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Ideology and Nonformal Adult Education Policy
Within Alberta's Development Education Community

by

Mark Stange

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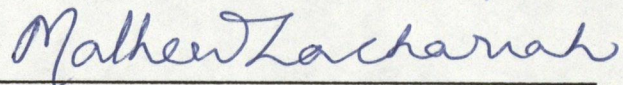
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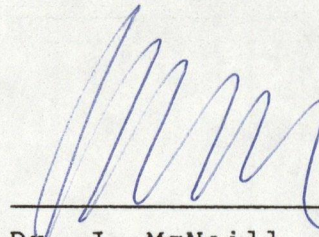
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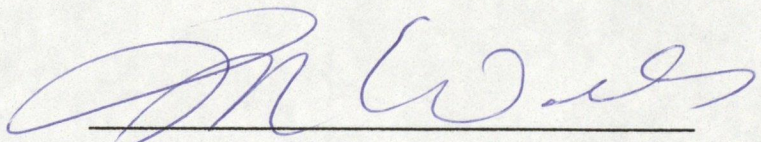
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to understand the constraints affecting nonformal development education in Alberta. This writer's experience as a development education worker reveals at least two distinctive approaches to development education work. These approaches are described in relation to postures within the philosophy of education, to social scientific paradigms and to political ideology. It is argued that structural functionalist analysis of organizations is not sufficient for understanding how organizations are changed or are reproduced, and that a dialectical model is better suited to the analysis of constraints on organizational development. The metaphor of the war of position is used to describe the influence of ideological conflict within development education organizations. Constraints on development education are viewed as a product of an unequal distribution of power. Development education workers are urged to examine the distribution and utilization of power if they are to gain and retain control over the direction of their work.

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This thesis is dedicated to Brigitte Baradoy who shares my work and my quest for understanding.

Mark Stange

PREFACE

Much social scientific writing strives to emulate the physical sciences by avoiding references to the writer as an individual. It is felt that the scientist must be free from values which will bias research in some way. The avoidance of pronouns reflects the desire to present research as if it were not the product of some individual or group's interest; it is an effort to present research as if it were value free.

This essay is the product of a personal inquiry into the factors which contribute to organizational fractures within Canada's development education movement. It is a personal inquiry because personal experience of fractures within this movement required some explanation. I use personal pronouns in this thesis when I wish to remind the reader of my involvement in the phenomenon being studied. A detailed account of this involvement is included in Chapter One.

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CHAPTER ONE:
PATTERNS OF FRACTURE IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

One theme in the literature of development education in Canada is the call for critical reflection on "the ways that government funding can distort priorities and even prevent the articulation of effective programs" (Belliveau, 1983, p.69). This concern over the influence of government funding is evident in the writing of Burns (1983) Christie (1983), Mooney (1983), Murphy et al (1978), Wood (1983) and many others. These writers recognize that there are a range of divergent views on the impact of government funding. This essay is an effort to understand how the presence of divergent views may have affected the development education movement in Alberta between 1973 and 1983.

In chapter one, a discussion of my own experience as a development education worker is used to illustrate two distinctive approaches to development education work. In chapter two these two approaches are described in relation to typologies of educational philosophy, to social scientific paradigms and to political ideology. It is argued in chapter three that structural functionalist analysis of organizations is not adequate for understanding how organizations are changed or reproduced, and that a dialectical model is better suited to the analysis of constraints on organizational development. In chapter four, the metaphor of the 'war of position' is used to locate ideological conflict within development education organizations in a broader, societal and cultural context. I conclude with an examination of the constraints on development education. Development education workers are urged to examine the

distribution and utilization of power if they are to gain and retain control over the direction of their work.

The basic premise of this essay is that people who have been involved in the funding and practice of development education do not share a common view of the goals, structures and practices which are appropriate for the field. This essay explores how disagreements in basic educational and sociological assumptions, can influence the formation of educational policy, the structure of development education organizations, and the approach taken to educational work. This thesis is therefore concerned with the history of development education within a Canadian adult education context. It is concerned with the processes which generated a network of development education organizations in Alberta between the late 1960s and 1983. It is concerned with clarifying the role ideological positions have played in the construction of these organizations, and in the relations between these organizations. Finally, it is concerned with the role which these organizations play within the Canadian state.

Development education organizations evolved in response to needs within local communities, and a desire on the part of the federal government to raise the profile of its international aid programs (Christie, 1983). Although the need for adult development education programs was felt at both local and federal levels, the conception of what these programs should be was often contradictory. The educational organizations often sought to show how existing Canadian aid programs, policies and economic practices contributed to the underdevelopment of the Third World. In contrast, the government intended that the learner centres - which

received state funding for development education work - focus on the success of existing government programs and garner more public support for them. The differences between the government's and the educational organization's organization's intentions for development education programs reveal conflicting conceptions of society, the state, and the role and practice of adult education. These conflicting conceptions of development education work contribute to divisiveness within the development education community. They are conflicting ideologies, and this conflict influences the formation of educational policy and the provision of adult education programs. The question which remains is how?

DEFINING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Before discussing fractures in development education it is prudent to establish what development education is. Zachariah defines development education as

(T)he nonformal teaching and learning activities relating to issues in international development...

(Zachariah, 1983, p.5)

If "education" is allowed to stand for "teaching and learning activities", what is meant by the phrase 'nonformal education'?

FORMAL, NONFORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

Nonformal education has been defined as any organized educational activity outside the formal system - whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives.

(UNICEF, 1973)

The formal system is "the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded 'educational system'" which runs

from primary school through the university and includes specialized technical and professional training (UNICEF, 1973).

Formal and nonformal education are organized educational activities while informal education is the "lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences in his or her environment" (UNICEF, 1973).

Zachariah's definition specifically narrows the concept of development education to exclude formal and informal education. Within this definition of development education, the scope of the field remains quite large. Virtually any organization, including those within the formal educational system, could be involved in nonformal development education programming. Universities (Tennyson, 1983), professional associations (Humphreys and Angelini, 1983), community associations (Robb, 1983; Belliveau, 1983), national nongovernmental aid agencies (Moore, 1983), the churches (Christie, 1983), labor (Smillie, 1983), and organizations which were formed by coalitions of those previously mentioned, are among the many organizations involved.

While Zachariah's definition is methodologically useful to this study, it may serve to artificially separate educational processes which are often inter-related. There are many teachers who bring international issues to the classroom, and many nonformal organizations devote a substantial amount of their effort to encouraging the schools to become more involved in development education work. Likewise, most people involved in development education could be considered to be involved in informal "learning projects" (Tough, 1978, p.250). Recognizing the potential for development education to occur within

formal and informal settings, this study is nevertheless primarily concerned with the nonformal practise of development education.

ADULT DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Another distinction may be drawn between adult and child oriented development education. Historically, development education has been oriented to both these audiences. Still the nonformal, learner centre based development education which is the focus of this study tends to be oriented to adults. "Schools Animation" programs often require more work with teachers and administrators than with the children themselves. While admitting that development education may be oriented to both children and adults, this study is focused upon adult development education.

THE GOALS OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Zachariah recognizes two major goals for development education activities.

(1) to make Canadians more aware of the problems of development and (2) to assist in the formation of attitudes and behaviors that will facilitate the constructive solution or resolution of these problems in so far as these problems result from the many relationships between economically rich and poor countries.

(Zachariah, 1983, p.5)

In the case of the first goal, controversy over what constitutes the "problems of development" is likely to result in a variation in content or curriculum. Likewise, disagreement over which "attitudes and behaviors" best facilitate "constructive solution or resolution" will tend to generate a range of educational processes or pedagogy within the field.

Some would alter the second goal to read "the

transformation of the relationships between rich and poor people." Such an extension of development concerns beyond national boundaries is a point of contention within the field. This extension seems to require that educational attention be focused upon concerns within the Canadian state in addition to the relations between Canada and other nations. The tension between international awareness and "domestic content" in development education work has often resulted in fractures within the field (see for example, chapter four of this thesis; Burns, 1983; Christie, 1983).

While Zachariah provides an good general definition of development education, this study's concern with variation in development education practice requires that the range of approaches to the practice be examined.

APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Many writers remark upon the diversity of approaches to development education. Wood describes Canadian development education as "multi-institutional, frequently non-institutional, and sometimes anti-institutional" (1983, p.87). Belliveau comments that "virtually everything has been proclaimed and propagated under the term" (1983, p.65). Christie (1983), Hall (1983), Collins (1984) and Freire (1970) provide a typologies of development education practices.

Before considering these typologies of development education practice, it seems appropriate to review the case study of a learner centre. This case study will serve to introduce the reader to the particular variants of development education which are the focus of analysis in this thesis. The case study also provides an example of a syndrome of organizational fracture which appears

to be common within development education organizations (Belliveau, 1983; Burns, 1983; Christie, 1983). Finally, this case study also serves as an exposition of the experiences and biases which led me to write this essay.

THE WORLD CITIZEN'S LEARNER CENTRE

The history of the World Citizen's Learner Centre (WCLC) reveals a shift in educational approach from a institutional approach to educational programming in 1981, to a client centred popular education approach by 1984. Although neither approach was pursued to the complete exclusion of the other, a clear shift in emphasis did occur during this period.

The institutional approach implies that programs are selected, planned and presented to the community by learner centre staff, under the supervision of the board of directors. Programs are "targeted at" the specified audience and participation is solicited through advertising, or is arranged through authorities (in the school or university classroom).

A popular education approach implies that programs are selected, planned and presented by community groups while the learner centre staff adopt the role of participant and facilitator. Programs are thus generated by community groups in response to their concerns regarding international development. Popular education explicitly recognizes planning meetings and group-building work as part of the educational process.

The assumptions of these approaches differ regarding the nature of development and education. As two sets of assumptions, it is possible to use these approaches to analyze patterns of fracture (Meighan, 1981) within the development education movement. The examination of these patterns of fracture may, in turn, provide insight

into the influence of government funding on nonformal development education programs.

An Historical Overview

World Citizen's Learner Centre (WCLC) in Lethbridge, Alberta was formed by three community groups in January of 1979. Members of CUSO, the Lethbridge Ten Days for World Development Committee, and a nongovernmental Human Rights Council met to found a "learner centre" which was intended to

Create an atmosphere in which the sharing of cultures can take place and where vital global concerns are discussed openly and with empathy.

(WCLC, 1979)

The Centre was funded by the Alberta Council for International Cooperation (ACIC) and by the Federal government through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Initially the centre's one, part-time staff person concentrated on distributing information concerning CIDA's and ACIC member's overseas activities through letters to the editor, information booths at professional conferences and community fairs, and through public speaking engagements with service clubs and church groups. On a number of occasions the centre arranged public events featuring aid agency and CIDA personnel.

In the spring of 1980 the centre's staff was increased to a full time coordinator and a half time animateur who was mandated to develop public education programs. The approach to program development which was used between 1980 and 1982 could be described as an institutional approach. Programs were selected, planned and presented to the community by the learner centre's staff under the supervision of the board of directors.

Programs were "targeted at" the community and participation was solicited through advertising, or arranged with authorities (as in school or university classrooms).

This second year of learner centre operation was very successful in generating media attention, community support and volunteer commitment. Unfortunately, relations with the provincial funding organization, ACIC, were deteriorating and a serious delay in confirmation of funding for the 1981-82 fiscal year prompted a cautious board of directors to lay-off the staff and close the office temporarily. These staff people would not return to the centre once funding was renewed three months into the new fiscal year.

During the three month period when the centre was without funds, volunteers worked to maintain the books and correspondence, and to reorganize the office to allow public access to the centre's resources. This reorganization set the tone for a change in the centre's relationship to the community. After performing the specialized function of educational outreach, the WCLC was to become a resource centre for people who wished to research their concerns and for groups involved in planning their own programs and events.

When I joined the staff of the centre in September of 1981, it was clear that educational outreach was still the centre's primary objective. After reviewing the reports and project proposals from previous years, I embarked on a institutional approach to development education programming.

Under the guidance of the centre's program committee, I worked to present programs on issues we felt were important. In addition to planning programs on specific issues, a substantial amount of staff time was spent responding to short notice resource or speaker

opportunities. Most of the programs were cosponsored with local organizations and institutions because the centre, and CIDA, considered cosponsorships to be an indication of community support and interest in the centre's work. Still, most of these cosponsorships were in name only and, even when the cosponsor was a strong and mature Ten Days committee, centre staff were left to handle the logistics.

During my first year on staff, I was assigned to serve as the centre's representative to the board of the newly formed Development Education Coordinating Council of Alberta (DECCA). The funding difficulties the centre had experienced at the end of the previous fiscal year were symptomatic of serious differences within ACIC. ACIC had been constructed by nongovernmental international aid organizations in order to arrange matching grants from the provincial government for projects overseas and to coordinate educational programs within the province. A certain amount of tension had always existed over the emphasis which was to be placed on these functions. These tensions appear to have been aggravated by the provincial government's increasingly open antipathy towards the development education community. Many of ACIC's member agencies shared this antipathy, though most of ACIC's founding member agencies continued to support the development education community. Chapter four of this thesis is devoted to careful analysis of these tensions within ACIC.

The political nature of many of Alberta learner centre's programs had sensitized the Provincial and Federal governments to the dangers of funding organizations whose mandate is to encourage social transformation. Among ACIC's membership were many aid agencies and a few churches which perceived the controversial content of learner centre programs as a threat

to government support for their projects overseas. In the annual general meeting of 1981, ACIC members removed the mandatory 5% development education levy, prompting some fourteen aid agencies and churches to leave ACIC's membership. These organizations joined with most of the learner centres in the formation of a new development education funding council, DECCA.

My work with DECCA left me with no illusions about the need to generate more development education funding within Lethbridge. DECCA was not able to match ACIC's level of contribution to the WCLC. The centre would have to double its local fund-raising in order to stay even with the previous year's budget. In addition, those members of ACIC who did not support the learner centres had argued forcefully that the learner centres lacked the educational skills needed to reach the public and were therefore unable to contribute to the work of the aid agencies. These criticisms had been broadcast, and we were all conscious that many within CIDA shared them. At the time the centre's programs did not seem to be generating an overall increase in the amount community involvement. With these criticisms in mind, and with a major funding crisis on the horizon, the board, staff and volunteers began to rethink the centre's approach to educational programming.

The rather impressive figure of thirtyfive programs in the 1981-82 fiscal year could not obscure the fact that most had been responses to fortuitous events as opposed to well planned and executed educational programs. Although this type of spontaneity is not necessarily a disadvantage, our reliance on serendipity meant that events were guiding our activities; we were reacting and not building a program on the basis of critical reflection on the needs of our community. For the most part these reactive programs drew the same twentyfive to

thirty participants. Despite strong volunteer support, and the presence of active community groups and aid agency local committees, it seemed that the centre's staff were always handling program logistics. Furthermore, the institutional approach resulted in a competition with television stations, movie theatres and other forms of entertainment, for the attention of the "general public." Development education was treated as one more commodity for consumption. As these difficulties became more apparent, a new approach began to take shape.

Group Building and Networking

The first indicators of a shift in educational approach appear in the WCLC's 1981-82 final report to CIDA.

Although our staff and volunteers have worked actively and with increasing effectiveness on presenting more public programs than in previous years, the awareness that our sources of external funding are less secure has catalyzed an increasing dependence upon volunteer initiative and upon co-operation with other community groups in our activities.

(CIDA, 1982)

In the spring of 1982 the board, staff and volunteers participated in a two day workshop which was intended to evaluate the centre's programming. Although no clear policy was formulated or ratified, those who participated shared a commitment to reshaping the centre's educational approach through a more participatory process.

Guided by the centre's program committee, my work as a "community educator" began to change. In the course of the 1982-83 fiscal year I became increasingly active in assisting new aid agency committees and concerned groups to form and pursue fund-raising and educational activities. I organized and attended formative

meetings to facilitate or to inform a new group of the support available at the centre. In a number of cases I continued to meet with groups during their regular meetings until an event or an ongoing activity had been adopted.

At this point I would stop attending regular meetings. Almost all the groups facilitated in this way began to work independently of the centre, and most became regular visitors to the resource centre. This group building work was very successful. Many of the groups and individuals purchased centre memberships and this often spread to friends and co-workers. Within a few months it was clear that group building produced a multiplier effect which was quickly incorporated into our rationale for the new educational approach.

In addition to group building activities, my work with established community groups increased. I began to list meeting times in the centre's newsletter and frequently met to help plan cosponsored events. The criteria for working with a particular group required that a group be (1) willing to perform most of the logistical tasks involved with a project, and (2) be working on issues related to underdevelopment.

The first criterion was intended to prevent the centre from doing all the work. The logistics of an event are as much a part of the educational process as the planning meetings and the event itself. If the staff perform the "leg work", client groups are unlikely to adopt realistic expectations in the planning stage, and they would be unable to contribute to a careful evaluation of previous work. In essence our approach was intended to assist groups to acquire the educational and logistical skills to do their own educational work, without the centre if they wished.

