might have used this knowledge to counsel and to screen the young and the innocent among her slaves; but for them she had no sympathy. They were the objects of her constant suspicion and malevolence.
I was the object of her jealousy, and consequently, of her hatred; and I knew I could not expect kindness or confidence from her under the circumstances in which I was placed. I began to be fearful for my life. It had been often threatened; and you can imagine, better than I can describe, what an unpleasant sensation it must produce to wake up in the dead of night and find a jealous woman bending over you. Terrible as this experience was, I had fears that it would give place to one more terrible" (29,32-33).

[v] Anna Julia Cooper observed in her book about the discriminatory reactions of some white women against black women's participation in "Wimodaughsis (which, being interpreted for the uninitiated, is a woman's culture club which name is made up of the first few letter of the four words wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters)." She further writes of how the Kentucky secretary was "filled with grief and horror that any persons of Negro extraction should aspire to learn type-writing or languages or to enjoy any other advantages offered in the sacred halls of Wimodaughsis. Indeed, she had not calculated that there were any wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters, except white ones; and she is really convinced that *Wimodaughsis* would sound just as well, and then it need mean just *white mothers, daughters, and sisters*" (81).

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