The second criterion was phrased in a way that

would allow the centre to work with women's groups, labor groups, native groups, and immigrant groups in addition to more traditional work with international relief, development, and solidarity groups. Within a year, I was working with a network of over thirty groups and organizations which reached outside of Lethbridge to include communities throughout southwestern Alberta.

The networking approach did not eliminate the use of centre generated programs, but it did change the way programs were selected and pursued. The program committee evaluated program options by treating the network as our constituency. Programs were selected when it could be shown that they provided an opportunity to build stronger, working links within the existing network, or between the network and new groups. In addition to group building and cosponsored events, the centre's self generated programs were intended to build coalitions to act on particular issues.

Organizational Fracture

The popular education approach which was just described, did not spring full-grown onto the development education stage in Lethbridge. The approach evolved as an answer to a matrix of problems which continue to plague learner centres in Canada. The approach matured in an environment of commitment to critical reflection, analysis and action, and floundered when this environment deteriorated.

The latter part of 1983 and the first half of 1984 were marked by serious internal conflicts among board and staff over the appropriate educational approach to use in pursuing the centre's constitutional goals. The conflict became personal and the centre became a "War Zone." Ultimately, I resigned. Despite the successes of

the popular education approach, the difficulties within the organization raise serious questions about the approach's ability to sustain an institution.

The institutional approach involved the board in a more direct and institutional relationship with the educational process. It maintained the board in a position of power vis-a-vis the educational programs and the staff. In turn, staff were maintained in a position of power vis-a-vis the members of the community, who relied on the staff to provide them with "the right information and skills." By reversing this dependency relationship and transferring the educational skills and decision making power to the community, the traditional institutional hierarchy was threatened. The point of friction within the WCLC was clearly between the traditional, institutional conception of education, and a conception of education which seeks to transform power relationships.

What factors contributed to the fracture of consensus over educational approach within the WCLC? Are these factors matters of personality and competence? Are they specific to the WCLC's particular history, or are these factors shared by other learner centres? These questions are pressing in a personal way, but they also bear serious implications for the practice of development education work. It seems likely that some of these factors are specific to the Lethbridge experience and others are common to all learner centres. Still, the specific pattern of events in Lethbridge have a similar texture to events which have occurred in Canada (Belliveau, 1983; Robb, 1983), and in other industrialized nations (Burns, 1983). What seems to be common to these fractures within development education organizations are (1) a divisiveness over appropriate educational content and process, and (2) the exacerbation of this division because of concerns over the loss of government, aid

agency, or community support. The similarities and differences between these two approaches is examined in the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER TWO: TYPOLOGIES AND PARADIGMS

There are a number of conceptual frameworks which can be used to distinguish between the institutional and popular education approaches to development education as they are described in chapter one. Hall (1983) and also Collins (1984) distinguish between liberal, conservative and socialist philosophies of education. Christie (1983) identifies four types of development education program on a continuum between informational and action oriented approaches. Finally, Freire (1970) describes and contrasts between sectarian and radical educational processes. Locating the institutional and popular education approaches within these frameworks highlights the differences between these approaches.

LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE AND SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION

The institutional approach to development education appears to reflect elements of both liberal and conservative educational philosophies. Hall (1983) and Collins (1984) offer virtually identical descriptions of three educational orientations.

Hall defines the conservative educational strategy as one which would provide "learning programs to all members in society to learn the basic components of the approved model of reality" (1983, p.118). Collins describes the conservative "paradigm" as

an orientation based on the presupposition that there exists, within any given society and culture, one objective reality and ultimate truth which can be known and understood and can be integrated with the knowledge, skills and strategies of every

individual within that society or culture.

(1984, p.28)

Within this conservative paradigm, education is measured in terms of its ability to transmit this approved model of reality.

the teaching activities are content-oriented and include defining the content to be learned, setting objectives, planning learning activities, presenting content, providing feedback related to standardized criteria, disseminating information and modeling appropriate behavior.

(Collins, 1984, p.28)

Between 1979 and 1982, WCLC programs were selected by a board and program committee and intended to educate the community about the "real" problems overseas. There was an effort to target the whole community and the expectation that the message would be acceptable to everyone if it was presented properly.

The institutional approach also exhibits elements of a liberal philosophy of education. The liberal philosophy is described as one which "offers a diverse set of programs to accommodate all individual needs" (Hall, 1983, p.118). Collins elaborates, arguing that the liberal philosophy

is based on the presupposition that every individual, in response to personal life experiences, develops a unique model of reality which represents the meanings and value he has attached to those experiences and the strategies and skills he has acquired through them...

(1984, p.29)

Content is de-emphasized in favor of process. Education is "self-made" in a process of "self-actualization." Between 1979 and 1982, WCLC programming was intended to allow participants to develop and elaborate their own "models of reality" by presenting any and all perspectives on international development. The assumption was that individuals would independently critique each view presented and in the process refine their own perspective. There was no recognition of possible barriers to

this independent critique.

Popular education shares a liberal sensitivity to individual consciousness and learning processes, but goes further by recognizing that the social and political environment often constrain the learning process. It is this distinction which locates the popular education within Hall's and Collin's category of socialist educational philosophy. Within this socialist philosophy individuals develop their own "representational modes," but tend to "delete, distort, oversimplify and generalize various aspects" of their experience (Collins, 1984, p.29). As a result, the socialist orientation is a "therapeutic approach to teaching and learning" which seeks to recover "lost, repressed and misrepresented" aspects of and individual or group's experience (Collins, 1984, p.29).

Popular education qualifies as an example of a socialist educational philosophy because it is primarily concerned with assisting community groups to reclaim and maintain control over their own education and activism. It does this by developing group process, critical evaluation and practical pedagogical skills.

DEFINITIONS IN PRACTICE

Christie presents a typology of four types of development education practice which are distinctive because of the way each defines the terms "development" and "education." These approaches may be summarized as follows:

INFORMATIONAL development education is generally intended to increase support for existing aid programs overseas. It often takes the form of trying to "instill respect for people from faraway... who are facing problems far worse than our own." This approach tends to be education about problems preventing the rise of western industrial economic systems in the so called Third World nations.

MAKING CONNECTIONS involves the exploration of direct relationships between Canadian culture, society and foreign policies, and development issues. This approach to development education is intended to stimulate action to change that relationship.

DRAWING PARALLELS in development education is intended to show that there are similarities between specific Canadian issues and certain international development issues. The goal of this type of development education is to forge links between people working on issues of local concern and people working for international development.

SOLIDARITY WORK assumes that the forces which oppress people in the Third World also operate in Canada and it is in our own interest to oppose these forces.

(see Christie, 1983, p.16-18)

The institutional approach, already characterized as an example of conservative educational thinking, tends to rely primarily upon an informational approach to development education work. In contrast, popular education assumes that the constraints to learning and development are elements of the world social and political order, and that by uncovering these constraints, this order may be transformed. Popular education tends, therefore, to employ drawing parallels or solidarity approaches to development education work. It is important to recognize that

In reality the lines between them are not always clear. Programs often contain elements of more than one type.

(Christie, 1983, p.16)

Still, popular education and the institutional approach appear to be representatives of distinctive educational philosophies which tend to employ educational methods which conform to the basic assumptions of each philosophical position.

SECTARIAN AND RADICAL EDUCATION

As noted in chapter one, the planning process in

the institutional approach is "top down", or from the institution to the community. I have suggested that this model preserves a group of "development education experts" from redundancy by reserving the skills, tools and options of educational practice for the professional. This generates a mythology of educational work, which alienates groups from the skills to pursue their own educational needs and their own activism.

Freire applies the term "sectarian" to people who wish to "domesticate the present", to make it "well behaved", or, in other words, people who wish to protect their privileges (Freire, 1970, p.23). Freire recognizes sectarians on both right and left and distinguishes between them in this way:

The rightist sectarian differs from his leftist counterpart in that the former attempts to domesticate the present so that (he hopes) the future will reproduce this domesticated present, while the latter considers the future preestablished - a kind of inevitable fate, fortune or destiny ... Both types of sectarian, treating history in an equally proprietary fashion, end up without the people - which is another way of being against them.

(Freire, 1970, p.23)

The sectarian speaks to people as an expert, as the possessor of knowledge, as the source of knowledge. Education, as conceived by the sectarian, involves a relationship between "a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening Objects (the students)" (1970, p.57). Freire calls this a "banking" approach to education.

The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable ... education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor

(Freire, 1970, p.57-58)

In contrast to the sectarian, the radical does not attempt to stop change from occurring, nor do they await inevitable transformations. The radical embraces change

and is committed to exposing reality through the critique of orthodoxy. Radicals are "willing to meet the people or to enter into dialogue with them". Radicals do not consider themselves as liberators of people, they consider themselves as co-workers in cooperation with people (1970, p.24).

This characterization of radical fits popular education as closely as the concept of sectarian fits the institutional approach. The popular educator does not bring rigid preconceptions of the form or content of the meeting or events which she or he facilitates. Neither does the educator claim credit for the outcome of their facilitation. Popular education requires that the educator work with people, not at them. In this sense, popular education is a radical approach to development education.

In contrast, the institutional approach seeks to transmit an approved model of social and political reality in as efficient manner as is possible. This approach assumes that reality is objective and can be understood in the same way by equally competent observers. This approach also assumes that this objective social and political order is equally beneficial to all people. Inequity is a matter of unequal competence, and not of unequal opportunity. Thus this approach seeks to reproduce the existing social and political structures by showing people that it is possible and desirable for them to succeed within it.

IDEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

The fracture within the World Citizen's Learner Centre is consistent with a pattern of fracture within development education organizations in other parts of Canada (Christie, 1983; Belliveau, 1983; Robb, 1983;

Murphy et al., 1978) and in other western industrialized nations (Burns, 1983). This pattern of fracture seems to be related to a lack of consensus in the assumptions which the people within the movement bring to their work. These assumptions shape people's intentions for their work and their efforts to organize and reorganize their work. The set of interrelated assumptions which are shared by a group of people may be described as that group's ideology. In the remainder of this chapter, the concept of ideology is examined and related development education literature.

IDEOLOGY

Bonaparte used the term ideology to denote a revolutionary and "undesirable set of ideas" which threatened "sound and sensible" thinking about society (Meighan, 1981, p.154). Marx and Engels initially used the concept in a similar fashion when they distinguished between "true consciousness" or "science", and any other form of social thought which was called ideology (IBID, p.155). Thus, ideology tends to be used as a term of abuse, and is generally applied to "fanatical or impractical theories about society" (IBID, p.154). There are, however, other uses for the term.

In addition to using ideology to denote unscientific thinking, Marx uses ideology to refer to traditional political and cultural forms of knowledge (IBID, p.155). According to Meighan, this second use of ideology is "a more sociological" use of the concept.

Ideology is defined as a broad interlocked set of ideas and beliefs about the world held by a group of people that they demonstrate in both behavior and conversation to various audiences.

(IBID, p.155)

This system of belief is usually considered to be "the

way things are," and thus constitutes a complete "world view." When ideologies are conceived as competing belief systems, Meighan argues that it is possible to use the concept as

an analytical tool to demonstrate alternative patterns of ideas that coexist and compete for acceptance.

(IBID, p.155)

The psychological use of the concept reduces ideology to the "sum total" of the beliefs and opinions of people within a given group. In contrast, sociologists tend to assume that an individual's attitudes and opinions are "fashioned out of the ideologies available in an inherited language, inherited institutions and situations... over which individuals have limited control" (1981, p.156). In this study, ideology will be used in this sociological sense. Ideologies exist "in a state of competition" which may result in one ideology achieving dominance.

The concept of ideology remains ambiguous because it "is used to describe sets of ideas operating at various levels in society and in various contexts" (IBID, p.158).

ideologies of education operate at various levels, having several layers of meaning... Furthermore, ideologies of education are linked with other ideologies - of politics, of economy, of social classes.

(IBID, p.159)

This thesis examines the influence of two sets of ideas operating within the development education movement. These ideologies are evident in the way people within the movement describe their work, and in the policies they create to shape and reshape that work.

PARADIGMS

For the purpose of this study, ideology may be

defined as a broad set of ideas and beliefs about reality. Within philosophy of science, the concept of paradigm carries a similar definition (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). A discussion of the distinctions between the concepts of ideology and paradigm is not within the scope of this study. For the purpose of this study paradigms are viewed as "interpretive frameworks" or as "a source of tools" (Morgan, 1980, p.607). Thus, popular education is a paradigm of educational practice which is related to a radical, socialist ideology. Likewise, the institutional approach is a paradigm related to a conservative and sectarian ideology. In order to understand dissension over educational approaches in development education, it is useful to examine the relationship between educational philosophy and "the specific modes of theorizing, research, and world views that they reflect" (Morgan, 1980).

The term paradigm came into popular usage as a result of the work by Kuhn in the philosophy of science (Prunty, 1984, p.9). The concept has been "subjected to a wide and confusing range of interpretations" due, largely, to Kuhn's lack of consistency in applying the term (Morgan, 1980, p.606). Morgan identifies three broad senses of the term.

(1) as a complete view of reality, or way of seeing; (2) as relating to the social organization of science in terms of schools of thought connected with particular kinds of scientific achievements, and (3) as relating to the concrete use of specific kinds of tools and texts for the process of scientific puzzle solving.

(Morgan, 1980, p.606)

Burrell and Morgan's (1979) search for the paradigmatic dimensions of the social sciences led them to present a model of

four broad world views, which were reflected in different sets of metatheoretical assumptions about the nature of science, the subjective-objective dimension, and the nature of society, the dimension of regulation-radical

change.

(Morgan, 1980, p.607)

Each of these world views, or paradigms, "reflects a network of related schools of thought ... sharing common fundamental assumptions about the nature of the reality that they address" (1980, p.608).

Morgan characterizes these paradigms in this way:

The FUNCTIONALIST PARADIGM is based upon the assumption that society has a concrete, real existence, and a systemic character oriented to produce an ordered and regulated state of affairs... The ontological assumptions encourage a belief in the possibility of an objective and value-free social science in which the scientist is distanced from the scene which he or she is analyzing through the rigor and technique of the scientific method. The functionalist perspective is primarily regulative and pragmatic in its basic orientation, concerned with understanding society in a way which generates useful empirical knowledge.

The INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM, on the other hand, is based upon the view that the social world has a very precarious ontological status, and that what passes as social reality does not exist in any concrete sense, but is the product of the subjective and inter-subjective experience of individuals. Society is understood from the standpoint of the participant in action rather than the observer. The interpretive social theorist attempts to understand the process through which shared multiple realities arise, are sustained, and are changed.

The RADICAL HUMANIST PARADIGM, like the interpretive paradigm, emphasizes how reality is socially created and socially sustained but ties the analysis to an interest in what may be described as the pathology of consciousness... human beings become imprisoned within the bounds of the reality that they create and sustain. This perspective is based on the view that the process of reality creation may be influenced by psychic and social processes which channel, constrain, and control the minds of human beings, in ways which alienate them from the potentialities inherent in their true nature as humans. The contemporary radical humanist critique focuses upon the alienating aspects of various modes of thought and action which characterize life in industrial societies. The radical humanist is concerned with discovering how humans can link thought and action (praxis) as a means of transcending their alienation.

The reality defined by the RADICAL STRUCTURALIST PARADIGM, like that of the radical humanist, is predicated upon a view of society as a potentially dominating force. However, it is tied to a materialist

conception of the social world, which is defined by hard, concrete, ontologically real structures. Reality is seen as existing on its own account independently of the way in which it is perceived and reaffirmed by people in everyday activities. This reality is viewed as being characterized by intrinsic tensions and contradictions between opposing elements, which inevitably lead to radical change in the system as a whole. The radical structuralist is concerned with understanding these intrinsic tensions, and the way in which those with power in society seek to hold them in check through various modes of domination. Emphasis is placed upon the importance of praxis as a means of transcending this domination.

(Morgan, 1980, p.608-609)

The similarities between this functionalist paradigm, the conservative educational paradigm (Collins, 1984), and the institutional approach to development education, and the similarities between this radical humanist paradigm, what Collins describes as a socialist educational paradigm (1984), and popular education, are particularly relevant to this thesis. These similarities suggest that at least two broad ideologies are present within the field of development education.

In a careful review of Burrell and Morgan's work, Prunty links the functionalist and radical humanist paradigms to distinctive approaches to policy analysis (1984). Prunty argues that the functionalist paradigm represents orthodoxy in the field of policy analysis, in much the same way that Burrell and Morgan found functionalism to dominate organizational analysis (1979). Prunty's argument is quite relevant here. Within development education, the institutional approach, as a manifestation of the dominant functionalist paradigm, appears to be in conflict with the radical humanist tradition and popular education.

TWO IDEOLOGICAL POSTURES

Many writers suggest that competing definitions of

development and education contribute to friction and, frequently, fractures within development education organizations (Belliveau, 1983; Burns, 1983; Christie, 1983; Hall, 1983). Some recognize that conceptions of development education work differ as much within the involved organizations as they do between the various funding bodies and the specialized development education organizations.

The history of development education in Alberta, and in Canada as a whole, reveals at least two ideologies in a war of position within the development education community. In terms of Hall's three educational philosophies, it is possible to recognize both a conservative (in the conservation of certain liberal values) and radical conceptions of development education work (1983). These paradigms represent two distinct ideological perspectives on what development education is, what development education ought to be, and how it should be studied.

THE INSTITUTIONAL PARADIGM

The institutional paradigm is evident in government documents (House of Commons, 1987), in the writing of Wood (1983), Tennyson (1983), and Gibson and Vikse (1983). This paradigm is based on the assumption that it is possible and desirable for education to be value free. Wood argues that development education takes place within

the modern secular state in which there is no formally enforced ideology about the issues addressed by development education.

(Wood, 1983, p.87)

Within this context development education should "be so defined as to exclude proselytism of all kinds" (1983, p.88). To preserve this definition of the field develop-

ment education work must be institutionalized and be practiced by professionals. Development education must "acquire and be able to demonstrate a sound grasp of a field of knowledge that is not adequately covered by other institutions in society" and be able to "sell their own product - to demonstrate its effectiveness and usefulness to individuals, communities and to other institutions through which it must work" (1983, p.88).

The appropriate educational methods to employ involve the didactic imparting of explanations for the problems experienced by developing countries. These explanations are presented as objective facts (Wood, 1983). There is a trust in existing institutions as the preferred purveyors of development education, and hints that the practices of "professional" adult educators in institutional settings are the ideal model for development education practice (1983). Education is to be treated as an item for consumption (Clark, 1958), and organizations are to be designed to compete in the entertainment marketplace (Wood, 1983).

POPULAR EDUCATION

The radical humanist ideology is evident in a paradigm of educational practice called popular education. The popular education approach is very evident in writing from the field. In fact, some writers define the field of development education in terms of popular education (Burns, 1983; Belliveau, 1983). Christie suggests that popular education arose in response to "the theories of underdevelopment which gave rise to the development education movement" (1983, p.15). An example of this type of explanation can be found in the writing of Hayter (1981).

Popular education emerged from the original in-

formal development education network (Arnold et al, 1985), and exhibits a socialist educational philosophy (Hall, 1983), which strives to work with people to remove barriers to human development (Belliveau, 1983). Popular educators tend to be anti-institutional (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) in the sense that their work is collectively rather than hierarchically organized and defined (Coover et al, 1977; Robb, 1983).

Popular education methods are dialogical (Freire, 1970) and are intended to draw explanations out of the experiences of the learner. Because of this, the content of popular education programs is usually related to the participant's personal experiences and concerns (Christie, 1983, p.18). The popular education process is intended to "unveil what stand as unconscious blocks to a group's movement or development" (Belliveau, 1983, p.72). Popular educators tend to select a constituency composed of individuals and groups who are most likely and able to affect long term social transformation (Mooney, 1983, p.78).

INVESTIGATING IDEOLOGY

Though the presence of these two ideological postures within the development education community is widely recognized, the significance of their conflict remains a question for debate. This debate is not highly developed or documented.

What are the effects of ideological differences within the development education community? In Alberta, this is a community composed of a wide range of groups, organizations, churches, and aid agencies. Within this network of organizations there is an extensive overlap of volunteers and staff between agencies. An individual within the movement could be engaged in three or four

distinctive roles at any given time. Within this community, the people who participate tend to be generalists. The emotional charge of development education work is evident in an incredible amount of overtime work and in the two-year turnover in staff and volunteers (Hollingworth, 1983).

Within such a community, one would expect a certain amount of friction. In this context, personality clashes and "burn-out" are likely to occur frequently. Less frequently, and with more regularity, crises occur within these organizations. As noted in the previous chapter, there is a pattern in these crises.

There are many questions which need to be answered if we are to understand this pattern. What features do these fractures have in common? To what extent are organizational structures, relationships and practices capable of producing and healing fractures? What causes development educators to modify, or to seek to modify, their educational work? These questions are important if we are to understand organizational change within development education organizations. But an equally important question, and one that is logically prior to these, is "what perspective should be adopted to study change in development education organizations?"

CHAPTER THREE:
IDEOLOGICAL HEGEMONY
AND THE WAR OF POSITION

Popular education and the institutional approach represent competing paradigms within the field of development education. Competition between supporters of either paradigm can disrupt work within an organization. But the analysis of how organizations are disrupted, and prescriptions for remedying these antagonisms differ depending upon which paradigm serves as the perspective of analysis.

ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

According to Burrell and Morgan, the issues of power and conflict within organizations "have long attracted the attention of organizational theorists but have rarely received sustained and systematic consideration" (1979, p.202). More recently, research findings within the functionalist paradigm are inclining towards an "analysis of organizations as pluralist political systems" (IBID, p.202). This view of organizations contrasts with a "unitary view" epitomized in the classical theory of organizations which tends to view the organization as "a machine geared to the achievement of formal goals" (IBID, p.204).

The unitary view of organizations presents the organization as an "umbrella of common goals" which works towards these goals "in the manner of a well integrated team" (IBID, p.204). Conflict is viewed as "a rare and transient phenomenon" and is attributed to

the actions of "deviants and troublemakers." Conflict may therefore be isolated and removed through appropriate managerial action (IBID, p.204). Within this classical theory of organizations, the concept of power is largely ignored in favor the managerial concepts of authority, leadership and control. Wood's (1983) analysis of development education is closely related to this classical view of organizations.

The pluralist views of organizations tend to regard an organization as "a loose coalition" which has "a remote interest" in the formal goals of the organization (IBID, p.204). Conflict is an inherent and permanent part of organizations, and the analysis of conflict tends to stress the potentially positive or "functional aspects" of conflict management (IBID, p.204). The pluralist regards power as "the medium through which conflicts of interest are alleviated and resolved" (IBID, p.204). Pluralist research is not uniform in its treatment of interests, power, and conflict within organizations.

While many functionalist theories recognize organizational conflict, and while some have attempted to account for conflict through an analysis of diverse individual and group interests, "most social system theorists completely ignore the issue of power within organizations" (IBID, p.207). Thus, issues of power tend to be interpreted as "problems of authority and control" in the effective pursuit of formal goals" (IBID, p.207).

While Benson is able to identify pluralist writers who have tried to "ground" their analysis of organizations "in the more basic power relations" which arise out of "unregulated social networks" (1977, p.13), he argues that these approaches remain committed to "a basically positivist methodology" and have adopted an

"uncritical, unreflexive stance towards organizational realities" (Benson, 1977, p.13). Benson claims that organizational theories exist in a dialectical relationship with organizational practice, and that it is this relationship which should be the object of study.

In "Organizations: A dialectical view" (1977), Benson argues that "the study of complex organizations has been guided by a succession of rational and functional theories and by positivist methodology" (1977, p.1). These explanations assume that organizations are the product of rationally ordered and scientifically engineered goal pursuit and need fulfillment. This rational selection model is coupled with a methodological stance which "accepts the conventionally understood components of organizations as scientific categories" and, thus, "uncritically accepts existing organization arrangements" (1977, p.2). With their theoretical constructs tied to, and thus affirming existing structures, these theories are in a position to describe the operation of organizations, but they are unable to reveal how organizations and theories about organizations emerge within society. Benson's dialectical framework is not intended to replace these rational and functionalist theories, but to build upon existing work "while going beyond it at certain crucial points" (1977, p.2).

The crucial point of departure in Benson's analysis is an emphasis of the relationship between theory and practice. In order to understand organizations, Benson argues that it is necessary to examine the explanations and agendas of participants, and to understand why these views are held. Theories of organizations are used by participants to justify goals and actions. Yet, like the organizations being studied, theories are the product of social construction. "Theories have been produced by

particular groups of people ... on the basis of their personal concerns" (Benson, 1977, p.16).

There is, then, a dialectical relation between organizational arrangements and organizational theories. The use of theories as the guidelines for administrative control and as programs for organizational revolutions should be the object of study.

(Benson, 1977, p.16)

Benson's analysis is well suited to the purposes of this study. As a framework for organizational analysis, Benson's model shares a pluralist emphasis on the participant's diverse interests, on conflict between interest groups, and on the access to and use of power within organizations. Benson moves beyond pluralist theories to trace power within organizations to extra-organizational networks. Finally, the dialectical treatment of theory and practice harmonizes with the character of this thesis. This thesis has been produced by a development educator in response to practical concerns.

The assumptions which serve as the foundation for functionalist social theory are not sufficient if one is seeking to understand the role of ideological competition in organizational construction and reconstruction. Certain types of functionalist research can be useful if it is located within a more encompassing framework. A framework proposed by Benson (1977) allows for the integration of certain functionalist and radical humanist perspectives within a more inclusive conception of social reality.

DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS

According to Morgan, Benson's framework for organizational analysis is located within the radical structuralist paradigm of social scientific analysis (1980,

p.618). Morgan locates Benson framework within this paradigm because this framework is based upon a mechanical metaphor for the organization. The mechanical or systems metaphor apparent in Benson's framework could be used to locate Benson within the functionalist paradigm. Two features of Benson's analysis prevent this. The recognition that dominance and conflict are "an integral part of a wider process of domination within society as a whole" is a structural and humanist Marxist assumption (Morgan, 1980, p.618). The second feature is Benson's emphasis upon the dialectical relationship between theory and practice, in short, his concern with praxis. This concern distinguishes Benson's framework from other structural and functionalist theories. Thus, Benson's framework seems to span the radical humanist and radical structuralist paradigms (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

Benson's general perspective is "expressed through Marx's analysis of capitalism but not locked into the specific categories and arguments of that analysis" (1977, p.2). Benson summarizes his analytical model in this way:

A dialectical view is fundamentally committed to the concept of process. The social world is in a continuous state of becoming - social arrangements which seem fixed and permanent are temporary, arbitrary patterns and any observed social patterns are regarded as one among many possibilities. Theoretical attention is focused upon the transformation through which one set of arrangements gives way to another.

(1977, p.2)

Benson's approach involves four basic assumptions or principles. These principles are (1) social construction and production, (2) totality, (3) contradiction, and (4) praxis. Benson's principles should not be confused with stages in the process of analysis. As Benson's definitions of each principle show, these assumptions are interdependent.

The application of dialectical analysis involves

the careful reconstruction of an organization's history which is viewed as a product of social construction within a social totality. Organizational constraints and opportunities are shaped by contradictions within the social context and within the organization itself. The analysis itself is viewed as a product of the social construction of reality. As such, any analysis presents an agenda for organizational maintenance or reconstruction, which is in some way related to the interests of particular people within the organizations in question. The dialectical analysis presented in this thesis is an agenda for organizational reconstruction which is in the interests of development educators who have become dissatisfied with the existing constraints effecting the field. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a detailed review and elaboration of Benson's analytical model.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION AND PRODUCTION

The principle of social construction and production rests on the assumption that people are continually constructing and reconstructing the social world. "Through their actions with each other social patterns are gradually built and a set of institutional arrangements is established" (1977, p.3). Through continued interactions the arrangements previously constructed are gradually modified or replaced. Social arrangements, such as development education organizations, are constructed from the needs felt in relation to the concrete, mundane tasks confronting people in everyday life.

The organization is the product of past acts of social construction. As a product, it has some orderly, predictable relationships among its components at any particular point in time. These relationships may be studied scientifically and empirical generalizations

may be framed to describe this order.

(Benson, 1977, p.6)

Most studies of development education in Canada appear to be efforts to provide this type of generalized description of the field, and not efforts to demonstrate predictable relationships among elements of the field. The Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) produces an annual "survey" of development education organizations which describes the particular issues of concern in each case. These descriptive surveys seem to be intended to aid people to locate organizations with interests similar to their own. Recent surveys by the International Education Centre (1985), and a CCIC survey described by Hollingsworth (1983) serve a similar purpose.

Other empirical studies, such as Giovannini's survey of development educator training (1985), the Manitoba Institute of Management's (MIM) evaluation of provincial councils (1984), or the earlier Harambee survey of ACIC member views of the development education program (ACIC, 1979) were intended to demonstrate the need to adopt particular policy options.

There is a danger that these types of studies will be considered sufficient for understanding development education organizations. Benson argues that this description of relationships between structural features within an organization "is not the end of inquiry but the beginning" (1977, p.6).

Rather than treating such relationships as determinate, causal connections, for instance, arguing that technology determines social structure, the dialectician investigates the social process through which the orderly, predictable relations have been produced and reproduced.

(1977, p.6)

Thus, people within the field of development education must be wary of the tendency to rely on such descriptive

studies to justify changes in educational policy. When faced with such studies, it is important to examine the implicit assumptions and interests which shape the research. In studying the process of social production, the ideas, actions, and particular interests of the participants must be examined along with their capacity to control the direction of events within an organization (1977, p.7). Thus, the process of organizational construction and reconstruction must be viewed within its social context.

TOTALITY

Benson's framework requires that any particular structure be seen as part of a larger, concrete whole rather than as an isolated, abstract phenomenon" (Benson, 1977, p.4). The examination of power within development education organizations should, therefore, be viewed within the context of the Canadian state.

As noted in the previous chapter, views of the nature of this state, and views of the nature of liberal democratic states in general, differ. Benson does not examine this question, nor does he present a model of the state that could assist researchers in applying his model. In order to remedy this omission, Gramsci's model of the state may be applied to the analysis of the context of development education.

GRAMSCI'S CONCEPT OF THE STATE

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist theoretician and political activist who has had a growing influence in western academic circles since the 1960s (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.288). Gramsci was an Hegelian Marxist who, along with Lukacs and Korsch, opposed the orthodox

Marxist model of

a mechanical relationship between economic substructure, understood as the forces and relations of production, and an "ideological superstructure," understood as an epiphenomenon or mere "reflection" of the substructure.

(Adamson, 1980, p.7)

Gramsci was interested in the increasing complexity of social organization and social classes in the private or nonpolitical sphere of the Western states. He was also concerned with the consequences of increasing state intervention in the economy and in society as a whole. Gramsci believed that capitalism maintained its power and domination of western nations through an ideological hegemony which was related to, but which transcended "the materially located means of coercion and oppression" (IBID, p.289).

Gramsci's conception of the modern capitalist State stands in contrast to the orthodox view that the state is a neutral balancing mechanism which adjudicates among competing interest groups in the higher interests of the population as a whole. For Gramsci

the general notion of State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armor of coercion).

(Gramsci in Showstack-Sassoon, 1980, p.113)

The concept of hegemony is used in the sense of influence and leadership. The concept implies that people consent to being influenced and led. Hegemony is contrasted to "the armor of coercion" or domination (Showstack-Sassoon, 1982, p.13).

Gramsci's identification of political society and civil society is a methodological distinction intended to facilitate an analysis of the state which will assist a transformative social movement to achieve its objectives. In this extended definition of the state,

Gramsci retains a concern for the relationship between social structure and the economic base, but moves beyond economic determinism to argue that the reproduction of social conditions had to be provided for by the political and ideological superstructure (Showstack-Sassoon, 1980, p.114).

In the process of reproduction, elements of both the political and the civil society are involved. Within political society, the government, through legislation and through the judicial and school systems protects the interests of the ruling classes.

but... in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end - initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes.

(IBID, p.115)

The state is an alliance of social groups which have formed a "compromise equilibrium". The narrow corporate interests of the dominant class are tempered by the interests "of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised" (IBID, p.116).

Gramsci employs the phrase historical bloc to describe this alliance of social groups and the economic structures and relations which underpin its hegemony.

Gramsci uses the term to describe the complex way in which factions of classes are related in society and the complicated relationship between economic, political and cultural aspects of reality... The hegemony of a class is the 'glue' which binds together the various parts of an historical bloc.

(Showstack-Sassoon, 1982, p.14)

Attempts to organize alternative blocs, along with the dominant ideology's efforts to retain its hegemony, amount to a war of position for the control of the state.

Showstack-Sassoon argues that Gramsci's concept of the war of position is "Gramsci's answer to the theoretical mistake of economism" in Marxist thinking (1980,

p.193). Gramsci employs the distinction between the war of position and the war of movement to argue against Trotsky's "political theory of frontal attack" (IBID, p.195). Gramsci claims that within the modern interventionist state, political power is based, to some degree, upon mass consent. A frontal attack upon such a state may remove the government, but does not address the allegiance of the mass organizations, pressure groups and cultural organizations to the previous political order. The frontal attack is concentrated on the structures of political society and ignores the ideological hegemony of the dominant bloc.

The massive structures of modern democracies, both as state organizations, and as complexes of associations in civil society, constitute for the art of politics as it were the 'trenches' and the permanent fortifications of the front in the war of position: they render merely 'partial' the element of movement which before used to be 'the whole' of the war...

(Gramsci in Showstack-Sassoon, 1980, p.199)

Thus, the war of movement, which is associated with the Russian or Chinese revolutions, "becomes a tactical instance within the general strategy of a war of position" (IBID, p.199). In theory, a successful war of position can completely eliminate the need for the frontal attack.

In this sense, development education organizations might be viewed as one of the many 'trenches' in the educational front in the war of position. The dominant bloc seeks to secure this 'trench' by convincing development educators to adopt orthodox conceptions of educational practice and organization. A rival bloc seeks to counter this hegemony through a radical approach to education which liberates people from the dominant view of international issues and social reality. Once liberated, and aware of the fragmented and dehumanizing aspects of the dominant ideology, these people become

part of the rival bloc, and contribute to the transformation of the state.

PHILANTHROPY AND HEGEMONY

The utility of Gramsci's conception of the state is demonstrated in Berman's examination of the influence of large philanthropic foundations on the foreign policy of the United States (1983). Berman found that people who speak for or on behalf of the foundations Berman studied "always stressed the altruistic nature of their institutions, while simultaneously denying that their work furthered any narrowly partisan or national interest" (1983, p.2). While recognizing that foundation personnel made "very real attempts to mitigate the less desirable aspects of American life while trying to extend its benefits to those most in need" (1983, p.1), Berman discovers that

This foundation litany concerning the exclusively humanitarian nature of their work at home and abroad is simply not supported by internal foundation memoranda, letters, policy statements and reminiscences left by their officers. These indicate unequivocally how foundation programs were designed to further the foreign policy interests of the United States.

(1983, p.3)

The foundations play a role of "silent partners" in policy determination and in "the ideological support system of state capitalism" (1983, p.3).

as an ideological pillar sustaining the world capitalist system... The foundations further these goals by encouraging certain ideas congruent with their objectives and by supporting those educational institutions which specialize in the production and dissemination of these ideas.

(1983, p.3)

Thus, the foundation's support for "various educational configurations both at home and abroad", contribute to the "ideological hegemony" of "a worldview commensurate

with the economic, military, and political hegemony of the United States" (1983, p.4).

Berman claims that the foundations are "critically situated to play pivotal roles in determining what knowledge, what ideas, what views of the world receive support and become incorporated into society's general discourse" (1983, p.13). Berman argues that, from the perspective of the dominant bloc, it is preferable to

persuade the population at large that the worldview propagated by their leaders is in the majority's interest and is "correct" than it is for leaders to have to resort to the state's coercive apparatus (the system of justice, the military, the police) to force the majority to accept this.

(1983, p.13)

Thus, the "engineering of consent" remains a "largely unofficial private enterprise", and is largely the responsibility of intellectuals (1983, p.13). The intellectuals serve as gate keepers or salesmen who certify "the ruling-class version of reality" (1983, p.13).

The foundations appear to play an important role in "creating the sense of reality accepted by many people" (1983, p.13). Berman's study of the role of philanthropic organizations within the historical block presently dominating western society provides a link between Gramsci's conception of the state, Benson's dialectical analysis and development education. The foundations Berman studied are more directly related to corporate interests than Canada's international aid NGOs and development education community, but all these organizations play a similar role in the creation of social reality. Development educators are thus, at least potentially, able to serve as a conduit for the dominant ideology.

In Gramsci's terms, development education can be viewed as a front in the war of position between the

dominant historical block and a rival. In this scenario, the dominant block seeks to preserve its hegemony through what I have called the institutional paradigm, while the rival seeks to undermine this hegemony by using popular education methodology. Benson's approach to organizational analysis can be used to "map" this conflict.

By incorporating Gramsci's conception of the modern industrial state into Benson's conception of totality, the analysis of the power base of authority figures within organizations may be extended to the analysis of development education within the Canadian state. In this way organizational authority within development education, is located within "larger systems - inter - organizational networks, political-economic power blocs, legal systems, and the like" (1977, p.8).

MORPHOLOGY AND SUBSTRUCTURE

Within an organization Benson distinguishes between "a rationally articulated structure" and an "unrationallized context." The "rationalized organization" is "an arbitrary model unevenly imposed upon events and insecure in its hold" (1977, p.10). These two "levels of organizational reality" are called morphology and substructure.

The formal dimensions of an organization include

- (1) The paradigm commitments of the organization; its commitments to a domain, a technology, and an ideology.
- (2) The officially recognized and legitimate structural arrangements of the organization.
- (3) The constitution of the organization; specifically, the bases of participation in the organization.
- And (4) The organization-environment linkages; the patterning or structuring of relations with organizations and individuals external to

the focal organization (1977, p.11).

The formal dimensions of particular concern to this study are the paradigm commitments embodied in the educational policies adopted by Alberta's development education community over the past fifteen years. The analysis of the relationship between these policies and particular blocs within the Canadian state will lead to a better understanding of the constraints and opportunities facing the practice of development education.

CONTRADICTION

The social order produced by social construction "contains contradictions, ruptures, inconsistencies, and incompatibilities in the fabric of social life" (Benson, 1977, p.4). Some contradictions are necessary features of a particular social order, others are "system-destructive, that is, their presence undermines the system and destroys it" (IBID, p.4).

Contradictions grow out of social production in two ways. First, "there is in any social setting, a contradiction between ongoing production and previously established social formation" (IBID, p.4). Within the development education community, educators may seek to modify policy in response to their exercising, and be faced with resistance from administrators who value consistency and established procedures.

Contradictions may also emerge because "the production process is carried out in differentiated social contexts producing multiple and incompatible social forms" (IBID, p.4). This underscores the importance of analyzing the inter- and intra-organizational networks, and their relation to decision-making and other forms of power within an organization. People within development education's various social groupings

bring different everyday needs and concerns to the process of social construction, and these needs shape personal and group agenda's which may contradict one another.

Social contradictions have important effects upon production. (1) They may occasion dislocations and crises which activate the search for alternative social arrangements; (2) they may combine in ways which facilitate or in ways which thwart social mobilization; (3) they may define the limits of change within a particular period or within a given system.

(IBID, p.5)

Central to this principle of contradiction, is the assumption that "social construction-production is not a rationally guided, centrally controlled process" (IBID, p.14).

Despite the efforts of administrations to contain and channel the process, some elements in the organization and outside of it remain beyond the reach of rationalization. Beyond this the rationalization process produces structures which then resist further rationalization.

(IBID, p.14)

Within an organization, contradictions may grow out of "the divisions, reward structures, control structures, and other separation points in the organization" (1977, p.14).

Thus, across a range of sectoral divisions or levels the organization generates opposing models or images of organizational morphology.

(IBID, p.14)

Any organization is likely to harbor a number of structural inconsistencies or contradictions. "[T]he ongoing process of social construction in all sectors of the organization will continually generate alternatives to the presently established morphology" (IBID, p.14). Benson notes that even "authorities" may frequently generate innovations which are contradictory to the established patterns.

Contradictions may also be generated in the larger

society and imposed upon the organization.

An organization may be charged with multiple, contradictory functions... This may produce inconsistent moves within the organization yielding contradictory structures, competing interest groups, and occasional periods of crisis.

(IBID, p.15)

Contradictions within an organization may directly reflect the fundamental features of the larger economic and political system. An example of this is a pervasive conflict between management and labor within capitalist societies. Within development education this conflict is manifested in the difficulties faced when development educators attempt to organize (Robb, 1983).

The organization is "typically the scene of multiple contradictions" (1977, p.15), but it is not possible to weight contradictions in order of importance because (1) the combinations of contradictions operating in a particular organization are unique and contingent, and (2) the ongoing process of social production continuously generates new contradictions.

Thus, contradictions feed into the process of social construction in at least four ways.

- (1) Contradictions provide a continuing source of tensions, conflicts, and the like which may, under some circumstances, shape consciousness and action to change the present order.
- (2) Contradictions set limits upon and establish possibilities for reconstruction at any time.
- (3) Contradictions are the defining limits of a system.
- (4) Participants may try to reach their objectives by managing or manipulating the combinations of contradictions.

The fundamental contradictions tend to be reproduced in the organization by its normal operation as a system and by its linkages to a larger network. These contradictions are the limits which must be exceeded if the organization is to be transformed (1977, p.16).

PRAXIS

Benson defines praxis as "the free and creative reconstruction of social arrangements on the basis of a reasoned analysis of both the limits and potentials of present social forms" (1977, p.5).

The commitment to praxis is both a description - that is, that people under some circumstances can become active agents reconstructing their own social relations and ultimately themselves on the basis of rational analysis - and an ethical commitment - that is, that social science should contribute to the process of reconstruction, to the liberation of human potential through the production of new social formations.

(1977, p.6)

According to Benson, organizational analysis should contribute to praxis by questioning the inevitability of established social patterns and structures. Dialectical analysis is intended to reveal the arbitrary character of orthodoxy. Dialectical analysis uncovers the contradictions and limits of the present order, and in doing so reveals opportunities for transformation. Benson's conception of organizational analysis is thus analysis for organizational transformation.

TOWARDS ANALYSIS

"The theories and theorists are, then, part of the reality they describe" (Benson, 1977, p.17). They are also linked to "larger and more fundamental processes of societal transformation such as the emergence of dominance patterns within which technology and science serve as legitimating ideologies" (IBID, 1977, p.18). The dialectician does not reject these theories, but rather tries to understand the connection between theory and reality by analyzing the social context. For Benson dialectical analysis must be concerned with the con-

ditions under which people can remove constraints and limitations to the free and creative reconstruction of organizations.

The dialectical analysis of development education in Alberta becomes an effort to critique the assumption that development education requires an organizational form which imitates the hierarchical and bureaucratic structures of our society's dominant institutions (Wood, 1983). While it is important to recognize that this perspective plays a role in the history and formation of development education, it is also clear that, to understand processes of change and transformation, we must move beyond functionalist analysis and the bureaucratic agenda. Rather than accepting such views uncritically, it is prudent to locate them within the social context of development education. As such, the institutional paradigm becomes one of two theories which "are inextricably involved in the construction of organizations" and "guide actors in their efforts to understand and control the organization" (Benson; 1977, p.16).

In the chapter which follows, Benson's framework is applied to an analysis of the history of development education in Alberta. This analysis is particularly concerned with the period between 1973 to 1983, and with the emergence and demise of a provincial council which was responsible for the allocation of NGO and government funding for development education in Alberta.

CHAPTER FOUR:
A DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE ALBERTA COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Case studies of development education organizations often reveal a pattern of organizational fracture which seems to be related to the presence of competing educational paradigms. In this chapter, Benson's model for organizational analysis and Gramsci's conception of the war of position, are applied to an analysis of the history of a development education funding council in Alberta.

This analysis will draw from documents generated by a wide range of development oriented organizations, provincial nongovernmental coordinating councils, development education groups and organizations, and the federal government departments responsible for development education funding. Because of the need to refer often to the lengthy names of numerous organizations, working groups, educational projects, and government departments, I have appended a glossary of acronyms to this thesis. The scope of this study is limited and these limitations should be recognized. This study is focused upon the formation and dissolution of the Alberta Council for International Cooperation (ACIC). It is specifically concerned with the policy history of a funding Council.

With this focus, the temporal scope of this study is roughly confined to the period between 1973 and 1983. These limitations result in the artificial separation of ACIC from precedent and antecedent organizations. Although there will be some recognition of ACIC's historical

context, space does not allow a comprehensive historical analysis of Alberta's development education movement. Given the concern for the role of ideology in the social construction of development education, this study is ultimately focused upon changes in ACIC's educational policies.

The questions which shape this analysis include; How has educational policy changed? Are these changes related to organizational change? How are these changes influenced by social context? This analysis begins with a general historical summary of development education in Canada and a more detailed examination of ACIC's educational policy documents. This chapter concludes with a recasting of ACIC history in terms of Gramsci's war of position. This analysis provides a foundation from which the dominant, functionalist view of development education may be assessed.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

In the late 1960s, development education arose in many western industrial nations in response to a number of factors which these nations had in common. The late 1960s was

the stage in the post colonial era when development assistance agencies were coming under increasing criticism, culminating at one level in the findings of the Pearson Commission on the first United Nations Development Decade. At the same time there was a movement of dissatisfaction with formal education, expressed in the various student demands and revolts which highlighted a concern for more (socio-politically) relevant education.

(Burns, 1983, p.34)

In most western nations, the impetus for development education work came from within the agencies, churches and government departments working in the field of development assistance. In addition to similar early histories, development education organizations share

similar patterns of fracture.

In describing the international dimensions of the development education movement, Burns notes that attempts are made to limit development education to concern with "Third World" issues because of

the reactions of agencies who fear their funds will be reduced, governments who will tolerate only a certain level of criticism of their policies, and formal schools where development educators have sought to influence not only the content of the curriculum but the structure and methods as well...

(Burns, 1983, p.39)

Burns notes that many people within the movement "aim for a non-fragmented and non-oppressive and de-mystifying approach to education" (1983, p.39).

The primary constraint on effective development education, according to Burns, was and is

the world power structure and its national/local counterparts, in which the power to legitimate certain fragmented forms of knowledge, and to de-legitimate others especially where critical action is involved...

(1983, p.39)

Burns is among those writers who define development education in terms of a popular education. In doing so Burns confuses the normative with the descriptive. While much development education work is justified by reference to popular education premises, a substantial amount of development education work appears to resemble advertising to increase donor dollars, or a didactic imparting of information. Burns' views of the constraints on development education are perhaps better understood as constraints mainly effecting the practice of popular education.

THE CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION MOVEMENT

The immediate roots of Canadian development education lie in the late 1950's and early 1960's when both

the public and private (primarily the non-profit) sectors began to form organizations in order to provide relief aid and development assistance to the so-called "developing" or "Third World" nations. During this period, the Canadian Save the Children Fund (Cansave), the Unitarian Service Committee (USC), the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), and Oxfam-Canada were formed.

People within these organizations and Canadian volunteers returning from work overseas found that, for the most part, Canadians had very little understanding of the conditions which caused so much misery in underdeveloped regions. Many became dissatisfied with simple fund-raising activities which appealed to Canadian altruism without acquainting people with the structural and cultural causes of underdevelopment.

This dissatisfaction, among others reasons (Burns, 1983), contributed to the formation of voluntary, non-profit societies which would collect and disseminate print and audiovisual resources, and organize events to educate the Canadian public. In 1968, the London Learner Centre was formed in London, Ontario. Thus, development education centres, or learner centres, emerged between the late 1960's and 1980, as an "institutional response" to the development education movement (Christie, 1983).

Between 1968 and 1973, eight learner centres sponsored by aid agencies, churches, and their communities, were formed in the larger Canadian cities. The Arusha Centre in Calgary and the Edmonton Learner Centre were part of this first wave. For the most part, these centres were one-room, one-employee (often part-time) offices. Initially, these centres provided liaison services between national and provincial organizations and the local community groups, institutions and churches. Depending upon the resources available, these offices

remained small or expanded and began to generate their own programs. Whatever the impact of the learner centres may have been, it is clear that the activities of the development education movement as a whole were successful in influencing the federal and some provincial governments.

In 1971 the federal government's Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) created the Public Participation Program (PPP). The first program to receive funding was the Canadian Council for International Cooperation's (CCIC) regionally oriented Development Education Animateur Project (DEAP). The work of the regional DEAP animateurs had contributed to the formation of learner centres in the Atlantic and Western provinces, and can be linked to the Alberta government's decision to offer matching grants to aid agencies for funds raised in Alberta for overseas projects. This provincial decision, coupled with the federal government's decision to fund learner centres through the PPP, contributed to the formation of the Alberta Committee of International Agencies (ACIA) in 1973, the expansion of existing learner centres, and the formation (in Alberta) of four new centres by 1979. The Alberta Committee of International Agencies (ACIA) was eventually renamed the Alberta Council for International Cooperation (ACIC).

THE ALBERTA COMMITTEE OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

ACIA was created by people working within the local, regional, and national NGO and church offices, volunteers from many sectors, various coalitions of church, NGO and solidarity groups, and, of course people within the provincial and federal governments.

It is difficult to discern the shifting patterns of people involved in the construction of ACIA. Records

are incomplete and not all those involved kept records. It is clear, however, that individuals were often involved in many groups and organizations simultaneously, and that most individuals were involved in a variety of roles. Early newsletters of the Arusha Centre, and memos circulated by prairie DEAP animateur contain updates on people within the movement. These updates suggest that while turnover was high, many people moved to new roles within the movement. Belliveau comments on the "revolving door" through which people within the national offices of the NGOs and churches moved into bureaucratic roles within the CIDA's NGO division or PPP, and back to the voluntary sector again (1983, p.66-67). This type of permeability between the various public and private, development oriented agencies makes it difficult to trace distinctive conceptions of development work.

Since the late sixties, a loosely affiliated, sometimes transitory group of people had worked together, both in their capacities within organizations, and as members of their community, on projects like the Miles for Millions Marches. These educational projects were intended help them gain government financial support, and to increase public awareness and participation in the international development effort.

With public awareness and activism relatively high, many Alberta aid agencies were engaged in a campaign to win matching funding for NGO development work overseas. The success of this campaign was on the horizon when, on June 6, 1973, ACIA bylaws were approved by nine member agencies. In the fall of 1973, ACIA launched a "major educational effort" called Alberta World Reflections (AWR). AWR involved two, full time staff people in the task of producing materials and distributing information for a province wide public awareness campaign.

In 1974, before the AWR staff were hired, the provincial government agreed to provide up to one million dollars to match every dollar raised in Alberta for development work overseas. This agreement represented a doubling of the funds available to the private agencies and the possibility of levying funds from the combination of donations and matching funds, to maintain a "secretariat". Optimism within ACIA following this agreement resulted in their hiring of an "executive secretary", and an "administrative assistant", and to undertake the ambitious Rural Animation Pilot Project (RAPP). These proved to be optimistic because it was nearly a year later before funding for ACIA's "administrative core" was actually secure. ACIA was involved in negotiations for administrative and educational levies with three groups. The national offices of member agencies, the provincial government and CIDA's NGO and PPP. Prior to finalizing these agreements, ACIA borrowed funds from the AWR budget. ACIA's first year of operation was funded by member agencies alone.

Organizational Reconstruction

The informal arrangements among people within the development education movement were modified by the creation of ACIA and by the formation of learner centres in Calgary and Edmonton. The addition of salaried staff and organizational structures meant that some of the work previously done by volunteers was now formalized and controlled by people working within an institution. In the first three years of ACIA's existence, the people doing this work were generally called "animateurs" or "animators". Their role was to seek out and encourage interested groups to contribute in some way to development work. They were also intended to maintain connec-

tions among those groups and organizations already involved, and to produce and disseminate information on development issues.

It is impossible to tell the extent to which these paid workers influenced relations within the movement. Many of the individuals hired at this time had been doing the same work as volunteers prior to being hired. In such cases, the change from volunteer to volunteer relations, to volunteer to paid staff relations is likely more significant than any change in the character of the educational work. Still, Robb (1983) argues that the advent of paid workers within the development education movement generated friction between volunteers and paid staff.

Volunteers became resentful of paid workers. Paid workers were resentful of the fact that they worked to earn a living... but were also expected to put in long hours without pay and were generally seen as "paid volunteers".

(Robb, 1983, p.145)

It is clear that, despite these frictions, the movement desired more paid workers. Between 1975 and 1977 people in Camrose, Medicine Hat and Grand Prairie had initiated the process of forming learner centres, and interchurch organizations in Edmonton and Calgary were developing project proposals for animation work involving paid staff. Newsletters and some correspondence show that there was similar interest in professional educators within the provincial offices of many of the larger agencies and church groups, though it is difficult to tell how many animation projects were established in this sector.

The rise of the paid development educator certainly influenced the development education movement. The extent of their impact remains a question for research. What is clear from the historical records is that ACIA's first paid workers were directly involved in the prepa-

ration of proposals for the expansion and integration of the provincial development education network.

ACIA'S Early Development Education Policy

In addition to "the establishment of a system for processing overseas projects of member agencies" and generally administering the matched grant procedure, the first executive secretary of ACIA, Alan Shugg, was clearly very closely involved in initiating development education work in the province. In his report of his first eighteen months on staff, Shugg describes one of his activities as

The overall management and planning of Alberta World Reflections, a province wide program involving cultural, educational, media, and church institutions and local community groups in various provincial centres to depict life-styles of the Third World and their relation to Albertans.

(ACIA, 1975, p.1)

Shugg describes AWR as "a major educational project", and from the activities listed in his report, AWR along with other development education projects (Rural Animation Pilot Project), occupied at least half of the executive secretary's time along with the time of two full-time educators. The fact that, following the incorporation of ACIA in 1973, the first project funded by Alberta NGOs was a development education program (AWR), suggests that development education was a high priority for ACIA's founding members.

ACIA's intentions for involvement in development education can be extracted from a number of policy and planning documents. Developing these documents within the context of ACIA's education committee was one of Shugg's priorities. These documents represented "the establishment of long term educational goals against which requests for development education funds can be

placed." What were ACIA's stated goals for development education?

ACIA's Early Development Education Criteria

In the fall of 1974, members of ACIA's education committee drafted a report with recommendations to the board of directors (ACIA, 1974). This report was the product of informal meetings dating back to May 1974 (prior to the hiring of staff) which had been intended to "draw up a set of guidelines" for the education committee.

Within the 1974 guidelines the philosophy of the education committee is stated as

Seeking with people the discussion of issues, leading to life-styles which reflect:

- a) a fuller development of all human potential
- b) responsible sharing of resources & power
- c) a greater personal responsibility regarding our global interdependence
- d) an understanding of our finite global environment

(ACIA, 1974, p.1)

Suggested guidelines included audience priorities, the distribution of funds according to function, criteria for program evaluation. The audience priorities are quite clearly stated. The criteria were

the audiences ability to bring about significant change (ie. how much power they hold) and the ability, both present and potential, to affect them. For example, the business community holds considerable power; our ability to significantly influence them, however, was felt to be very low and as a result business was given a low priority rating.

(ACIA, 1974, p.10)

Thus, churches, labor groups, cooperatives, people already involved in development and development education work, and rural groups and organizations were cited as the highest priorities. In essence, the high-

est priority constituencies were the groups and organizations which had formed ACIA in the first place.

While other social action groups and teachers were given a "medium priority", the school system, businesses and politicians were described as a low priority. Finally, the "mass audience" or the general public was given the lowest priority. These audience priorities were likely not arrived at with consensus. Just six months prior to the preparation of the education committee guidelines, the interim guidelines read

the audience sought (should) include everyone, especially new groups not previously involved... some mass campaigns such as TV advertising should be conducted.

(ACIA, 1974, p.12)

The issue of constituency and programming approach (i.e. the question of mass programs as opposed to those targeted at a specific constituency) was, in all probability never resolved. The concern to reach new constituencies remains a point of contention between the government and development education groups (Vezina, 1985).

Specifically, ACIA's first education policy called for the development of a province-wide network of animateurs and resource centres. The primary goal of the regional animateurs was to work towards the establishment of active voluntary networks within their regions. Volunteers were defined as someone

who is prepared to undertake programming in the community which will further this person's own and the community's understanding.

(ACIA, 1974, p.38)

The animateur's role was intended to be that of "bringing together groups of committed people" and "to help give them skills in communicating, conducting programs, and organization" (IBID, p.38).

We may want to spell out specific steps for the animateurs, such as;

1. contact people in the area
2. set up a core group to run programs
3. hold training sessions for...leaders within your area
4. phase out your direct involvement with the local group, returning from time to time to offer assistance if needed
5. during all this, print an area newsletter, so that people get to know what else is happening in their area

(ACIA, 1974, p.38)

The outcome of these early plans for ACIA's educational outreach is not clear from the records which are available. I can find no reference in later documents to regional animateurs, nor are there references to consultations with the two learner centres regarding the implementation of these plans. It is clear, from letters, memos, and various reports that, until the beginning of the 1975-76 fiscal year, funding arrangements with CIDA and the provincial government remained tentative.

The early criteria and plans for development education work reflects a bias in favor of popular education methodology. Although there are elements of more conventional educational philosophy in the early criteria, it seems clear that a critical, action oriented educational practice was the foundation for ACIA's plans for a provincial development education network.

The adoption of this type of educational approach by ACIA was in keeping with the educational "fashion" of the late 1960's and early 1970's. At this time, modernization modernization and human capital theories of development were coming under increasing criticism from dependency theories of underdevelopment. Underdevelopment in Third World nations was increasingly being viewed as a result of centuries of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, and as a result of the postwar development programs.

Associated with this shift in thinking about underdevelopment were criticisms of the formal educational

approaches which, it was felt, perpetuated dependency both at home and abroad (Christie, 1983, p.9-10). The rising popularity of self actualizing and self directed educational approaches is evident in the UNICEF documents (1973), in Alberta's report from the Commission on Educational Planning (1972) commonly called the Worth Commission, and in the writing of Knowles (1970).

ACIA's Early Programs

It is clear from ACIA's first educational policy that development and development education work were considered to be linked. In the first year of operation two major program initiatives were undertaken which involved up to five educators and researchers. Funding for educational programs was to be drawn from an education levy of funds raised for overseas projects. These funds were to be allocated by the provincial government.

the original plan was that %5 of the matching grant was to be held by the government and used for development education projects within the projects on a matching basis.

What has actually happened is that the government has refused to be associated directly with the development education program and has indicated that this is a matter to be decided between the Council and its member agencies. Consequently, ACIA is considering asking the agencies independently to donate money to the Alberta development education program, and thus leaving the final decision to ACIA.

(ACIA, 1974a, p.1)

The refusal of the provincial government to allow its funds to be used for development education work left AWR without a secure funding base, and also resulted in the stillbirth of the RAPP proposal. Although the provincial government would eventually agree to allow a percentage of matched funds to be levied by ACIA for educational projects, the AWR initiative faded into an annual revision of the information kit by volunteers,

and the relegation of the widely cited and respected RAPP Report to the society's archives.

While the provincial government's actions slowed the growth of Alberta's development education network, it seems that the same government contributed to a rapid growth in ACIA's membership. It appears that in 1975 and 1976, the provincial government had made it informally known that development agencies should join ACIA if they intend to approach the province for matching funds. ACIA's role in vetting proposals was apparently valued by the province and was to continue to be valued until 1979 when the province publicly stated that "any NGO could come direct to the provincial government for grants" (ACIC, 1980, p.3). During the period when ACIA enjoyed a privileged status, many aid agencies which had previously remained outside the organization, joined ACIA in order to receive government matching grants. ACIA membership swelled from 12 in 1974 to 44 in 1976.

The impact of this infusion of new members was a change in the relations among the membership of ACIA, and a change in the relationships between ACIA and the development education community. By 1976, ACIA was responsible for arranging CIDA's PPP grants for Alberta's learner centres and development education projects. This development education network had no direct influence on the direction of ACIA education policy because these organizations were excluded from ACIA membership. While it is true that individuals who represented their aid agencies within ACIA were often closely involved with the development education network, there was no formal relationship beyond the mechanics of the funding process.

This lack of direct and formal influence over ACIA's education policies presented few difficulties for

the development education network in ACIA's early years. The founding members of ACIA supported the development education community, but with the infusion of more conservative agencies support for a province wide development education program had become tenuous. The agencies which joined ACIA after 1975 tended to be primarily concerned with acquiring provincial matching grants for their projects overseas. The provincial government's unwillingness to support development education represented a potential threat to funding for agencies which did support the development education network. It is not surprising that agencies which were already ambivalent about funding development education programs should begin to resist efforts to further expand the network.

By 1977, there was such uncertainty over the direction of development education that two separate committees were invited to submit long-term plans for development education to the board for discussion. The Education Committee, dominated by volunteers representing founding agencies, and an Ad Hoc Committee of agencies which dissented from ACIA's present policy presented divergent proposals.

THE POLICY CONFLICT

The submission of reports by the Education Committee and the Ad Hoc Committee marks the beginning of open competition between two factions over the direction of development education policy within the ACIA. Comparing the reports of these two committees helps to highlight the ideological differences between these two factions. In comparing these plans, the perception of the social context, the reasons for development education work, the client groups this work was intended to service, and the methods which were considered to be appropriate, deserve attention.

PRECEPTIONS OF SOCIAL CONTEXT

The Education Committee writes in the preamble to their plan that

Though pleased with its initiative, the committee is mindful of the limitations in forecasting programs and budgets very far into the future. Currently, national agency strategies related to the CIDA budget could signal major upheavals in that program even before the next fiscal year is underway.

(ACIA, 1976, p.1)

The national agency strategies referred to here are those which were being pursued "under the umbrella of CCIC" to increase the CIDA NGO budget. It was expected that "rapid changes in the NGO budget could have a direct effect on development education monies" (IBID, A.1). The effect was expected to be positive since PPP had just been granted a three year extension.

Rumor-mongering within CIDA runs in every direction as to the PPP's future. Within the bilateral division (the most conservative of CIDA's divisions), a wild rumor was recently circulated that the program would be "canned" in two years. This rumor runs contrary to all others and has been adamantly denied by both Romeo Maione [NGO] and Andre Gingras [PPP].

Political sources within the government, in fact, see PPP expanding for many years to come.

(IBID, A. 1)

Despite the possibility of a change in governing party in 1978, the education committee felt safe in assuming that PPP would continue to grow.

In contrast to the education committee's optimism regarding PPP's continued existence, the ad hoc committee's report (ACIA, 1977) was rather pessimistic about continued federal government funding for Alberta's development education network. The ad hoc committee states that "ACIA should assume that CIDA's PPP... will have a maximum life of two years, 1977-78 and 1978-79" (ACIA, 1977, p.2). While supporting the long held ACIA goal of a large network of learner centres and animation projects, the ad hoc committee argued that "Alternative funding sources should rapidly become a major preoccupation with learner centres not only because of the short life expectancy of PPP but also because ACIA cannot afford to fund..." existing centres "if they are going to sponsor new centres in other communities and fund other Dev Ed activities as well" (ACIA, 1977, p.2).

While the education committee anticipated continued support for development education from ACIA's members, the ad hoc committee noted that "Board members have been priorly informally advised that there are concerns about the quality and quantity of Dev Ed activities which ACIA has undertaken in the period after AWR", and that certain member agencies have "asked whether they could opt out of paying the 5% Education Levy in order to use those funds for Dev Ed activities which might more closely serve their particular needs" (ACIA, 1977, p.2).

In spite of the ad hoc committee's pessimism regarding support for the development education network,

the committee stated that

It should be clearly understood that these learner centres can never be expected to be self-supporting and ACIA can expect to be a major source of funding in the future. However the level of support which can be provided must be open to reconsideration each year as effective growth can be established in every learner centre ACIA supports. The degree of effective development education a centre accomplishes each year must be the basis for its allocation.

(ACIA, 1977, p.3)

Thus the two committees perceived strikingly different social constraints on the delivery of development education. While the education committee recognized the difficulty of drawing together a range of different interest groups, each with their own specific agendas and priorities, they expected that a process of consultation between the various participants in the development and development education community would be sufficient to enact their plan. The education committee did not anticipate difficulties in acquiring funding for the expansion of the development education network.

In contrast, the ad hoc committee anticipated the termination of PPP grants to the network, as well as increasing pressure from within ACIA to make development education funding contingent on changes in existing development education programs. While it seems that the ad hoc committee ignored signs of stability in PPP funding, the education committee appears to have underestimated the frustrations of many ACIA members.

PROGRAM RATIONAL

The education committee's intention was to move beyond the public awareness campaign model, embodied in AWR, to create

An integrated network of animateurs, resource centres, and volunteers with clear content guidelines from this committee [which] would ensure that dev ed in this province would

become more than the haphazard, urban-oriented effort that presently exists.

(ACIA, 1976, p.5)

The plan's priorities for development education work are very clear. The greatest emphasis was to be placed on building the network of resource centres and animateurs envisioned in the first years of the ACIA's existence.

The program guidelines included a preference for programs whose message falls "within the realm of issues being pursued by ACIA agency members" and which make "a connection... between the global concern and the domestic reflection/implications of that concern". Finally, "issue guidance should come from the Third World and its own agenda" (ACIA, 1976, p.3). The principle motivation for the education committee's plan was to "support the Third World in its quest for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) by providing information on the domestic implications of NIEO proposals and by encouraging supportive government actions" (ACIA, 1976, p.4).

Once again, the ad hoc committee's rationale for their development education policy diverged significantly from the education committee's. The ad hoc committee argued that ACIA's development education policy should be redefined to involve, primarily, a form of public relations work intended to generate "A general awareness of the disgracefully low levels of contributions out of our society to the international assistance cause" (ACIA, 1977, p.4).

The ad hoc committee noted that "the basic principle of all those who are in any way or to any degree committed to helping the poor and underprivileged of this world is the redistribution of wealth", and that "Our society can afford vastly increased levels of assistance" (ACIA, 1977, p.3).

The ad hoc committee recognized that "one's basic philosophy of Dev Ed can be found located on a wide

spectrum between... radical political education... " and education which supports "slow well planned growth in the Third World..." which will help these nations "accommodate to new economic activities" (1977, p.2-3). With the apparently common objective of "transferring our cash to needy peoples", the ad hoc committee felt that ACIA was left with a choice between "approaches which much of the Alberta public will see as threatening to their standard of living with a consequent unfavorable reaction" or "approaches which give the Alberta public a clear picture of how little they spend on this Third World activity and thus build their public awareness, support and growing commitment" (ACIA, 1977, p.3)

Thus, the education committee viewed development education as a means of returning some measure of economic power to the people of the Third World, while the ad hoc committee viewed development education as a means of raising more funds for ACIA's projects overseas. Both committees viewed development education as an integral part of international development work, but their conceptions of the role development education was to play were quite different. It is not surprising, then, that the client groups and methods deemed acceptable for the practice of development education, also differed.

CLIENT GROUPS AND METHODS

The education committee's plan called for ACIA's development education emphasis to be placed on client groups which possessed a capacity to "receive and accept the 'whole' message of international cooperation" and on the basis "the group's 'power' in society and ACIA's ability to influence it" (ACIA, 1976, p.5) With reference to client groups the committee stated its general objectives in this way:

the objective will be to assist the group to identify its own human, financial, and material resources with the intention of making itself reliant in education and action.

(ACIA, 1976, p.4)

The education committee distinguished between three types of client groups; multi-dimensional, linear and intermediary.

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL GROUPS included the churches, community associations, families and defined rural and urban areas. The Committee felt that this type of group was "so wide ranging that it will likely never become self reliant" (ACIA, 1976, p.5). Still, these types of groups were to receive the highest priority because membership within them intersected with all other social groupings. Service to these groups was to be channeled through continued support to the learner centres and animation projects.

LINEAR GROUPS included service clubs, professional organizations, labor, farm groups, schools, and ACIA member agencies. These groups were believed to have the internal resources to be self reliant. Animation work based within the learner centres and the multidimensional groups, along with the production of resource materials "linking their concerns with those of people in the Third World" (ACIA, 1976, p.7) were proposed as methods of reaching these groups.

Finally, the education committee suggested that INTERMEDIARY GROUPS such as the media and politicians "should probably never be allowed to be self reliant" (ACIA, 1976, p.5). Work with these groups was to be carried out through ACIA's production of media oriented materials and direct lobbying, through ACIA's encouragement of its national affiliates, and through support to the development education network's efforts to help multi-dimensional groups to influence the media and the government.

In sum, the education committee's analysis of the particular needs of the various client groups, lead them to propose a substantial increase in support for the development education network's animation of multi-dimensional groups. Individuals within these groups were to be encouraged to generate involvement within the linear and intermediary groups. The work of the development education network was expected to have a "multiplier effect" (Lusthaus et al, 1983, p.126) on the awareness of development issues in Alberta as a whole.

The abilities of people involved within Alberta's development education network were not as highly regarded by the members of the ad hoc committee. Noting that "There is a wide spectrum of activity which can be imagined in the general field of development education" (ACIA, 1977, p.1), the ad hoc committee stated that building awareness and support is a "slow process" which should begin with the "focusing our attention on those elements in the various strata of Alberta's population which exercise leadership in their particular stratum... and then utilize a convinced leadership to generate further support in that community" (IBID, p.3)

In "managing the sensitization of the Alberta public" the goal is "to ensure their response" to appeals for funds. The recommendations of this report is that a balance be maintained between learner centre funding and "a public information program concentrating on a wide exploitation of the media" (IBID, p.5)

The ad hoc committee described the growth of "a learner centre network in the province" as "a high priority in any strategy adopted by ACIA" (ACIA, 1977, p.1). The client groups to be served by this network were not specified, though the goal in building this network seems to be an effort to reach "a population coverage of approximately %50" of Alberta by 1980

(ACIA, 1977, p.2).

The emphasis in the creation of learner centres was to be placed on their capacity to generate more revenue for ACIA member agencies. In order to receive ACIA support, it was proposed that

"The learner centre must:

- (I) either be a product of the spontaneous expression of need in the community, or
- (II) create a greater community awareness of development education needs and refocus that awareness into community response."

(ACIA, 1977, p.1)

Continued support for learner centres was to be contingent on whether the "community response" to "development education needs" resulted in the learner centre's increasing self sufficiency, and whether there was a measurable increase in donor dollars to ACIA agencies from the geographical areas served by the centres. The proposal suggested that the increase in donations needed to justify continued support to a learner centre be in the vicinity of 20% per year.

We could see our 20% figure as a benchmark to be used in calculating the efficacy of our Dev Ed program in the province.

(ACIA, 1977, p.4)

In order to balance the learner centre policy described above, a third section of the ad hoc committee's report dealt with a proposed public information program which would seek matching funds from CIDA and would be "contracted out".

The rationale for this program was based upon the following evaluation of AWR: "We may safely assume that the sensitization of the Alberta public due to the AWR project made possible a significant increase in the donor dollars member agencies collected in the next year" (ACIA, 1977, p.11) The public information pro-

gram was to be targeted at schools, MLAs, members of professional associations, the media, and business sectors (ACIA, 1977, p.13-14).

We should be prepared to speak to each stratum in a way that will attract its attention, instead of its rejection, and then elicit the support of some members of each group in some positive way. This will usually be financial but could take other forms such as volunteer time...

(ACIA, 1977, p.3)

The rationale for work within schools once again reveals the ad hoc committee's conception of the purposes of development education.

the school system... is only one stratum of Alberta society that ACIA should be exploring and exploiting. Children are not only potential large volume donors but potential human resources for agencies.

(ACIA, 1977, p.11)

The responsibility for implementing this program was to rest with a "committee" composed of a member of ACIA's board and the executive director. The reasons for contracting out this program to "some agency or organization which is currently geared up to do media work" is explained in the following way:

It could be argued that a learner centre could be given increased funding to acquire another staff member to undertake the many tasks implicit in the various phases. I would suggest that this would be unwise... I feel that the environment is not conducive to such a program and more importantly, that the quality of writing and editing, which must be of a very high order if the program is not to turn the various target audiences off at first meeting, is not compatible with the general level of thought in the learner centres.

(ACIA, 1977, p.5)

This quotation captures the only use of a personal pronoun in the ad hoc committee's report. Hand written notes in the margins of this document read "What does Wally mean by this?" suggesting that the 'I' in this paragraph may refer to the newly appointed executive director of ACIA, Wally Kasper.

The contrast between these two proposals for ACIA's

long-term educational strategy and policy reveals the character of the ideological debate which led, eventually to the fracture, and ultimately, the demise of ACIA. The records available for this research are incomplete making it impossible to reconstruct the precise patterns of ACIA's fracture. If more complete sets of ACIA and ACIC files are found, the careful analysis of the people and organizations involved in both sides of this debate would greatly increase our understanding of how inter- and intra-organizational networks and power blocks affected this debate. History does indicate that the Education Committee's proposal was less influential to ACIA's educational policy than the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendation.

THE POLICY SHIFT

In the summer of 1977, the Alberta Committee for International Agencies changed its name to the Alberta Council for International Cooperation (ACIC). The reasons for this change, outlined in a letter to Alberta's then Minister of Culture, Horst Schmid, included a concern over the "negative connotations" of the letters "CIA," and a desire to "parallel" the names of the Canadian, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario Councils for International Cooperation (ACIA, 1976a). The change of name and executive director, roughly coincides with a distinct shift in educational policy.

The ad hoc committee's report was to have a significant influence on ACIC education policy. This report argued for a "balanced" approach to education which was to encompass the education committee's plans, but was to add a media and institutionally based "public awareness campaign" patterned loosely on AWR.

The changing educational priorities of ACIC are re-

flected in the correspondence between the development education projects and the ACIC board. Of primary concern to the projects were delays in funding which were generally attributed to a lack of support from ACIC staff. There are complaints of poor communication over the progress of funding applications, and expressions of frustration at ACIC's apparent lack of support of certain groups and programs. There are also letters from agencies which call for either greater or less support for the development education community.

By 1978, an informal association of aid agencies, churches and development education projects had emerged outside of ACIC to share their concerns about the shifts within ACIC. This group, later dubbed the Alberta Development Education Coordinating Committee (ADECC), was the core of an organization which would eventually replace ACIC as the coordinator of CIDA PPP funds to Alberta's development education projects.

In 1979, the Minister of Culture for the Provincial Government, met with ACIC's board of directors to express her disapproval of the development education program. In this meeting, the minister apparently stated that she was tempted to "kill the Alberta International Assistance Program" (ACIC, Development Education, 1981, p.3), because of the political nature of many of the programs. The government's views were "reinforced to a surprising degree by some of the NGO National Directors who attended the meeting" (ACIC, Development Education Policy, 1980, p.3). ACIC documents do not relate expressions of similar concerns within CIDA's PPP, though it seems likely that CIDA was concerned with the divisions in Alberta's aid community, and with the provincial government's disapproval of a federally supported educational program.

By 1980, ACIC's educational policies were almost

completely dominated by the conservative educational ideology embodied in the ad hoc committee's proposal. The 1980 ACIC development education policy reported that ACIC's mandate to support the development education network had changed (1980, p.4). Citing pressure from the provincial government, the policy document described its new "non political development education policy" (1980, p.3).

While the document recognized that its new policy was likely to be "a mortal blow to most of the development education program" (1980, p.4), there are signs that ACIC wished to soften the blow by attempting to facilitate meetings between member agencies which wished to continue to support the development education network, and the development education organizations (1980, p.5). The fact that such meetings were already occurring seems to have escaped ACIC's notice.

ACIC's new policy initiatives for development education were intended as a response to the Alberta government's feelings "that it has not received adequate publicity benefits for the International Assistance Program" (1980, p.5). The new policy seemed to abandon earlier efforts at an issue oriented public awareness campaign, which had followed the ad hoc committee's proposal in 1977, and speaks of doing "an adequate job of publicity for the government" (1980, p.5). With the circulation of this policy document, the shift in ACIC's development education policy is complete. While the development education network continued to request funds from ACIC until 1982, the network, along with sympathetic NGOs, began to lay the ground work for a new provincial funding council.

The contention within ACIC became focused upon the mandatory 5% education levy. In 1980, the mandatory levy was reduced to 3%, and in 1981, the levy was eliminated

in favor of voluntary contributions to the education program. This move polarized the two positions within ACIC and resulted in the withdrawal of some 12 to 15 agencies from ACIC membership. These agencies joined with most of the development education projects in forming the Development Education Coordinating Council of Alberta (DECCA) in the fall of 1981. For two years, the two councils existed in separate orbits. ACIC continued to vet international development projects for a shrinking number of its member agencies, while supporting two learner centres (in 1981), and maintaining its public awareness campaign. DECCA assumed responsibility for arranging CIDA's PPP grants, while its member agencies joined the growing number of ACIC agencies which negotiated matching grants for overseas projects directly with the provincial government. In 1983, in its tenth year, ACIC closed its secretariat and ceased to exist as an organization.

AFTERWARD

ACIC's expectations that the voluntary levy would be the development education network's death knell were not met. In fact the implementation of the voluntary levy ultimately resulted in ACIC's demise. The provincial government's matching grants were now negotiated directly with the agencies, and the provincial government, with its own international aid bureaucracy, did not need ACIC to coordinate publicity. ACIC had, through its neglect of annual cabinet consultations on development issues, and through its abandonment of the development education network, ceased to be an effective voice for the international agencies and churches. Because of this, administrative levies dwindled to a point where the council was no longer self-supporting. Although no

documents support it, there was a rumor within DECCA that ACIC would not have remained open during the 1982-83 fiscal year had it not been for a special grant from CIDA's PPP.

The demise of ACIC was not lamented within Alberta's development education network. The newly formed DECCA had successfully negotiated grants for the development education network from its member agencies and from CIDA. This was accomplished with no disruption of the existing programs, though most faced reduced operating budgets. The new council's first priority was to establish its funding criteria for development education projects. DECCA's criteria were more detailed than ACIC's, but were to echo ACIC's early intentions for the development education network. It remains to be seen whether the ideological posture, aligned with the popular education approach described above and embodied in DECCA's educational policy, can be sustained by the institutional arrangements this council has adopted.

ACIC EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE WAR OF POSITION

The history of ACIC allows us to trace ideological competition within a development education organization. The war of position is a metaphor superimposed upon the history of ACIC in an attempt to explain how fractures occur within development education organizations. In terms of the metaphor, Canada is one among the western industrialized state to have benefited by a structural and cultural pattern of underdevelopment and dependency which evolved during the postwar period. The Canadian state is, in Gramsci's terms, dominated by an historical bloc allied to the major corporate interests which bene-

fit most from the systematic underdevelopment of the less industrialized nations. Canadian capitalist society is

structured to facilitate those who own the major means of production and distribution to dispose of wealth generated in part by those as they individually wish.

(Cunningham, 1986, p.33)

The capitalist system and its role in underdevelopment were supported by intellectuals and philanthropic organizations which were involved in development work. Support was embodied in development theories like the "human capital" and "modernization" theories which conceptualized an industrial first world molding and reshaping an undeveloped first world in its own image (Saint-Germain, 1985, p.17). Though these theories remained unchallenged throughout the 1950s and 1960s, doubts about their utility and validity began to arise in the late 1960s.

Alternative views of the causes of underdevelopment began to surface in the writing of such Third World intellectuals as Rodney, Galeano, Freire and Illich (Christie, 1983). These writers tended to argue that the Third World had been better off prior to the colonial period and that during colonialism, the industrial nations had systematically underdeveloped these countries in the quest for profits. The development of the third world was thus a creation of poverty and dependency.

Development and underdevelopment is the result of specific choices which are made. They are the result of the concentration of economic power and wealth in some areas so that others grow weak. They are the result of choices which put people second to economic growth and profit before development. At home and abroad, development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin.

(DEC, 1976, p.3)

This analysis of underdevelopment began to gain popularity in Canada in the late 1960s as Canadians were

"exposed to a variety of world events, which forced them to see international development as more than a matter of technical assistance" (Christie, 1983, p.9).

in Africa they witnessed the impact of decolonization, the Nigerian Civil War, and the rise of liberation movements in Southern Africa. In Asia they tried to make sense of the war in Vietnam. In the Caribbean, they experienced the rise of Black Power, and in Latin America the emergence of the theology of liberation.

(Christie, 1983, p.9)

Certain Canadians began to see that "the roots of underdevelopment could be traced to a variety of uneven political and economic relationships, usually established during colonial times and perpetuated long after political independence by existing political and economic power structures" (IBID, p.9). In Canada, as in other western nations (Burns, 1983), people began to organize efforts to transform the unjust structures and relationships - between nations and within nations. This movement to change Canadian attitudes, actions and structures became known as development education.

Within the context of Trudeau's "just society", government funds had been made available for a range of community and social programs. The popular concern for underdevelopment prompted the liberal government to agree to sponsor development education work on a trial basis in 1971. The government's expectation was that this funding would result in more widespread awareness of the extent of the government's efforts to modernize the Third World. The early development education programs however, seemed firmly rooted in an identification with the perceptions of people and intellectuals within the third world. The movement, by 1974 was sufficiently well organized to exert substantial pressure upon Canada's delegation to the 1974 World Food Conference in Rome (Archer, 1983, p.56).

The successes of the development education movement

immediately preceded a subtle shift in the federal government's attitudes towards development education funding. In 1975, the highly successful Development Education Animateur Program was terminated prematurely, in part as a result of the federal government's reluctance to grant the funding levels which had been requested. Likewise, programs in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces were denied CIDA funds "because their programs were too domestic... or for no reason at all" (Wood, 1983, p.96).

The Canadian state, in Gramsci's extended sense of political and civil society, had responded to the rising unrest and criticism of the late 1960s and 1970s with an open wallet and sympathetic ears. Yet the implications of their sympathy may not have been known to them. Initial willingness to allow .04% of official development assistance to placate the most vocal opponent of existing development policies was a small price to pay for the moral high ground and perhaps even some advertising to quell the criticism. When the movement employed the funds to increase the level and sophistication of the criticism, the government and other groups allied to the Canadian state moved in to stifle the clamor for social transformation.

The efforts of the state to reclaim ideological control over the work of development education organizations is clearly visible in the history of ACIC. ACIC arose from the efforts of Alberta NGOs to present a united voice on development issues to the provincial government. ACIC was intended to inform and lobby the provincial government on development issues, and, in particular, to lobby for provincial matching grants for development work. With public support at least temporarily behind the development organizations the provincial government followed the example of the

federal government and granted matching funds for international development work and, eventually for development education.

In this case, the specific interests of the dominant class may be tempered to maintain alliances with other class groupings. The middle classes acceptance of the critical message in some development education work had required a compromise. Still the terms of funding required that development education be organized into hierarchical societies, and the strength of educational orthodoxy ensured that popular education rational would not be matched by popular education methodologies. The didactic imparting of radical content is as alienating as the didactic imparting of conservative content.

Government funding diverted educators to the tasks of organizational maintenance and served to disassociate these organizations from the movement. The advent of specialists allowed more work to be done, but this work was taken from the movement. Energy became focused upon the preservation of organizations rather than upon the transformation of Canadian society. Thus, the receipt of government funds had generated contradictions within the movement. This theme is developed in the chapter which follows. Efforts to sustain a critical practice were faced with institutional constraints arising from the organizational forms which had been adopted. Still, efforts at counter hegemonic education continued.

While ACIC had been formed by a core of relatively progressive agencies and churches, the provincial government pursued a policy which diluted this core by stipulating that agencies seeking matching grants needed to belong to ACIC. The infusion of conservative agencies into ACIC introduced a powerful bloc of agencies which were allied with the hegemonic ideology. This policy resulted in a competition between hegemonic and

counter hegemonic ideologies within ACIC. Gradually, the provincial government became increasingly open in its efforts to pressure ACIC to cease its grants to the development education network.

At this time the federal government was in the process of revising its development education policies to exclude particular forms of programming that had previously received funding. A tension also existed between proponents of national and regional programming. The national agencies and the federal government appeared to prefer national level media campaigns. Local education efforts have gradually been de-emphasized as support for national programs increases.

This shift from a local to national programs was evident in the allocation of increasing amounts to the national programs. Local programs, as a result found it difficult to maintain and retain skilled staff who tended to move into the national programs. The result of this turnover is an infusion of development educators not familiar with the origins of the movement who may also have been in disagreement with the analysis that prompted the movement in the first place. "Community centres face continual financial crises, often paying poverty-level salaries and having little money for the creative development of resources and programs" (CCIC, 1982, p.13). CCIC complains that

the PPP has been repeatedly reorganized;
there has been a high staff turnover;
criteria for priorities have not been clear;
and, evaluations of programmes and groups
have been handled internally by CIDA, with
minimal contact with CIDA staff and little
NGO participation.

(CCIC, 1982, p. 14)

A similar debate occurred within ACIC as conservative agencies allied to the dominant bloc agitated, at first for a "balanced" or liberal approach to programming and eventually to the elimination of funding to development

education centres. These arguments paralleled CIDA's arguments that learner centre funding had always been considered temporary and that the government has no business funding the opinions of private organizations. Delays in CIDA funding, a shift within ACIC's policies, and an increasingly hostile provincial government, led NGOs, learner centres and development education projects to reorganize.

ACIC history reveals a process of co-optation, where a counter hegemonic organization is "captured" by the civil and political forces of the dominant bloc. ACIC was initially concerned with transforming the existing international economic order. Efforts in that direction initially received support from the governments because of public opinion. As these organizations became increasingly effective in mobilizing public opinion and action from within local communities, the federal government shifted funding to national information campaigns and the provincial government encouraged the infiltration of ACIC by conservative agencies. These agencies eventually championed the transformation of a popular education oriented development education program into fund-raising oriented campaigns.

ACIC was thus retaken by the dominant bloc in the war of position. The state marshalled both civil and political society to persuade and coerce ACIC to adopt the dominant ideology and to function as its conduit. This effort was successful, though ACIC's original members and much of the development education community recognized the effort and reorganized to form a different counter hegemonic organization, DECCA.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE STATE AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

The competition between paradigms for development education practice is not an isolated historical event. The literature within the field development education provides many examples of fractures within development education organizations (Belliveau, 1983; Burns, 1983; Christie, 1983; Robb, 1983). This thesis documents two other cases within this pattern of fracture.

In the previous chapter, the history of ACIC revealed how elements of both civil and political society may influence development education practice. Factors too numerous to repeat here combine to make the practice of popular education exceedingly difficult. The effort to sustain a popular education methodology comfortably fits within the metaphor of the war of position. If a recent report of The Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade (House of Commons, 1987) represents government policy towards development education, this situation is unlikely to improve in the near future. The standing committee writes that, despite the fact that "development education funding has expanded considerably over the years," there have been numerous complaints that "CIDA has not been effective in informing the public" about Canadian aid programs (1987, p.110). While the standing committee recognizes that NGOs consider themselves to be "the best equipped and best placed to deliver development education," the standing committee disagrees. While

The Committee has a high regard for the contribution of some private groups to development education in Canada...we also have some doubts whether the future should be just more of the same. There is, first of all, a matter of principle, namely whether the

government should be in the business of funding the messages of private groups.

(House of Commons, 1987, p.111)

The Committee expresses concern that PPP is not able to monitor and evaluate programs because of the ratio of "a small staff to a large number of projects" (IBID, p.111). In addition the Committee notes there have been few evaluations of development education programs and "what little evidence as does exist" raises doubts about program effectiveness (IBID, p.111).

Rather than proposing increased funding support to PPP to improve program monitoring and development, the Committee recommends holding the PPP budget at present levels. In contrast, funding to the national NGOs, corporations, and universities is to be increased to stimulate more and better media oriented information campaigns, and to encourage "excellence" and "specialization" in development studies.

The Committee's posture towards the nonformal community based development education programs is unambiguous. These programs are described as "far removed from the medium of development" and as "based more upon ideology than practical experience" (IBID, p.111). The implications of the Committee's recommendations is that nonformal development education will experience "more of the same" government funding practices.

The Committee's recommendations echo the institutional paradigm's assumptions regarding development education, and virtually duplicate an analysis of the constraints and opportunities facing development education presented by Wood (1983). While the impact of this perspective has been discussed in detail in this thesis, the assumptions of this paradigm have not been submitted to scrutiny or criticism. In the light of this most recent incarnation of the institutional paradigm, it seems appropriate to examine these assumptions and to

provide some assessment of their validity.

THE INSTITUTIONAL PARADIGM

The conservative view of development education is clearly stated in an article by Wood (1983). Wood believes that the primary constraint on development education work is that the field suffers from too much variability.

To acknowledge that all these activities now pass under the name "development education" is not to accept that they should.

(1983, p.87)

Wood argues that the government, through CIDA and through the formal education system, along with business and labor, must become more involved in providing high quality development education.

Wood's argument assumes that the state and state sponsored education, can and ought to be neutral. He claims that to be neutral, development education must be institutionalized. The presence of competing ideologies appears to Wood as a sign of poor management. The correct ideology, the ideology of a neutral state, must be formalized with the institutionalization of existing or recruited development education organizations.

THE NEUTRALITY OF THE STATE

The functionalist conception of the liberal-democratic state, uses the term state as a synonym for government, that is, political society: the institutions and mechanics of governance. The state "is a neutral, balancing mechanism that is above class conflict... society is pluralistic, consisting of numerous 'pressure' groups, the function of the state being merely to adjudicate amongst them" in the "national"

interest (Sarup, 1982, p.47). It is assumed that political power is "competitive, fragmented and diffuse" (Sarup, 1982, p.46). Everyone, either directly or through various organizations, has some power. Avenues for the expression of this power include, universal suffrage, free and regular elections, right to free speech and the right of free association.

THE NEUTRALITY OF EDUCATION

Within this theory of the liberal-democratic state, education serves to provide citizens with the equipment they need to become and remain full participants in the economic and political system. Education is instrumental in the "initiation of an individual into public traditions enshrined in ... modes of thought and awareness" and "forms of knowledge" (Peters, 1966, p.49-50). This conception of education has more to do with the "transmission of a body of knowledge" than with "critical thinking, exploration and experimentation" (Thiessen, 1985, p.230). Education is not intended to change society, it is intended to reproduce society.

Social change, however desirable in itself, is for the educator, not an aim, but simply another subject for unbiased investigation... and for that undeviating and fearless transmission of truth which education essentially is.

(Paterson, 1973, p.358)

In the service of the government's blind justice, education is the balancing mechanism which will equalize individual access to wealth and power within the society.

THE NEUTRAL STATE AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

With apparent free access to education, and with the adjudication of power by a neutral state, the only

possible reason for lack of success is incompetence and a lack of effort. Thus, for Wood, the primary constraint affecting development education work is "not the hostility or indifference of existing institutions, but development education's own institutional shapelessness and indiscipline" (1983, p.87).

The funding constraints which learner centres nearly always face are, according to Wood, due to a lack of professional image, and not part of some effort to "enlist development education groups to support (the state's) own ends". The state does not attempt to co-opt development education because, by definition, the state is neutral.

CRITIQUE OF THE INSTITUTIONAL PARADIGM

The form of this functionalist argument demands analysis. The positivist view that science is objective, or value free, leads to the view that scientific government can be objective. The state "is a neutral, balancing mechanism that is above class conflict (Sarup, 1982, p.47). Education is simply a part of this balancing mechanism.

CRITIQUE OF VALUE-FREE SCIENCE

The belief that a state can be neutral arises from what Fay calls "the value-free ideal of the positivist tradition" (1975, p.15). In this tradition, politics is conceived of as "an applied science". Disputes are not settled by

subtlety of exposition or rhetorical power; rather the issues are tangible, measurable, and testable and debates about them are conducted in such a way that it is these objective features accessible to all which decide the matter at hand.

(Fay, 1975, p.22)

Yet these efforts by social scientists, to mirror the methods of the natural sciences in their research, in order to produce purely "factual" data, are "doomed to failure." Mrydal defines the purely factual as an "observation of a segment of social reality with no preconceptions", and states that this "is not possible" (1970, p.24).

Purely factual research is not possible because "facts established by observation and classification have no existence outside of the framework of preconceptions" (Mrydal, 1970, p.24). The framework of preconceptions, or theory, must not remain hidden. Unless theory is explicitly stated, it cannot be subjected to internal criticism, nor can it be "measured against reality and adjusted accordingly" (Mrydal, 1970, p.25). Social science, then, is an ongoing process of seeking an increasingly accurate, though always approximate, fit of theory to observation.

the idea that [policy] analysis is scientific, dispassionate and value- neutral is a myth because research is inevitably influenced by the beliefs and assumptions of the researcher. The framework within which policy research is carried out also has bearing on the issues that are investigated and the questions that are asked.

(Rein, in Ham and Hall 1980, p.18)

Ham and Hall support what Rein calls a "value critical stance." The value critical stance implies that for policy analysts the "most demanding task is identification of their own values" (1976, p.169).

If social science cannot be neutral, can the state be neutral? The state's neutrality is dependent upon the objectivity of social science. If social science is value laden, then the social science which shapes government policy must be value laden also.

CRITIQUE OF THE NEUTRAL STATE

Assuming that social science can be objective, is it possible for the state to be neutral? Wood argues that development education takes place within

the modern secular state in which there is no formally enforced ideology about the issues addressed by development education.

(Wood, 1983, p.87)

This claim hinges on the phrase "no formally enforced ideology". Is an informally enforced ideology also absent? If there is an informal enforcement of ideology, whose ideology is enforced? These are questions Wood ignores entirely.

Few writers today would claim that the state is able to adjudicate impartially among interest groups. In 1956 Mills' argued that

the American political system is dominated by a power elite occupying key positions in government, business corporations and the military. The overlap and connection between the leaders of these institutions helps to create a relatively coherent power elite.

(Ham and Hill, 1984, p.30)

More recently Lindblom, in arguing that policy making is an interactive rather than a rational process, has suggested that

despite a powerful democratic tradition, policy making ... in fact does not respond well to popular control ... Political inequality silences many citizens.

(1980, p.123)

Lindblom adds that the "privileged position of business" makes "a fair competition" among "participants" unlikely (1970, p.123).

Still, most forms of functionalist theory maintain that competition among interest groups and elites, and the fact that "different elites operate in different issue areas", is protection against domination by one

group (Ham and Hill, 1985, p.31). Lindblom concludes his analysis of policy making by telling the public that, to influence policy, they must "toil" within the system (1980, p.123). The functionalist, it seems, sees no alternatives to the present system.

It is difficult to accept the claim that the state can remain neutral when business enjoys a privileged role in policy making. Yet if one could accept this claim, it would still be difficult to accept that interest groups who do not share the privileged position and economic resources of business, should not be eligible for state support. If the state was in fact an equitable adjudicator, one could expect that these types of groups would receive assistance.

Thus, it is Wood's views on the nongovernmental development education projects which are most startling. In his discussion of the constraints and opportunities facing development education, Wood alludes to these projects in a generally pejorative way and then seems to dismiss them from the field. It is interesting to note that the Standing Committee's recommendations duplicate this treatment of local NGO development education projects.

NEUTRALITY AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Wood's exclusion of the NGO and voluntary sector of Canadian development education appears to be based upon his definition of education and upon his conviction that education can only be maintained within a traditionally conceived institutional setting. Wood implies from this exclusion that these types of organizations engage in proselytism and not education.

Wood criticizes people or groups "who believe that they have a systematic understanding of how human beings

and societies should develop and believe that they have a responsibility to try to get others to share this understanding" (1983, p.88). According to Wood, such "educators" are little more than missionaries and religious proselytizers and "should neither seek nor permit [sic] formal linkages with state or other major institutions" (1983, p.88). The reason for this is that, in "a secular and democratic society", "the principle of the separation of church and state" demands that "religious proselytizers" not receive state support (1983, p.88).

With this statement Wood sets the stage for his claim that "development education must exclude proselytism of all kinds" (1983, p.88). According to the Oxford Concise, proselytism is defined as

seeking to convert a person from one opinion
to another

In the light of this definition, Wood seems to contradict himself. Initially, Wood describes those who claim to possess a "systematic understanding of how human beings and societies should develop" (1983, p.88) as "religious proselytizers". Then Wood describes the appropriate process for educators to follow in changing the "distorted" world view of their "audiences".

Wood argues that the logical first priority of development education is to "accurately describe situations which are unfamiliar and distorted in the minds of their audiences" (1983, p.89). In order to accurately describe situations which one believes are distorted in minds of others, the educator must at least believe that their own understanding is more systematic than that of their client's. Wood then argues that the educators should then "venture explanations" (1983, p.89), and then, in the final stage, development educators should "prescribe remedies" (1983, p.89).

Clearly Wood's conception of the logical priorities of development education constitute some form of proselytism. The writing of Peters' (1966) shows that all education involves some form of proselytism. If we deem that Wood used this word incorrectly, and charitably suggest that he may have meant indoctrination and not proselytism, we must again recognize that education represents the socialization of individuals into a society's intellectual and other traditions and thus inevitably involves some degree of indoctrination (Peters, 1966, p.46-61).

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Whether or not the state and education have the potential for neutrality, Wood's claim that development education should be institutionalized requires consideration.

Wood believes that those who engage in development education work generally lack the "degree of preparation, skill and coordination" which are needed to "establish the relevance and credibility of this work with most audiences" (1983, p. 87). For Wood, "genuine development educators ... must be profoundly convinced of the importance of world development but even more committed to the importance for themselves and others of constantly striving to understand development" (1983, p.88, emphasis original). Apparently development educators are to convince others of the importance of understanding development. Wood states that, in order to clarify this role "development education must, in some senses, be institutionalized" (1983, p.88).

In this process of institutionalization, development education "must be so defined as to exclude proselytism of all kinds" (1983, p.88). Instead, deve-

development education must "acquire and be able to demonstrate a sound grasp of a field of knowledge that is not adequately covered by other institutions in society" and be able to "sell their own product - to demonstrate its effectiveness and usefulness to individuals, communities and to other institutions through which it must work" (1983, p.88). In short, development education work must be institutionalized and be practiced by professionals.

If Wood intended that the existing network of voluntary development education organizations be, in some way, reorganized into more formal institutions, he did not say so. According to Wood the constraints on nonformal development education are (1) proselytism by ideologues, and (2) institutional shapelessness and indiscipline. In the first case, proselytism seems impossible to avoid in education. A more pertinent question is whether minority opinions and values deserve support in making their views public. In the second case, the institutional shapelessness of the voluntary programs is, in part, a matter of perspective.

Wood does describe a preferred "shape" for development education organizations to adopt, but one is left to inquire what is meant by indiscipline. Does Wood seek better trained development educators? What kind of training is required? Is program consistency in content and process the discipline which is required? It is fruitless to speculate on Wood's responses to these questions.

Statistics reveal that development educators are neither untrained nor inefficient. Giovannini reports that roughly 50% of development educators active in 1984 possessed between 6 and 10 years of work experience in the field, with 85% having 2 or more years experience. Virtually all development educators within learner centres possess a secondary education, and nearly 40%

have had experience working overseas (1985, p.18).

Nongovernmental development education also appears to be relatively cost-effective. Within 21 agencies in Alberta during the 1984-85 fiscal year, 120 full-time and 62 part-time staff worked with nearly 2,000 volunteers, produced 525 programs in which over 450,000 Albertans participated, at a cost of forty cents per program, per person (Rechico, 1986, p. 6-17).

These statistics are only a small part of the picture of nonformal development education in Alberta. Ultimately, nonformal development education cannot attain the degree of educational "efficiency" which would satisfy administrators within formal educational institutions. But should this be a goal of nonformal adult educators?

The pressure to systematize adult education may run counter to how adults choose to learn. According to Tough, adults spend an average of 10 hours per week involved in one or more learning projects. Some 80% of these learning projects are self-planned or peer-led, while less than 20% involved a professional (Tough, 1978, p.252). Adults prefer informal and nonformal learning to learning within the formal setting. Formalizing development education would result in a serious reduction of learner and volunteer involvement. The smaller, community based organizations offer a stronger sense of community, and provide more learning opportunities through their volunteer activities.

IN SUMMARY

Science, a state, and education are not value free. With these claims refuted Wood's analysis and prescriptions for development education seem tenuous. With the authority of his basic assumptions undermined Wood seems

to saying that the values which dominate our society, in other words the values of the state, will define content and processes acceptable for education. When the views of non-dominant groups are transmitted, the process of transmission is defined as proselytism and not education. Apparently it is only when groups adopt the dominant values and methods that they will be eligible for state support.

Wood's analysis becomes a somewhat naked demand for development educators working within the voluntary sector to adopt traditional, didactic, and consumer style educational methods. The reader is presented with no other criticisms of alternative approaches. Thus, although Wood denies that the Canadian state attempts to co-opt development education for its own purposes, he seems to be arguing that it should.

CONSTRAINTS AFFECTING NONFORMAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

In what way has the construction of development education been guided and constrained? Constraint means a limitation imposed on motion or action. Benson states that

An important constraint is, of course, the existing social structure itself. People produce a social world which stands over them, constraining their actions. The production of social structure, then occurs within a social structure.

(1977, p.3)

The immediate social structure and context of development education in Canada is the Canadian state. Gramsci's conception of the modern capitalist State provides a framework for understanding constraints on social construction. For Gramsci the state is more than the political society and structures of governance. The state is a concept which includes civil society.

the general notion of State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armor of coercion).

(Gramsci in Showstack-Sassoon, 1980, p.113)

The constraints on the construction of development education can be seen as arising from the nature of Canada's political and civil society.

CONSTRAINTS AND POLITICAL SOCIETY

The government structures with direct connections to the development community are the provincial and federal governments.

Constraints and the Provincial Government

The provincial government in Alberta seems to have limited the direction of development work in at least two ways. First, there was and is some provincial control over the shape which organizations may adopt, and second, Alberta's provincial government has provided matching grants for development projects overseas since 1974.

In Canada, the provincial governments are given jurisdiction over the registration of societies. All organizations are required to register constitutional documents with the Alberta Societies Act, and to provide annual reports and audit statements. Provisions within the Societies Act determine, among other things, the legally acceptable; membership criterion, organizational objectives, and the amount of notice needed for general meetings and amendments to a constitution. The Societies Act also helps to define the structure of an organization by requiring each organization to have a board of directors and certain officers of the board.

Although this requirement may seem to be a subtle limitation, it should be recognized as an example of orthodox organizational thinking.

The Provincial Government of Alberta began to provide matching grants for development projects in 1974. In 1974, one million dollars was set as a ceiling for provincial grants. In the following year this figure was doubled. These grants matched each dollar raised in Alberta, with one dollar from the provincial treasury. Negotiation the actual agreement took six months. Eventually, the provincial government would agree to allow ACIA to levy 3% of each aid agency's yearly total of donations and grants, in order to cover administrative costs. For nearly two years the provincial government refused to allow any portion of its matching grants to go to development education work.

Some would argue that the provincial government's involvement in international development should be viewed as a stimulus rather than as a limitation. It is certainly true that the dramatic increase in funding stimulated the formation of many new aid agencies. Yet this infusion of funds came with certain strings attached. One of these strings was that acceptable projects were required to be "non-political and non-evangelical" (ACIA, 1974a). Another limitation was the government's desire to have ACIA vet all projects. In a way, the government guided all agencies into ACIA's membership. Eventually, these new members came to dominate the organization.

The most significant constraint presented by the provincial government, was the limits placed on development education. If the provincial government had allowed portions of its early grants to be used for development education, the development education network would have grown much more rapidly than it did. The

initial refusal of the provincial government to allow its funds to be used for development education work left AWR without a secure funding base, and also resulted in the stillbirth of the RAPP proposal. Although the provincial government would eventually agree to allow a percentage of matched funds to be levied by ACIA for educational projects, the AWR initiative faded into an annual revision of the information kit by volunteers, and the relegation of the widely cited and respected RAPP Report to the society's archives.

The effect of this provincial funding policy was that, while the international development work was allowed to develop rapidly, the educational work of these agencies was stunted. Agencies were allowed to develop large administrative structures to seek funds and deliver development projects overseas. The educational dimensions of development work were to remain marginal.

This limit on the growth of development education was eventually to be expressed as open disapproval of the movement and in an effort to convince the agencies to cease their support of the network entirely. The provincial government applied pressure on development education indirectly. The international agencies which received matching grants were told in 1979 that their matching grants were at risk if they continued to fund the development education program (ACIC, 1980, p.1).

This statement confirmed what the more recent member agencies had feared since they had been prodded into joining ACIA. The development education work being done in the province was jeopardizing their overseas programs. Certain agencies worked to disassociate themselves from the development education program. A policy document was produced which advised that support for learner centres be phased out over two years (ACIC,

1977). In June 1980, the annual general meeting voted to make the education levy voluntary. Many of the province's largest fund-raisers did not volunteer funds and the education "pool" was significantly lower in the next fiscal year.

The provincial government did constrain the development of ACIA and, in doing so, the growth of the development education network. It is hard to see the provincial government's actions as something other than direct pressure to change development education.

Constraints and the Federal Government

In what way did the federal government constrain the construction of ACIA and its development education program? ACIA's relations with the federal government were carried out through the Special Programs Branch of CIDA, and in particular through the NGO Division

The NGO division describes its work as a partnership with Canadian NGOs. NGO believes that their program "lead to the creation" of the provincial councils (CIDA, 1984, p.11). At its inception NGO disbursed "some \$5 million to 50 projects carried out by 20 agencies" (IBID, p.10). Fifteen years later NGO division's budget was \$60 million and supported over 2400 projects through "close to 200 agencies" (IBID, p.10).

It is difficult to assess CIDA's impact on the creation of ACIA. It appears that ACIA became responsible for CIDA matches for the overseas projects of most of the Alberta based agencies. Nationally based agencies generally negotiated with CIDA NGO division directly. I do not know when CIDA began to support ACIC's administrative core, but this support was sustained until ACIC closed in 1983. The correspondence from within ACIA and ACIC reflects a generally positive,

though inconsistent relationship between ACIA, ACIC and CIDA. The primary source of frustration is in relations with the PPP.

Most writers speak of a generally sound relationship with people within the CIDA bureaucracy, but there are complaints from ACIA regarding a) consistent delays in finalizing grants, b) high turnover and lack of consistency from the directors of PPP, and c) the need for block funding and long-term funding commitments from CIDA. These concerns reflect constraints on the control which ACIA and the Alberta development education community could exert over the development of their institutions. Delays in funding often resulted in the disruption of programs. The high turnover in the position of PPP director contributed to uncertainty of the longevity of PPP and inconsistency in the interpretation of PPP's funding criteria.

The constraints placed on development education appear to be the result of inconsistencies in the delivery of funds, and in CIDA's refusal to allow ACIA, ACIC and more recently DECCA, creative control over the evolution of development education. Thus, the primary constraint on development education presented by the federal government appears to be a result of the government's tentative and inconsistent policies for the allocation of funding.

CONSTRAINTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

In the process of social construction, elements of both the political and the civil society are involved. Within political society, the government, through legislation and through the judicial and school systems protects the interests of the ruling classes.

but... in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities

tend to the same end - initiatives and activities which form the apparatus, of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes.

(IBID, p.115)

In the case studies presented, in chapter one and in the history of ACIC in chapter four, private initiatives clearly play a role in shaping development education policies.

In Lethbridge, between 1981 and 1984, the constraints I faced in pursuing a networking approach appeared to come primarily from within my own community, and, in particular, from within my own board of directors. These constraints may be understood by reference to what Belliveau calls a "psycho-affective" dimension to working for social transformation (1983, p.73).

Belliveau suggests that during the internal conflicts within the Atlantic region's development education community, both CIDA and the aid NGOs "must have been represented unconsciously". Belliveau describes this as "an authority phenomenon that functions to inhibit the move of a social class to recover the social power attached to its work within the institution" (1983, p.73).

Freire refers to this type of phenomenon as a "fear of freedom" which "afflicts the oppressed and "may equally lead them to desire the role of the oppressor or bind them to the role of the oppressed" (1970, p.31).

The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility.

(Freire, 1970, p.31)

Thus, one constraint effecting development education could be the internalization of, and identification with, dimensions of dominant ideology.

This "fear of freedom" is likely to effect anyone

involved with the development education movement. Other constraints may be seen as arising out of an individual's particular roles within the various organizations involved in the movement. Constraints arising out of private initiatives should be examined in terms of the particular interests of individuals within the provincial and federal bureaucracies, within the national offices of the aid agencies and churches, among the staff of the provincial councils and development education projects, and among volunteers of time and money within the movement as a whole.

Among the people involved within the development education movement it is useful to distinguish between the interests of those who are paid for their work, and those who are not. Those who are paid for work within the movement are likely to seek to preserve their particular vocational role. It is therefore possible that they may seek to retain particular responsibilities and even resist efforts at evaluation or realignment. Certain people may attempt to expand their role to include greater responsibility or control over their work. Though such behavior may be possible among volunteers, they lack a material motivation, and may thus be less inclined to seek the preservation of particular relations of production.

Within the Government

Individuals working within the government are likely to bring concerns for the preservation of their work to bear when selecting among options for the directions of work related to their responsibilities. Certain individuals may be reluctant to support development educator's request for block or long term funding because these reduce their control over programs which

may antagonize elected representatives and their superiors.

Likewise, elected representatives may feel sympathy for the work of development education but may, because of pressure from influential constituents and their party hierarchy, feel compelled to oppose autonomy or funding for these organizations (Belliveau, 1983).

Within the National Agencies

As Christie notes, people within the aid agencies constituted both a major force for the creation of development education, and a major constraint on the field (1983, p.15). Some individuals within the agencies worked to challenge existing political power structures in their programs overseas, and in their own communities. Others opposed these initiatives, labeling them "political" and contrary to the "humanitarian" nature of aid organizations. Within these agencies individuals are often concerned that "political" education or aid programs will reduce donations and government government grants (Christie, 1983, p.15). The history of ACIC illustrates how this concern can become a serious constraint on the practice of development education.

Among the Staff of the Councils and Development Education Projects

Among these paid workers, a desire for continuity in work and control over a vocational domain may lead to rigidity in roles and responsibilities and a reluctance to reshape work in response to newly perceived needs. Workers may settle within specializations creating bureaucracies which resist changes in practice or structure. Because of this critical reflection may be stifled, and programs may be unable to respond to shifts

within the social context. In order to minimize these constraints, workers in both these settings have often developed collective and generalist organizational structures.

Among Donors and Volunteers

Donors may present a constraint to development education work if they perceive that work as a threat to their life-style or, as simply a waste of resources. Unless donors to the aid agencies which fund development education, direct donors to development education organizations themselves, and the taxpayers who donate through government grants perceive that utility and need for development education, their lack of support will prove to be a major constraint.

If donors represent a potentially major constraint, volunteers are a potentially fatal constraint. Virtually every dimension of development education is, or could be, carried out by volunteers. Development education was initially a voluntary movement and remains a largely voluntary movement today. Without a belief that they are meaningful participants within the movement, volunteers are unlikely to contribute.

A major concern within DECCA at the time it was founded was the fact that the council was seldom more than "one volunteer deep" in each of the member organizations. This difficulty results in tiny committees, and often no committees at all. Quorum may be difficult to reach, meetings and therefore decisions delayed, and tasks not fulfilled. A lack of volunteers may result in staff being assigned to volunteer roles, and this circumstance contributes to staff "burnout" and high staff turnover.

CONSTRAINT AND CONTRADICTION

The constraints presented by these elements of development education's social context contribute can to fractures within development education organizations. These fractures occur, at least in part, because of the way social elements are related. Thus, contradictions between the interests of individuals involved within the development education movement can be viewed as a constraint on the construction and reconstruction of development education organizations.

One contradiction which has appeared to play an important role in the fracture of ACIC is the contradiction between the interests of the NGOs in preserving access to government and donor funding, and the development education community's interest in practising emancipatory education with basic communities in Canada. Belliveau recounts that, as educators move towards more specific relations with their constituents relations between the educators and the funding bodies became strained (1983, p.71). Many NGOs within ACIC perceived the need to constrain the direction of development education work at a time when doing development education had prompted educators to allow their constituents more control over the direction of their inquiry and action. This appears to be a contradiction which precipitated the fracture I experienced in Lethbridge.

Another contradiction which influences development education involves the conflict between the orthodox institutional structures required of development education organizations by the Societies Act in Alberta, and the non-hierarchical forms which the practice popular education seems to demand of its practitioners. Hierarchical organizational structures and bureaucratic

relations seem to demand didactic relations between educator and learner.

In order for funding to be approved by government departments and council committees, project proposals conceived and prepared by specialists are required. Programs so conceived are seldom flexible enough to respond to the rapidly changing needs of participants. Such programs may be couched in terms of goal pursuit and cost effectiveness rather than in more qualitative concerns for a group's autonomy and or consciousness. Even more insidious is the potential for paid educators to cultivate dependencies in particular constituencies in order to protect their position, rather than working for a group's self reliance.

The proposals which are required for government funding also tend to call for specialists who "know the language" and procedures of requesting and negotiating funds. Such specialists rarely come from the ranks of popular educators and are often former government bureaucrats. The replacement of educational generalists with specialists alters power structures within an organization and undermines democratic relations of production. Such administrative specialists can serve to detach an organization from its original educational objectives in favor of objectives which expedite administrative goals.

CONCLUSION

Development education cannot be simply defined or classified. In its broadest sense development education is educational work aimed at giving Canadians a better understanding of international and national issues which relate to the processes of development and underdevelopment. If we try to become more specific about

development education it becomes clear that we have to distinguish between the types of people and groups who engage in development education work, their shared understandings about the meaning and objectives of their work, and also the historical processes and contradictions which lead to the selection and development of certain types of programs over others.

The historical roots of development education lie in frustration and discontent of volunteers returning from overseas with a sense of unfulfilled mission. They formed a wide network of voluntary organizations which was devoted to raising people's consciousness about real conditions. Early development educators had discovered that the quick fix of foreign technology was unable to relieve suffering caused by inequitable distribution of land and wealth. They had come to see foreign aid as a trojan horse which, under the guise of gift giving, draws out the wealth and autonomy of poorer nations.

Early development educators sought to demystify Canada's relations with the Third World and, through education, cause a change in Canadian Foreign policy. Increasingly development educators became aware that the focus on changing government policies is insufficient for effecting real change in unjust social, political and economic relations. Development educators responded to this realization in various ways. Some groups returned to public relations functions for CIDA and the agencies, other maintained their consumer style educational programs and still others became more militant and stopped seeking government funding to pursue solidarity work.

Development education is characterized by a high staff and volunteer turnover which has left it unconscious of its history. Though the staff are nearly always incredibly committed to social change, the work-

ing conditions rarely allow for adequate, critical reflection on the directions and practices which are maintained from year to year. If development education is to gain in effectiveness it must balance its activism with careful analysis. In the process, development educators must come to recognize that the interests of participants within the field are not identical. These divergent interests must be examined by development educators as they seek to retain control of their practice. If we view ourselves as popular educators, we are responsible for posing problems, both to our colleges and within our communities. As popular educators, we must become involved in analyzing these problems, and acting to reshape our work if our analysis moves us away from the safety of habitual practices.

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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

ACIA	Alberta Committee of International Agencies (became ACIC in 1977)
ACIC	Alberta Council for International Cooperation
ADECC	Alberta Development Education Coordinating Council (became DECCA in 1981)
AHC	ACIA's 1977 ad hoc committee on educational policy
AWR	ACIA's Alberta World Reflections public awareness program
CANSAVE	Canadian Save the Children Fund
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CCIC	Canadian Council for International Cooperation
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DECCA	Development Education Coordinating Council of Alberta
DERS	Development Education Resource Services
EC	ACIA/ACIC's standing Education Committee
ECTYP	ACIA's Education Committee's three year plan
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NGO	CIDA's Non-governmental Organizations Division
PPP	CIDA's Public Participation Program
SCIC	Saskatchewan Council for International Cooperation
WCLC	World Citizen's Learner Centre